

Day 1: WELCOME AND OPENING LECTURE
Thursday 2nd July

- 18.30h.** Institutional welcome and opening lecture.
Sarah Whatmore (University of Bristol) *"Living spaces:
feminist encounters with environmentalism"*.
- 20.30h.** Cold buffet.

Sarah Whatmore

“Living spaces: feminist encounters with environmentalism”.

Abstract

The talk begins by tracing the marginalisation of eco-feminist work in the feminist academy, not least by geographers, and suggesting that some of its most enduring themes are gaining new credibility as a consequence of two independent processes; the greening of social theory and the emergence of the body as a key site of feminist analysis. This conjuncture of interest and effort in rethinking and politicizing the 'living spaces' of the body and the environment provide important and much needed impetus for a more passionate feminist geography.

The main part of the paper outlines some key issues and challenges for geographers in bringing together some of the insights of feminist and environmentalist thinking about the spaces 'nature' at the scale of the body; the habitat and the planet. Using the work of leading feminist theorists, three conceptual principles are taken to underline such an endeavour.

-topology - thinking about space in fluid rather than territorial terms (eg Elspeth Probyn).

-hybridity - refusing the binary distinction between 'nature' and 'society' (eg Donna Haraway).

-performativity - rethinking social agency as a practical and relational achievement (eg Ann Game).

Various aspects of the geographies of genetic engineering will be used to illustrate the lecture.

Key points for discussion

1. Why has eco-feminism been so marginalised in the feminist academy?
2. What might usefully be recuperated from it by feminist geographers?
3. To what extent, and in what ways, might Haraway's 'cyborg' provide a more intellectually and politically liberating figure for such a recuperation than those of 'goddess' or 'mother' traditionally associated with eco-feminism?

Sarah Whatmore

"Living spaces: feminist encounters with environmentalism".

The modernist ideals of universal democracy and justice realised through legislative regimes centred on individual rights have been the subject of sustained feminist and environmentalist critiques, reinvigorating political and philosophical interest in the question of ethics. Feminist writing has focused on deconstructing the discourse of rights, highlighting the gendered (and racialised) character of the autonomous self configured as rights-bearing citizen of a sovereign state (Cornell, 1985). By contrast, environmentalist work has centred on extending the political and discursive economy of rights to nonhuman beings; challenging established concepts of personhood and subject status (Callicott, 1979). These efforts share parallel concerns to establish relational, as opposed to individual, understandings of ethical agency and to recognise the significance of embodied, as against abstract, capacities in shaping ethical competence and considerability. Such concerns highlight the power of the geographical imaginaries of traditional ethical discourses and the difficulties of disrupting the entrenched cartographies of the nation, the neighbourhood, and the individual in fashioning new possibilities for ethical community.

In this lecture I explore what are, I think, creative tensions between feminist and environmentalist efforts to empower those eclipsed in orthodox ethical discourse, particularly at the embattled frontiers of the so-called 'natural law' and 'social contract' traditions. I trace some of the ways in which the conceptual and institutional parameters of notions of self (citizen), central to feminist concerns, intersect with those associated with notions of subject (person) at the heart of environmentalist concerns. In both cases, although for different reasons, I argue that dilemmas encountered by these attempts to construct alternative ethical orderings are intimately bound up with their adherence to what Latour has called the "purification" of nature and society as "distinct ontological zones" (1993, page 10). This leads me to suggest a number of consequences for instituting a relational understanding of political and moral agency which centres on a recognition of the social embodiment and environmental embeddedness of the (re)configuration of 'individuals' and 'communities'. In so doing, I aim to highlight the importance of *corporeality* and *hybridity* as concepts for and stretching the place of ethics.

Ethical discourse has conventionally been framed in terms of an opposition between natural law and social contract traditions, centred on competing accounts of the primacy of 'human nature' as against civic order as the foundational claim to ethical competence and considerability (Poole, 1991). Commonly misunderstood as some kind of unchanging normative code inscribed in the heavens or the genes, natural law theories evoke the capacity for reason as the definitive basis of a distinctively human ethical

standing. Early modern reinterpretations of a classical legacy, notably in the work of Locke, shifted accounts of this distinctively human capacity from the evocation of a 'common good'-the cluster of obligations generated by the patterns of interdependence in human social life-to that of an 'individual good'-the result of voluntary transactions between independent agents. The most important implication of this shift was to elevate the "moral significance of the separateness of persons" (Buckle, 1991, page 168).

The emergence of the individual as axiomatic of modern society is inscribed in legal, political, and religious institutions and discourses. Since Kant, this founding figure of the autonomous self has been most strongly associated with the social contract tradition of ethics (Kymlicka, 1991). However, it is worth emphasising that it uniformities (of reasonableness) that can sustain the idea of universal (natural) human goods and values. Social contract resolutions rest on particular social institutions of contract (market) and rights (law) as the basis for establishing universal (impartial) 'laws of reason' as the precondition of ethical agency.

Contemporary elaborations of these debates can be seen in the philosophical and legal dilemmas of squaring claims to *human* rights with claims to *civil* rights. The one represents a species claim to the possession of reasoning faculties as the basis for the universal ethical considerability of individuals by virtue of their constitution as human beings; the other, a political claim to the possession of reasoning faculties as the basis for the ethical considerability of individuals by virtue of their constitution as civic persons (McHugh, 1992). Historical changes in the legal encoding of such claims underline the unstable and disputed social meaning of both 'human' and 'person' as ethical subjects, for example, in the treatment of women and non-European peoples; instabilities which persist, also marking the unborn, children, and those deemed mentally 'unfit'. Despite these dilemmas, the figure of the Cartesian individual as an atomistic presocial vessel of abstract reason and will continues to dominate contemporary ethical accounts. Contingent moral commitments and norms associated with a particular individual's 'life' context evaporate in the white heat of 'enlightened interest'. Ethical agency becomes cast in terms of the impartial and universal enactment of instrumental reason, institutionalised as a contractual polity of like individuals. Such accounts of ethical agency rely upon spatially and temporally fixed conceptions of individual and collective social being-the sovereignty of self and state-etched in the cartographies of the citizen and the nation. Ironically, as Poole (1991) suggests, insofar as the modern world revolves around the autonomous self, it has also destroyed the conditions of its autonomy, reducing community to an infinitely expanded network of market interactions.

The commoditisation of social (and environmental) relations has disrupted this configuration of political and ethical community on two fronts. First, it has done so by eroding the territorialised authority of the nation-state to govern increasingly global networks and mobilities of people and goods. Ethical communities bounded by national borders have become unsustainable because "the nation state is no longer able to resolve the contradictions between citizenship and humanity through claims to absolute

autonomy" (Walker, 1991, page 256). Second, the expansion of market relations has also undermined the personalised jurisdiction of the individual citizen over a coherent domain of the self (Giddens, 1991). As Haraway has observed,

"The proper state for a western person is to have ownership of the self, to have and hold a core identity, as if it were a possession ... Not to have property of the self is not to be a subject and so not to have agency" (1991, page 135).

However, this private domain of the rights-bearing citizen has long been exposed as unworkable in conception. This has translated at different time-places into the dispossession of women, poor, and black people of political and ethical agency in their own right, through their 'contractual' guises as wives, servants, and slaves (Pateman, 1989). Moreover, this extended domain of the patriarchal self underpinning effective citizenship, the domain of the family and household, has itself become increasingly unstable (Gobetti, 1992). In short, the disruption of this configuration of political and ethical community is centred on the instability of its spatial encoding as distinct realms of public and private (civic and domestic) competence, and the reordering of these competences by the invasive institutions of market and governance.

Recent work in the field of political philosophy is dominated by two divergent responses to the limitations of the liberal conception of political and ethical community sketched above. One echoes a long-standing communitarian tradition which predicates the capacity to participate as ethically and politically competent subjects on the material satisfaction of basic human needs. As Porter has put it,

"A concern for persons in their own right is not possible where the primacy of rights relies on an atomist conception of the self-sufficient individual. This notion maintains that human capacities need no particular social context in which to develop and hence is not attached to other normative principles concerning what is good for humans or conducive to their development" (1991, page 127).

The more sophisticated communitarian accounts elaborated by political philosophers such as Sandel and Macintyre appeal to an intersubjective conception of the self as the basis of ethical agency. This conception centres on qualifying the absolute distinction between self and other associated with the figure of the sovereign individual "by allowing that, in certain moral circumstances, the relevant description of the self may embrace more than a single empirically-individuated human being" (Sandel, 1982, pages 79-80). This set of responses has become politically influential with so-called 'new communitarianism' colouring the rhetoric of conventional political opponents of free market liberalism, such as Blair's 'New Labour' Party in Britain and Clinton's Democratic administration in the USA. In its concern with the material preconditions of a full human life, this perspective reengages with natural law arguments that ethical considerability precedes formal rights, requiring answers to the question 'rights for what?' At the same time it readmits, in a limited way, nonhuman figures to the landscape of ethical community, as necessary material 'resources' to service basic human needs. The environmental implications of this 'new communitarian' perspective are

rehearsed in US Vice President Al Gore's populist manifest "Earth in balance", in which he argues that

We have tilted so far toward individual rights and so far away from any sense of obligation that it is now difficult to muster an adequate defence of any rights vested in the community at large or in the nation—much less rights properly vested in all humankind" (1992, page 278).

A second response to contemporary dilemmas in the conception and practice of ethical community is that associated with a broader critique of the foundational coordinates of Modern society identified with 'postmodernism' (Squires, 1993). Such critiques centre on a radical deconstruction of the twin sovereignties of self and state. Here 'the individual' is transformed into a site of heterogeneous and multiple identities which become performative resources in the creative enactment of new and 'liberating' subject positions. Amongst the more sustained explorations of this postmodernist interpretation of political and ethical agency is Laclau and Mouffe's project of 'radical democracy' characterised as "a polyphony of voices, each of which ethic constructs its own irreducible discursive identity" (1985, page 191). Far from breaking with the primacy of the individual as a foundational social unit, this approach inverts the Cartesian subject, replacing abstract reason with abstract desire as definitive of (human) social agency. It shifts the ground of ethical and political community from conventional practices of contract between universally equivalent agents to communicative practices of dialogue between radically different agents. The biographing individual evoked in this postmodern vision liberates the possibilities of ethical community from the involuntary associations of birth or proximity, but it does so by obscuring the conditionality of dialogic engagement in terms of the mundane business of *living*.

The tensions between contractarian and natural law theories of ethical competence and considerability mark ongoing dilemmas over the relationship between social rationality and human mortality. The reified figure of the autonomous individual represents a cipher of abstract reason which inscribes the binaries of mind-body, self-other, subject-object onto the very possibility of ethical agency in Modern society. Recent critiques from communitarian and postmodernist positions open up new possibilities but are less radical departures than they sometimes appear. Communitarian approaches reassert the *situatedness of the individual* and point to the intersubjective constitution of ethical agency. However, they tend to do so by invoking highly conservative configurations of community, such as the family, the neighbourhood, and the nation, without examining the power relations they enact. Moreover, this 'situatedness' is predominantly defined in terms of social (human) relations. Where they are addressed at all, environmental (nonhuman) relations are treated as passive contextual extensions of human well-being. By contrast, a postmodernist insistence on the radical instability of the individual, divested of material fabric or context, tends to evoke highly *disembodied*, as well as disembedded, social agents (Levin, 1985, O'Neill, 1985, Pile and Thrift, 1995). In a world populated by such amorphous figures, constituted from cognitive and linguistic possibilities unshackled by the corporeal baggage of living, "the question of what human be-ing is" (Porter, 1991, page 16) becomes unspeakable.

... influence of these various encounters with the intellectual and
... ethical agency is a recognition of formal justice as a derivative of
... moral propositions and ethical claims. Increasingly, this has been
... a creative recognition with ideas of human nature *not* in terms of any
... of humanity, but in terms of the predicament of finitude, the
... mortality of all living beings. As Cornell has put it, only "by coming
... can we gain the humility necessary to overcome the hubris of
... (1995, page 318). Bauman's exploration of the ethical implications of
... 'life politics' (1991), and Beck's account of 'risk
... (1992), all exemplify the renewed interest in corporeal being for understanding
... and contingency. Exploring issues such as the legal determination
... rights of the 'unborn' foetus and the medical certification of the
... death, these writers suggest that the more reflexively we 'make ourselves'
... more significant bodily awareness becomes, heightening the sense of sha
... as a mode of political association and ethical recognition. As a recent issue
... has illustrated, such efforts are echoed in popular concerns and everyday
... health, and scientific expertise (Wolch and Emel, 1995). These concerns
... most graphically illustrated in the current political, economic, and animal
... related with Bovine Spongiform Encephalopathy (BSE), so-called 'mad cow
... its human form, Creutzfeldt-Jakob Disease (CID), in Britain.

... have been taken up most persistently and powerfully by those most
... the humanist and masculinist presumptions of an abstracted world of
... moral agents, most notably in feminist and environmentalist critiques. These
... are on concerns with the embodiment of difference and rationality and with
... significance of nonhuman life-forms and processes, respectively. In the next
... out what I see as key insights and tensions in these alternative discourses
... of a more relational understanding of ethical competence, before
... to consider some of their spatial implications for the reconfiguration of
... unity.

... the embodiment of care?

... become pure, evidence, innocent, the potential for diverse and democratic collectivities
... We are all others of ourselves, otherness should not be reified but used as one fertile
... solidarist solidarity" (Cohen, 1992, page 1)

... of difference in postmodern theories has been highly influential, but
... contested, in feminist political thinking over recent years. A number of
... example, Fox (1991), Hennessy, 1993) distinguish between two very
... of feminist engagements with this issue. The first, identified as *judic*
... seeks to deconstruct masculinised conceptions of identity as a model for
... justice and locate the politics of difference in the discursive play of imagined

possibilities in a theatre of volatile subject positions (exemplified by the work of Mouffe Young, and Flax). The second, identified as *resistance postmodernism*, locates the politics of difference not as the effect of rhetorical or textual strategies, but as the effect of social struggles which ground the meanings contested in such strategies in the materialities of everyday living (exemplified by the work of Benhabib, Cornell, and Grosz). Although the distinction between these feminist accounts of a politics of difference is overdrawn and even somewhat caricatured, it points up an important area of dispute about how difference (that is, the relation between 'self' and 'other') and its political (and ethical) import is to be understood (Braidotti, 1992). Echoing tensions in Nietzsche's writing, Diprose outlines the parameters of this dispute in terms of whether we are more likely to "find our-selves" by looking inwards in an autonomous project of creative self-fabrication, or by looking outwards to our effects and relations with others which configure our place in the world (1994, page 87).

The first of these approaches employs individualist theories of difference, or what Kruks has called "an epistemology of provenance" (1995, page 4), to fashion self-exploration as a political process in its own right while relying on an unspoken normative claim to the ethical equivalence of all 'subject positions' in this privatised polity. Collective claims to political agency and ethical considerability tend to be looked upon askance, as intrinsically 'antidifference' (for example, see Young, 1989). This leaves feminism as a political project precariously positioned by what Anderson calls the 'double gesture' of simultaneously asserting the theoretical universalism of decentered subjectivity whilst resorting to the practical lie of strategic essentialism to secure a space for women to identify common cause at all. Ironically, as she points out,

"the idea of subject-positions... precludes the possibility of an intersubjective perspective that would define the human subject not as purely autonomous and self-present, nor as a mere place on intersecting grids, but as constituted through difference in its ongoing relations to others" (1992, page 78).

It is the second of the feminist encounters with postmodern theories which is the more suggestive to me as a means of negotiating the impasse of individualism in reconstructions of ethical community. It centres on a notion of *diffierence in relation*, as intersubjectively constituted in the context of always/already existing configurations of self and community. In place of abstract or cognitive criteria, these always/already existing configurations of self and community are "defined by contingent and particular social attachments whose moral force consists partly in the fact that living by them is inseparable from understanding ourselves as the particular persons we are" (Friedman, 1989, page 278). This approach to ethical and political community shares poststructuralist suspicions of the liberal ambition of value homogeneity but remains committed to a practice of participatory communalism enacted through particular economic, political, scientific, and civic orderings which condition individual capacities and arenas for action. As a feminist enterprise, it represents an attempt to understand the discursive construction of 'woman' across multiple modalities of difference by adopting a problematic that can trace the connections between discursive practices and the

exploitative social orderings of meaning, being, and struggle which permit and encode them (hooks, 1990).

The ethical dimensions of this approach are best captured in Benhabib's distinction between *generalised* : ethical principles—of care, friendship, intimacy, solidarity, and empathy—which involve practical, though qualities of rationality and language in the theory of 'communicative action'. More recently, Kruks has articulated an important step towards a more situated and practical approach to under

"begins from the situation of an embodied and practically engaged self; from what human beings *do* in the world... so as to rediscover the totality of [her/his] practical bonds with others" (Kruks, 1995, pages 11-12).

Although this conception of a *materially* situated self has wider significance for the reconfiguration of ethical community, which I shall return to later in my consideration of environmental ethics, here I want to pursue two persistent themes in feminist ethical thinking with which it resonates most suggestively. These are the interconnected issues of corporeality (by which I mean both the finitude and embodiment of living being) and the praxis of care.

Feminist concerns with the material situatedness of social identity and of the particularity of sexed being have impelled a sustained consideration of the politics of embodiment and, more broadly, of what I have called the *corporeality* of living being. These concerns have centred on the specificities of women's experiences as (potential) childbearers, the objectification of women's bodies, and the cultural politics of the pejorative signification of 'woman' as animal, natural, carnal. This is difficult terrain for feminists, with the spectre of essentialism menacing any consideration of corporeal being in relation to gender and sexual identity. But there is a growing realisation that "to separate the feminine from female morphology is misguided theoretically and politically even in strategic contexts" (Gross, 1986, page 136). The concept of difference in relation requires a "theory of the flesh" (Moraga and Anzaldúa, 1981, page 23) to elaborate an understanding of individual, collective, and group being as situated in webs of connection that are 'practico-inert' as well as discursive, embodied as well as cognitive. Grosz's elaboration of a "corporeal feminism" (1989, 1994) provides perhaps the most sustained attempt to articulate such a "theory of the flesh". She builds on Irigaray's understanding of difference as being always inscribed upon the experiences of the sexed body:

"I want to go back to the natural material which makes up our bodies, in which our lives and environment are grounded... a latent materiality which our so-called human theories... move away from [and] progress through... with a language which forgets the matter it designates and through which it speaks" (Irigaray, 1986, quoted in Grosz, 1989, page 172).

Here, the body is considered not as the passive container of social being but as a living assemblage of biological materials and processes which both register and orient 'our senses of the world. Although always configured through particular social orders of meaning, technology, and practice, these corporeal properties are no less conditional of

the very capacities of cognition and communication that mark the abstracted ideals of individual autonomy and human distinctiveness. As Grosz goes on to suggest in her more recent work (1994) such an understanding of the body undermines the political notion of self-authorship and the privileged ethical status of humans as cognitive, communicative subjects.

A related theme in feminist ethics that is particularly pertinent to the elaboration of an intersubjective conception of the situated self is the praxis of care. This builds on the contention that feminisms can only move beyond "the impasse of (in)difference" (Tronto, 1993) by simultaneously articulating questions of 'who am I?', with those of 'who is she?' This ethical incarnation of 'difference in relation' derives from a number of impulses in feminist work other than philosophy, particularly from psychoanalytic feminism (Meyers, 1994). A major stimulus was the empirical work of psychologist Gilligan (1982) who reported a marked tendency for women to articulate more relational senses of self and stronger senses of responsibility for connected others than do men - what she called a 'different ethical voice' from that institutionalised in conventional ethics. The recognition and enacting of these relational senses of self and responsibility constitute what has become known as the 'feminist care ethic'. Although much debated, it centres on a concern with ethical praxis and the practical connectivities which secure the well-being of those least mobile and most vulnerable, *not* as discursive subject positions, but as mortal others-in-relation such as the hungry, the sick, and the abused (Lyndon, 1994).

This understanding of ethical agency and community recognises a bodily intentionality of human existence and social life that knits together multiple and apparently incommensurable collective identities, each of which is itself the outcome of a multiplicity of past and present praxes (Kruks, 1995, page 15). Although such an understanding primarily helps to substantiate an appreciation of the ineluctable embodiment of intersubjective being, it is restricted purely to human being disembedded from webs of connection with other life-forms and processes. It is here that environmental ethics promises to make an important contribution.

Environmental ethics: (re)considering others

"The multiplicity of living organisms retain, ultimately, their peculiar, if ephemeral, characters and essences but they are systemically integrated and mutually defining."

Callicott (1989, page III)

In contrast to much feminist work, environmentalists have invested considerable energies in trying to extend the ethical domain of the autonomous self, as a bearer of moral rights, beyond the human. This has taken shape in one of two ways. The first, which might be termed *moral extensionism* and is associated with long-standing concerns over animal rights, transports the liberal figure of the rights-bearing individual wholesale to a range of nonhuman creatures. These extensions are made either on the criterion of intelligence in the form of reasoning and linguistic capacities, which is

usually restricted to primates and cetaceous mammals, or of sentience, a more inclusive criterion centred on the capacity to suffer or experience pain, which covers all mammals with a central nervous system. Informed by new perspectives in animal biology and psychology, particularly primate cognition, this approach culminates in the proposal of a 'subject-of-life' criterion for extending ethical standing to all animate beings (Regan and Singer, 1989). Such approaches build on mainstream utilitarian or Kantian ethical arguments and are open to the critiques of liberal individualism rehearsed above (see Benton, 1993).

A second approach, broadly aligned with deep ecological perspectives and informed by Gaian organicism, has involved the elaboration of various notions of *expanded human consciousness* to encompass a recognition of our embeddedness in constitutive relations with the nonhuman world. These efforts do not restrict the extension of ethical standing to animate organisms but include vegetal and inanimate elements and processes under the collective term of *earth others* (Bigwood, 1993). This wider ethical compass frequently relies upon the evocation of a spiritual dimension to 'being in the world' which resonates uneasily with the intellectual register of the academy. Prominent examples of this approach include Mathews's concept of the 'ecological self' (1991), Naess's notion of 'self-actualisation' (1989), and Fox's idea of the 'transpersonal self' (1990). In a sustained critique of these approaches, Plumwood has identified such concepts with what she calls the 'imperialism of the self' (1993). As attempts to construct an intersubjective conception of ethical agency they are flawed by a colonising humanism which subsumes the ethical considerability of nonhuman organisms into the conception of human being, denying them subject status in their own right. This highlights a key dilemma for environmental ethics. Feminist difficulties with the privileged status of cognitive and linguistic competences in fashioning the ethical subject are amplified for environmentalists whose constituency consists of subjects without (intelligible) voices, a constituency of nonpersons more resolutely excluded from the status of ethical subjects than any human.

This dilemma has stimulated an important development in recent work on environmental ethics. Picking up Kruk's insistence on a materially situated, practically engaged self as the embodiment of an intersubjective understanding of ethical agency, this work has begun (re)exploring a dialogical understanding of relations between the self and the world centred on the corporeal immersion of humans in the biosphere. This conceptualisation of intersubjectivity recognises humans as

"beings thoroughly entwined with an extralinguistic world... [and that] to deny this entwinement is to bind ourselves to a quest for an abstract and empty sovereignty that destroys the world and is self-defeating" (Coles, 1993, page 231).

Like feminist evocations of a 'theory of the flesh', some of these explorations draw inspiration from traditions of dialectical reasoning, such as that of Adorno (Coles, 1993), and of phenomenology, particularly that of Merleau-Ponty (Abram, 1988). They simultaneously emphasise the corporeal embeddedness of cognitive processes in the

visceral dynamics of brain, eye, skin, etc, and the configuration of human well-being and interdependence with that of other living beings. Arguably it has been feminist environmentalists, particularly those writing from postcolonial perspectives (Mohanty et al, 1991), who have done most to transform these ideas into an ethical praxis in the form of a 'politicised ecological care ethic' (Donovan, 1993). This translates the recognition of webs of connectivity between the livelihood practices and cultural values of particularly situated human actors (collective and individual) and the life-habits and relationships of other biotic agents in to acknowledged responsibilities, both in the sense of caring *about* 'generalised others' and caring *for* 'concrete others' (Curtin, 1991; King, 1991). A good example is the global actor network DAWN (Development with Women working for a New Era) which, since 1984, has sought to articulate material connectivities between environmental, livelihood, and health issues and the centrality of 'third world' women in this nexus (Braidotti et al, 1994).

The feminist and environmentalist approaches outlined in this section are each ongoing and contested discourses which inform, and are informed by, a wide variety of political practices. My treatment of them has been necessarily highly selective. The main contributions which I would attribute to the particular threads of feminist and environmentalist ethics I have traced are their various attempts to substantiate a corporeal conception of the situatedness of ethical agency and the extralinguistic connectivities of ethical community. Moreover, they are suggestive of spatial imaginaries of ethical community which do not replicate the bimodal geographies of public-private morality. Equally, however, these approaches share shortcomings which are important in terms of my broader argument. Even amidst the talk of intersubjectivity, embodiment, and embeddedness the categories 'human' and 'nonhuman' remain unproblematic both in themselves and as an encoding of society and nature as discrete, if subsequently reconnected, terrains. Moreover, although the distinction between general and concrete others is an heuristic device which has no necessary spatial predisposition, feminist and environmentalist care ethics have tended in practice to map it simplistically onto the geographical binaries of distance-proximity, global-local, and outside-inside, for example, in the praxis of 'bioregionalism' (Cheney, 1989) and 'communities of place' (Friedman, 1989). In the next section of the paper I turn to consider the concept of *hybridity* as a means of disrupting the polarisation of 'society' and 'nature' and to begin to explore some alternative cartographies for a relational ethics.

Hybrid cartographies of ethical community

"Evidence is building of a need for a theory of 'difference' whose geometries, paradigms and logics breakout of binaries and nature/culture modes of any kind" (Haraway, 1991, page 129).

Bringing ideas of *difference in relation*, both in the discursive and in the corporeal sense, to bear on the question of political community has been most extensively explored in the work of Haraway and Latour in their elaboration of concepts of hybridity. Haraway's argument is that we 'cannot not want' something called humanity

because nobody is self-made, least of all humans (1992a, page 64). But in order to recuperate a progressive commitment to humanity as a moral community the dualisms associated with humanism have to be jettisoned. This requires a hybrid concept of community which disrupts the purification of culture and nature into distinct ontological zones, onto which the binary of 'human'-'nonhuman' is then mapped. Haraway's cyborg metaphor articulates a political vision which appreciates the instability of boundaries between human, animal, and machine and their discursive and technological malleability, particularly in the hands of corporate science (1985). Political agency and community emerge from this vision through 'webs of connection' between situated and partial knowing selves fashioned through 'shared conversations', and what she calls "semiotic-material technologies" which link meanings and bodies (1991, page 192). Ethical agency and community likewise emerge as the performance of multiple lived worlds, weaving threads of meaning and matter through and between these 'webs of connection'.

As with so many of Haraway's provocative ideas, what she means by semiotic-material technologies is hard to fix. Her favourite examples are prosthetics, genetics, and organ transplants in which particular codified knowledges become stabilised as technological artefacts which, in turn, are grafted into and mobilised by living beings. These examples tend to site the dilemmas of hybrid subjectivity, and the cyborg figure used to signify them, within an individuated being "a hybrid creature composed of organism and machine (1991, page 1). There is a tension, then, in Haraway's account of the status and configuration of her hybrid subject the cyborg.

It is not clear whether, as Kruks asks, these hybrid subjects stitch their own parts together, in which case they become more cohesive than Haraway wants to admit, or whether this 'stitching together' is better understood as an operation taking place from without (1995, page 9). If the first, then Haraway's hybrid subject falls back on account of political and ethical agency which privileges cognitive and discursive faculties in the constitution of 'knowing selves' (however partial or unfinished the project of self-fabrication). If the second, then it is not clear from Haraway's account just what it is that connects diverse knowing selves together other than the capacity for linguistic communication evoked in her notion of 'shared conversations'. In short, although Haraway's account of hybridity successfully disrupts the purification of nature and society and the relegation of 'nonhumans' to a world of objects, it is less helpful in trying to 'flesh out' the 'material' dimensions of the practices and technologies of connectivity that make the communicability of experience across difference, and hence the constitution of ethical community, possible. These dimensions require a closer scrutiny of overlapping life-practices and corporeal processes, for example those mediated by food, energy, disease, birth, and death, than Haraway has so far admitted.

In this context, I find Latour's account of hybridity, through the metaphor of the 'hybrid network', more suggestive for elaborating a relational understanding of ethical agency and community. The network metaphor places greater emphasis on the multiple agency of hybridity—the mobilisation of animate, mechanical, and discursive modalities of

and between differently configured actants. Such networks not only
given individual entities but shape the possibilities for individuality.
Latour is explicit about the implications of this interpretation of hybridity for
of ethical community. Hybrid networks, he argues, force us to

the objects that are no more the arbitrary stakes of [human] desire alone than they are
of our mental categories" (1993, page 117).

perspective understanding of hybridity articulated in the metaphor of networks
the opposition between objects and subjects prescribed by an ethics centred on
reason and its encoding in the purified domains of 'Nature' and 'Society'.
a multitude of mediators, what Latour calls 'nature-culture collectives', are
with raw materials made out of "poor humans and humble nonhumans"
It is these collectives which constitute the topography of political and
community, communities which are ever lengthening as larger and larger
nonhumans are enlisted by the technologies of science, governance, and
networks that are increasingly global in reach. But Latour insists that such
by no means comprehensive or systematic. They are "connected lines, not
points of view on networks that are by nature neither local nor global" (page
hybrid networks are conceived as occupying narrow lines of force that
pass with continuity from the local to the global, from the human to the
through partial and unstable orderings of numerous practices, instruments,
and bodies.

means unproblematic, Latour's notion of hybridity as networks of nature-
collectives seems to me breach the impasse of individualist ethics at a number of
First, it releases 'nature' and nonhuman beings from their relegation to the
with no ethical standing in the human pursuit of individual self-interest,
to the extension of this liberal conception of ethical agency to other
Second, it substantiates an intersubjective understanding of ethical agency and
by which the corporeal connectivities between differently constituted
be traced in particular material circumstances and specified cases. And
liberates the geographical imaginary of ethical community from the
spaces of the embodied individual, the local neighbourhood, and the
to trace the threads of ethical considerability through more dynamic,
performed spatial orderings of flow, mobility, and synthesis (see Shields,

illustrate these themes briefly through the example of food, which represents
the most pervasive corporeal mediators of hybrid communities spanning
related people, artefacts, biotic complexes, and practices (Lupton, 1996). As
remarked, "Food is a liminal substance... bridging... nature and culture, the
the natural, the outside and the inside" (1983, page 11). The transformation
food-production and food-consumption processes has involved the
of hybrids, through the genetic engineering of plants and animals, and the

pollution of biotic networks, through the release of synthetic chemical waste and the absorption of hormonal and chemical additives into the bodies and organs of producers and consumers of agrofood goods. The material and discursive economies of these hybrid networks connect the life practices of human food-consumers and food-producers with those of other animals, plants, and environments over considerable distances. The ethical connectivities between actants at one location in the network and those at other locations are no less intimate or immediate for the physical distance or lack of proximate knowledge involved. Figure I traces in a simplified way the corporeal contours of ethical community for one hybrid network constituted through the fluid geographies of milk.

The figure illustrates the transfigurations of milk in animal (including human) bodies, variously inscribed by hormonal, genetic, and chemical treatments, and in biophysical spaces, such as in the form of nitrate runoff into river catchment areas. It highlights the myriad ways in which the connectivities between people, variously situated in the social organisation of milk production and consumption, are fashioned in and through animals, habitats, and technologies, whose *presence is integral* to recognising ethical community. Such a recognition informs numerous ethical practices, for example those manifested in alternative food networks which enact more equitable relations between producers and consumers, based on the principles of 'fair trade' and more sustainable relations with other living constituents of the network through the adoption of 'organic' farming methods.

The example raised earlier of BSE represents another such hybrid network, centred this time on a 'prion' disease which has passed from sheep to cattle through infected animal feed and from cattle to humans through infected meat products (Lacey, 1994). The ethical (and political) implications of the BSE epidemic in Britain centre precisely on recognising the material properties of the BSE prion as a mobile constituent of a hybrid collective; an intricate network of corporeal relations between humans, animals, and technologies. In both cases, intimate ethical connections between people and places, bodies and meanings, sometimes over considerable distances, make sense only through an acknowledgement of the material properties of nature-culture hybrids such as milk and BSE.

Geographical directions for a relational ethics

"Modernity is changing the locus of belonging: our language of attachments limps suspiciously behind, doubting that our needs could ever find larger attachments".

M. Ignatieff (quoted in Corbridge, 1993, page 449).

In an effort to articulate an intersubjective conception of ethical agency and a relational understanding of ethical considerability I have identified corporeality and hybridity as key modalities for reconfiguring the cartographies of ethical community. As Keller has noted, "it is precisely in embodiment that the many are becoming one and the outer becoming the inner" (1990, page 236). Critically engaging with feminist and

environmentalist critiques of traditional ethical discourse I have highlighted three issues which need simultaneously to be considered in pursuing this project:

- (1) extending the body politic beyond the human subject;
- (2) grounding cognitive processes and rationalities as specifically embodied and practiced; and
- (3) displacing the fixed and bounded contours of ethical community.

This understanding of ethical community is relational in concept, insisting on the situatedness of individual and collective efforts to realise new ethical connections and codes and their emergence through the political process rather than some ideal, rational, abstraction. As Cornell has noted,

"the opportunity to participate in... political life requires more than liberalism's formal recognition of each of us as abstract subjects equal before the law. It depends on the achievement of the material and cultural conditions for participation" (1985, page 368).

This insistence on the situatedness of ethical practice and discourse recognises the entrenched contours of the sovereign individual and the nation-state as sites of material struggle and resistance rather than narrative play. For although state sovereignty affirms that we have our primary political identity as participants in a particular civic community, we retain a potential connection with 'humanity' through participation in broader international institutions (encoding both civic and human rights) (Walker, 1991, page 256). Similarly, Haraway's figure of the cyborg suggests new possibilities for mapping the individual in an era of the 'postorganic' embodiment of self in which knowledge projects such as genetic codification and recombinant DNA technologies breach the categorical cordons erected to distinguish humans from other animals, as well as between animal and plant species (1992b). No longer "a physical place to which one can go" (Haraway, 1992a, page 66), 'nature' emerges through notions of corporeality and hybridity as a staple figure of a relational ethics understood as a "sphere of judgement regarding the possibility and actuality of connections, arrangements, lineages, machines" (Grosz, 1994, page 197).

Recognising ethical communities as practically constructed and corporeally embedded, points towards a world of fragile heterogeneous networks in which equality (in the sense of an equivalence of being rather than a universal rational ideal) remains the common premise of emancipatory subjects or movements (Thrift, 1996; Whitt and Slack, 1994). The practical and discursive stability of such networks can only be realised through a rethinking of the language of attachment and the locus of belonging in ways which breach the implicit spatial encoding of ethical consciousness and performance to proximate 'others'. As Harvey has argued, the issues of spatial and temporal scale are central to the question of building new ethical communities because the political power to act, to decide upon socioecological projects and to regulate their unintended consequences, has always to be defined in relation to institutionalised scales (1993, page 41). Theoretical and practical efforts in this direction are most visibly underway in the

field of 'development studies ' (Corbridge, 1993) and in the political arenas of international governance. Nowhere is the urgency of such a rethinking more apparent than in the politics of so-called global environmental management in which the fate of the 'distant poor' and 'nonhumans' are cast in the shadow of the social institutions and practices of capital accumulation and material consumption led by advanced industrial countries concentrated in the 'north' (Cooper and Palmer, 1995). As Visvanathan (1991) has observed, in such a Cartesian consumerist world it is *self-restraint* rather than self-authorship that would seem to promise more viable spaces for new forms of ethical community.

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Day 2: WOMEN, CITY AND ENVIRONMENT
Friday 3rd July

- 9.30h.** Dina Vaiou (National Technical University of Athens)
"Rethinking feminist approaches to the urban environment".
- 10.30h.** Josepa Bru (University of Girona) *"Environmental conflicts and women's role in Spain"*
- 11.30h.** Coffee break.
- 12.00h.** Oriol Nel.lo (Autonomous University of Barcelona and director of the Institut d'Estudis Metropolitans de Barcelona) *"Urban dynamics in Metropolitan Barcelona. Ten questions and an environmental epilogue"*
- 13.00h.** Lunch.
- 14.30h.** Workshops on lectures and literature.
- 15.00h.** Instructions for the network of the next day.

Dina Vaiou

“Rethinking feminist approaches to the urban environment”.

Abstract

Over the past three decades "critical urban studies" have evolved both in their theoretical scope and in their empirical themes. The emphasis of the 1970s' "new urban theory" on structures led to a move away from positivism, but also to an almost inevitable general/global processes and abstract categories. In more recent analyses of urban restructuring production, accumulation of capital, global circulation and finance, public policies and property development have become prominent foci. Although the understanding of such processes is central to the study of the urban question, it has enabled certain things to be seen and hidden others, no less significant. Feminist approaches have shifted the content of well-established areas of research in urban studies, have raised new issues and have proposed new ways of studying and purposes of research. Women's experiences, decomposed by race, ethnicity, class and sexuality, are prioritised in the study of the urban, while urban space and time, life in cities, access and mobility, and more are exposed as gendered. Moreover, universal claims are put into question and, in a postmodern turn, the legitimacy of all forms of metatheory is challenged.

In my presentation, I propose to reflect on feminist approaches in critical urban studies.

I will discuss:

- (a) some central themes and analytical categories which structure the debates at various instances.
- (b) the "exclusions" resulting, at least in part, from such themes and categories; or whose experiences and priorities inform theory and guide empirical research.
- c) in the changing conceptual orientations, what is the relevance of space and place. This is inevitably going to be a "situated rethinking", shaped by place, time and intellectual traditions.

Key points for discussion

1. In your encounter with feminist approaches in geography and urban studies, what concepts have been critical (eg. gender, women's experiences, women's/men's life patterns, work, etc)?
2. To what extent do you think these concepts are determined (in their choice and content) by the academic and social environment in which you live and work?
3. Discuss whether these concepts exclude the experiences of others in the Erasmus group and in what ways?

Article

SIMONSEN, Kirsten & VAIYOU, Dina (1996) "Women's lives and the making of the city: experiences from 'North' and 'South' of Europe", *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, vol.20, n.3, pp.446-465.

Josepa Bru

“Environmental conflicts and women’s role in Spain”.

Abstract

The paper explores the gendered perception and experience of the impacts of industrial waste disposal in minority regions of Spain. Three case studies -Gibraleon, Bilbao la Vieja and Catalunya- demonstrate women's distinct experiences with an environmental problem that affects industrialized countries as a whole and which constitutes a significant form of social and territorial marginalization. In each case, the threat posed by industrial waste disposal leads to large-scale community movements in which women played a pivotal role. The significance and critical involvement of women in the social movements suggests the existence of a feminine model of environmental consciousness and action which, far from being limited to women, can serve as a model for the design of alternative, non/androcentric forms of addressing environmental problems.

Key points for discussion

1. In which sense could it be possible to affirm that the predominant type of environmental management is androcentric?
2. Which roles could be specific for women as environmental agents in developing countries and in urban areas?
3. Is there an explicit gendered discourse in the environmental policies of public administration? And in ecologic groups? In which sense?

Article

Brú-Bistuer, Josepa (1986) “Spanish women against industrial waste: a gender perspective on environmental grassroots movements”, in **Rocheleau, D.** (et al.) *Feminist Political Ecology*, London, Routledge, pp.105-124.

Oriol Nel.lo

“Urban dynamics in Metropolitan Barcelona. Ten questions and an environmental epilogue”.

Abstract

Over the last two decades, the urban conglomeration of Barcelona has undergone a profound transformation: whole sections of the city have been upgraded and renovated; the infrastructure has been improved and expanded; the traditional absolute predominance of industry has been undercut by the emergence of a large base of services; the city's external relations and image have been greatly improved. During the same period, the consolidation of the metropolitan phenomenon has made Barcelona the sixth largest urban area in the European Union.

The improvement is patent to any observer. In addition to being obviously wealthier, Barcelona today is a cleaner, more modern and functional city than the one which emerged from the era of General Franco's dictatorship. But, one may ask, what has been the social impact of these urban and economic changes? Are the inhabitants of Barcelona more educated or more ignorant than before? Do they enjoy greater or lesser choice when they set out to find a place to live? Do young people leave home earlier or later? Are income levels tending to converge or becoming ever more divergent? Do old people depend on their own resources, their families or on the state?

On the other hand, the changes that have occurred have also had an important impact on the environment. The consumption of natural resources -land, water and energy- has increased considerably. At the same time, the ways in which environmental issues - protected areas, waste and water treatment- are managed have also evolved. How far reaching are these changes? What are the associated costs and benefits? Are current trends likely to continue into the foreseeable future, and if so, will the consequences endanger the welfare of the population?

Article

Nel.lo, Oriol (1997) “Urban dynamics in Metropolitan Barcelona. Ten questions and an environmental epilogue” (manuscript).

Women's Lives and the Making of the City: Experiences from 'North' and 'South' of Europe

KIRSTEN SIMONSEN AND DINA VAIYOU

Introduction

In the mainstream of the theoretical development around the urban question, both in the peak period of the 'new urban theory' in the 1970s and in more recent analyses of urban restructuring, a certain bias in the choice of subjects and explanations can be observed. The emphasis of the former on structures led to a move away from positivism, but also to an almost inevitable focus on general/global processes and abstract categories. The same focus predominates also in the more recent formulations. Analysis and theorizing in this tradition of 'critical urban studies' focus on themes like production and consumption of commodities and services, on global circulation and finance, on accumulation of capital and the role of public policies, on the production of built environment and property development, on local politics and conflicts, and on the organization of public life and public space (see also Topalov, 1989). To be sure, the understanding of such processes is central to the study of urban development, but it has enabled certain 'things' to be seen and hidden others whose importance was (and is) no less significant. Their dominant explanatory status, however, raises two important, interrelated problems.

First, they demonstrate a lack of ability and will to grasp the social practices and the social lives of urban citizens and to understand them as relevant dimensions in urban development. The sum total of the efforts therefore gives the false impression that people and their everyday lives do not exist in cities or at least they do not matter for the understanding of urban development. Even though the structure/agency debate has taken place in urban studies for several years, people living their lives in the city are still not seen as agents of the urban structure.

Second, the dominant themes are based on the value of the adult male's activities and experiences of urban development and a corresponding devaluation of the activities and the experiences of women. This should be seen in relation to the theoretically and empirically well-established fact that women's experiences and everyday lives are different from men's and so is their use and perception of the urban environment.

During the last decades, problems along these lines have been raised in urban studies in different contexts, putting into question universal claims, but also, in their postmodernist turn, undermining the legitimacy of all forms of metatheory (see Harvey, 1992). The rise of urban movements, the influx of migrants in European cities, the social and spatial distribution of unemployment and 'new urban poverty' not only contributed to redefine 'the urban question' (at least in Europe), but gave rise to areas of research in

which cities have to be viewed as peopled and to ways of theorizing which take into account local specificities and difference (see, among many, Jackson, 1989; Gottdiener and Pickvance, 1991; Mingione, 1993; Castells, 1994).

Feminist approaches, on the other hand, have shifted the content of well-established areas of research in urban studies (such as, for example, restructuring and urban change, housing and gentrification), have raised new issues and have proposed new ways of studying and purposes of research. Women's experiences, decomposed by race, ethnicity, class and sexuality, are prioritized in the study of urban development, while urban space and time, life in cities, access and mobility, and more are exposed as gendered (see, among many, Wilson, 1991; Bondi, 1992; McDowell, 1993a; 1993b; Rose, 1993). Despite critiques and/or challenges, however, the study of global processes and structures is still dominant in urban studies and studying urban life often means studying living conditions rather than seeing women and men as agents in the making of the city.

Against this background, this article is forwarding an approach 'from below' which moves the emphasis towards a different level of analysis and begins its inquiries with women's lives and women's experiences. Such an emphasis on everyday practices and experiences forces us to take account of their permanence even when the 'objective' conditions of their existence undergo changes. It also obliges us to think about diversity even among 'similar locations' in social structure and perhaps to understand how such 'locations' are constructed and taken up by different individuals.

The starting point of the analysis is the life-histories of women situated in different contexts of urban development. Through life-histories, we attempt to link the analysis of changes in historical situations, social positions and the formation of individual destinies — a privileged way to proceed with regard to the structure-agency dialectics. Theoretically, this method is connected with the relationship between individual practices and socio-historical change. In this relation, the individual woman cannot be seen as a particular individual exclusively, but rather as a Sartrean 'universal singular'. According to this notion, ordinary people universalize, through their lives and their practices, the historical period they live through. They are singular instances of the 'universality of human history' (Sartre, 1985). This means that their meanings and their practices are currently produced and marked by the personal as well as the social history.

Even though we start from the lived realities of women's lives, the analysis does not remain on a micro-social level. The purpose is, by an insertion of alternative methodologies, categories and concepts of study, to contribute to a framework for understanding urban development which takes seriously into account agency and women's experiences. In order to think through these more general arguments, examples are drawn together from two historically and geographically very different contexts of urban development, that is from women's lives in parts of the cities of Athens and Copenhagen respectively.¹ Probably not all aspects of urban development will be thoroughly understood by such an approach, but it will constitute a revision of the dominant structural explanations, a framework for understanding how space and time are made up in urban areas and what this means for individuals.

In what follows, a brief background on the study areas is given, followed by examples of women's life-histories in the different urban contexts and identification and exploration of empirical categories of women's lives drawn from qualitative material which contains a significant number of life-histories and interviews, systematic

¹ The Athens analysis is based on life-history interviews and a survey in the study area, conducted in 1988-9. The full analysis can be found in Dina Vaiou (1990) *Gender relations in urban development. An alternative framework of analysis in Athens, Greece*, unpublished PhD dissertation, University of London. The Copenhagen analysis is based on life-history interviews conducted in 1990. The full analysis is published as a case in Kirsten Simonsen (1993) *Byteori og hverdagspraksis* (Urban theory and everyday practice). Akademisk Forlag, København.

observation, local histories, etc. An important issue at stake in this comparative analysis is the tension between the specificity and the universality of women's experiences. These empirical sections constitute the background of a more general formulation of analytical concepts, an exploration of their content in the different contexts of study, and a discussion of their role in the formation of urban space and urban development.

The study areas²

The purpose of this part is to trace some of the features of the neighbourhoods in the cities of Athens and Copenhagen — which constitute the different contexts of women's lives and experiences, elaborated in the subsequent analytical parts. In these partial stories of urban development, inscribed in the broader developments in the two cities, we examine modes of housing production and acquisition, levels of provision of local employment, social infrastructure and amenities, social composition and patterns of everyday life.

In Athens

The neighbourhood where the life-history interviews presented here were conducted is part of the municipality of Helioupolis, one of the 57 municipalities of Greater Athens, on the eastern part of the urban agglomeration. The municipality is a primarily residential area, with a population of about 73,000 (1991 census), although the general pattern in Greek cities — and in Greater Athens in particular — is one of mixed land-use. Helioupolis started to develop in the interwar period, during a housing crisis when land speculation boomed. At that time, large areas at the urban periphery were subdivided into small plots and sold by landowners or developers to individual buyers (for a detailed discussion of the process see Mavridou, 1987; Leontidou, 1989).

In the booming market for urban plots of the 1920s and 1930s the area was advertised as a bargain for low-income people. Unlike most parts of Greater Athens (and most Greek cities), a town plan was drafted for Helioupolis in 1925, before development started, and plots were sold according to its provisions. However, the plan, along with the infrastructure and public facilities mentioned in it, was not fully implemented until the late 1960s. The plan, with its features of a garden-suburb-to-be, promoted a reference to the living standards of the bourgeoisie. But their actual non-existence kept prices low and made Helioupolis a plausible choice for low-income groups who aspired to home ownership or had to meet their housing needs through their own means. This then remote and underserved area gained its advantages for those groups from its very disadvantages: from being remote and underserved, therefore cheap and affordable (see also Vaitou, 1992).

After the second world war, and especially in the 1950s, property transactions regained their prewar intensity. Demand for cheap plots was high, as a lot of people fled from rural areas to avoid persecution or repression by the rightist victors of the Civil War. They tended to seek housing in the most remote areas and Helioupolis at that time was still one of them. The street and square network legally existed, defining exact boundaries between privately owned plots and public spaces. But it was only partially laid and remained unpeaved until as late as 1970. Public transport covered only a limited part of the municipality and was gradually extended as road construction proceeded and stream beds were bridged. Schools were to be found at a long distance, in the municipality of Athens, and local shops offered only rudimentary provisions.

2. The quantitative material referred to in this part is drawn for Copenhagen, from *København 1989* (Districts of Copenhagen) (1989) published by Københavns statistiske kontor and for Athens, from *National Statistical Service Census data* (various dates) and Panazidis, N. and K. Karamali (1984) *Sex and composition of population in the capital, EKKE, Athens* (in Greek).

Living conditions within private homes were equally difficult. For many years there was no running water or electricity in the houses. Oil lamps and coal braziers were used for lighting, cooking and heating. Even when the power network was completed in the late 1950s, many houses were not connected to it because a high fee was charged for it. Water had to be carried from wells or bought in barrels from entrepreneurs.

Around the end of the 1960s, plot exploitation became more intense and construction more attractive for commercial investment (for a discussion of the process in Greater Athens, see Manouvalou, 1980). Property values have since started to increase — with important effects on urban growth and on the social composition of the population in the area. Apartment blocks started to replace old family houses, the construction of new roads increased accessibility to other parts of the metropolitan area where jobs or recreation are concentrated, and middle-income groups (mainly professionals and two-earner households) are now highly represented in several parts of the municipality.

According to official statistics, 47% of people over 15 years of age are economically active. Women's participation rate is 25% which is lower than that of Greater Athens (30%) and of Greece (35%). Men's participation rate is at national average (72%) which is slightly higher than Greater Athens (69%). Almost two-thirds of the residents are salary or wage earners, unlike Greater Athens and the country as a whole where they are not as highly represented. One in five people work in industry and about 15% in trade. Almost half of the economically active women (46%) and one quarter of economically active men (25%) work in the services.

Half of the local employment (around 2000 out of 4000 formal jobs) is in manufacturing, predominantly in small workshops whose average size is 2.5 workers per firm. In the retail trade, where 40% of local jobs are found, the size of firm is even smaller, with fewer than two employees per firm. These are mostly family enterprises, which depend on family labour for their survival. Three supermarkets, all part of food retailing chains, are larger in scale.

The picture emerging from field work in the area is considerably different, at least as far as women's employment is concerned. A lot of women supplement or exclusively earn the family income through informal and undeclared activities. If these are included, only 27% of the women over 15 are not in paid work (housewives, pensioners and students).

The neighbourhood in which the life-history interviews were carried out is a part of Helioupolis which was initially destined for middle and upper income groups. However, its large plots were bought jointly by more than one buyer who shared the cost and subdivided land more than was provided for in the plan. Thus it came to be inhabited by more lower income groups than other parts of the municipality. A lot of the old family houses can still be seen, streets are wide but follow an odd pattern, ill-adapted to the mountain slope on which it is located, and owner occupation is high.

In Copenhagen

The district of Bispebjerg is an area located just north-west of the central parts of Copenhagen and with a population of about 45,000. It is a primarily residential area, even if, with about 25,000 workplaces, it has more industry than most of the districts in the municipality of Copenhagen. Socially, the district is quite mixed, but with a predominance of working class and lower middle class residents. The average income level is a little lower than for the municipality of Copenhagen as a whole.

Most of the district is part of quite a big cluster of areas which were bought by the city of Copenhagen and incorporated into the municipality at the beginning of this century. In the period 1920–50, after the building crisis and the housing needs of the first world war, these areas were open to the possibility of making considerable progress as regards both planning qualities and social ideas of residential development — which has since been difficult to surpass. It was a period of moderate modernism in architecture, emphasizing light and air between buildings and introducing open balconies in

connection with the apartments (see also Rasmussen, 1974; Jensen, 1981; Lemberg, 1985). The district contains both apartment blocks and single family houses and a fair amount of park area as well. However, 70% of the housing is in apartment blocks, most of them built in the 1930s and 1940s. These apartments are often quite small, predominantly comprising 2 or 3 rooms, but they are of reasonable quality including all basic amenities. Today, the tenure types are a mixture of social housing, private renting, owner occupation and cooperative housing. Altogether, this means that the district is a part of Copenhagen in which it is still possible to acquire an apartment of a reasonable standard for a relatively moderate rent.

The greatest industrial area in Bispebjerg district was designated in the 1930s for manufacturing industry, but has gradually changed to light industries and services. Additionally, public services account for a considerable amount of local employment with a municipal hospital as the greatest single employer. However, there is a great amount of exchange of labour with other parts of Greater Copenhagen — which means that a large part of the residents work in other parts of the urban region. Of the residents in and 36% in public services. The economic participation rate is a little lower than the Copenhagen average; in the age-group between 15 and 67 it is 77% for men and 68% for women respectively. Thus it also reflects the relatively high female participation rate in institutions which in the municipality of Copenhagen, is 48% for children aged 0-2 years and 84% for 3-5 year olds.

The neighbourhood in which the life-history interviews were carried out can be considered a quite typical one of the district. It is a neighbourhood of a little more than 1000 residents, consisting of five-storey apartment blocks dating from the middle of the 1930s. It is built in nine parallel blocks with small lawns and leisure areas between the blocks. The tenure form is a mixture of private renting, family ownership and cooperative ownership with a predominance of the latter since, around 1960, the residents formed cooperatives and made collective purchases in two thirds of the blocks.

Women's life-histories

In the following, a life-history from each of the two cases is presented. The two life-histories have been chosen, not as 'typical' or 'representative' of women's lives in the neighbourhoods, but rather because, in their content, they illustrate a range of the issues that have come up in the field-work.

In Copenhagen

Jytte is (at the time of the interview) 50 years old and works as a clerical worker on a newspaper. She is married to a foreman in electronics and they have three grown up children and seven grand children aged between 1 to 8 years.

Both Jytte and her husband have grown up in Copenhagen. You have to go one more generation back to find migrants to the city in their families. Jytte remembers her childhood as at the same time a tough one, because her father was drinking and only temporarily minding a job, and as a happy one because her mother was a very strong woman. She kept her family together in a small apartment and supported her husband and five children by doing many different kinds of jobs. She was, among other things, working as a cleaner, as a worker in a tobacco factory and for many years as a service worker in a travel agency.

Her childhood neighbourhood, Jytte characterizes as a very nice working class neighbourhood. Nobody had much money, but the social milieu was very close even if many households had their share of problems — for instance with heavy drinking

amongst men. The women seemed to have a way of handling the problems, not letting them ruin the family lives: 'we rather laughed at those poor men who couldn't manage their lives'.

Jytte left school and started to work at the age of 15. She originally wanted to train as a children's nurse, but she was too young to start the training and before she managed to do so, became pregnant and got married at 18 years old.

Family life Shortly after their marriage, Jytte and her husband moved into an apartment in the neighbourhood in which they still live. At first, they only managed to get a one-room apartment, but after a couple of years they moved to a three-room ground floor apartment which they later enlarged a bit by annexing a room in the cellar.

Jytte had three children relatively close to each other in age and she was at home as a housewife for the first eleven years of their lives. She herself gives as the grounds for that her own childhood experiences, with her mother being compelled to work away from home, sometimes even having more than one job at a time. But Jytte never felt isolated as a housewife. Partly because most of the women in the neighbourhood were housewives at the time and partly because she regularly joined courses in, for instance, typing, language, maths and gymnastics by which she encountered a broad social network: 'Even if I was a housewife for many years, I have always been together with people outside my own little nuclear family'.

Family life and the neighbourhood, then, are closely connected in the case of Jytte. First, the basis of a neighbourhood attachment and a local social network was established in her years as a housewife. 'It was like a milieu of a small village', she says. The women knew each other from the small shops in the area, from meeting together with their children in the leisure areas and from taking care of each other's children, and the young families joined each other in the evenings as well since none of them had much money for entertainment. Second, Jytte and her husband have many relatives living close to their residence and Jytte feels closely connected to her kin. Knowing that she can drop by them, just for an hour or two, means a lot to her. That is one of the reasons why she wouldn't think about moving from the neighbourhood.

Opposed to the stability of family life and the residential trajectory, Jytte's working life has been more unsteady and she herself thinks that her different work places have come about quite accidentally — mostly through her social networks. Returning to the labour market, she first got a part-time job in a local shoe shop in which she could adjust her working hours to the family needs. After a couple of years, she went full-time in a clerical job and since then she has been working in similar kinds of jobs. In the second of these, Jytte took an interest in union work, became a shop steward and participated in a quite successful organization of the clerical workers in the firm. And then she got fired. This resulted in an unsteady period as regards workplaces. In the beginning, she got different jobs as a temp mediated by the union, then she worked in a music institution and now she has ended up in advertising on a newspaper. She is quite happy with this job in which she, again, has become a shop steward.

Generally, Jytte, in her systems of meaning and her practices, is strongly influenced by the conditions of her adolescence. One can see the urban working class milieu — economically, physically and culturally — as the general dimension of these and a strong mother as a unique one. These combined experiences formed the basis of a family life-strategy in which the principal aim has been to create the possibility of choice, not so much in relation to consumer goods, but to a social security which can stand up to unforeseen events. Further, it provided Jytte with a woman's consciousness as well as a class consciousness; she herself talks about having got 'a feeling of self-respect' as an early ballast.

In spite of this consciousness, Jytte chose to be a housewife for eleven years, that is, for a great part of her life she lived out a rather traditional gender role. Besides the

specific reasons given by Jytte herself, we think the explanation should be found in the general conditions of the period. Jytte was married in 1958 which was in the peak period of home-working housewives in Denmark (see also Simonsen, 1990). Being a housewife was taken for granted in that period and most of the women in the neighbourhood were so. By the time Jytte rejoined the labour market, the female participation rate was strongly increasing and having paid work had become a given activity for women. This means that Jytte's adult life as regards identity has been demarcated into two different epochs. In the first ten years of her marriage, the family and the neighbourhood life were her main points of identification. Since then, paid work has gradually acquired a stronger position, so much so that she became a shop steward as well, and today she says: 'I would die if I had to be at home every day'.

In Athens

Anna is (at the time of interview) 41 years old. She is married and has two sons, aged 20 and 17. She is an industrial homemaker, sewing leather clothes. She works in a two-room flat that she turned into a 'workplace' when she and her family moved to a new, bigger flat they bought in a nearby apartment building. The flat where she works is part of a three storey building where she and her two younger sisters own a flat each. Their mother had bought the plot of land with her dowry money and built a small shack which was later upgraded, as the family's finances improved. Anna has lived all her life in the neighbourhood. She remembers the area when it was still scarcely built and full of cultivated vegetable gardens. She and her sisters used to sit out in the sun to get warm because their house was only rudimentary.

Anna's mother was a homemaker too (sewing shirts) and worked all her life (until 1984) to support the family, because her husband was disabled early on in their marriage. She also helped her three daughters with their children and family. When Anna finished primary school (at the age of 12), her mother asked her whether she wanted to continue at the school or start working like her. School seemed like a luxury at the time, because they were very poor. And anyway she used to do the easy parts of her mother's piecework and help with the house and the two younger sisters after school.

Family life and paid work Anna started as a homemaker at the age of 12. But she was greatly oppressed by her father who was always at home. So, when she met her husband-to-be, at the age of 15, she decided to marry him in order to get away from her father. At first she had to work for both of them, because her husband had to serve in the army; but after that, he found a job in a leather workshop where he still works, making suitcases. According to Anna, 'he works for pocket money. We get by with what I earn'.

Anna has been doing paid work all her life. She has tried several jobs, for some periods two jobs at the same time, as self-employed, as a machinist in a clothing factory, as a cosmetics dealer. She was fired from the clothing factory when she became a union activist and resorted to homeworking again, this time with leather clothes. The new job is demanding: leather is heavy, smelly (particularly during the winter when the windows are kept closed) and not easily manageable, so, at the end of the day, Anna's neck and back ache, she has migraines and has developed arthritis. Moreover, she is very worried because she has no insurance or social security and feels extremely isolated. 'When I go out, I feel like I have come from another planet, I have no contact with the world. I don't get to know what is going on'.

The basis of *neighbourhood attachment* was established in her early years as a homemaker, through the efforts to upgrade the house and get established. Links with other women in the neighbourhood then developed over the long years of common efforts for housing acquisition and improvement, and of coping with conditions of everyday survival in the area. The fact that her family also live in the area means a lot to her and is a constant source of exchanges.

Anna likes socializing with people but feels that she has never had the opportunity to develop friendships and contacts. However, she meets regularly with women friends in the same neighbourhood. She also likes to work for the community and was one of the first to become involved in organizing homeworkers on a neighbourhood basis. Her main contacts are with her sisters and mother who still live in the same house where she now works. Her sisters do the shopping for her, but they leave their small kids with her, since she is always 'at home'.

On top of a very heavy work schedule (she works more than 12 hours per day for most of the year), she has to do a lot of housework. Her elder son used to help before going into the army, 'as if he were a girl'. But the younger son and her husband do not do anything in this respect. 'They hate dishes, they believe that I create the chores'. Both sons and her husband often come to help her with her piecework at peak periods (August to March). She feels she does everything under stress, 'I feel like a machine, not like a human being. I have lost my smile, my, how shall I put it, my sweetness as a woman... And my husband complains. I am not a woman any longer'.

Anna says she does everything for her children, so that more choices are open to them, and complains about the local public schools which are not properly organized. 'I run the machine and I continuously worry how I can help them in life. They are my pride'. She is conscious of the little choice she's had in her life and worries a lot about the prospects of her sons. She is proud that she has achieved the goals she set for herself, but she feels she has undertaken too many responsibilities; her husband does not take any initiative, he has to be told to do anything.

Anna's *working and family life* are tightly interwoven, since she does not 'go out to work'. This creates some controversy in her systems of meaning and her practices, as well as in the attitudes of others towards her job: on the one hand, she is a working class woman and the main income earner in her family and apparently has an important say in family decisions; on the other hand, her paid work is 'hidden' in the home and conflated, in time and space, with family work and household chores. In line with the attitudes of people in her social class, she does not assert her power in the family, nor does she expect much involvement in housework on the part of her husband and sons and even finds her elder son's 'help' exceptional. She is proud of her achievements through her work, as she is of those of her mother; she is also conscious of the material and emotional price she's had to pay to keep it up — which is part of her consciousness as a woman and as a working class person in this particular city.

How women's lives are formed

The lives of women are formed in a field of interaction between the unique and the universal, between the specific human relations which they have been involved in during their life course, and the social conditions dominating their generation and their locality — and the two life-histories presented here are a case in point. The next empirical step, that is, the analysis as a whole of the groups of life-histories in the two cities, reveals a number of empirical categories cutting across different individuals in both urban cases. We have identified as important such categories as 'the family', 'paid work' and 'social networks' and now examine their respective content in Athens and Copenhagen.

The family

In both urban cases, the family is a key category to the understanding of the mode of life. Family life and, in particular, raising children is given priority in everyday life as well as in the life course. Children occupy a central position with regard to family priorities and a lot of effort and resources are devoted to them. In the Athens case, the well-being and the future of the children are invoked by many women as a legitimization of their own

decisions, e.g. to go out to work or not, to take on a second job, to participate or not in community activities. In Copenhagen, the situation is somewhat different since caring for children is a responsibility of the welfare state as well as families. 'Having a family' exists as a 'quasi natural' value in the mode of life, even if the formal marriage itself is of no vital importance any more and part of the women live in one-parent households. In day-to-day terms this means that children's institutions and organized activities become key elements in the routines of everyday life.

Besides the focus on children and the nuclear family, women in both cases refer to a wider notion of family, to a close kinship network. These networks, however, have very different ways of working and different functions in the two cases, as we can deduce from a number of life-histories.³ In the Athens case, the kinship networks derive mainly from the woman's rather than the man's kin and they include important economic and social functions. The family makes income available to its members when they are in need; its networks and acquaintances are often the major mechanism of finding a job; quite often paid and unpaid work is secured (or required) in the small family businesses that predominate in the urban economy; it renders services to children, to the sick, the old and the disabled; it secures housing, but also wealth, for its members through traditions of owner occupation and property development. This last function of the family is a major element in the location decisions of new households.

Involvement of the family in all these areas of the economy and society make it an important category in understanding urban development. At the same time, it is essential for social integration and perhaps for the economic emancipation of its members, and is often the sole alternative to a poorly developed welfare system (see also Battio and Villa, 1993). But it also entails a lot of conditions for the assistance and services rendered. For it is not families but specific members within them who undertake different functions and thus contribute to reproduce divisions of labour and power.

In the Copenhagen case, many of the families do have kin in, or in close proximity to, the neighbourhood and they see them or talk to them quite frequently. The kinship networks are also the basis of a provision of mutual care and assistance from one generation to another. The most widespread kind of service is child care, but also other activities, such as helping elderly parents or giving room to young couples without a residence, have been mentioned. It is important to keep in mind, however, that this provision of services is supplementary to the provisions of the welfare state — they are made by choice, not by force. The main function of the families is not an economic one, but one of social integration and cultural exchange between generations.

Paid work

Another category of importance in the lives of the women in both cases is participation in paid work. In the Copenhagen case, paid work comes up as an important producer of identity in the life-histories of most of the women. Some of the women did work as housewives for a shorter or longer period of their lives, but most of them have been in wage-labour for the main part of their adult existence. And today, women's education and participation in the labour force are an integral part of the mode of life and this is considered to be best for the families since both men and women need the stimulus from the outside: 'I think it is good that each of you have some experiences which you can talk about and agree or disagree about.'

Paid work, then, is a major element of structuration in the everyday life, in the life course and in the personal identity of both male and female family members. Not only as a means of obtaining a salary, but as an activity playing a part in the system of meaning of the individual. But which are the qualities of the work activities making them an

3. See note 1.

important dimension of the women's lives and identity? Women have different kinds of jobs, even if 'something about people or something in an office' (Bech-Jørgensen, 1985) are the dominant ones, but all of the women emphasized personal interaction with other people as the most important dimension of their work, applying to customers, to clients and in particular to colleagues. Around the latter group a sense of collectivity, or more precisely a sense of being part of a 'we', is developed as a work-based contribution to identity formation.

Not surprisingly, however, there is change between generations in relation to paid work, since the period under investigation is one of dramatic change of female participation in the labour market in Denmark. The older generations had a greater inclination to become a housewife or to adjust paid work in time and space to the family needs. Today, women find their predominantly full-time jobs all over the city and having one has become a natural part of life. Women's paid work has become a city-wide activity and an irreversible part of modern female identity.

In the Athens case as well, paid work is an important part of women's considerations in most of the interviews, always closely connected with the family. For those women who do not have paid work, there is great awareness of the impact of this fact on their position in the family and on how other members of their family evaluate and treat them. Although they acknowledge the usually 'forced choice' of either quitting a job or never starting one, they still see the reasons for their decision as legitimate: the upbringing of children in the absence of public care and in an area where job opportunities are minimal. But when the children grow up and do not need full-time care, their mothers are also older and have great difficulty finding a job or adapting to one after years of domestic life.

A large part of the women who are classified as 'housewives' or 'economically inactive', in national statistics and large scale surveys, do paid work for most of their adult lives, jobs that are not registered, not always regular and quite often poorly paid: cleaners, child-minders, homeworkers, teachers of private courses at home (for languages, music, etc.) and helpers in family businesses are some examples. Women's paid work is essential to most households but when it is informal it becomes an activity with controversial meanings for individual women. Some of those interviewed would not classify themselves as 'economically active', as they tend to consider their job as temporary, to overcome household difficulties, or to help with a major project (usually buying or upgrading a house or contributing to children's education). However, most women do consider their paid job not only as an important contribution to family income, but also as an important part of their personal identity, for which they may sometimes have had to fight against family prejudices.

Generation changes are very important in Athens as in Copenhagen, both in terms of general trends and in terms of individual attitudes. Female participation in the labour market has dramatically increased in the postwar years, as has women's level of education. Young women in the interviews could not envisage themselves as 'housewives', with or without children. But at a time of relatively high unemployment, their prospects are not very bright.

Social networks

Family and kinship constitute an important part of the social networks of the women in both cities. This family orientation is, however, partly counterbalanced by the process of individualization in modern life. This process can be described as a tendency of the individual to be increasingly integrated into non-familial activities, organizations and institutions — a tendency which has proved to be stronger in Copenhagen than in Athens. Examples are paid work, union activities and leisure activities such as education, sports, etc.

In the lives of women, this contradiction is manifest as a *normative duality*. On the one hand, family life and family activities are at the centre of life; on the other, women

emphasize having their own activities and their own friends and relationships outside the family circle. While these networks are spatially differentiated all over the urban area, another part of social life evolves around *local networks* — whose existence and evolution is constitutive of and dependent on processes of urban development.

In both cases, probably partly due to the tenure forms, the neighbourhoods appear to have infrequent moves of residence and a large part of the local population living in the area for long periods of time. In this situation, local networks have developed among people who know each other from walking the same streets, frequenting local shops, going to the neighbourhood schools, etc.

Thus, the Copenhagen women emphasize that everyone knows everyone else in the neighbourhood, maybe not by name, but at least by face. They know each other from the streets and the lawns between the blocks, or from participation in different kinds of local activities and associations. These networks form a basis of local attachment, but they are not necessarily very close: 'Everybody living on this staircase, we talk together, but we don't camp on each other's doorstep'. Thus, we are talking about relatively weak ties, kept under control with regard to obligations and intrusions of privacy, but anyway making the neighbourhood safe and friendly, turning it into an identifiable 'private world'.

In the Athens case, such networks seem to be of an even stronger character since at least the older women, due to the lack of facilities and services, have shared the difficulties of surviving in the years when the neighbourhood was starting to be settled. When women start a family, their local networks are primarily based on children and their activities. Many of them reported in the interviews that they have been isolated from their individual networks of friends and activities since having children, whereas their partners continue to pursue their own interests. Now schools, sports grounds, playgrounds and other places for children's leisure activities are meeting places for parents, particularly for mothers (boys' sports perhaps excluded). So are parents (in reality 'mothers') associations which are heavily involved in the management of schools and in organizing activities which become 'events' in the area.

When the children grow up and do not need to be escorted to their activities, their mothers are left with a 'gap' in their everyday lives. But most of them feel that their habits have changed with marriage and motherhood, and few get involved in local politics or community action when some of their time is freed. Some participate in women's groups exclusively or in addition to their involvement in other types of local organizing (e.g. local chapters of political parties and citizens groups, associations of people originating from different parts of the country, sports clubs, parents associations).

Thus, even if women have been at the heart of the local networks in both of the cases considered, some differences in their development during the study period can be identified. In the Copenhagen area, the basis of the networks has been changing in accordance with the changes in *gender relations*. Up to about 1960, the local social networks were primarily based on children and their mothers who, in that period, were in many cases housewives. They were established in connection with activities such as child care, common activities with children, shopping and laundry, and this was supported by the existence of a range of small local shops in the neighbourhood.

With the demise of the small shops, the disappearance of the housewives and the children gone to their institutions, these kinds of activity diminish and so does the daytime liveliness of the neighbourhood. In this situation, women's networks become less locally bound, but other kinds of contact appear as a new basis for networks and these are much more likely to involve *both men and women*. Still related to children, they are parents organizations focused around collective consumption, such as day nurseries, kindergartens, schools and children's leisure activities. Besides that, they are based on more or less institutionalized common activities such as participation in housing associations or use of the semi-public spaces of the neighbourhood for daily recreation, summer parties, etc.

In Athens, some change has occurred as well. Being tied to the home and children used to be more common among the older generation of women. But the involvement of women in public life still has to be squeezed among the burden of paid work and 'family obligations', it always entails a personal cost and often involves overcoming strong resentment from husbands/partners, fathers and parents-in-law. As one woman summarized the situation: 'My husband does not object to my going out so long as he is not inconvenienced. I have paid dearly for my political activism'.

Another source of change is the growth and change of the structure of the population in the study area. Increasing replacement of old family houses by commercial apartment buildings, improvement of road connections with other parts of the urban agglomeration, proximity to the mountain and relatively low prices for a 'good' living environment have attracted different groups of residents whose affiliation with the area and participation in local networks are not very strong.

Two conclusions can be drawn from this collection of empirical material. First, the identification of categories of life implies a universality in women's experiences of urban life. Both case studies identified the same major categories structuring the life-histories of women. Second, however, the filling of the categories underlines their basic contextual character. What are at first sight identical categories, assume different forms in different contexts with regard to specific content.

... and the making of the city

In the introduction, we connected the approach to urban studies that we are forwarding here with the structure/agency debate, that is, we proposed a conception of the urban as at the same time a product of global processes and of local, specific social practices. In this view, the urban is peopled and people experience space and develop practices in a multitude of ways which link the local with the global. Indeed, quite often experiences and understandings which inform social practices are constructed on a far larger scale than what we happen to define as the urban at a particular moment (Massey 1991), and different social groups and individuals are placed in very distinct ways in this local/global tension, thereby drawing on different experiences of space and time.

In our project, the problem of translation or *mediation* between objective and subjective, collectivity and individuals or structure and agency is clearly a central one. This question has imbued the debate in geography as well as other social sciences for several years (see, for example, Thrift, 1983) and can be argued to put time and space into the middle of the theoretical efforts (Simonsen, 1991). However, many attempts to develop mediating categories between structure and agents slip into a one-way street: they are better equipped to explain the mediation from structure to agents than to open up to the opposite movement. One well-known example is Bourdieu's notion of 'habitus' which, in brief, designates cognitive, motivating structures and dispositions created in the encounter between social history and the life-histories of groups and individuals, and incorporated into the strategies involved in particular practices (Bourdieu 1977, 1990). In this way, only one side of what Giddens (1979, 1984) designated as the 'duality of structure' is captured.

What we are trying to do here is to start 'from below'; that is, starting out from the specific categories identified in women's life-histories and social practices, to develop conceptual dimensions by the help of which urban development and women's roles in the making of the city can be approached and interpreted. To this end we discuss in what follows 'life strategies', 'gender relations' and 'the constitution of place' as a first approximation of such conceptual dimensions.

These are in many ways overlapping categories through which we introduce the significance of time and space. Time and space are often examined as part of a dualism in

which time is identified with movement and progress, while space is identified with stasis and reaction. In traditions of western thought this dualism is tied up with the radical polarization into two genders, whereby time (history, progress, transcendence) is coded masculine while space (stasis, passivity, immanence) is coded feminine (Harding, 1986; Massey, 1994). In our discussion we try to avoid dualistic distinctions and argue on the basis of networks of social relations which make up the particularity of the urban and the experience of it. Such an approach is, by definition, gendered, and views the urban as such.

Life strategies

The first conceptual dimension to be developed is the role of women's life strategies in the making of the city. However, since the concept of strategy is a difficult and disputed one, with individualistic and teleological connotations, it is necessary to specify the way in which we forward it in the present connection.

A first approximation can be related to the discussion of the last decade about household work strategies (see, for example, Pahl 1984, 1985; Redclift and Mingione, 1985). Based on the recognition of the different forms of work going on in our societies, these studies identify various work strategies, including formal work as well as informal work and self-provisioning. In this connection, the concept of household work strategies is employed to refer to 'distinctive practices adopted by members of a household collectively or individually to get work done' (Pahl, 1985: 251), making strategy the household's 'particular mix of practices' (Pahl, 1984: 20) in relation to work. Such a conception of strategies, emphasizing social practices, can be extended from only having its basis in work to also embracing other kinds of practices, thus leading to a concept of individual and household life strategies.

However, two problems still remain: one refers to the *unit* of action and the other to *structural constraints* (see also Crow, 1989). At first sight, the term 'household strategy' conjures up an image of a homogeneous entity acting as one social agent. But households are not homogeneous entities; on the contrary, they are agglomerations of individuals whose interests may or may not coincide at any particular moment in time and whose actions are regulated by internal power relations. The solution to this problem, however, is not to relegate the importance of the social relations of the household to individual and common strategies, but to conceive of both individual and household life strategies as negotiated realities.

In the same way, structural constraints should not be seen as external to agents and life strategies. The concept of strategy is connected to the concept of *future*, to the kind of future that individuals and households expect and try to create for themselves. However, following Bourdieu (1977, 1990), the agents do not act in relation to any future whatsoever, but in relation to a future which is connected with an estimation of the available possibilities; a system of objective potentialities, immediately inscribed in the present through the schemes of perception of the agents themselves. In this sense, the concept of strategy is closely connected to Bourdieu's main concept — the concept of *habitus* — which is a product of history as well as biography, an internalization of externalities, not in a mechanical way, but rather as a limitation on the thinkable. The non-possible is excluded from consciousness as non-thinkable.

Taking into account these considerations, we can conceive of women's life strategies as sets of particular priorities and practices which are more or less consciously directed towards their future lives, but which at the same time are a product of social history as well as their individual life histories. These strategies will often take the form of coping or sequential small decisions, but, still, these are governed by general priorities of life.

In the referred cases, we have seen how family orientation is a key category to understand the lives of the women, particularly as regards the priority given to the raising of children both in everyday life and during the life course. Due to the different contexts

in question, this priority results in different practices and strategies as regards the social organization of services and care. In Athens through the organization of services for children, for the sick, the old and the disabled in the framework of the extended families, in Copenhagen through the organization of everyday life and participatory activity in relation to children's institutions and organized activities.

These modes of organization should also be seen in close connection to the women's strategies in relation to paid work. In Copenhagen, the provision and level of the services of collective consumption is due to the way in which women's participation in the labour market has become an integral part of modern female identity, and it has helped to make women's paid work a full-time and city-wide activity. In Athens, where paid work is an important part of women's lives as well, it is closely connected to the family, partly because of the dominance of small family businesses in the urban economy, and partly because poor public care requires work strategies to be adaptive to family needs and the provision of services. In both cases, then, the urban labour market is both a precondition and an outcome of women's work strategies.

Further, the family orientation which was identified in both cases (and in Athens also the work strategies) has strongly influenced the location decisions and the residential trajectories of the households. In both cases, but partly for different reasons, the presence of, or access to, family members has been important in the choice of residence. Of course, the urban housing market and the distribution of tenure types are of great determinance as well, but examples from both cases have shown how life strategies on their side influence these dimensions by the way in which the families acquire their housing and seek to form their immediate environment in accordance with their changing needs.

These examples are drawn to show how women's life strategies have to be considered an integral dimension of the making of the city; through the social organization around private and public caring services, through the creation of and participation in the labour market, and through residential trajectories and actions on the housing market resulting in the production and reproduction of particular urban neighbourhoods. This recognition of human life strategies as a dimension of the understanding of urban development has been almost totally absent from 'critical urban studies'. One exception has come from works about urban poverty (for example Roberts, 1991; 1994) where household coping strategies and their possibilities to increase the control of their environment are discussed. Both these studies and the results that have been presented in this place, however, underline an important issue as to the theoretical employment of this conceptual dimension. As well as strategies of change, for instance in relation to social mobility or environmental improvement, life strategies can take the form of coping with and adaptation to experienced preconditions. This means that the result of life strategies as a social factor can be reproduction as well as change of the urban structure.

Gender relations

The second conceptual dimension we have worked with is the role of gender relations in the making of the city and the ways in which urban development shapes gender identities. Gender, as we have already noted, has been absent from the dominant debates and explanations of the making of cities, but has for the past twenty years been persistently introduced by feminist scholars (see, for early examples, the special issues of *Architectural Design*, 1975; *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 1978; *Amipode*, 1984).

This introduction of gender, or rather gender relations, into the understanding of urban development has been a long process of debate, of reformulations and of changing emphasis and priorities, that has largely remained among feminists in different fields of study (e.g. geography, sociology, anthropology, architecture and planning, history) but has not permeated dominant debates. Two interrelated developments in the general

argument are important to our discussion in this paper: on the one hand the evolution from an initial concern 'to make women visible' — what Harding (1986) calls, in a broader context 'feminist empiricism' — to a focus upon the gendered nature of our modes of theorizing and of the concepts with which we work (for a recent review of the debate, see McDowell, 1993; see also Johnson, 1994); and on the other hand, a shift of emphasis from a concern with the impact of spatial variation on the construction of gender relations to an analysis of the impact of gender on the construction of space and place (for an elaboration, see Maasey, 1994; Wilson, 1991).

Our argument is situated in this debate. From a starting point which is common to most feminist analysis, i.e. women's experiences in the cities, we have tried to develop our empirical and analytical categories in order to formulate a framework for understanding urban development. The terms of women's involvement in family arrangements and in divisions of labour and power, in paid work and in the evolution of the urban labour market, in the shaping of everyday life in particular places and in the city — which we discuss through our empirical categories — are an important part of the analysis and explanation of the shaping of those spheres. They are also important components in the construction of gender identities and gender relations. These relations evolve over time and in particular women's experiences, as well as in the societies in which they live.

Quite often, however, 'tradition' and 'modernity' are not separate and counterposed phases, but coexistent elements in the continuous process of negotiation and redefinition that is involved in the construction of gender relations and gender identities (Ginatempo, 1993). In this process, the making of the city, as a context and part of everyday life, plays an important role, not only in terms of the spatial organization and spatial division of labour it includes, but also in terms of the symbolic meanings and messages it confers (Wilson, 1991).

The life histories that we present in this paper refer to women of roughly the same age and class background, but are part of different development histories and traditions of women's movements. The family is a common priority in both cases and an important locus of the negotiation of gender relations and of the formation of gender identities. However, the terms of negotiation within families between women and men, women and men, young and old, are in many ways dissimilar, leading to a plurality of models and new articulations of divisions of labour within the family and in the labour market. An important parameter has to do with the different systems of welfare: the well-developed Danish system contributed to gradually change the balance between public and private provision of services and opened up a large number of jobs, mostly taken by women. The logic of monetary 'assistance to families' which prevailed in the Greek system has left many such services to be accommodated within the family, practically meaning by women, whose labour remained classified as love and care for the family, i.e. not 'real' work.

Developments in the urban labour market and women's increased presence in paid work in our Copenhagen case are also linked with deep changes in women's roles, and identities, and at the same time a reconstitution of the function and meaning of neighbourhood. In our Athens case, women's paid work is probably equally widespread, but in many ways 'hidden' (in family enterprises, in informal activities, etc.). This discrepancy between experience and appearance has contributed to sustain women's abstinence from paid work as a status symbol for men for much longer than women's experience and everyday practices could justify (see also Piselli, 1993). It has also determined the pace and character of changes in gender identities and gender relations.

In the first period of neighbourhood formation in both our cases, everyday life in those parts of the urban area developed around a broadly accepted division of labour between women-homemakers and men-breadwinners. This has been as much a choice as an internalized constraint on the part of women. Despite differences, the type of urban

development prevalent at the time in either case could not be sustained without this symbolic and actual division which determined to a great extent what it meant to be male or female in the particular time and places. In the process of urban development, gender attributed symbolic meanings to places, to their use and to the activities taking place in them.

When the neighbourhoods we discuss became fully integrated in the metropolitan context of Copenhagen and Athens respectively, women's possibilities of participation in the public sphere (including paid work, political activity, entertainment, etc.) broadened. As a result, important redefinitions of women's (and men's) identities and of gender relations have taken place. However, women's bridging of public/private dichotomies, seems to be a point of departure in the Copenhagen case; it forms part, both actually and symbolically, of women's experiences who are in a position to claim its further modification to accommodate changing priorities (an example here is the discussion about the hours of work). The same process looks more like a point of arrival in the Athens case where the experience of involvement in the public sphere is still to become a consolidated normality (for a similar discussion, see Ginatempo, 1993).

The examples that we have drawn together here illustrate the reciprocal relation between gender and the making of cities or parts of them. In the process of urban development, gender relations and identities are continuously renegotiated and redefined and so is the shape of the urban environment of which they form a part. The importance of local traditions is also highlighted in our discussion and therefore the different meanings of this conceptual dimension in different contexts. What is perhaps less evident from the paper, but quite clear from our material, is that redefinition and renegotiation can be a process of coping and adaptation as much as a process of radical change. And this is particularly important from the point of view of women who have to cope with what they seek to change while struggling to change it.

Constitution of place

The last and, to some extent, also the summarizing conceptual dimension which we want to develop is the constitution of place. That is, how urban space is continuously formed and modified by the spatial practices of the inhabitants and how this is a gendered process as well. Again, however, we are dealing with a concept that has been the object of a comprehensive discussion and therefore some conceptual clarification is needed.

It has been common to comprehend places as localities, 'sites' or frameworks in which social practices take place. Social actions are thought to be conditioned by the environment (physical, social and cultural) and they can in turn influence the place; but places are basically considered bounded and fixed. They are units of *being* instead of *becoming*. Contrary to that, we prefer to conceive of places as spatially structured social realities which are continuously constituted in the interaction between personal meanings and interactive practices on the one hand, and 'larger scale' institutional practices in which people are involved in their daily routines on the other. This indicates how social practices and personal histories become constituents of places and active contributors to their production, reproduction or transformation.

This conception of place is congruent with the approach forwarded by Paasi (1986; 1991) in his work on the constitution of regional identity. He emphasizes the role of history in the constitution of regions. The region is comprehended as a socio-cultural and historical process including a development of territorial, symbolic and institutional organization, and a resulting constitution as an entity in the regional system and the social consciousness of society. During this process a region becomes an established entity which is acknowledged in different spheres of social action and consciousness and which is continually reproduced or changed through individual and institutional practices.

In this way, the concept of place basically becomes a dynamic one. Places are formed out of particular sets of social relations which interact at particular locations, and they are

dynamic and unfixed because the social relations out of which they are constructed are themselves dynamic and changing (Massey, 1994). Place identity, then, is constructed through social interrelations going on partly in the area in question and partly widely beyond its boundaries. In the present cases, for instance, it is shown how changes in gender relations are changing the very conditions of the the construction of the 'places'.

The constitution of place, then, is a dynamic social process in which spatial practices and meanings, as they are constituted in the life-histories of the citizens, interact with the institutional spatialities of the urban labour market, housing market, planning accomplishments, etc. In the urban space, this would result in a complex interweaving of places produced by groups differing over the lines of class, life-cycle, gender, ethnicity and sexuality.

In the two cases, good examples can be drawn to illustrate this process of constitution of place. Both neighbourhoods had, at the time of study, a history of a good fifty years. In both cases it can be illustrated historically how the agents in a new area make their own place out of it, and in both cases this was originally the work of women. In the Athens case, the very poor provision of basic amenities and collective consumption for many years of the existence of the neighbourhood laid a big burden on the women. These shared experiences of survival on their side, however, formed the basis of local women's networks both inside and outside the families just to get on with caring for children and old people, or to deal with transport, with water supply, etc. Networking very much contributed to the identity of the neighbourhood. Also in the Copenhagen case, the place identity was constituted by the home-working housewives. They did their work in relation to child-care, in relation to local shopping, and through common activities with or without children, constructing a place identity which, later on, has been reproduced through other kinds of activities with rather different gender compositions.

Another process of place constitution is related to the housing market — to the different ways in which people acquire a home. In Athens we have seen how people used to buy a plot of land, build a small shack and later upgrade it as the family's finances improved. This process has also acted as a way of securing housing to the next generation, and it has often been closely connected to strategies of paid work, as for instance in Anna's case where she turned the old flat into a 'workplace' when she had the opportunity to move to a new and better one. In parts of the Copenhagen district, a corresponding stability in housing has been achieved through different strategies. Groups of people in the neighbourhood organized themselves and bought their apartment blocks on a cooperative basis and, when their housing needs changed with the size of the families, they did not move to the suburbs, like many others, but shifted inside the blocks to a bigger apartment or knocked two apartments into one, thus shaping a flexibility in local housing which originally did not exist.

The result in both cases, then, is the constitution of a neighbourhood containing a relatively stable residential population, a place identity and a cultural exchange between generations, but all the time in interaction with other parts of the city. The processes realized in these places are, however, only a few of the ones that can be experienced in the constitution of urban space and place. Let us for comparison consider a quite different residential process — namely, the one of 'gentrification' which has been rather thoroughly described in recent urban literature (see, for example, Smith and Williams, 1986; Hammett, 1991; Bondi, 1992). In this case, generally speaking, the residential choice is not based on economic grounds, social networks or cultural meaning, but on historical, cultural and architectural knowledge. The groups in question 'adopt' or 'invent' a place identity, they establish themselves in it and work to perfect it, and subsequently it is rendered part of their personal identity. As in the cases presented here, this process also has a gender dimension. It is related to breakdowns in patriarchal family relations and the housing of singles, two-income professional couples and sexual minorities (Markusen, 1981; Rose, 1984; Smith, 1987).

The processes of residential location and construction of place referred to by these examples are of course not primarily a question of choice. People find themselves in prestructured urban spaces and their choices are restricted in all kinds of ways. But they are not passive economic or cultural dopes. Their ways of coping, priorities and life-strategies contribute to the constitution of places and thereby affect the production, reproduction or transformation of urban space.

Concluding considerations

What we have been aiming at in the above discussion is to produce a representation of urban space which in its content is both *peopled and gendered*. Women and family life strategies, gender relations and the constitution of place, as a dynamic social process involving the spatial practices and meanings of citizens, are conceptual dimensions which incorporate women and men living their lives in the city as agents of urban structure. They are also categories implicating the way in which urban space is constituted and experienced in quite different ways by women and men. Our understanding of urban space, then, comes close to the one of Lefebvre (1968) who saw it as situated between what he calls the 'close order' (that of relations of individuals in bigger or smaller groups) and the 'distant order' of society, regulated by big and powerful institutions, legal codes and signifying entities. In this interpretation, the urban becomes a translation or a *mediation* between structure and agency, a spatio-temporal mediation which is two-sided and which comes into operation through, among others, the categories of life-strategies, gender relations and constitution of place.

In the analysis of the making of the city that we have forwarded in this paper, women's experiences have been a starting point. This deliberate choice has helped us shift our emphasis to social agents and bring into the discussion of urban development the idea that urban space is peopled and gendered. This shift of emphasis helps to problematize approaches that look exclusively at accumulation and/or industrial restructuring, consumption, production of built environments — approaches which explain away local social practices by reference to global processes. Our argument is not that such considerations are irrelevant in urban studies. Indeed, our analysis includes such elements (e.g. when we discuss paid work or the acquisition of housing). What we argue is rather that exclusive emphasis on them is a problem.

Moreover, such approaches often claim to be gender-neutral. But, as we have argued, they reflect and are part of male-biased ways of thinking and express implicitly men's lives and patterns of activity. That is one reason why we argue for a start from women's lives and experiences when we talk about gender. In the long run, however, a gendered lives and experiences when we talk about gender. In the long run, however, a gendered approach should include the experiences and practices of both genders — which would mean taking men as gendered individuals as well. Some of the concepts of the recent debate would then need reconsideration in the light of gender specificity.

Our move from the life histories of individual women, to analytical categories derived from them, to a formulation of more general, mediating concepts has permitted us to 'see' certain things about urban development while deprivatizing others. Most notably, it has permitted us to 'see' the complex ways in which places are constituted through the practices of individuals and groups. Such practices are inscribed in, and restricted by, broader social structures. In their turn, they can challenge and modify those structures or reproduce and cope with them. In addition, social practices are to a great extent determined by gender relations and gender identities — which in turn are formed and reshaped in the process.

Drawing on material from two quite different urban contexts, Copenhagen and Athens, has permitted us to explore the tension between specificity and universality in women's experiences, as well as the diverse content of our conceptual categories and

their shifting relative importance. As a result, we have been forced to consider the meaning of the categories in different contexts. In this way, the categories have helped grasp the particularity of place and experience and at the same time abstract from them. To what extent our experiences and results will work out in a broader context, of course, remains an open question.

Another open question has to do with our approach and its relation to debates in urban studies: namely to what extent what we are arguing here can be considered an 'addition' or an 'alternative'. On the one hand, gender and agency cannot be brought into the analysis by mere addition: starting our endeavours from women's practices does lead to a different understanding of urban structure and urban development and taking gender seriously produces a different analysis and reshuffles priorities. On the other hand, we would not abandon explanations based on global processes. In this context, we would like to think of our approach as a 're-vision' to the hegemonic discourse and as a contribution to the endeavour to make the understanding of cities both peopled and gendered.

Kirsten Simonsen, Roskilde University, PO Box 260, DK-4000 Roskilde, Denmark, and Dina Vaitou, National Technical University of Athens, 42 Patission Street, 10682 Athens, Greece.

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SPANISH WOMEN AGAINST INDUSTRIAL WASTE

A gender perspective on environmental grassroots movements

Josepa Bri-Bistuer

(Translation from Spanish by Moya Hallstein and Annette Ramos)

This chapter explores the gendered perception and experience of the impacts of industrial waste disposal in minority regions of Spain. Three case studies demonstrate women's distinct experiences with an environmental problem that affects industrialized countries as a whole and which constitutes a significant form of social and territorial marginalization. In each case, the threat posed by industrial waste disposal led to large-scale community movements in which women played a pivotal role that has been systematically ignored by the mass media and the "official chronicle of events."

Gibraleon, a small town in the Province of Huelva on the southwest coast of Spain, is the site of the first case study. With a population approaching 10,000 inhabitants,¹ Gibraleon is located 15 kilometers (about 9 miles) from the provincial capital of Huelva where one of the most important chemical-industrial complexes on the Iberian Peninsula is located. This facility poses very serious regional contamination problems, especially for the surrounding communities.²

Late in 1987 the Environmental Agency of the Autonomous Regional Government of Andalusia proposed a hazardous waste disposal site on a Gibraleon farm. This marked the onset of community activism against the discriminatory treatment of the inhabitants of Gibraleon. The farm site was chosen because an extension of the railroad line passes through it, thus providing adequate access to the area for unloading industrial by-products. The community response was initiated in 1988 and lasted until May 1989 when they succeeded in preventing the waste site from being located in their community and the project was canceled. There were almost two years of conflict, including a whole year of continuous community resistance with several very difficult situations the affected population will find hard to forget.

The second case study comes from Bilbao, the capital of the Basque region on the northern coast of Spain.³ The study area includes the neighborhoods of Old Bilbao and San Francisco, both located in the old city center on the slope of Mount Mirivilla, with a combined population of

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approximately 9,700 inhabitants. These two communities are typical of many historical, yet decaying, inner-city neighborhoods which have an increasing tendency toward high rates of unemployment, racial segregation, drug abuse, and a disproportionately large senior-citizen population.

The women in these two communities mobilized a local social movement after industrial waste - accumulated illegally in an abandoned mine in Mount Mirivilla - spontaneously caught fire during the fall and winter of 1989. Due to the quantity of accumulated by-products and their high flammability, it was extremely difficult to contain and completely extinguish the fire. This prolonged combustion of noxious chemicals resulted in an entire month of toxic emissions produced by the burning of PCBs, cyanide, and pesticides, among other substances.¹

The third case study examines the community opposition efforts against a government waste disposal plan in four small towns of Catalonia, on the northeast coast of Spain. The neighboring towns of Solivella, Sarraí, Pla de Santa Maria, and Rocafort de Queralt are situated within a radius of just a few kilometers of each other and have a combined population of almost 4,000. Although they are clearly rural communities, these four towns are closely connected to the coastal urban-industrial complex through a network of highways which extends from the metropolitan area of Barcelona to Tarragona, the center of the Catalan petrochemical industry.

When the regional government - the *Generalitat* of Catalonia² - made public its proposal for a "Waste Management Plan" in Catalonia, which included an incinerator and a large-scale industrial by-product disposal site primarily for chemical waste from the Tarragona area, members of these communities, especially women, reacted with strong unified opposition. Their efforts lasted from January through September of 1990, at which time the government announced its decision to abandon the proposed Waste Management Plan.

HYPOTHESIS AND METHODOLOGY

Through the comparison of three gendered community opposition movements experiencing a similar threat to local integrity and quality of life under different conditions of setting and circumstance, two hypotheses can be developed about the relationship between women and the environment.³ The first is that due to their gender-specific roles and distinct investment in "their" community, women have a unique perception of the environment, what constitutes their environment, how it is constructed, and how it affects quality of life, especially in terms of healthcare and family well-being. Second, because of these gendered experiences of community and environment, women participate in community activism and social movements in ways that are gender-specific and directly correlate with the roles and functions of gender in society.

This study involved a combination of field research and information gathering techniques, the most substantive of which were the comprehensive, in-depth interviews with sixty-four women who had been active participants in these community movements. The combination of open dialogue with a

standard questionnaire allowed for the comparison of results without relying entirely on standard survey techniques, which would not have been adequate for the nature of this study. Additional information was collected through consulting technical documentation pertaining to each case, analyzing information published in newspapers, magazines, bulletins, posters, and through key informant interviews with people who have had technical, political, or social responsibilities in each case.

The women interviewed were contacted through the leaders of each social movement. This was the only way to conduct the interviews with the necessary degree of trust while also avoiding potential jealousies. Despite the lack of randomness of this selection process, the participating groups of women from the different locations were a representative cross section of the activist women in each community.

THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN LOCAL SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

Through the analysis of these three case studies it is apparent that the role and involvement of women and their influence in social movements of this nature should be examined from at least three angles: investigation of these women as significant leaders, recognition of their active membership in the community, and exploration of the energy, commitment, and spirit they bring to their community struggles for change and their daily strategies of resistance.

In Catalonia, the majority of the women involved were over 40 years old and had completed a primary level of education. In Bilbao, the women's level of education was the same, but their age ranged evenly from about 25 to older than 40. In Gibraltar, most women were between 25 and 40 and had completed middle school. Catalonia was the only case in which a small percentage of the women had a university education. In all three case studies, a high percentage of the women stated that they were housewives, married with children - more than two thirds in Gibraltar, almost half in Bilbao, and more than one third in Catalonia.

Gibraltar

From the beginning, the women of Gibraltar incorporated unique strategies of resistance and struggle into their daily lives. Perhaps the most significant was their unprecedented, constant presence on the street, clearly indicating the exceptional nature of the situation during almost two years of conflict. The existing gendered networks, relations, and uses of spaces became the venues through which women diffused new information and devised new strategies.

At noon each day, the women met at the gates of city hall to share ideas and discuss the progress of their opposition. They would come alone or with their youngest children and stay until they had to go prepare the evening meal. The women would often bring their domestic work to the streets, frequently sewing, knitting or cleaning vegetables while taking care of their



Plate 5.1 Women of Gibralfaro bang pots in the streets in protest against the planned hazardous waste disposal site on a nearby farm

Source: M. J. Florencio (1991) *Gibraltar: From a Jewish Seville: Impugnata Sacra*

children. In the afternoon, the whole family – women, men, and children of all ages – marched through the streets to the central plaza. At night, from ten to midnight, the women went to the windows or roofs of their homes to strike pots and pans in protest at and rejection of the waste disposal site. Women also played a decisive role in the coordination of a central office, which was created to facilitate and organize community opposition. The responsibilities the women undertook multiplied and became increasingly diverse as the movement evolved. These included daily contact with the local radio stations and newspapers to inform them of new developments in their efforts, writing press releases, and organizing public events to disseminate information.

Women also brought invaluable strength and support to members of the movement during the most difficult periods of opposition which culminated in several confrontations with the police. It was the women who visited those who had been arrested and informed their families, attended the trials, and kept in touch with attorneys. Under such precarious, yet critical, circumstances the women kept the community united and maintained peaceful relations with local officials.⁷

Three women formed a musical group to motivate and educate the community with their music. Through the creation and performance of their popular songs, they shared stories of community resistance to the waste disposal site and inspired the community in their efforts. Their songs reflect the popular perception of the struggle and also provide an innovative history of the movement. Through this record of important events, the creation and



Plate 5.2 Neighbors of Old Bilbao demonstrate in front of city hall and display a Basque language placard announcing the dangers of flammable waste dumps in a nearby abandoned mine

Source: *Correo Español del Pueblo Vasco* newspaper, November 11, 1989

destruction of characters in the struggle, and the portrayal of popular perceptions, these songs have become an authentic locally based mythology of the conflict.

This use of popular song is particularly interesting in that it reflects a gendered strategy of resistance and provocation through the expression of values, images and relations directly linked with women's culture and gender roles in Gibralfaro. The women varied their musical forms throughout the year according to the season, using Christmas canons, the brass band sounds of the carnivals, and Easter songs. In this way they were able to link the development of the conflict and its popular perception directly to the life of the community.

Bilbao

The community response and the role of civil disobedience in Bilbao was completely different from that in the other case studies. The spontaneous blaze of the industrial waste was perceived as one more affront in a long line of difficult and conflictive incidents, rather than an isolated occurrence. Aside from the health and environmental risks imposed on the community, people understood the event not as an accident, but as one more consequence of the process of marginalization in their neighborhoods.

In a situation like this, women in the community are already engaged in daily struggles for the preservation of their quality of life in the face of

poverty, marginality, unemployment, and the drugs trade. They know what it means to attempt to defend their families and to bring dignity to their cherished neighborhood under difficult and oppressive conditions. In this context, the involvement of women in the community movement was inherent in the nature of the struggle; women's roles and investment in the community, and their gendered sense of responsibility for their community. They felt they were fulfilling their responsibilities as women, mothers, and housewives.

Much of the strength, direction, and organization of this social movement came from women in the community, most of whom were members of the Old Bilbao Neighborhood Association; nine of its fourteen board members and the president were women. Most of the women had joined the organization before the conflict and successfully rescued it from a state of neglect. Through their use of the neighborhood association as the vehicle for community opposition, it has become the stronghold of Bilbao's struggle against the growing degradation of their neighborhoods. The women were effective in contacting people and inspiring their involvement through persistent telephone contact and an effective information network in the local bars and stores. Today the neighborhood association maintains this leadership role. The women involved in the organization manage it as they would their homes, with responsibility, affection, and absolute dedication. Without the constraints of a regular work schedule, they are able and willing to do anything at a moment's notice, even forgoing weekends and vacations, for the benefit of their community.

Catalonia

Unlike the situation in Bilbao, the communities in Catalonia are all rural and enjoy a decent quality of life. This is clearly evident in the commitment to preservation and continuity of the rural landscape and environment demonstrated by the women interviewed. Although the distinction between rural and urban is increasingly difficult to establish in this highly cohesive region, the dichotomy between country and city remains fundamental to both individual and community identification with place and their emotional attachments. As that distinction is increasingly blurred with the national restructuring of regions to serve specific functions, many inhabitants of rural areas experience a sense of insecurity and threat from urban encroachment. Regardless of how much the authorities and certain intellectual quarters promote the necessity of territorial solidarity, rural communities consider the imposition of a waste disposal site to be a genuine act of aggression.⁸ They are unwilling to bear the potentially negative impact on their quality of life from the by-products generated in urban-industrial areas.

The women in Catalonia reacted to this threat to their quality of life by assuming a role as guardians of the continuity of the landscape and the rural milieu for future generations. They became involved both for personal reasons and because as women they felt it was their responsibility to preserve a decent quality of life for their communities. The decision on the part of the women involved to act in defense of their families' well-being and the



Fig. 5.3 A group of Catalan women protest the proposed industrial waste disposal site at Castellbisbal in the Barcelona metropolitan area

Source: *Age* newspaper, March 1, 1990

quality of their home environment was difficult. Their commitment to the social movement would imply some initial instability and adjustment for their families which could be particularly hard on their children.

Perhaps one of the strongest threads of solidarity among the Catalan women came from their shared confictive and even contradictory experience of fulfilling a responsibility to their community while at the same time feeling that they were neglecting their children who felt insecure and abandoned as a result of their mothers' new activism. If the gender division of involvement in and commitment to this social movement, given all it entailed in terms of community activities and constant availability, had been different, the children might not have been so aware of the situation. They became conscious of it because of their mothers' increased involvement compared with their fathers'. As a result of their involvement, women also ceased to fulfill their traditional roles of filtering problems and cushioning family

Table 5.1 Women's average ranking of impact/damage from waste dumping

Site	Bilbao	Catalonia	Gibraltar
Environment	9	9	9
Health	10	9	10
Economy	6	8	8

Note: Importance ranked 1-10

conflict. Subsequently, through the nonconformist attitudes of their mothers, children experienced a sense of being unsheltered. They also saw themselves indirectly implicated in a situation of civil disobedience they were incapable of comprehending. This predicament disrupted their sense of order, which until then, they had considered as the only possible one.

Despite the difficulties their children had to face due to the involvement of their mothers in the community opposition, not one of the women interviewed had any doubt about joining the social movement, nor did they have any regrets later. Their involvement was simply something that had to be done and no one else was going to do it for them.

THE INTERVIEW RESULTS

Women's perceptions of the impact on local environments, health, and economies

On a scale of 1 to 10 the women from each community were asked to rank the magnitude of local environmental, health, and economic problems (Table 5.1). In all three case studies, health was considered the highest priority followed by the environment and the economy.

Agreement on this gradation shows not only in the middle values, but also in the number of abstentions: there are practically none when health or the environment are being considered, but when referring to the economy they make up two thirds of those interviewed in Bilbao, and about a third of those interviewed in Gibraltar and Catalonia did not even rank the economy. It is clear, therefore, that health risks constitute the most important and clearest threat when it comes to the perception of the problem.

The results in Gibraltar reflect the feeling among women that the waste disposal site introduced a destructive element in an area that until then had been protected from degradation, unlike other areas of the province. This is a region that has traditionally had a relatively prosperous agricultural economy which has continued to flourish and maintain its integrity in the face of urban and industrial encroachment. The proposed waste disposal site threatened to end a positive situation perceived as exceptional, at least in the context of the metropolitan area of Huelva.

Although the interview samples are small, age plays a significant role in women's perception of the threat to their community's health, economy, and environment. While the concern for health is an absolute priority for women over forty, the younger women often emphasized the environment. For example, in Catalonia the largest sample group - the older women gave

Table 5.2 Catalonia. Women's reasons for participating in protests

Reasons	First reason	%	Second reason	%
Family health	11	35	5	16
Community health	10	32	8	26
Environmental protection	1	3	7	23

Table 5.3 Gibraltar. Women's reasons for participating in protests

Reasons	First reason	%	Second reason	%
Family health	5	23	5	23
Community health	6	27	8	36
Environmental protection	2	9	6	27

median scores of 10 to health and 9 to the environment whereas the younger women weighted the two the same at 9. The youngest group also equally valued the environment and health.

Perceptions of the extent of the problem

The women were asked about the first image that came to their mind when they thought of their perception of the problem. The most prevalent response in Bilbao was that the problem had occurred there because of Bilbao's location in "the middle of nowhere." This seems to be indicative of feelings and experiences of isolation characteristic of marginalized communities, such as this neighborhood in Bilbao. In Catalonia - even though almost one third of the women did not know how to respond - a recurring answer was that "the problem was an example of the inadequate environmental policies of the Regional Autonomous Government (*Generalitat de Catalunya*)."¹⁰ Contrary to what occurred in Bilbao, this answer illustrates a globalized perception of the problem and its essentially political nature. The women from Gibraltar - although again almost one third abstained from answering - overwhelmingly responded to "the need to halt the project to avoid the risk of similar initiatives or problems occurring in the entire area." This attitude seems to confirm a sense of the importance of maintaining high environmental quality, especially in an already seriously threatened province and metropolitan area.

Motivations for women's involvement in community activism

The women were asked to prioritize the motivating factors for their involvement in the community opposition movements in terms of the protection of family and community health, and protection of the environment; and

Table 5.4 Women's attitudes and feelings during the conflict

Attitudes	Bilbao	%	Catalonia	%	Gibraltar	%
Personal autonomy	0	0	1	3	5	23
Enthusiasm	1	9	10	32	7	32
Useful to community	7	64	21	68	18	82

the reaction to an externally imposed threat, or a sense of endangerment of their community and quality of life.

Concerns about family and community health and environmental quality were unanimous, rendering the remaining categories insignificant. In Catalonia (Table 5.2) the preservation of family and community health was the primary motivation for two thirds of the women. Similarly, health was most important to 50 percent of the women in Gibraltar (Table 5.3). Community health, however, took precedence over family health, which speaks for the community character of the problem experienced.

In all three case studies environmental protection was given little importance as a first motivating factor. It was most significant for only 9 percent of the women in Gibraltar and 3 percent of the women in Catalonia. As the second motivation, however, it was important for 27 percent of the women in Gibraltar and 23 percent of the women in Catalonia.⁹

Feelings and attitudes during and after the conflict

Aside from the issues that motivated the women to take part in the community movements, this study explored their feelings about this participation and whether these feelings had provoked permanent attitudinal changes. To determine this the interviews pursued issues such as personal autonomy, enthusiasm, and belonging to the community (Table 5.4).

In the three case studies, the most commonly felt sentiment – for more than two thirds of the women – was that of feeling useful to the community. In Catalonia and Gibraltar, up to one third of the women interviewed felt enthusiastic about the struggle. Twenty-three percent of the women in Gibraltar experienced a sense of personal empowerment. These results suggest that many women had a distinct public experience with the conflict as well as a more personal one. Both the nature and magnitude of these community social movements led to a forum in which women could project and validate their gender roles through publicly asserting themselves, their values, and their concerns. At the same time, they were also able to experience a growing sense of personal empowerment.

In terms of new perceptions and attitudinal changes, most women felt they had acquired a broader awareness of environmental issues and problems. In each case study women reported having acquired a wider sensitivity about environmental problems: 84 percent in Catalonia, 64 percent in Bilbao, and 55 percent in Gibraltar. After environmental awareness, women in

Gibraltar felt they had gained greater confidence in themselves. One third of the women in Bilbao shared these feelings, with another third responding that they felt they had attained more significant roles in the community. A slightly smaller group in Gibraltar gave the same response.

Participation in these community movements has generated wider consciousness of environmental problems, but it has also begun an important process of personal empowerment for many of the women involved through their increased range of activities, self-assertion, and voice within the community.

Perceptions regarding gender differences

The women were asked to compare differences in motivational factors and forms of action employed by men and women. Interestingly, in all three case studies, the most frequent response were that there was none. The women from Catalonia were the most emphatic on this point with 87 percent responding negatively, followed by the women from Gibraltar with 71 percent, and the women from Bilbao with 64 percent. When asked for a justification to their answer, they replied almost unanimously that "the problem affected us all equally."

They were also asked whether they had spoken more frequently with men or women about the situations facing their communities and whether it had been easier to communicate and understand each other with one group or the other. The responses were similar to those of the previous question, with 81 percent of the Catalan women and 68 percent of the women from Gibraltar affirming that there were no differences. Interestingly, in Bilbao, with one exception who had spoken with more women than men, they all answered that there had been no prevalence either way, yet they also provided independent information that indicated that 46 percent had spoken with more men.

To the question about who stayed home the most frequently if necessary, most women responded that "it was arranged in such a way that nobody's role or involvement in the movement would be compromised." The women from Catalonia said that in the event someone did need to stay home, they would do it, whereas the women from Bilbao said, on the contrary, that the men would stay home if necessary.

In analyzing the interview results, it is apparent that there were some difficulties with the question for two reasons. First, the self-image of the women interviewed, especially the younger women, as modern and autonomous can often result in an unconscious denial of gender inequalities. Second, many women felt defensive about the feminist slant of the study and responded that the study seemed to be "searching for differences rather than seeking equality." Stereotyped conceptions of feminism, femininity and gender relations, combined with a desire to fit into an ideal model of "modern" woman, also precluded most of the women interviewed from engaging in a detailed appraisal of gendered participation in the struggle, in the terms in which it was articulated in the question.

Table 5.5 Women's changes in feelings toward the community

Type of Change	Bilbao	Catalonia	Gibraltar	%
No change	0	4	13	5
Greater loyalty	5	10	32	11
Fear of new occurrence	5	19	61	9
Wish to leave	1	9	2	6
				2
				9

Changes in the perception and evaluation of the environment and region

The objective of the initial question in this section was to uncover the extent to which the women's involvement in community activism served to outline, amplify, or change the perception of the nature and dimensions of women's living space. For more than three fourths of the women from Gibraltar the experience seems to have expanded their knowledge of interpersonal and institutional relations. It also provided the vehicle for a better understanding of their environment, their geographic and political place within the country, and its significance. In Catalonia, the responses were similar, although more emphasis was placed on the latter. In Bilbao, most of the women cited both of these changes as equally important.

Interestingly, in all three case studies, the question which provided the widest scope of change - "knowledge of the role of their place in the industrial and urban economy of the area" - was given the least importance. Nevertheless, about two thirds of the women from Bilbao and almost a third of the women from Catalonia and Gibraltar affirmed that they are now more conscious of this issue. Direct contact with the matter of hazardous waste gave the women from Bilbao greater consciousness of the nature and breadth of the problem.

In terms of women's changed feelings about place (Table 5.5), in Catalonia fear of the situation occurring again was the most prevalent response - as stated by almost two thirds of the women. In Gibraltar, increased commitment to their community was most important, followed closely by a fear of the situation occurring again. In Bilbao, both feelings are equally present. Despite their fears of a recurrence, very few women expressed a desire to move away.

This attachment to place is consistent with the reasons women gave regarding their feelings when the conflict began. The women all felt deeply rooted and committed to their homes, communities, and towns. Concerns about having to relocate were high: 77 percent in Gibraltar and more than half in Catalonia. Of the women in Gibraltar, only 5 percent communicated a fear of risk; in Catalonia it was only 7 percent. In Bilbao, on the other hand, fear of risk surpasses the feelings associated with not being able to stay in their neighborhood. This difference is most likely a reaction to the waste dump fire constituting a present, not a future danger, as in the other two cases.

Table 5.6 Gibraltar. Prioritization of strategies for environmental protection.

Indicators	Consumption	Protests	Education of children	Self-realization	Public education
Average	9	6	9	7	7
Maximum	10	10	10	9	10
Minimum	7	2	7	5	5
Std	1	3	1	2	2
NS/NC	9	10	7	11	11

Note: Importance ranked 1-10

Table 5.7 Bilbao. Prioritization of strategies for environmental protection

Indicators	Consumption	Protests	Education of children	Self-realization	Public education
Average	10	9	10	6	9
Maximum	10	10	10	8	10
Minimum	9	6	9	1	7
Std	1	2	0	3	2
NS/NC	5	1	4	7	5

Note: Importance ranked 1-10

The environment and the daily lives of women

On a more objective level, the women were asked about their daily activities and responsibilities in relation to the environment. When asked about the possible changes in their shopping habits or household management as a result of the events in their communities, more than half the women in Old Bilbao and up to one third of the women from Gibraltar had not made any changes, while in Catalonia fewer than 10 percent attested to not having made changes. The women from Bilbao, despite their small number, cite changes almost in equal proportion in all three spheres presented to them: shopping habits, conservation of resources, and recycling. The women from Gibraltar emphasize the first two points equally, granting little importance to the recycling and the Catalan women responded with recycling first, followed by shopping habits and conservation of resources.¹⁰

Regarding the magnitude of the changes, the impression that their involvement in these social movements has left on the daily activities of the women is most profound in Catalonia, notable in Gibraltar, and less important in Bilbao. These results are consistent with the way the problem was posed and developed in each place. In Catalonia, the opposition to the *Pla de Residus* generated a debate regarding waste management that involved the whole autonomous community and led to a high degree of knowledge and consciousness raising within the community. In Gibraltar, however, this only occurred at the provincial level, largely getting caught up in political disputes and rivalries. In Bilbao, this process barely spread beyond the old neighborhood limits, remaining just one more conflict in a neighborhood besieged by problems.

Table 5.8 Catalonia. Prioritization of strategies for environmental protection

Indicators	Consumption	Protests	Education of children	Self-realization	Public education
Average	10	8	10	8	8
Maximum	10	10	10	10	10
Minimum	6	5	8	5	6
Stv	1	1	1	1	1
NS/NC	8	14	10	13	16

Note: Importance ranked 1-10

Assessment of women's roles in protecting the environment

The women were asked to evaluate, on a scale of 1 to 10, in what activities they thought they could best collaborate in the protection and preservation of the environment: control over consumption, activism, education of children, personal empowerment, and public education.¹¹ The women from Gibraltor and Bilbao (Tables 5.6 and 5.7) responded that their main contributions were in the education of their children, followed by control of consumption.

In Catalonia (Table 5.8) the women prioritized control of consumption and the education of their children. Important differences occurred in the second and third place rankings. The women from Catalonia considered that their participation next in importance while the women from Bilbao important than their personal empowerment. The women from Gibraltor and placed both personal empowerment and public education in third place, it is interesting, that even though all of the women interviewed were directly involved in community activism, they value their roles in it so differently. They all attributed the success of their opposition movements ultimately to "the strength of the people."

The fact that the Catalan and Gibraltor women value control over family consumption and education of children as their most important contribution to the environment may reflect an established principle in Catalonia of "normalization" of the environmental problem and its assimilation by the community. This allows them to begin to think about collective strategizing. In contrast, in Gibraltor, except for those directly affected by the proposed project and those involved in the opposition movement, the community has not yet engaged in a collective process of environmental management.

The women from Bilbao felt most strongly about the family strategy of education and consumption control as well, but also place great importance on their participation in the movement and community activism. Given that the waste site has not yet been completely emptied and it continues to smoke, it is not clear that their problems are over. The women remain vigilant and ready to mobilize again at any moment. The perception of these women is that the only way they will accomplish goals is "to take to the streets." This is a phenomenon that does not occur in Gibraltor or Catalonia, where the

women perceive their presence in the movements as an exception to the norm and they hope not to have to repeat the process.

NEW CONCEPTS OF ENVIRONMENT, RESPONSIBILITY, SPACE, AND TIME

Health, well-being, and affection for place: a different concept of the environment

During the interviews, it was rare that women framed their feelings of threat in relation to the environment. They spoke about their concerns for health, especially that of the children, and about a feeling of loss of a place and a milieu they could consider their own. They expressed frustration over thwarted expectations with respect to quality of life, as families and as individuals. There is a need to revise the "stereotyped" nature of the concept of "environment" so that it is possible to capture, comprehend and explain the distinct perceptions and experiences of women. A new concept must be found which also embodies the manifestations of environmental impacts on household life and on the desires and aspirations of people and communities. Since the unit of analysis would be individuals and families, contrary to current definitions, analysis would focus on the micro-scale. This lack of an adequate definition of environment in the academic as well as the waste management spheres, indicates a need to explore the androcentric character of current, formal environmental knowledge, which is considered scientific and universally valid.¹²

Women as activists, contrary to the myth of passivity

In all the cases analyzed, the women have demonstrated a degree of radicalism and boldness that openly contrasts with the stereotype of the woman who is passive, indecisive, and fearful when faced with anything political and technical that she does not fully comprehend or when confronted by physically risky situations. In this regard, their distinct commitment and connection as women to their families and their communities, both sources of strength for their existence, seem to have been the fundamental impetus behind the participation of women in these very gendered social movements. Under such circumstances, the town or neighborhood becomes a community with social meaning. A crucial network of women's sociohistoric, personal, and emotional relations emerges, which women defend and preserve and seem intricately committed to.

When involvement in community activism is derived from a gendered sense of responsibility for the quality of life in the community and the family, women tend passionately to safeguard a healthy environment for present and for future generations.¹³ This gendered objective of attaining a better future for the family and the community explains why the women did not waver before unconditionally participating in a wide array of necessary activities for the success of the social movements. They fulfilled this longer term obligation despite any suffering that they might have felt as mothers as a

consequence of any unavoidable inattention to or momentary abandonment of material or emotional tasks and responsibilities in their homes.

Struggle, perseverance and resistance: in "defense" of domestic life

Women handled these situations in an instinctive, stoic, and even good-humored manner. This is remarkable given that these events were in every respect exceptional in their lives and that of the community. These are situations which push one to the limit, that entail enormous personal sacrifice, require continuous readaptation to changing circumstances day by day, and versatile, multidirectional action. In trying to explain why women seem to have this capacity to remain on an even keel in these situations, it becomes clear that the attitudes required to mobilize an effective social movement, although different in intensity, are the same as those that women have had to develop as their socially defined gender roles and responsibilities in domestic and community life have evolved.¹⁴ To the extent that the patriarchal model has situated women in the private sphere, making them responsible for family life, it has fostered very gender-specific and specialized coping mechanisms and strategies for addressing everyday situations. This model has conditioned both the nature of women's work and their methods of fulfilling their responsibilities as well as their value and role in society.

Here, it is pertinent and indispensable to comment about the integrative nature of home life, and its relation to socially constructed femininity. If we consider the abilities women typically develop in their domestic roles, integration emerges as a defining characteristic. This generalized role - which is projected clearly in the activities of the "housewife" - is valued negatively, undervalued or, at best, ignored when juxtaposed with the specialization of the public sphere. This dominant specificity is used to define, classify, and grant value to people in a society run by "specialists."

In this context, an event such as a social movement, which primarily affects the private sphere, disrupting domestic patterns of everyday life, values, and work, is difficult for the dominant, androcentric paradigm to incorporate and can be socially and personally disruptive. In these three communities, women demonstrated a facility for understanding these types of situations and readily integrated them into their lives, almost automatically, as a part of everyday life.

The "spilling" of private space into public space

In each of the case studies, the social movements led to a type of "spilling" of the domestic sphere outside the home gates to the point of a genuine invasion of the public sphere. This subsequently engaged the public arena in a foreign process which was not considered part of its nature or "essence." The participation of women in civil disobedience dissolved many of the barriers that exist between functionally differentiated spaces. The strategy employed by the women in each case study, of taking to the streets and

making themselves constantly present, transformed the public space into an excellent stage for women's self-affirmation. In all the cases, women took private activities and attitudes to the street: they remained there preparing food, sewing, taking care of young children, conversing about domestic problems and about news of the mobilization, discussing strategies, constructing banners, organizing raffles, and even setting up improvised candy or prepared food stands to raise funds.

This process seems to be a direct consequence of the previously mentioned transformation of local space - town or neighborhood - into community. Through their visible and active involvement in the social movements, women's historically subordinate roles in the towns and neighborhoods became public. Their gendered identities and use of space temporarily became dominant due to their active agency in the organization, development, and success of the movements.¹⁵

From public times to private times, or the feminization of periods of civil disobedience

The overlap of public and private spaces and times affects the use and significance of time in two ways: first in terms of the rhythm and intensity of the movements, which is a function of domestic time; second, personal time comes to articulate itself based on the simultaneity and compatibility of a new set of tasks of different natures. A "typical" day of community activism is organized in terms of domestic time. In the morning, news is circulated, community actions are planned, and consciousness raising events are developed to "fire up" and keep the movement alive. Despite the objective importance of the morning and the fact that those involved in the movement recognize its importance, the public image of the problem usually renders this time and the activities of the women invisible.

The afternoon/evening and holidays provide the stage for public acts. Assemblies, rallies, and other public education activities or civil disobedience can be most effective at these times because the men, who would otherwise be at their paid jobs, can participate. Often, given their public, external nature, it is only these most "visible" acts that public opinion identifies, erroneously, as community action. In the most "public" of these events - meetings and assemblies - the participation of men is frequent. This potentially misleads those not directly involved and may promote the erroneous impression that the men are at the helm of the social movement, subsequently devaluing the tremendous amount of work, although less "visible," done by the women.

Regarding the organization of individual time, the androcentric model of compartmentalization and specialization of tasks is broken and substituted by the feminine model of simultaneity and versatility, characteristic of the domestic sphere. This gender-differentiated model for time allocation is imposed over the more typical male approach because it adapts best to spontaneous emergency situations. As discussed earlier in the chapter, this process can cause women to regard the social movements as an overload, but not as a qualitative change. Men, on the contrary, may find themselves, to

a large degree, outside of themselves and their usual routine, which provokes a sense of disruption and stress.

In terms of community time, the coordination of public community activism with the annual cycle of popular festivities proved critical to the effectiveness of the social movements. Invariably, in all the cases, popular events that mark annual festivities served as a platform to make known or to diffuse information about the problems confronting the community. Women, as the main instigators of these movements, took the initiative to organize public events and feasts, making them their own instruments and means of activism and struggle.

CONCLUSION: TOWARD A FEMINIZED MODEL OF ECOLOGICAL CONSCIOUSNESS AND ACTION

This final section proposes a new political formula – in the broad sense of the word – and a social agenda with regard to the issues raised in this chapter. It has been illustrated repeatedly, from different perspectives, that the involvement of women in social movements in defense of the environment brings distinct gender-specific perspectives, experiences and values to the forefront. Because of their role in society, women have their own perspective and conceptualization of the environment that differs from that which is considered the norm. Women's gendered perceptions and experiences give them the framework and perspective to develop alternative definitions of the environment. The traditional roles of women in the domestic sphere result in a distinct scale and milieu – health/well-being/affection for place – in which environment is defined in a way that seems more adequate to address the everyday problems of the vast majority of people. Women's gender-specific influences also play a significant role in the organizing strategies or ways in which space is used and time is structured. This confirms the importance of women's contributions to the formation and success of community activism and social movements.

The role, significance, and critical involvement of women in the social movements in Bilbao, Catalonia, and Gibraltar suggest the existence of a "feminine model of environmental consciousness and action" ¹⁶ which, far from being limited to women, can serve as a model for the design of alternative, non-androcentric forms of addressing environmental problems. These alternative approaches, while based on women's experiences, values, and contributions, must also undertake the necessary redefinition of the private sphere. They are inscribed in a global re-evaluation of the private that it serves as an arena for individual, social and political participation. ¹⁷

The involvement of women in the denunciation and resolution of ecological problems not only possesses specific gendered characteristics, but it creates the possibility for a feminist political ecology. Moreover, it contains the seeds for social change of great scope. Women's environmental activism can contribute to a society in which men and women, liberated from the tyranny of gender ascriptions, can live fuller lives, and dissolve the limits between the personal and the public, immersed in an environment in which economic profit and technical rationality are at the service of the health and well-being of all of humanity.

NOTES

- 1 Population data for the three case studies from 1990 census.
- 2 Chemical contamination constitutes a serious problem that affects the Huelva urban area as a whole and the coastline in particular, extending to wetland zones of high ecological value. AMA (1987) and Adaro (1990a and b) present successive plans for decontamination.
- 3 For a complete description of the structure and development of industry in the Basque region, see Garcia Merino (1987). A sociological study of the city is included in Leonardo (1989).
- 4 The city government commissioned a chemical analysis after the blaze to determine the composition of the by-products. For the results, see IMPOLUSA (1989) and EPTPSA (1989).
- 5 For a complete description of industrial waste problems in Catalonia and the contents of the proposals for the "Waste Management Plan," see Junta de Residus (1989a and b).
- 6 For more in-depth theoretical background material, see for example Bellucci (1992); Bielh (1991); Brú (1993); Garcia-Ramon (1989); Heller (1977); Heller and Fether (1985); Norwood and Monk (1987); Oñe (1988); Yearman (1990).
- 7 The attitude of the mayor and the regional government, who interpreted the movement almost as a political revolution, exacerbated the situation to unbearable limits. From November 1988 to May 1989, when the conflict ended, armed forces established themselves permanently in Gibraltar, applying strong repressive tactics.
- 8 For an interesting analysis of the conflict from a population perspective and that of ecological movements, see Borrás and Perales (1990).
- 9 In the case of Bilbao, there were some difficulties in the implementation of the question. Only three women answered, but their responses were consistent with the results from the other two.
- 10 It seems, then, that when it comes to the type of changes, daily consumption is given much importance – the most in all cases except in Catalonia, where it is surpassed by recycling.
- 11 The rate of abstention was high in all case studies, at times reaching 50 percent, perhaps indicating a lack of familiarity with questions of this nature.
- 12 The theoretical implications of these conclusions have been developed more broadly in Brú (1993).
- 13 In the analysis of the perception and attitudes of women regarding gender roles, I locate my work in the lines of "domestic feminism." In this sense, and in the Spanish-speaking world, Bellucci (1992) is of great interest.
- 14 In referring to sociological change and the political implications of domestic life, it is essential to consult the already classic works of Heller (1977); Heller and Fether (1985); and Oñe (1988).
- 15 For a panoramic vision regarding the contribution of geography to gender studies, see Norwood and Monk (1987) and Garcia-Ramon (1989).
- 16 For a complete development of this concept, as well as that of women's ecology, see Brú (1993).
- 17 For an interesting analysis of the new ecological perspectives at the heart of the re-evaluation of private life in postmodernist society, from a gender perspective, see Bielh (1991) and Yearman (1990).

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Part III

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URBAN DYNAMICS IN METROPOLITAN BARCELONA

(manuscript)

Ten questions and an environmental epilogue

by Oriol Nello, geographer,

Director, Institut d'Estudis Metropolitans de Barcelona

Over the last two decades, the urban conglomeration of Barcelona has undergone a profound transformation: whole sections of the city have been upgraded and renovated; the infrastructure has been improved and expanded; the traditional absolute predominance of industry has been undercut by the emergence of a large base of services; the city's external relations and image have been greatly improved. During the same period, the consolidation of the metropolitan phenomenon has made Barcelona the sixth largest urban area in the European Union.

The improvement is patent to any observer. In addition to being obviously wealthier, Barcelona today is a cleaner, more modern and functional city than the one which emerged from the era of General Franco's dictatorship. But, one may ask, what has been the social impact of these urban and economic changes? Are the inhabitants of Barcelona more educated or more ignorant than before? Do they enjoy greater or lesser choice when they set out to find a place to live? Do young people leave home earlier or later? Are income levels tending to converge or becoming ever more divergent? Do old people depend on their own resources, their families or on the state?

On the other hand, the changes that have occurred have also had an important impact on the environment. The consumption of natural resources -land, water and energy- has increased considerably. At the same time, the ways in which environmental issues -protected areas, waste and water treatment- are managed have also evolved. How far reaching are these changes? What are the associated costs and benefits? Are current trends likely to continue into the foreseeable future, and if so, will the consequences endanger the welfare of the population?

The aim of these notes is to reflect on some of these issues. In the first place we have chosen ten questions concerning the effects of the urban transformation and the social dynamics. This is followed, in the manner of an epilogue, by a brief discussion of the environmental implications of these processes. Although the questions discussed have, in our opinion, a causal relationship, obviously our objective is not to answer them definitively in the context of this short article.¹ We will be content if the reader considers that the questions raised are important.

1. The metropolitan phenomenon: An impossible delimitation?

The first question that must be raised is, obviously, what are we referring to when we talk about "Barcelona society". Inevitably, this poses the problem of how to delimit the metropolis, a question which, as in the case of many other large urban conglomerations in Europe, has been a recurrent theme in the political, academic and urban planning debate since the demolition of the city walls almost one hundred and fifty years ago. In recent decades, the supramunicipal

¹ An earlier version of these notes will appear in Catalan in the *Revista Econòmica de Catalunya* under the title "El canvi social a la regió metropolitana de Barcelona: deu preguntes".

character of the Barcelona conurbation has been made increasingly evident by the evolution of the economy and the spatial dynamics, but the question of how to delimit the area remains open. The debate has given rise to many different points of view (NEL.LO, 1998a). At one end of the spectrum, we find the proponents of a highly restrictive approach, who, in the face of all evidence to the contrary, either delimit the city according to the traditional municipal limits or, at the very most, expand this definition to encompass the contiguous urban area (often called the "urban continuum"). At the other end, we find those who propose the definition of a more or less extensive metropolitan ambit (the metropolitan "area" and/or "region"); and even some experts who maintain that the metropolitan phenomenon has extended to such a degree that in reality it now encompasses the whole of Catalonia and has, therefore, merged with this area.

And what do the data tell us? All the available indicators confirm that the metropolis is expanding, and that the whole affected area is becoming increasingly interdependent: the Barcelona metropolis is a network in which the number of nodes and the load of the edges is gradually increasing. If we take, for example, a definition based on daily journey-to-work patterns -such as the recent delimitation elaborated by applying to the Barcelona metropolis the method used in the USA to delimit Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas- we find that the functional metropolitan phenomenon encompasses some 130 municipalities (ROCA CLADERA, dir., 1997). The metropolitan city would in this case greatly exceed the limits of the old administrative Metropolitan Area², and would be very similar to the metropolitan region composed of seven *comarques* (the Barcelonès, Baix Llobregat, Garraf, Alt Penedès, Vallès Occidental, Vallès Oriental and Maresme), for which the *Pla Territorial Metropolitana* (Plan for the Metropolitan Region) is currently being drawn up. The application of this methodology also reveals that the relationship between this area and some municipalities located in adjacent *comarques* (the Anoia, Bages and Baix Penedès) is rapidly growing more intense, indicating that these localities will gradually become integrated into the functional dynamics of the metropolis. In the same way, the internal divisions between "metropolitan area" and "metropolitan region", and between "first belt" and "second belt", are increasingly difficult to sustain on the basis of functional analysis.³

If, instead of using daily journey-to-work patterns as the delimiting criteria, we used other parameters -such as the pattern of travel related to shopping and the use of services and leisure activities- the scope of the metropolitan relationships would be even greater (PALLARÈS & RIERA, 1991; MENDIZÀBAL, 1993). Moreover, new transport systems are planned that will increase this scope even more. These include the Euromed line, the TGV connections, and the new transverse axis, which will significantly increase connectivity with Tarragona, Lleida, Girona and Central Catalonia.

²The ambit of the Barcelona Metropolitan Corporation, which included Barcelona and 26 of the surrounding municipalities. Created in 1974, the Corporation was abolished by the Parliament of Catalunya at the instigation of the Catalan Government in 1987. As can be seen, the date of abolition practically coincides with that of the abolition of the Greater London Council. It is also easy to establish other parallels between the motives that provoked these decisions (in particular in relation to the confrontation between a powerful left wing local government and a conservative government at a higher level).

³The term "first metropolitan belt" refers to the Barcelona metropolitan area excluding the city of Barcelona itself. The term "second metropolitan belt" refers to the metropolitan region excluding the metropolitan area.

It is therefore clear that, depending on the criteria used, the size and scope of the metropolis varies, and that any definitive resolution of the question from a scientific standpoint is extremely difficult. Should we therefore abstain from undertaking any kind of delimitation? Not necessarily. What should be understood is that any delimitation of an urban conglomeration like Barcelona has to rely on a series of normative assumptions, and is therefore subjective. From this standpoint, a delimitation based on daily travel patterns -besides being validated by the international experience- has the advantage of corresponding increasingly with the perception of many inhabitants, and of coinciding with the ambit required for the planning and management of many services (public transport, road and utility networks, etc.). This is therefore the delimitation we consider most appropriate when defining, by analysis, what we might call the metropolitan phenomenon in Barcelona.

2. Population: An inevitable decline?

Data taken from the 1996 Census show that the population of the metropolitan region at that time (4,228,047 inhabitants) was, in absolute terms, practically the same as it had been in 1975. Moreover, there has been a slight decline in population over the last five years. This trend, similar to those affecting other large metropolitan areas in Spain (such as Madrid and Bilbao, NELLO, 1998b), is accompanied by a historically very significant phenomenon: over the last fifteen years the Barcelona metropolitan region has tended to lose weight relative to Catalonia as a whole (it represented 71.2% in 1981, and only 69.4% in 1996).

There are, as has been fully explained by the demographers (MMAMB, 1995; ARRIBAS & MÓDENAS, 1996), two reasons for this stagnation: on the one hand, the low inward bound migration after the very intense mobility during the period 1960-1975; and on the other, the low natural growth rate. The latter, which affects Catalonia as a whole, is primarily the result of a very low birth rate, which has brought the total fertility rate down to lows for which it is not easy to find parallels either in Europe or the world (1.14 children per woman in Catalonia, 1.0 in Barcelona, far from the reproduction threshold of 2.1). This, in conjunction with the intrametropolitan migratory movements, which we will discuss later, has led to a drop in the relative weight of the population under 15 years old in Barcelona (from 21.3% to 11.9% between 1981 and 1996). At the same time, the continuous increase in life expectancy (73.5 years for men and 81.5 for women) means that the city, with 1 in 5 inhabitants over 64, has one of the highest ageing rates of all the central municipalities of large Spanish cities.

Does this mean that a gradual decline in the population of this area is inevitable? This would depend on two factors. In the first place, migrations. Whereas migration from other parts of Spain remains low, the migratory pressure from countries outside of the European Union is extraordinarily high. It should be taken into account, therefore, that any change in Spanish or European law governing this migration would result in the rapid entry of population, mainly young.

The future evolution of the birth rate, on the other hand, is a more complex question. Experts have established a connection between the fertility rate and the age at which young people leave the parental home, which is tending to rise notably. According to data taken from the

Metropolitan Household Survey⁴, the percentage of young people between the ages of 25 and 29 living independently in the metropolitan area declined from 60% to 39.3% between 1985 and 1995. As is known, there are two principal requirements for independent living: an adequate and stable income; and that the total resources available be sufficient to cover the cost of such independence (VERGÉS, 1997). Thus, the lack of job security together with the high cost of housing (and the scarcity of rental accommodation) must necessarily have retarded the age at which young people leave home, and consequently the age at which they start to have children. There are, however, factors which point to the possibility of significant changes in this respect, especially with regard to the future of the housing market. The stagnation of prices over the last five years, the reduction of the average floor space, and, above all, the decline in interest rates has led to an important reduction in the economic effort necessary for the acquisition of housing (from 7.5 to 5.6 times the mean annual disposable family income in Barcelona between 1989 and 1996). This trend may perhaps contribute to the relaunch of the birth rate, which the demographers, citing the example of other European regions, have repeatedly predicted.

3. Population settlement patterns: Increasing suburbanisation?

Demographic stagnation has been accompanied in recent years by an important shift of the population within the metropolitan region. The data from the census show that, between 1991 and 1996, the migratory balance (positive or negative) was the principal component of demographic change in 141 of the 163 municipalities in the Barcelona metropolitan region. This shift consists, in the first place, of movements whose dominant direction is an exodus from the central areas towards the outer metropolitan belts (SERRA, 1997; MÓDENAS, 1995; DURÀ, 1995). The case of the city of Barcelona itself is the most striking with a mean negative migratory balance of over 20,000 inhabitants per year between 1991 and 1996; but the negative balances of the other large municipalities in the central area, such as l'Hospitalet, Santa Coloma and Badalona, for example, are also high. Furthermore, large municipalities are, in general, tending to lose population to smaller ones (this phenomenon also affects many of the larger cities located in the second metropolitan belt, such as Sabadell, Mataró and Granollers).

Over a century ago, Jacint Verdaguer, the great poet of the Catalan renaissance, said with respect to Barcelona: "Com tu devoren màrgens i camps, i es tornen pobles / los masos que et rodegen, ciutats los pagesius"⁵ Today this process continues, and it has perhaps reached its final consequences. But, unlike what occurred during the final decades of the nineteenth century, and continued throughout a large part of the twentieth century, the gains of the small and medium sized urban nuclei are now accompanied by losses in the population of larger towns and cities. The population of the Barcelona metropolitan region is tending to spread out over the whole area.

⁴ The *Enquesta sobre les condicions de vida i hàbits de la població de la regió metropolitana de Barcelona* is a comprehensive Metropolitan Household Survey carried out every five years since 1985 in the metropolitan area of Barcelona. Data from this source are extremely useful in the study of social and urban dynamics in the city and the metropolitan area.

⁵ "Devouring, like you, fields and terraces, the nearby farmhouses become villages, while the hamlets become towns."

Nothing in this scenario differs radically from what is occurring in the majority of large Spanish cities (NELLO, 1998b). Moreover, the increase in metropolitan mobility -both on a daily basis and at weekly and irregular intervals- renders increasingly debatable any measurement based solely on the notion of the resident population (subject, moreover, to distortions for fiscal and other reasons). Thus, the work of demographers who introduce a time variable into their population calculations (for example the "day/population" estimates for the municipalities of the metropolitan region), in spite of its still exploratory nature, throws new light on the subject (MENDIZÁBAL, 1993).

Nonetheless, even with respect to resident population, decentralisation could come to an end in the not too far distant future. The models of urban evolution do not exclude, as we know, the possibility of a phase of urban recentralisation after the absolute decentralisation phase. This could happen in Barcelona, as the life cycle of the people who have left the city in recent years moves on, and as the part of the Barcelona housing stock which is currently underoccupied re-enters the market. In this respect, it is the 45.9% of the stock occupied by only one or two people that is important, rather than the 69,908 dwellings (10.4%) which according to the 1991 Census were unoccupied (a figure that is certainly only partially correct) (RAFOLS, 1997).

4. Employment: A shift to the service sector and less job security?

The diffusion of the population settlement pattern within the Barcelona metropolitan region has been accompanied by a profound transformation of the economic base. Undoubtedly the most significant component of this transformation has been the tertiarisation process. In a relatively brief period (scarcely three decades), we have seen a change from an economy overwhelmingly dominated by industrial activity to one in which the service industry is pre-eminent. Census data indicate that in 1991 the industrial sector represented only 28.6% of jobs in Barcelona and 37.5% in the metropolitan region as a whole, compared to 64.7% and 54.3% respectively in the service sector. Later estimates, based on Social Security records and surveys, confirm the continuity of this trend.

Without rejecting this evidence we must, nonetheless, add two clarifying comments. The first concerns the statistical classification of employed persons. As is well known, the fragmentation of productive processes and the decline in the average size of companies means that many jobs previously classified as industrial (in sales, accounts, design, etc.) now appear as services because the work is carried out by separate companies. The second point is that we should not confuse what in many cases is merely relocation with deindustrialisation. A careful reading of the available data shows that, while the decline in the relative weight of industrial employment is general within the metropolitan region as a whole, industry is resisting better in the metropolitan belts than in the core city.

This trend towards tertiarisation has been accompanied by a reduction in the average size of companies and by a decline in job security. According to data taken from the Metropolitan Household Survey carried out in 1995 (prior to the most recent changes in the legislation concerning the labour market), one out of every three people working in the Barcelona

metropolitan region had only a temporary work contract or no contract at all. The survey reveals a sizeable increase in these precarious job situations between 1990 and 1995 (17%); and it shows that they were more prevalent in the service sector than in industry, and more common in the construction industry than in the service sector.

From the point of view of social welfare, this trend -which coincides, moreover, with low activity rates and high unemployment- raises important questions. While tertiarisation might not lead to a decrease in the value of production (but rather the contrary since the added value produced by an employee in the services sector is on average higher than that produced by an industrial worker), it could, however, contribute to a deterioration in working conditions, and an increase in inequalities with respect to income distribution (middle-level income categories being better represented in industry than in the services sector) (NELLO, 1994).

5. The decentralisation of production: An undeniable benefit?

The third phenomenon that has characterised the evolution of Barcelona's economy in recent years, together with tertiarisation and the flexibilisation of contractual conditions, is the decentralisation of employment. The relative weight of the number of jobs located in the city of Barcelona has declined considerably with respect to that of the rest of the metropolitan region and of Catalonia as a whole. It should be noted, however, that the original situation was one of heavy concentration: in 1975, Barcelona, home to 43.6% of the population of the metropolitan region, accounted for 56.2% of jobs. Since then, however, the loss of relative weight has been considerable in periods of both expansion and recession. Although the total number of jobs in the city was almost the same in 1991 as it had been in 1975 (761,165 jobs as against 796,820 in 1975), the relative weight of the city with respect to the metropolis as a whole was 48.0%, representing a decline of over 8%. During the same period, the relative weight of employment located in the first metropolitan belt remained stable (varying only from 23.8% to 24%), while the second belt experienced extremely rapid growth, going from 20.1% to 28.0%. In relative terms, therefore, as has been noted on numerous occasions, the growth of employment in the second metropolitan belt exceeds even its population growth (MMAMB, 1995). In the absence of data from the most recent census, economists have estimated that during the 1991-1996 period, the loss of jobs located in Barcelona has fluctuated between 6.5% and 10% (in the context of an 8.2% decline in population), which appears to clearly confirm the continuity of the trend towards decentralisation (TRULLÉN, 1997; CLUSA, 1997).

As several authors have explained, this process may be associated with the segmentation of the productive processes, and the emergence of new forms of productive organisation. It brings some undeniable benefits, the most obvious being the greater availability of jobs and services in the metropolitan belts, where previously they were scarce and unevenly distributed. A clear distinction should be made between the benefits that could be derived from a loss in the relative weight of the city, and an absolute loss of activity and value produced. If the latter were to occur and, above all, if it affected strategic sectors (such as the advanced services sector, which was already growing faster in the metropolitan belts than in Barcelona in the period 1986-1991), the consequences would be unfavourable for both the competitive edge of the metropolitan region as a whole, and for its internal social balance. The urban centres

located within the metropolitan region undoubtedly have great potential and attraction (accessibility, fixed capital, image), but they also suffer from important disadvantages (congestion, high land values, lack of green-spaces, etc.). These disadvantages are only counterbalanced by the availability of activities, services, and high level infrastructure that attract companies and citizens drawn by the benefits that can be derived from locating near such amenities. Thus, as many American and European cases have shown, after a certain point, the exodus of activities and certain sections of the population from the metropolitan centre leaves these areas in a difficult situation, and from being one of the area's principal resources, they become one of its major problems. Barcelona is, fortunately, very far from this situation, but it is perhaps important to keep these facts in mind.

6. Commuting and residential patterns: The extensive use of space?

The dynamics of the spread of population and activities throughout the region described above raise the question of the use of space on the part of metropolitan society. All the indicators appear to point to the fact that the traditional model of a complex and compact Mediterranean city is giving way to a more diffuse urban structure in which areas are more functionally specialised.

Let us look at this first on the basis of the data on commuting patterns (NELLO, 1995; MMAMB, 1995). The process of metropolitan integration, which we referred to in the first section, has given rise to a sharp increase in the need for the population to travel within the region. Where commuting is concerned, in two out of every three municipalities in the metropolitan region more than half the employed people work outside the locality where they live. This phenomenon affects municipalities of all sizes and is gaining force rapidly. Whereas in 1986 the mean rate of municipal self-containment was 67.6%, by 1991 this figure had dropped to 61.9%. The data from the 1995 Metropolitan Survey, apart from confirming the continuity of this trend with respect to commuters, also indicate that citizens are increasing their mobility throughout the territory in order to satisfy their shopping and leisure needs, increasingly purchasing goods and services in other municipalities or in Barcelona. Thus, with ever greater frequency, the inhabitants of the metropolitan region live in one municipality, work in another, and shop or spend their leisure hours in a third, fourth or fifth. These habits give rise to a great demand for transport infrastructure. Furthermore, the personal daily itineraries of these new patrons of the transport system are increasingly less radial and, very often, extremely irregular. This makes it difficult to meet their needs with mass public transport and explains -together with the low investment in public transport- the ever more widespread reliance on private vehicles (which accounted for 42.6% of commuter journeys in 1990 and 47.1% in 1995, while during the same period the share of public transport dropped from 25.3% to 24.5%).

This trend towards the ever more extensive use of land is corroborated by the data on residential mobility. Just as people now seek work outside the locality where they live, change of residence is associated in more cases with a change of municipality within the metropolitan region. The Metropolitan Household Survey indicates that while only 1 out of 3.6 changes of residence in the period 1980 - 1989 involved a change of municipality, between 1990 and 1995

the proportion was 1 out of 3.1. Of these, the destination was the second metropolitan belt in 47.3%, the first metropolitan belt in 34.8%, and Barcelona in only 17.6%. According to the citizens' own statements, the principal motives for these moves were differences in the conditions and prices of housing (GARCIA & JANÉ, 1992; DURÀ, 1995).

The answer to the question as to whether there is extensive use of the territory on the part of the citizens is, therefore, clearly affirmative. It is a trend that has some consequences which are, up to a point, positive, such as the reduction of the high population density in some of the central areas of the metropolitan region. We will go on to discuss the implications of this trend with respect to the consumption of natural resources (which, as we will see, are particularly important in the case of land and energy). However, the dispersion of urban development raises numerous other questions of a cultural, social and economic nature.

7. The breakdown of the daily routine: The intensive use of time?

One of the phenomena that fascinated early observers of life in modern metropolises -from Dickens to Benjamin- was how time is organised in the urban context. Simmel's celebrated aphorism concerning the disruption that would be caused by the simultaneous breakdown of all the clocks in Berlin, provides the key to the origin of this interest: metropolitan time, urban time, is an extraordinarily regulated, compartmentalised, and ordered sequence. And these qualities -which are related to its commercial nature- lie at the root of the frenzy of urban life, of the accelerated movement characteristic of the metropolis. Thus, the idea of "lack of time", the feeling of not having "free time", the fear of "wasting time" have become some of the principal concerns for many people. But, is the use of time by the inhabitants of Barcelona this intensive?

Until very recently no data was available that would answer this question, but recent contributions (SUBIRATS, 1998) have thrown light on the subject and show, initially, that the problem affects the city's inhabitants in very diverse ways depending on their personal characteristics. Using data from the Metropolitan Household Survey, sociologists have shown that, while the average time people in the metropolitan region allocate to sleeping has not changed (approximately 8 hours), the time spent on other activities has changed considerably. Between 1990 and 1995, the average amount of time working people dedicated to paid employment tended to decline. Time spent on housework is also tending to fall, as is time spent commuting (a surprising finding in light of the increase in the distance involved in the normal commute, probably attributable to improvements in the transport infrastructure). On the contrary, free time (that is, the rest of the day, the time people dedicate to eating, dressing, taking care of themselves, shopping, family life, etc.) has increased considerably both in the population as a whole (which has on average 9h 44m available for these activities), and in the working population (with 6h 30m of free time).

However, the availability of time is distributed in an extremely unequal manner depending on the gender and age of the person concerned. On average, men dedicate twice as much time as women to paid work (4h 40m for men, compared to 2h 23m for women in the population as a whole, and 8h 32m as against 7h 11m for working men and women respectively). On the other

hand, women spend four times more time than men on domestic tasks (0h 52m for men and 4h 05m for women in the population as a whole, and 0h 43m and 2h 41m for working men and women respectively). Over the last five years, a trend towards convergence has been observed in this parameter, but it is very slight. On average, men enjoy more free time than women (10h 10m compared to 9h 22m in the population as a whole, and 6h 41m and 6h 02m for working men and women respectively). The distribution by age also reveals marked differences, especially for men, among whom the dedication of time to paid work is concentrated principally in the 25-55 age group, after which age in many cases it ceases suddenly. The problem, therefore, does not appear to be a lack of time but rather the unequal distribution of free time. A shortage of free time affects above all working people, young adults, who in addition are usually those who have the most disposable income to fill their leisure time with activities, and the visibility of these groups contributes to the generalised sensation that all sections of the population are suffering from a lack of time.

There is, however, another aspect which should be taken into account, and that is the quality of the free time available. It is often made up of fragments, "dead time" and transitional moments, which are difficult to take advantage of (PRATS, 1997). The opening hours of businesses, public service offices, the timetables of schools and public transport, and the inflexibility of the working day, all make it more difficult to use this time creatively. Initiatives undertaken recently by the Barcelona City Council reveal the nascent interest of the local government in this question. If the Barcelona metropolis wants to improve the quality of life of its inhabitants, increase the level of its services, and resolve some of its functional problems, not only will it have to organise its space, it will also have to rethink in depth the organisation of its time.

8. Income: Increasingly wealthy?

The evolution of the mean, per capita income of the inhabitants of the Barcelona metropolitan region has in recent years clearly been positive. Studies carried out by the Institut Valencià d'Anàlisi Econòmica (REIG, dir., 1997) have shown that the real growth rate of per capita income in the province of Barcelona between 1975 and 1993 was 1.47% per annum, so that (in 1990 pesetas) it rose from 940,337 pesetas in the period 1964-1975 to 1,421,306 in the period 1991-1993. It is also interesting to note that between 1985 and 1995 the per capita Gross Domestic Product for Catalonia went from 87.01% to 95.03% of the mean for the European Union-15 (at purchasing power parity). In this context, therefore, it can be asserted that the citizens of the Barcelona metropolitan region are today, on average, growing richer.

However, since wealth is a relative concept some important clarifications are necessary here. In the first place, it should be pointed out that the per capita income of Barcelona (province) is tending to converge with the Spanish and the Catalan average. Thus, while in the period 1964-1975 the income of the inhabitants of Barcelona was on average 41.24% higher than the Spanish mean (141.24 in index numbers where Spain=100), in the 1991-1993 period this difference had dropped to 22.35%. Barcelona is the only one of the Catalan provinces where income has evolved in this way, since during this period all the other three Catalan provinces have evolved positively with respect to Spain as a whole. Consequently, the position of

Barcelona province is declining relative to Catalonia as a whole. Whereas in the period 1964-1975 its per capita income was (in index numbers) 104.03 with respect to the Catalan mean, the same figure in the period 1991-1993 was 98.95, representing a drop below the average for Catalonia.

Data provided by the Institut d'Estadística de Catalunya relating to net per capita disposable family income in the Catalan *comarques*⁶ confirm this situation from another perspective and allow us to analyse it in greater detail. According to this source, in 1991 only one of the seven metropolitan *comarques*, the Barcelonès, was included among the ten best situated Catalan *comarques*. It occupied eighth position, well behind *comarques* such as the Vall d'Aran, Cerdanya (in the Pyrenees), Alt Empordà, Gironès and Selva (in the Costa Brava area). In the same list, the Maresme and Garraf ranked 13th and 17th respectively, while the Alt Penedès, Baix Llobregat, Vallès Occidental and Vallès Oriental came even lower, and were below the Catalan average. The image of a rich urban Catalonia in contrast to a poor and declining rural Catalonia, which has been the subject of so many articles, books and academic and political discourses, does not, therefore, in any way reflect the current situation.

9. Education and language: An increasingly educated population?

One of the best indicators of the level of social welfare of a city is the educational level and cultural consumer habits of its population. Education and training are also, clearly, two important factors affecting the competitiveness of the city in many fields of activity. The data available on this subject reveal that a very positive evolution has taken place in this field in the Barcelona metropolitan region and that, in principal, it can be said that the population of Barcelona is increasingly more highly trained and educated.

According to data taken from the Metropolitan Household Survey, in 1995, 10.8% of the population had a university education, 30.2% had ceased their studies after completing secondary school, and 39.5% after completing primary school. A total of 19.5% still reported having no education. It should be noted, moreover, that more recently the situation has shown rapid improvement. Thus, in the population resident within the ambit of the disbanded Metropolitan Corporation the percentage of people over 18 without any formal education decreased by half between 1985 and 1995 (from 29.3% to 15.7% among men, and from 40.9% to 23.3% among women). During the same period, the population with primary or secondary education rose from 58.6% to 70.8% among men, and from 52.3% to 65.4% among women. The population with higher education also increased, both in the male population (from 12.0% to 13.5%), and particularly in the female population (from 6.8% to 10.9%). In 1995, 2 out of 10 young people under 26 had finished university, and only 3 out of 10 had stopped their education after primary school.

Another important aspect is the increase in the number of people with a knowledge of the Catalan language. Studies based on data from the Metropolitan Household Survey have shown

⁶ A *comarca* is a Catalan administrative unit, including different municipalities and similar, to some extent, to a county. There are 41 *comarques* in Catalonia (which has a total surface of some 32.000 km²).

that although the linguistic groups remain very stable with respect to the way citizens identify themselves according to their native language (with the exception of a slight, but significant, increase in the group of people who refuse to choose between Spanish and Catalan and state that they are "bilingual"), knowledge of Catalan is gaining ground to a notable degree. Whereas, in 1985 only 26.6% of the population over 18 resident in the municipalities of the Metropolitan Corporation stated that they knew how to write in Catalan, ten years later, in 1995, this figure had risen to 38.6%. The percentage of persons who stated that they were able to speak Catalan went from 61.2% to 68.2%, and that of those who said they could understand it from 92.1% to 96.0%. This increase occurred particularly in the young population: 81.2% of residents in the metropolitan region aged between 18 and 25 stated that they were able to speak and write in Catalan.

In spite of these data, and others which could be cited, it is evident that a great deal still remains to be done in this field. We would like to highlight just three points. In spite of the increase in the overall level of training and education, 3% of the people resident in the metropolitan region still state that they are illiterate (two out of every three people in this situation are women). A person coming from a low income family now has greater possibilities of obtaining a university degree, but in 1995 only 1 out of every 10 young people between the ages of 26 and 35 coming from a family in a low social-professional category had obtained this kind of qualification, as against 5 out of every 10 children of families in a high social-professional category. The provision of cultural facilities has improved notably, but only 14.6% of the people resident in the metropolis state that they regularly go to the cinema, 7.0% that they frequently visit museums or exhibitions, and only 2.9% say that they go often to the theatre.

10. Social inequality: Reducing disparities?

One of the recurrent conclusions we find in the sociological literature concerning the European and North American city is the observation of an increase in social inequality which often occurs in such environments. Thus, it has often been said that the internationalisation of urban economies and the flexibilisation of the productive processes is giving rise to an increase in social inequality which, in turn, results in phenomena, such as social polarisation or even dualisation in large metropolitan areas. However, on the basis of the data available on income distribution, it does not appear that this is happening in Barcelona. On the contrary, what is discernible is a certain reduction of the inequalities both between different areas and between social groups. We should add, however, that the data at our disposal relating to this subject - both measurements by indirect methods and those taken from surveys - pose important methodological problems which oblige us, therefore, to treat them with caution.

The data available relating to differences in mean disposable family income between the municipalities of the metropolitan region show that the metropolitan belts are situated on average below the Barcelona municipal area, but that the trend is towards convergence (ARCARONS et al., 1994). Likewise, the data from the Metropolitan Household Survey for the period 1989 -1994 indicate that, taking the mean family income in Barcelona as 100, that of the families in the first metropolitan belt went from 77.1 to 80.5, and that of those in the second

belt from 79.8 to 87.1. On the other hand, the data also show a decline in the inequality of the distribution of household income within each one of the scales analysed. Thus, the statistical analysis of the Surveys of Family Budgets 1980/1981 and 1990/1991 (REIG, dir., 1997) show that, for the province of Barcelona as a whole, the Gini concentration coefficient applied to the distribution of the total income by deciles of households dropped, between the years of reference, from 0,3313 to 0,3207. Coincidentally, the results of the Metropolitan Household Survey show a reduction of the coefficient of the same variable between 1984 and 1994, from 0.437 to 0.400 in Barcelona and from 0.376 to 0.312 in the first metropolitan belt.

Economists have indicated that the improvement of Spanish welfare schemes (retirement and disability pensions, widows pensions, unemployment benefit and other aid) may have played an important role in this relative reduction of inequalities, especially in low income groups (RECIO, 1998). In the metropolitan region the percentage of people living in households that received some kind of state benefit increased between 1990 and 1995 from 42.7% to 50.2%. During the same period, owing in part to the ageing of the population and to the economic conjuncture, the percentage of people living in households that depend solely on this type of income increased from 16.7% to 22.0%.

This trend towards a relative decline of the inequalities between households and geographical areas does not in any way negate either the persistence of very pronounced differences between different social groups and geographical areas, or alter the fact that the situation of certain segments of the population is very serious. Finally, it is important to remember that besides the inequalities associated with income there are others -related to gender, age and other factors- which, although they are tending in some cases to diminish, are still very marked.

11. The environmental impact: An acceptable cost?

In the foregoing ten sections, we have seen how metropolitan Barcelona is growing and spreading out over the territory. We have also seen how, in spreading out, the population of the metropolis is increasing, in spite of the low birth rate, ageing and emigration from the central areas. We have also explained how this metropolitanisation process has been accompanied by a pronounced transformation in the area's economic base. Beside the traditional industrial activities, the service sector has grown so much that it is now the primary source of income. At the same time, new, more flexible, open and decentralised forms of production have evolved. Throughout this process -with the intervention of the diverse agents and of the public administration- metropolitan society has become, in general terms, richer, more educated, and perhaps less affected by inequalities. But we have shown, nonetheless, that serious problems still persist with respect to external competitiveness, land use, urban functionality, housing, employment, inequalities of income and opportunities. At this point we should ask ourselves what impact the transformations of the last two decades are having on the environment. In order to analyse this question in depth, we would need much more space than we have here, and much more information than we have at our disposal at this time. We will limit ourselves, therefore, to discussing the implications of three phenomena which seem to us to be of particular importance: the increases in travel, the consumption of land and of energy.

The most visible impact of the urban spread we have described is, undoubtedly, the consumption of land. Data provided by the team which is drawing up the *Pla Territorial Metropolitana* indicate how much this consumption has increased in recent years. In 1880, only 1,763 hectares of the 323,000 that make up the territory of the metropolitan region were developed; slightly less than a century later, in 1972, urban land cover accounts for 21,482 hectares. Now then, this figure doubled in the two following decades, reaching 45,036 hectares in 1992 (SERRATOSA, 1994). This means that urban development in the metropolitan region has consumed as much land in the last twenty years as had been used in the entire past history of the city and its environs.

This elevated pace of urban development, which is also common in other principal Spanish cities, has provoked situations close to saturation point in several municipalities, and represents a major mortgaging of future growth. Moreover, the expansion of urban, and therefore impervious, land cover has a negative effect on the maintenance of aquifers, while increasing runoff and the risk of flooding in an area which owing to its climate and topography is already susceptible in this respect. But, from the point of view of the environment, the principal effect of land urbanisation is, without doubt, the progressive isolation and fragmentation of open spaces.

The metropolitan region has an important heritage of spaces of natural interest. In recent years, a great deal more attention has been paid to the planning of these spaces so that many of them now enjoy some form of legal protection. Nearly one fifth of the territory in the metropolitan ambit (62,439 hectares) is designated as space of natural interest and is therefore protected. Now then, these spaces are generally located in the high and sharply inclined areas of the two low mountain ranges which, running parallel to the sea, structure the metropolitan territory: the Serralada Pre-litoral (which includes the Montseny, Sant Llorenç Serra de l'Obac, and Montserrat Natural Parks, among others), and the Serralada Litoral (the Montnegre, Corredor-Sant Mateu, Collserola and Garraf Parks). The progressive development for urban use of the green-spaces located in the plains between these ranges (the Vallès and Penedès for example) contributes to the encircling and isolating of these protected areas. Thus, as has happened in so many other urban areas, the green-spaces are becoming progressively reduced to isolated pockets. This may have very negative effects on the maintenance of biological diversity, on the survival of the natural systems and on the exercise of the compensatory function which such open spaces can have.

One of the main objectives of the *Pla Territorial Metropolitana de Barcelona* -which, as we have said, is currently in the process of being drawn up- will apparently be to defend green-spaces and ensure, by way of biological corridors, that these natural areas remain connected so that they can function as a single system. It is undeniable, however, that the effects of the urban development and fragmentation that have affected Barcelona's green-spaces in recent years are now practically irreversible.

The second aspect of the metropolitanisation process that has had a significant impact on the environment is the increase in travel. The increasingly more extensive use that the citizens make of the territory when choosing a place of residence, going to work, or seeking services

translates, logically, into an increase in mobility. Since the origin and destination of trips are ever more frequently found in low density areas, this increase in mobility is satisfied by the growing use of private vehicles. It is not a simple task to evaluate the cost of this increase in mobility, but the data available give cause for concern. An approximate estimate of the effects of the decline in the capacity of the municipalities to be self-contained with respect to employment is very significant. In 1986, the working population resident in the metropolitan region was 1,243,063 people, and intermunicipal commuters represented 32.4% of the total. Five years later, in 1991, (the last year for which census information in this field is available) the working population had grown to 1,579,805 persons, and intermunicipal commuters accounted for 38.1% of the total. Thus, a 27.1% increase in the working population produced a 49.6% increase in intermunicipal travel. If the increase in employment had taken place in such a way that the municipal self-containment had remained the same in 1991 as it had been in 1986, there would have been 90,575 less intermunicipal journeys in one direction.

This decline in municipal self-containment represents, according to our calculations, some 223.7 million kilometres per annum of additional travel, and some 12.3 million additional hours spent in commuting. In 1991, the direct annual cost to the users of this increase in commuting distance was some 24,385 million pesetas (the equivalent in Spanish prices of the construction of about 24 kilometres of motorway) (NEL.LO, 1997).

Nor should we forget the environmental cost of this increased mobility, which can be measured in terms of pollution, the impact of the necessary new road infrastructure, and the higher consumption of energy. With respect to air pollution, it should be noted that, in general terms, the municipalities of the metropolitan region do not generally exceed the admissible regulatory levels. According to the Xarxa de Vigilància i Previsió de la Contaminació Atmosfèrica de la Generalitat de Catalunya (the Catalan's government's Network of Atmospheric Pollution Monitoring and Forecasting), which measures the levels of 9 primary pollutants (NO₂, HCT, H₂S, CO, SO₂, Cl₂, Pb, black smoke and total number of particles in suspension), only 1 of the 163 metropolitan municipalities habitually exceeds the limits of H₂S (Prat de Llobregat owing to industrial pollution). However, pollution levels associated above all with traffic and urban activities (particularly solids and black smoke) are exceeded habitually in 10 metropolitan municipalities.

More visible are the impacts on the environment of the road transport infrastructure, the great expansion of which is now the cause and effect of the increase in mobility. In the last ten years, the network of fast arterials and restricted roadways (motorways, express ways etc.) within the metropolitan region has been extended considerably with the construction of numerous new stretches of road. Projects that stand out include the Barcelona Ring Roads, the Vallvidrera Tunnel, the Terrassa-Manresa motorway, the prolongation of the A-19 motorway (in the Maresme) and the A-16 (in the Garraf), the Parpers Axis (between Mataró and Granollers) and the express way being constructed along the right bank of the Llobregat River. The implantation of this new infrastructure has had significant impact on the environment, both in terms of the direct consumption of land and the barrier effect of the roads (not always mitigated by the necessary corrective measures). On the other hand, it should be pointed out that the growth of the road network -which has undoubtedly made possible greater integration of the

labour market within the area and has probably increased its competitiveness- has not been accompanied by a comparable investment in the public transport network, so that both the underground and the commuter train system, despite the improvements that have been introduced in their management, have seen how the expansion of their respective networks has remained practically stagnated.

With respect to the consumption of energy associated with mobility, it should be indicated that the consumption of liquid fuel for transport purposes is growing in absolute terms and represents an important component of the total consumption of energy. In 1996, according to data supplied by the City Government, in the city of Barcelona alone 310,152 m³ of gasoline and 288,512 m³ of diesel were consumed, and the consumption of energy for transport purposes represented 42.8% of total energy consumption (AJUNTAMENT DE BARCELONA, 1997). The increase in energy consumption related to mobility is taking place in the context of a general increase in recent years in the consumption of water and the principal sources of energy, due in part to economic growth but also to new trends in urban living. For example, the consumption of electricity in the city of Barcelona has risen from 3,622.7 Gwh in 1986, to 5,189.3 Gwh in 1996; an increase of 43.2% in ten years, as against a loss, during the same period, of 11.3% of the resident population. The consumption of piped gas in the city has also risen during this period from 1,927.8 to 2,642.9 million therms, an increase of 34.3%. Finally the consumption of water in the city has moderated slightly, going from 138.9 hm³ in 1986 to 119.3 hm³ in 1996, representing a daily consumption of 210 litres per inhabitant. In the rest of the metropolitan region, for which no comprehensive data are available, the consumption of water per inhabitant is probably higher because of the diverse typology of the housing stock and the presence of irrigated farmland.

This rise in energy consumption has been accompanied by a significant increase in solid urban waste. Thus, still restricting ourselves to data relating to Barcelona alone, the volume of household waste collected went from 500,406 tons in 1986 to 627,134 tons in 1996, meaning that the production of waste per inhabitant has increased from 286.2 to 415.6 kilograms per annum. Four fifths of this waste is dumped in the Garraf tip, a large facility which receives some 869,000 tons from Barcelona and other metropolitan municipalities annually. The rest of the city's waste is incinerated and electricity is produced in the process. It should also be pointed out that selective waste collection (of glass and paper as well as plastic and metal containers) has increased by 54.7% between 1993 and 1996. In 1996, 20,596 tons of this material was recycled.

Finally, it should be noted that in Catalonia the government has made a very notable investment in the treatment of waste water. The number of waste water treatment plants in the region as a whole has gone from 91 in 1992 to 174 in 1996, and the annual volume of treated water from 362 to 526 hm³.

A review of the environmental balance of these years reveals therefore a combination of bright spots and shadows. While, on the one hand, it is evident that the level of awareness has increased a great deal, and that the measures of control have represented advances in some fields (water treatment and air pollution above all), the overall evolution evidences serious

deficiencies. The break with the traditional model of a Mediterranean city -dense, compact and complex- and the progressive substitution of a more diffuse settlement pattern -less dense and more socially and functionally specialised- has had important impacts on the environment. Impacts whose clearest expression is surely the rapid occupation of land, the intensification of mobility, and the rise in energy consumption. It would appear to be a difficult task to ensure compatibility between the consequences of this development and the maintenance of a quality environment, the future welfare of the population, and the competitiveness of the metropolitan economy. The city's future depends, therefore, in good measure on its ability to successfully meet this challenge.

Bellaterra, September 1997

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Day 3: FIELDWORK
Saturday 4th July

9.30h.-18.00h.

**Student's fieldwork in a peripheral area of
Barcelona (Non Barris) led by Josepa Bru and
Asunción Blanco.
(Lunch will be provided)**

FIELDWORK TO *NOU BARRIS* LED BY JOSEPA BRU AND ASUNCIÓN BLANCO

The aim of this fieldwork is to analyse women's role in everyday life in an urban area of Barcelona in the past and nowadays. The selected area is located in *Nou Barris*, a district of Barcelona, characterised by its marginalised position, from a physical and social point of view.

In *Nou Barris* (in English means "nine suburbs"), we have chosen three areas with similar topographical characteristics but with different urban networks and social structures. These differential patterns are associated to specific processes of the built environment and the population. These three areas are *Roquetes*, *Torre Baró* and *Ciutat Meridiana*.

Methodology

Three types of activities will be taken:

1. A general overlook of the main geographical, historical, social/demographical aspects of each area will be **given in a work session** offered in one of the educational centers of *Nou Barris*.
2. Everybody will participate in a **first guided visit** and a questionnaire will be distributed to make the observations. Afterwards, participants will be divided in three groups and an itinerary will be assigned to each group.
3. **Visit to grass-root associations** involved in women activities. Different members (specially women) will explain us the main facts that have contributed to the present situation of these areas. Spanish students and staff will be the interpreters.

Day 4: ENGENDERING RURAL AND URBAN ENVIRONMENTS

Sunday 5th July

- 9.30h** **Joos Droogleever Fortuijn & Lia Karsten (University of Amsterdam)** *"Environment and mobility; mobility patterns of children, working women and elderly women"*
- 10.30h** **Anna Bofill (architect)** *"Women, daily life and urban environment"*
- 11.30h** **Coffe break.**
- 12.00h** **Workshops on lectures and literature.**
- 13.30h** **Lunch.**
- 15.30h** **Visit to Barcelona led by Alba Caballé (details will be announced)**

Joos Droogleever Fortuijn & Lia Karsten

“Environment and mobility; mobility patterns of children, working women and elderly women”

Abstract

An important theme in the environment debate in the Netherlands is the issue of the rising mobility. The increase in car ownership and car use in this densely populated country forms a heavy burden for the natural environment: soil, water and air are polluted, landscapes are crisscrossed by highways, car parks and rail lines and a high percentage of the scarce is used for the transport of persons and goods.

In the mobility debate women have been blamed as originators of the mobility increase and therefore as polluters of the environment. Although men are using the car more frequently and over longer distances than women, the increase in mobility can be related directly to the emancipation of children, youth, women and the elderly.

In the first part of our presentation we will outline the contradictory relationship between feminism and environmentalism, focussing on the mobility issue. In the second part we present developments in mobility patterns of women in different stages of their life cycle: as children, as working women and as elderly women. In the final section we will discuss some options for the reconciliation of emancipation and mobility control.

Key points of discussion

1. Discuss the following statement: “Feminism and environmentalism are in opposition with each other”.
2. Droogleever Fortuijn and Lia Karsten have outlined the relationship between emancipation, mobility and environment. Do you recognize this relationship in your own country? Is there a public debate on this relationship? What is the same, what is different? Why?

Article

Stete, Gisela (1995) “Settlement structures, traffic and transport structures and the organisation of everyday life” in **Ottes, L.** (et al.) *Gender and the Built Environment*, Assen, Van Surcum, pp.143-149.

Zauke, Gabi & Spitzner, Meike (1995) “Freedom of movement for women” in **Ottes, L.** (et al.) *Gender and the Built Environment*, Assen, Van Surcum, pp.149-155.

Anna Bofill

“Women, daily life and urban environment”

Cities, in their present configuration, have been built assuming that men go to work while women stay at home. This has had a number of effects: the separation of the private and the public spheres, the zonification as the best and most rational arrangement of the urban space, splitting uses and functions and dividing up the space where the complexity of urban life takes place; to assign building densities, habitat typologies and social categories to different areas; to consider the relationship between house and work as the most important in the complex urban dynamics; to design traffic arteries and transport networks to go as far as possible within the shortest time, and so on. That is the city has been built assuming that the users are healthy native men in working age. And only women already make up 52% of the total population.

In spite of differences in training and status, all women still have in common the responsibility of organizing daily life. This knowledge in the domestic sphere, spilling over the remaining spheres of personal activity and interpersonal relationships can be objectified and being used to identify needs, to define targets, to assess priorities and to analyze strategies in order to implement general policies.

The knowledge, experience and needs of women give to the configuration of the urban environment new and different features and qualities that will turn it in a place more easy to live, more secure and more friendly.

Key points for discussion

1. Can houses be adapted to the diverse situations in which people find themselves in their life course? What kind of house needs a young person to live by him/herself? Is it available?
2. Who is in charge of domestic work or/and family caring, in your case? Why? The number and availability of services, shops, workplaces and training institutions, leisure spaces or sport facilities in your neighbourhood make them easier or not?
3. Has your neighbourhood meeting places to promote interactions among neighbours?

Article

Greed, Clara H. (1994) “Planning for women”, in *Women and planning: creating gendered realities*, Routledge, London, pp.173-193

... .. measures with regard to car use (especially in the case of private traffic) but rather to direct their efforts at facilitating alternative means of locomotion such as public transportation and slow moving traffic (bicycle, pedestrian) both for commuting, social and recreational traffic and for business traffic.

4th Recommendation

The Council for Emancipation is in principle willing to accept the emphasis that is put on the urban centres and the Randstad. If the minister also intends to guarantee livable conditions and accessibility outside the urban districts, in particular for women combining paid and unpaid work, an emancipatory policy of mobility will have to be developed for these regions as well.

5th Recommendation

The importance of an effective policy for traffic and transportation providing sufficient means of transportation necessitates close cooperation between the different bodies connected with all aspects of traffic and transportation, but also with physical planning policy at the different levels.

The Council for Emancipation advises the Ministers of V&W and VROM to introduce the element of an emancipatory policy for mobility at an early stage of policy planning because the other participants are in general unaware of such a policy.

6th Recommendation

Finally the Council for Emancipation urges the Ministers of V&W and VROM to stimulate a number of pilot projects:

- Stations for city and regional transport that are safe for the public. The Netherlands Railways already have adopted a policy to render their stations as safe as possible. Regional and city transport have developed a number of laudable initiatives. These should be formulated.
- Safe parking garages, transfer facilities and bicycle parking.
- Municipal and regional bicycle projects - safe bicycle paths and direct connections both radially and tangentially.

In presenting the above analysis, advice and recommendations the Council for Emancipation wishes to contribute to a policy for mobility that does justice to the requirements for livable conditions as well as accessibility in an emancipated society.

Note

1 This chapter was written at the request of the Council for Emancipation and sent as an advisory policy document to the Ministries of General Affairs, Social Affairs and Employment, Traffic and Waterways; and Housing, Planning and the Environment, in December of 1993. The Council appreciates the introduction of the paper by the author for discussion at the congress organised by SEIROV.

17 Settlement structures, traffic and transport structures and the organisation of everyday life.

Which structures support women's mobility?

Dr. Otter, L (etal)
Sachsen and the Built Environment.
Classen: Van Soestem,
pp. 143-155

Gisela Stete

Introduction

The organisation of everyday life is mostly the task of women because due to the role of gender and the distribution of work in our society women are responsible for the housework. This does not depend on whether they are working in a job or not, or have children or not, or both, or what age they are. By the side of their housework women take on the main part of family work, i.e. they look after children and grandchildren and other family members needing care. All these activities require related structures of everyday life, because the resulting mobility demand is high - shopping, dealing with administration etc., accompanying family members to school / to the doctor etc. That means that women, most of all if they are working - and almost 60% of women between 15-65 years in Germany do so - have to prove their ability as 'time managers'. Their own time and the time of others has to be calculated, organized and used as efficiently as possible.

The main difference between time demands on men is that most men move in time restrictions and conditions that are related to their work. Women have increasingly complex constraints. The demand of time coordination required by the care for children and other persons, the dependency on opening hours of shopping facilities, administrative and children's facilities leads to the phenomenon that a woman's available time is much more restricted than that of men, and that - as a result of a very tight time budget - only limited distances can be covered. The management of everyday life requires spatial proximity.

Development of settlements and traffic

But how do our settlement structures correspond to the mobility patterns of women?

Our cities are characterized by mono-functional living and working areas and by centralized structures for supply, service and administration. Retail trade is concentrated in the inner city areas while huge supermarkets are located in the

outsiders. For rural areas the concept of 'central villages' has been developed. In a region a hierarchical system defines centres of different scale levels (main middle, small) with specific functions and structures of supply. This centralist infrastructure policy has destroyed the traditional multifunctional settlement structures, mainly in rural areas, with their mixture of living, working, supply, education etc. Subsequent to this spatial reorganisation many villages lost important institutions and meeting points such as mayor's office, post office, primary school, shops for daily food supply. For example the small food shops decreased by 65% in 20 years, resulting in an increase in distances to be covered for daily supplies that have to be managed mostly by women.

It has never been calculated if and how far these settlement structures correspond to the demands of everyday life and whether they are useful. How do women live in so-called dormitory towns? What does a supermarket mean that can only be reached by car to those who depend on public transportation?

The distance between areas having different functions can be covered by different means - on foot, by bicycle, by public transportation or with the car. In how far do the different traffic and transportation systems meet women's mobility demands?

Parallel to settlement development, traffic and transportation also changed: the road system in West Germany increased by 25% in 30 years. The extension of the highways was out of proportion with a 250% increase. On the other hand, the German railway system was reduced by more than a quarter. That meant a restriction in the access to mainly rural areas. On the remaining railway system high speed technology is nowadays specifically advanced (e.g. ICE).

Traffic and transport policies of the last decades favoured covering long distances at great speed, while the car was much more promoted than other means of transport. The principle of 'faster and further' has been consistently realized in urban public transport. The urban rapid transit lines have been enlarged three times and at the same time tram lines have been reduced to less than half, often combined with reduced frequency and poor service outside peak times or the rush hour. So the offer of public transport for short distances has been reduced in favour of rapid transport systems.

As a result the opportunities for organizing everyday life are highly dependent on the settlement structure and demand a specific transport infrastructure which nowadays exists only to a certain extent. In most places the complex everyday needs of women can be managed insufficiently. In rural areas, where places for women's work and education are few and the next city or main centre is far away, many women give up paid employment. In general the option to find work nearby is essential mainly for mothers of many or little children. This is also valid for urban areas and often results in women having to look for any employment available close to home especially when they are under the restraint of combining job and housework, instead of finding a job befitting their qualifications.

The importance of the development of settlements and transport systems for women becomes even more clear when the data of car ownership are studied. Women are significantly less motorized than men. Even in the group aged 25 to

44, where 80% have a driver's licence, only about 30% own a car. Investigations of car availability show that almost 70% of men have a car at their disposal, but only 30% of women, i.e. the car in a household is much more used by men and also the second car if there is one is not only meant for the woman, but also used by any grown-up children.

All these facts prove that the car cannot be the main means of transport for women. The following table shows the actual use of modes of transport in terms of gender specification:

Table 1. Mode of transport (Kontiv 1989)

Means of transport	Women (%)	Men (%)
On foot	33.0	20.6
By bicycle	12.5	10.5
Motorbike	0.3	1.6
Car driver	25.5	50.7
Second car driver	15.7	6.8
Public transport	8.2	5.4
Combined with walking	2.9	2.3
Without walking	1.2	1.1
No answer	0.7	1.0

Women mainly walk. Only 25% drive a car, while 50% of men do. Public transport is used more by women than by men as well. The lower availability of cars and the resulting use of other means of transport indicates again the importance of spatial nearness of functions which are relevant to women.

Urban structures and organisation of everyday life - results of a research project in Darmstadt

A research project about the mobility of women in different situations (young women, working women with or without children, housewives, older women) undertaken in Darmstadt documents the influence of settlement structure on the organisation of women's everyday life. In this project women's mobility in terms of purpose, aim, means of transport, travel time and distance was documented in two very distinctive quarters of the town.

Bessungen: a neighbourhood directly adjoining the city centre (average distance to the centre 1 - 2 KM), built at the end of the last century, with a decentralised, wide-ranging provision of amenities (shops, services, culture and leisure activities etc.).

Kranichstein: a typical suburb in the outskirts, having an old village core and huge mono-functional living areas with 7 to 12 story buildings from the 70's, with limited facilities concentrated in two locations.

The number of daily activities is almost the same in both neighbourhoods, only the travelling time and the distances differ. The most important result was that a

compact, multifunctional settlement structure like Bessungen helps to save time and distances to be covered related to everyday life. But there is no influence of settlement structures in the weekend, i.e. leisure activities, where the number of activities is smaller, but the distances covered increase immensely.

Table 2. Mobility data

Mobility of women in Bessungen					
Day of the week	Number of displacements	Number of women	Average number of displacements per day/woman	Average duration	Average distance (km)
Monday	387	54	7,17	01:25:51	16,36
Tuesday	362	54	6,89	01:27:37	18,66
Wednesday	367	52	7,06	01:27:33	16,28
Thursday	377	54	6,98	01:46:09	18,29
Friday	355	52	6,83	01:46:09	40,68
Saturday	292	51	5,73	01:33:38	22,85
Sunday	164	47	3,49	01:10:55	40,66

Mobility of women in Kranichstein

Day of the week	Number of displacements	Number of women	Average number of displacements per day/woman	Average duration	Average distance (km)
Monday	382	53	7,21	01:29:33	21,47
Tuesday	401	53	7,57	01:41:36	21,02
Wednesday	366	53	6,91	01:44:16	22,12
Thursday	356	53	6,72	01:34:50	17,85
Friday	380	53	7,17	01:52:26	35,14
Saturday	244	52	4,69	01:25:36	22,57
Sunday	180	48	3,75	01:43:15	45,99

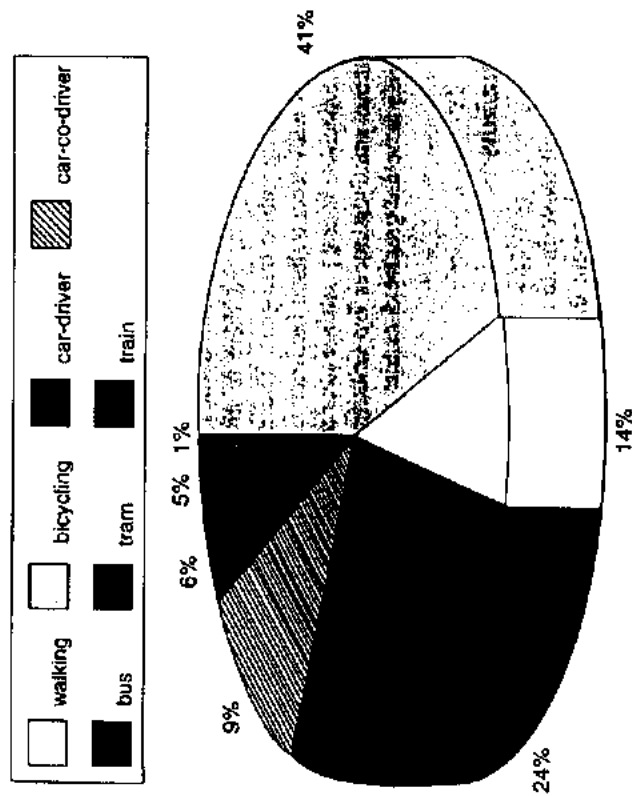
Table 3. Number of ways per week for selected purposes

	Shopping for daily needs				Accompany children to school or play-group		Leisure activities in the evening	
	for daily needs	to children school or play-group	to children or leisure activity	to doctor / leisure activity	in the evening	in the evening	in the evening	
Bessungen	252	59	61	122	114			
Kranichstein	210	171	86	110	71			

In Bessungen, with its decentralized multi-functional infrastructure, a higher mobility rate is found for shopping and leisure activities. It seems that women leave the home more often if their destination is close, when all they want to do is to

other hand the need to accompany their children is significantly lower than in the other quarter (Kranichstein) which is characterized by centralized structures and greater distances. Figure 1 shows the mode of transport of women during the research project.

Figure 1.



Further selected results concerning the choice of the means of transport are:

- When shopping for daily supplies the car plays no important role. That is mainly non-motorized, while in Kranichstein the car is used 2.5 times more often than in Bessungen. Women in Bessungen not only use the facilities more, they also use the car much less.
- Shopping for daily supplies is done for more than two thirds in one's own neighbourhood. In Bessungen, where the city is within walking distance, 25% of it takes place there.
- The car is more important for leisure activities, but even here the other opportunities (walking, cycling, public transport) dominate in the daytime. A reason for the relatively high use of cars for leisure activities is their location outside the neighbourhood, where they obviously are more conveniently reached by car.
- For leisure activities in the evening the car is the most used means of transport, especially in Kranichstein. In Bessungen more than 40% still walk or

Table 4.

Women's mobility patterns	Requirements
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - short distances combined with 'linking of paths' 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - compact settlement structures - multi-functional neighbourhood - better spatial arrangements for living, working, shopping, and recreation - avoiding travel demand
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - less use of car - more use of ecological means of transport 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - promoting modes of transport which are compatible to environmental needs. - shifting travel demands
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - mainly walking - company of persons needing assistance (children, elderly, handicapped) while doing family work 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - redefining the streets as public spaces with social functions and other urban qualities - traffic and transport operation compatible with social requirements and environmental needs

When all those who are responsible for urban planning will take this kind of mobility as a guiding principle and will promote it in general, we shall have a chance to make our cities not only correspond to women's needs, but to those of all citizens.

- activities in the district itself. 35% of all these activities in the evening take place in Bessungen itself.
- When taking their children to play groups or to school, which are mostly located in their own neighbourhood, the majority of women walk.
 - This changes when women have to take the children to the doctor or to children's leisure activities. One reason for using the car is the greater distance (only 50% of the activities take place in the neighbourhood), others are convenience (e.g. carrying sports equipment or picking up friends) and the constraints of their time budget.

Summarizing one can state that the car does not play the most important role in women's mobility. Shopping for daily supplies, leisure activities in the daytime and taking children to school or play groups are mainly managed without a car. For other trips with children and in the evening the car becomes the most important means of transport, but there is still a high percentage of women walking, cycling or using public transport. The next point is that multi-functional neighbourhoods with decentralised facilities simplify the organisation of women's everyday life because many goals are near their homes. Even if they own a car, they cover these small distances by walking or cycling. In mono-functional neighbourhoods there are greater distances, which lead to a higher rate of car use.

Conclusions

Do women still move in an up to date way? It seems that they have missed the technological development in traffic and transportation. But what does that kind of progress mean for mankind? Pollution, noise, a negative impact on nature, people killed or injured in accidents, just to mention some of the facts.

I believe that women should not be considered disadvantaged only because they often go on foot or by bicycle, use public transport and do not own a car. Their kind of mobility is positive. Women behave in an ideal way by using means of transportation that are compatible with environmental needs. And even in town planning and traffic and transport planning which are still dominated by men, most experts consider the promotion of that kind of mobility to be the solution to our traffic problems.

Let us have another look at the characteristics of women's mobility:

18 Freedom of movement for women

Feminist approaches to structural traffic avoidance and an ecological change of transport science, traffic planning and management

Gabi Zauke and Meike Spitzner

Introduction

Most of the thoughts we want to contribute are the result of much work and discussion by the network 'Frauen in Bewegung' (Women in Motion), a network all around Germany of women experts drawn from science, planning and politics, which works toward an ecological, social and feminist change of mobility, as a subgroup within the national working group for traffic in the Greens Party organisation.

We shall first outline major current developments:

- The actual role and interdependence of women and ecology questions.
 - An overview of the actual discussions between the women who are engaged in the themes of mobility and traffic or transport and the five central critical points.
 - The actual discussions of transport research, politics and planning.
 - Ecological questions (mostly in connection with the results of the survey by the commission Protection of the Earth of the Bundestag).
- The women's view will be given on three strategies that critical transport research is going to focus on. For the last three years, these strategies have not been ignored in the established discussion.

Finally, a discussion will be included covering some of the fields which are important for women's interests and where research is necessary, which is oriented to realisation and also to action by women who are involved.

Major current developments

The interdependence of women's and ecological efforts are more a strategic question

We want to emphasise that we are at the point where there is a very strong necessity for the drawing together of the women's movement and the ecological movement because there are already the same interests in both.

fundamental change of science planning and politics, because there is an increasing danger for playing off both movements against each other by established lobbyists, and there is a reaction against those, and because there are many opportunities for learning from each other and correcting and developing of views, orientations and practical steps toward solutions.

We do not intend to say much about the analysis of the effects of traffic planning and policy on women which was the beginning of the work in 1989

A few years ago the discussion among those women who are interested in the subject of transport and traffic started by an analysis of the effects of traffic and transport issues on women. (Spitzner, 1993) They recognized that the orientation towards the automobile in research, planning and policy resulted in discrimination of space and time against women, stabilizing the structure of domination and violence, worsening the psychological discrimination of women and counter-productive to very important aims of the policy of equal opportunity such as better conditions for combining work and family, assuring an individual (material) existence, etc.

Traditional transport planning and policy – a very 'tough' economic sphere – ignores up to this day the tasks involved in the day's work of women. However, initiatives of women are increasingly part of theoretical and practical discussions, experience is gained in case studies and a number of feminist experts are involved in transportation research and the planning of working processes. (Spitzner/Zauke, 1994) Today we are at the point of elaborating integrated methods in transportation research, criteria of planning, concrete positions on actual political decisions (e.g. the privatisation of the national railways). In discussions about these questions it has become clear that ecological intentions and intentions of equal opportunities are very closely related.

Women are not only the victims of the anti-ecological traffic planning, but also the ecological avantgarde, so we have to orientate transport and traffic planning and policy toward women. Men are the problem and the object of the practical critics.

An example of the problems of men-dominated, reduced research categories

One of the daily problems of the effects of transport on the ecology is shown in the following picture of the research category 'shopping traffic'. The transport research money of the Federal Republic is applied largely to a project named Transrapid which provides our Minister with a nice illusion of an economic achievement – 'Wirtschaftsstandort' Germany. Resistance against the spending of those billions of Marks and the several laws passed for this project is very strong in Germany, because the usefulness of the project is hard to understand and other projects need the money; in addition, the project is counterproductive to ecological change.

Five traffic generating principles of the established transport science, planning

- a The connection between economic growth and transport growth, the primacy of the market economy and the (political realisation of) externalization of the effects of transport and traffic (monetary and non-monetary, work intensive and time consuming) are allowed to be passed along to others¹.
 - b The primacy of job/working/labour analogue, of a market economy in relationship to the deficits of change of the gender division of work and in relationship to the spatial division of work.
 - c The androcentric paradigm of transport science and the resulting irrationalism concerning the awareness of reality of importance to mobility, concerning the ecological potentials of solutions and the evaluation and development of measures and instruments.

Implementing certain 'efficiencies in operation' has effects which generate traffic. Irrational (and inefficient) fixation of institutional, material and personnel capacities on technological efficiencies instead of discussing interdisciplinary approaches to problems involving mobility and coping with everyday life has serious effects. In practice, they lead to misjudgements of major consequence regarding the problem solving potentials inherent in:

 - large scale solutions and large projects;
 - the significance of long distance traffic;
 - higher speeds.

These biases, which tend to make more problems instead of solving them and which correspond to business interests, have for years now generated additional traffic.
 - d The isolation of politics toward equal opportunities for women and men, the delegation of politics toward equal opportunities for women and the deficits of professional resource integration of aims of the politics towards equal chances.
 - e The reduced term of ecology - the isolation of nature resources from human resources and from a reflection of gender hierarchy and power relationships in general, which is running parallel to the institutionalizing of environmental tasks.
- The climate of the discussion provides inescapable questions to transport research concerning a fundamental change*
- The survey commission of the German Bundestag which is translating the results from decades of science to politics says we need four strategies in the following order of priority:
- 1 The strategy of traffic avoidance.
 - 2 The strategy of substitution of non-ecological modes of transport by more ecological ones, which means for example offering the opportunity of going by bus instead of by car.
 - 3 Technical strategies.
 - 4 Change of values and behaviour.

Traffic and transportation are not ends in themselves. Traffic is engendered by the way in which society arranges its activities, in terms of both time and space. If today we are confronted with an excess of traffic, does traffic reduction mean giving up certain activities and forsaking a degree of mobility?

This idea arises from the concept of the automobile society. Vehicular traffic is not the equivalent of or identical to mobility. Quite the contrary - many people find that their personal mobility is, in fact, restricted by vehicular traffic not at all not by the mobility of pedestrians, not so very severely by bicyclists but quite seriously by motorists and the effects of traffic planning and policies fixated on the automobile. In many cases reducing vehicular traffic enhances mobility.

Not only fringe groups are affected. It is often taken for granted that the use of an automobile is universal. That this by no means is the case can be established quickly by taking a look at statistics on driving licenses, the availability of a vehicle and its use by women.

A comparison of population groups from a variety of types of settlements also demonstrates that the automobile mania apparent in traffic policy and planning runs well ahead of actual utilization rates. 'Liberation from the automobile' for those who do not have a car is limited, however, to their individual way of covering distances - they are by no means liberated from the effects of cars. But the mobility of motorists themselves is hampered not only by traffic jams. The amount of time, effort and money devoted to traffic is growing; traffic service and performance levels are increasing. What happens, for instance, when more and more women acquire driving licenses and gain access to an automobile? A common experience among women is degradation to chauffeur for immediate family members, relatives or neighbours - unpaid and at the expense of their own free time. This has even become institutionalized in so-called community bus services, usually with female volunteer drivers. Longer travel distances, oriented on the automobile, will have to be compressed once again; roadway planning giving priority to automobiles along the paths children take to school require accompanying traffic, in which a supervisory person, usually a woman, will go along to insure safety. This is (auto)mobility imposed from above - and it can be avoided. Determining which factors and structures generate traffic requires detailed analysis.²

Structural avoidance of traffic aims at preserving and increasing the mobility of both men and women in a fashion which is both ecologically and socially acceptable, in the interest of providing options in life style design and self-determination, affecting primarily their day to day activities, and doing this within an environment and parameters which are ecologically sustainable. Mobility increases as the effort and cost required for transportation, its organizational preparations, etc., decline. The effort required for travel is impacted by the distances to be covered, time factors and technical investment (i.e. vehicles). Eliminating situations which impose travel is the first step toward structural reduction of traffic volumes; the perspectives include modifying time and space structures, altering the circumstances which make travel necessary, and changing ingrained habits. To summarise, the reduction of distances travelled and the number of passenger kilometers and ton kilometers to be covered in motorized vehicles.

The woman's view of the strategies of mobility research

From the feminist point of view the strategies make sense but a very different sense than the mainstream of transport science until now:

- Strategy of traffic avoidance from the feminist view means avoidance of factors forcing transportation.
- The strategy of substitution in a feminist view optimizes mobility conditions because of the current substitution in the other direction (motorization of women).
- Technical strategies are not so important. More important from the feminist view are strategies coordinating small technical improvements.
- A change in values and behaviour from the feminist viewpoint concerns not only people's private behaviour, but also the values and behaviour of professionals. It also optimizes the conditions of implementation, optimizes the structures of decision making and fills the gap of women/men power.

Fields of implementation

In the sense of ecological change of the North and the West, the fields of implementation of ecology including feminine needs can be described as follows.

- In the field of traffic avoidance it is very important to ensure a reorientation of planners, politicians and researchers toward autonomy of mobility (not autonomy) for all. For children, and for women themselves. There are four ways, reducing speed, privileges for car-less people's mobility, reducing privileges for automotive mobility, prices which tell the truth, especially in the sector of bulk goods road traffic, involving also low speed orientation and reintegration of work in the house and on the job.³
- The field of implementation of the strategy of substitution of non ecological transport by more ecological transport is very topical. The privatisation of the railways which is initiated by the European Union is one of the most important decisions for the future of ecological mobility politics and offers a possibility of a turning point. Privatisation involves regionalization of local and regional transportation. Regionalization means new planning proceedings and new planning for public transport. Concerning the new planning proceedings, women ask for a systematic analysis of mobility problems of women and in everyday life. The new organisation of public transport (for the near future) offers an opportunity for reconsideration. Women request a professional who explicitly works for 'public transport planning for equal opportunities'.⁴
- In the field of the strategy of changing values and behaviour of professionals there is a need to reorganise the established organisations and institutions. The background is that we have to overcome the radical minority which dominates planning. Concrete requests for different political and planning organisations now exist.⁴

These are the fields of implementation and of necessities of practice in the situation today. Behind these fields there are also fields of questions and of re-

search. There are the questions of consumption – the automobile as a product which is connected with the ideology of freedom that shows the questions of product conversion. There is the question of future of work and labour and the integration of the different kinds of works (jobs and household and self-determined work).⁵ There is the question of the future of open spaces. These questions are questions of a political way to sufficiency. Women and environment need an emancipated ecological change of transport and mobility, and everywhere in the world ecological, social and equal opportunity oriented freedom of movement.

Notes

- The term 'social' subsequent costs means – in a (typically?) fuzzy choice of words – not the consequences for the interrelationships among people or among groups within the population, but rather those subsequent costs which are 'socialized', passing along to society at large, both private households and public budgets, the subsequent costs which are not borne by the initiators. These are – simply for methodical reasons – primarily environmental costs which can be expressed in terms of money. The social, male dominated, democratic, communicative and social psychological aspects, which are relevant to maintaining social values and transition, have not entered the discussion, since by nature they can be determined neither economically nor directly within their contexts.
- Roadway construction, high speed railways, the expansion of regional airports, engineering vehicles for the 'three-car family' in the form of electric cars, etc., always imply not only the shifting of traffic volumes to ecologically less sound transportation media, but always and at the same time the generation of new traffic and new growth in traffic which will have to be dealt with – of approx. 50,000 trips with the French TGV Sud high speed train in the first year, some 35,000 were trips which would otherwise not have been taken; an elevated Transrapid Maglev route, for which plans were resurrected once again, this time for construction in eastern Germany, if set up as a connection between airports, is seen as the driving factor for a considerable growth in air traffic; according to current estimates by the Parliament of North-Rhine Westphalia, a Transrapid link between Bonn and Berlin would generate 3.1 x 10⁹ passenger kilometers in new travel, etc. The recognition that traffic creates traffic is decades old but in Germany has not become a guide for action even down to this day.
- 'Traffic Avoidance Working Group' of the Fraction of the Social Democratic Party of Germany in the 12th Session of the Bundestag or the intentions of the autumn conference of the state transportation ministers on 17 October 1991 in Potsdam. The Greens had previously, in 1990, published the brochure prepared by their National Traffic Working Group: *Learning to walk again, reducing traffic – creating nearness – gaining time*, Bonn 1990.
- Cf. Grote et al. (1991) and 'Approaches to Strategies towards an Implementation of Participation – Participation of Women Experts, Forms of Participation of Women Civilians and the Significance of Women's Commissions, Networks and Changes of administrative structures', in Spitzner, M., Belke, U. et al., *Optimising the Opportunities for Mobility and the Participation of Women*. Ecological, rural areas oriented ideas for political initiatives of a country. Study about possible legislative and planning intervention of the State Rheinland-Pfalz for the interests and participation of women in view of optimising the infrastructural conditions for women in rural areas. Project report commissioned by the Ministry for Equal Opportunities for women and men Rheinland-Pfalz (previously unpublished) Wuppertal May 1994.
- In the next five years the Wuppertal Institute and the Institute for Ecological Research on Economics (IÖW) Berlin/Wuppertal are going to carry out a study about 'Changed labour, work and world of life and mobility' within a research project 'Sustainable Mobility in City Regions – Models, Criteria, Strategies of Implementation', commissioned by the Ministry of Research and Technologies, Federal Republic of Germany.

of age). Nationally, it is an ever-changing situation with some places starting strong and fizzling out with unfulfilled policies, and others starting slow and still building up steam. Whereas in some cases radical groups have given the system a jolt and got things going, in others there has been a stately, femocratic, build up, dependent on keen practical individuals: planning officers or women councillors, who, irrespective of political complexion, plod on. Nationally the RTPI is producing a PAN on Women and Planning as stated, and also an EO Policy Statement, written by Una Somerville (Belfast), Sandra Newton (Coventry) and myself in conjunction with the RTP Women's panel.

PLANNING FOR WOMEN

CHANGING THE AGENDA

Many of the problems which women encounter in the city of man are the result of a dichotomized public/private view of reality, prevalent within the planning subculture. In order to plan for women, physical divisions between perceived public and private realms manifested in land-use patterns must be dissolved. The nature of land-uses must be reconceptualized, and the likely inter-relationships among them reconsidered, to reflect more realistically the way in which women 'use' urban space (p.22). In this chapter, I take a more prescriptive stance. First I describe ways in which progressive local authorities have sought to plan differently for women, illustrating this with a range of recent examples. Thus they have acted as zone zappers, disrupting the reproduction over space of gendered dichotomies and roles. Second I discuss ways of reconceptualizing city structure to break down spatial divisions to the advantage of women, by mixing, melting, and making new interconnections between, and clusterings among land-uses and activities; thus creating new spaces and possibilities for women. In this process new emphases, foci and zones emerge, centred on activities such as childcare and running a home, thus breaking down the physical/social (spatial/aspatial) dichotomy in the process, which has so constrained the nature of planning policy. Such activities have previously been relegated to the private zone, or fallen down the gap between the public/private realms, and been seen as other, or marginal and limited, but may yet be reborn as new land-use zones in their own right. Third I consider the legal means of effecting change through the planning system. It seems to me there is considerable intransigence, and ignorance, amongst some planners, but one does not have to wait until such persons change their minds towards, or agree with, women and planning policies in order to implement them, provided one can legally enforce women-benefiting policies through regulatory codes. Last, I suggest more fundamental changes in society. It is much more difficult, and beyond the scope of town planning, to change the patriarchal perceptions and related professional cultures which generate dichotomies in the first place, but I believe one can exert positive influence through planning.

PLANNING DIFFERENTLY

Perusing women and planning policies (LWPG, 1991), it is clear that in structuring town planning women are likely to use a different set of classifications from men in organizing the problem. The document *Changing Places* (GLC, 1986a) uses categories of planning policy which are not hand-uses in the conventional sense, but rather activities and topics relating to the way people use the city, creating new linkages. These include: caring, housing, jobs and skills, protection of local shopping centres, safety from violence, and mobility. Mobility, for example, is seen as more than transportation; it is also walking (cf. Dean, 1990). Mobility brings with it a cluster of related issues such as safety, lighting, public transport, availability of public conveniences, and shelter, as discussed in *Women on the Move* (GLC, 1985). Disability is frequently brought centre stage within the context of mobility and access (Hillingdon, Policy BPS11 in LWPG, 1991: 6).¹ This is likely to be accompanied by a concern for employment opportunities for women (and men) involving the provision of childcare, and of safer, more user-friendly work environments. A local authority cannot seriously state that it is promoting equal opportunities within its boundaries, if it does not make childcare an integral part of its economic strategy; that is it deals with issues on the so-called private as well as the public side of the dichotomy. Likewise, ignoring the racial aspects of employment policy in locating new development, could be seen as contravening equality policies. But old attitudes still prevail. A local authority in the Midlands undertook enveloping schemes (that is improving housing and the immediate residential environment) in a black area, but they put the work out to tender and chose white contractors. Unemployed black people had to watch outsider white workmen improve their houses, when what they wanted was jobs, money and control of their own environment.

Sheffield has been strong on making links between the needs of minorities and employment policy. The Central Area Local Plan (Sheffield, 1986) identifies five policy areas which were more extensive in their scope than conventional spatial planning matters, namely to: develop training centres, improve employment and provide projects for women and other disadvantaged groups, encourage workplace nurseries, provide childcare facilities in association with shops, facilitate recreation and leisure for women too, and emphasize safety. The RTP1 women and planning working party (1989b) stressed the importance of providing choice and opportunity for both planners and planned by means of employment and training policy, with emphasis on part-time as well as full-time alternatives. Part-time workers might be seen as prototype zone zapppers whose daily work takes place both in the home and the so-called workplace, thus spanning the public/private divide. But they are often poorly paid for their pioneering efforts. Collecting data on both men and women, full-time and part-time, so the latter are not rendered invisible, is vital. Disaggregation (and recombination) of data on the

basis of ethnicity, disability, location and other characteristics is possible nowadays with sophisticated computer software. In the public realm quantitative data seems to be seen more than qualitative material, for example through doing a social audit as in Newham in 1984 as a means of developing policy for the central area plan; and of Bristol city council staffing in 1993.

The women and planning movement has pioneered alternative ways of undertaking the planning process. Rather than adopting a top-down approach of planning for the people, the emphasis has been upon a participatory model of planning (Darke, 1990: 165-89), and upon dealing with immediate concrete problems, rather than adopting long-term, high-level, abstract strategies. Women planners, to a degree, are more likely to identify with the planned than the planners (McDowell, 1983), and may have their roots in community politics and so be more familiar with informal, qualitative, and serendipitous approaches to finding out what people want. Emphasis is frequently put upon more human issues, such as changing the image of bad areas by 'talking up areas' as Diana Kershaw, Bristol City's chief planning officer, puts it. Urban therapy, to change the spirit of the place and the life chances of individuals, is also a popular concept. Women planners have experimented with different ways of eliciting public participation; their methods might be renamed private participation as the emphasis is upon reaching women in their own territory, on women's side of the public/private dichotomy, in the shops, schools, and gathering places, rather than in public halls at mainstream meetings. For example in Sheffield a women's planning advisory service with a crèche on Saturday mornings was organized. The planners produced a 15-minute video and gave out 25,000 free newspapers in 1986 as part of 'A City Centre for People' initiative (Barnes, 1989). Planning education can also form a link with the community, especially when students are part of rather than separate from the community. Women's groups such as MATRIX (1984), and WDS (1993), and especially, Jos Boys, Sue Cavanagh and Vron Ware, within these groups, have done much to reconceptualize built environment education. Positive efforts have been made by South Bank University to attract more local young black people, especially women, onto planning courses. Women such as Patricia Roberts (previously Dean of the Faculty of the Built Environment), Marjorie Bulos and Maureen Farrish were instrumental in achieving this. The Newham women's working party asked a hundred schoolgirls aged 14-16 for their views, working in small groups. Much effort has also been put into explaining the planning system to women so that they understand what is going on, especially by voluntary planning aid groups (LPAS, 1986b) with women such as Ruth Cadbury and Catherine McBride being actively involved in advising women on planning issues. In London some women may be unwilling to go to evening meetings, if they have to walk across dangerous housing estates in the dark to reach some community hall.

Efforts have been made to reach black women. In South London, planning leaflets were left in Afro-Caribbean hairdressers. More black women are

nowadays involved in housing management (Papafo, 1991; Rao, 1990, WDS, 1993) but fewer in architecture and planning. If the planners have previously shown themselves racist in operating the development control system, black people will not trust them. Accounts abound such as about a black women's centre in East London being required to have a low noise level by the planners; of requirements for unnecessary screening and planting in front of mosques; excessive car parking standards being stipulated for an Asian women's centre in Hounslow, and even of a pentecostal church being refused permission because of concerns about flooding because of the practice of total immersion baptism (cf. Thomas and Krishnarayan, 1993; RTPI, 1993). Male planners may consult with the Sports Council, the National Playing Fields Association, road user bodies, male politicians, and workforce representatives, and with their colleagues in transportation or in the city engineers and surveyors departments. Women are more likely to be in contact with community groups, including those concerned with childcare, public transport use, and consumer issues. Their internal contacts within the local authority are more likely to be with the education department, health bodies, housing authorities, and the social services, leading to new policy linkages such as providing childcare in conjunction with women's skills centres (Deptford), and linking local planning to community minibus organization (Southwark). In the London Boroughs Disability Resource Team issues of disability, gender and race are dealt with together by the same people in respect of planning applications. Women may encounter opposition from male groups within minorities who may want more sport rather than childcare provision. White male planners appear keen to oblige, because they see sport as the panacea for all social ills. Developers may offer planning gain in the form of male sports facilities when seeking planning permission for new retail development whose main users are women shoppers. Black arts centres, and dance centres (Bristol), as against fitness training centres, are generally given low priority.

If women's policies are put in a separate chapter it gives space for their full development, but may give the impression to zone-prone planners that women's issues are other. If they are integrated within each topic (such as transportation, housing) they may get lost, but direct linkages can be made as to the implications for mainstream planning. No one talks about separate men's planning policies, and some women planners prefer to talk about planning for the majority (52 per cent) rather than planning for women. You can never plan entirely separately for women (or for men), and it is a sign of dichotomized thinking (and pillarization) to imagine so. We all live in the same urban space, and women's planning policies are not aimed at building a separate women's super-city elsewhere, which drains resources away from men's needs. Many women planners argue that if you plan well for the minorities, then the majority groups also benefit from the higher level of public provision and improved environmental conditions. Indeed planning for women inevitably means altering planning for men and may be seen as an

all-inclusive approach which affects everyone and every aspect of urban form and development, and not as a limited, marginal little policy option for a small group in society. As proponents of the systems view of planning stressed (McLoughlin, 1969) everything is linked to everything else. If you change a land-use here or a transport route there the effect will reverberate right through the system, and have aspatial (social) implications for everyone. Examples of the integrated and separate approaches are given in *Shaping our Borough* (LWPG, 1991), which includes exemplar UDP policy statements on most topics. Lambeth originally had a separate chapter on women, Hillingdon 1987 added a special chapter on disadvantaged groups, and yet Merton, Newham, Lewisham and Deptford had women and planning threaded all the way through (cf. Davies, 1993).¹

PRIORITIZING SAFETY

Over and above spatial concerns, the aspatial issue of safety features strongly in many women and planning policies, both in relation to transport issues, and as a component of policies on different types of land-uses and developments. I have singled this issue out because demands for assurance of private personal safety for women entering public space often appear to be foremost in the minds of ordinary women when they consider what planning can do for them. The issue of safety seems to be located right along the earthquake fault line where the public/private dichotomy interfaces. This is evidenced in studies undertaken by the Suzy Lamplugh Trust (Lamplugh, 1988), and in a survey undertaken by Southampton planners (1987) on the safety of women in public places. This study was based on a broadly ethnographic approach which, arguably, gave a far better picture of women's experiences than crime statistics alone. Several other authorities have produced design guides on safety, including Waltham Forest's report in 1988 entitled *Access for All*, Southwark's *Housing Security Design Guide*, and Manchester (1987). Other authorities such as Birmingham (in April 1991) have produced internal reports on the situation to inform planning officers. Safety policies may emanate from highways departments, seeking to reconcile aspects of road safety with woman safety which have often appeared at odds (Davis, 1993). Doncaster, Sheffield and Rochdale now have policies against the perpetuation of pedestrian underpasses, thus putting safety before traditional car transport priorities. A woman highways engineer working in Lothian, Scotland, was responsible for getting street lights changed from yellow to white, which improved safety for pedestrians, and Haringey was the subject of a campaign to improve street lighting.

Many women do most of their travelling by foot and are dependent on public transport. Some authorities advocate no more than 250m as a reasonable walking distance to local facilities or bus stops (LWPG, 1991: 17). In the old days, when men walked too, 200 yds or 3 minutes' walk, was seen as an

ideal figure (p.131). Adequate lighting is also advocated for pedestrians, as well as seats in shopping centres, ramps for buggies and the disabled, public conveniences, and minimal steps and unnecessary changes of level or surface texture. To increase safety the use of boundary railings (Ealing), or pierced walls using spaced brickwork rather than solid walls is recommended, particularly around entrances (for example to parks or housing units) so people have a clear line of visibility. Making public transport more accessible and safer for users are high priorities, with British Rail coming in for special investigation (and much condemnation), but everyone mentioning a successful campaign for a footbridge improvement incorporating security fencing at Honor Oak in Smethwick in 1986 (Taylor, 1990). A survey of British Rail and underground stations in Hackney (CILT, 1990) made visible many problem issues, typical of the whole London system. These design issues are not, strictly, town planning, but they are relevant to quality of service, and rights under the Citizen's Charter.

Southwark planners (LWPG, 1991: 12, Policy Env. 11) require that new public buildings should be designed to overlook public areas, and that use of public areas should be increased by the encouragement of mixed land-uses. Many authorities are concerned about dead city centres in the evenings. It is being suggested that traffic should be allowed back through pedestrianized shopping streets in the evening, and empty property above shops should be reused for housing. Unless the entrances to such property are well lit, and preferably at the front, many people would be loathe to live in such flats, if they have to walk through back service areas of shops to their door in the evenings. Car parks are another source of potential danger, but it is illegal to discriminate against men by providing women-only car parks (see *Daily Mail*, 27 June 1991: 32, article by Jessica Davies, 'Why can't we park in safety?' as a reflection of public concern). Separate areas might increase the problem, the Automobile Association recommending more attendants overall. Underground and multi-storey car parks are seen as threatening edifices by many would-be users. Good lighting, security, attendants, and better design would improve matters, but why not also public conveniences, covered bicycle racks, cafés, crèches, left-luggage areas, and dog-minding areas (the facilities being available to anyone, not just car drivers) paid for out of parking charges which are already very high. The car park might take on the role of an activity nucleus.

DEZONING

Home and work

It is essential to restructure and integrate land-uses at city-wide level, to break down impractical land-use dichotomies to the benefit of women (and thus all members of society) (Barrett *et al.*, 1991). Many women and planning policies

start with trying to undo what has gone before, especially the effects of corrective zoning. Reintegrating work and home raises questions about the role of the residential area. A consequence of women going out to work is that residential areas are expected to accommodate nursery and childcare facilities, which interestingly are defined as Class D1 (b) non-residential within the Use Classes Order (Moore, 1987: 305), and thus require planning permission. Class D seems to be an 'other' use category generally, also including religious buildings and aspects of leisure and cultural provision; all safely separated from the serious uses of business and industry. Permission is not normally needed for the use of a room within a domestic house for childminding unless the use becomes dominant or intrusive, or, in some cases, if the dwelling is part of a block of flats. There are several design guides on setting up commercial daycare nurseries (Greenwich, 1991), and many planners try to be accommodating in dealing with such applications. But some authorities still refuse new nurseries because of alleged inadequate car parking provision, which is ridiculous when many women (and all children) do not possess cars. Matters are not helped by the unwillingness of some local authorities to register new childminders (or by taking two years to do so). The 1989 Children Act requires childcare facilities, even in people's homes, to conform to mammoth space standards, which is ironic considering there are few space standards imposed on the internal dimensions of rooms in private housing (except for building regulation controls). As Carmen Duncan (Scottish branch and Equal Opportunities race panel) commented, in conversation, there is a case for greater concern for internal as well as external design controls, because some dwellings are so very small, echoing the long standing insides/outside debate, *provided*, women planners can set the standards and control the agenda.

Within residential areas, I would like to see the adaptation of existing buildings, along the lines suggested by Hayden (1984). She suggests that existing neighbourhoods could be modified so that, say, one house in twenty was converted to a childcare centre. This centre could be also provide other useful facilities and services, such as somewhere to leave pets, elderly relatives, and parcels in a crisis, with possibly a café and laundry service provided too. This is only a half-way house towards the full blown co-operative house-keeping ideas of the last century, but we have to start where we are at and work our way forward (or possibly back). Childcare provision is totally inadequate in this country, and more government investment is needed, possibly in the long term in the form of purpose-built facilities, in new care zones midway between employment and home areas. Since we have an ageing population, reduced fertility rates, and an emphasis on choice, it will maybe that some areas would not be designed around childcare to the same extent, but rather around care in the community, or a collegiate system of single apartments with the choice of shared restaurants and meeting buildings (either mixed or single sex). In all cases developers would be required to come to a planning gain agreement for community provision (Grant, 1982: 292-4).

Trying to remix zones is not easy, as it is 'not what people are used to'. An alternative childcare solution is to create workplace nurseries. Taking children through the rush hour to a central work place crèche is a controversial issue. In the same way that one car space may be provided for every 200 square feet of office space, why cannot one crèche space be provided for, say, every 500 square feet? Increasing or restricting such standards, as with car parking, could be an additional tool for controlling central area development, and would transform the appearance and mix of central areas. Some developers are realising that the provision of childcare in out-of-town business parks is a compatible use which will attract more women workers (for example at Waterside Office Park, Northampton). Some planners see crèches as an acceptable component of the mixed B1 Business Use Class (1987 Use Classes Order) (LPAS, 1986a and b). This could be done easily on industrial estates, as in the war.

The opposite - bringing the work home - has received a mixed reception. An RTPI distance learning unit (Thomas, 1988: 1-25), takes a negative view of such activities. But Southwark's draft district plan (Policy E.1.7, LWPG, 1991: 15) recommends that such uses should be permitted provided home-working is limited to residents of the area. Whilst many women, some men (including employers who welcome money-saving flexible working ideas) see home-working as the future ideal, with everyone sitting at home hunched over their computer with a modem link to their office, some people declare, 'I can't work at home, I have to escape to the office'. Unless there is a shift in gender roles and responsibilities, moving work to the home, or childcare to the workplace, is only half way there. Changes are also needed as to legal conceptions of property tenure and ownership so that women have more access to housing and control over their environment (RTPI, 1989b: 116). Tenure (Circular 7/91, updated by PPG 3, Housing, D.o.E, 1992c) is now a material planning consideration in order to provide affordable housing (but not on gender grounds).

If erstwhile inner-city ethnic minority areas are gentrified and declared conservation areas, residents may be forced out because of design controls restricting the external appearance of the building which would prevent them making internal divisions. Orthodox Jewish families ideally require two kitchens, if they can afford it, a milky and a meaty kitchen because of kosher food preparation law. This may involve a house extension (cf. GLC, 1986c in relation to Haringey's Tottenham area). Moslem households may operate a gender segregation of space within the house, with a separate *zenana* area for the women (p.80), which only works well when there is adequate space to start with, and some sort of separate internal courtyard room. Who are we to judge the political correctness of planning for separate women's quarters, for, without them (like some of their Anglo-Saxon sisters), women may end up worse off, stuck in the kitchen whilst the men take the public living room. Such matters must be treated tolerantly, even when such traditions perpetuate

gendered roles and zoning divisions, as planning refusal may indirectly contribute to the breakup of communities. The situation is complex.

Redefining public open space

I am featuring this component of urban form because planners have traditionally prioritized the importance of space for sport. As explained (p.117) planning theorists have long been concerned with accommodating three elements: home, work and play in the city of man (Doxiadis, 1968). A problem for women is that men's field games, children's play, and even childcare have all been elided and merged as the same activity - sport - to legitimate vast amounts of land being used for public open space. But sport is not for all, for example women are not mentioned in recent policy guidance on sport and recreation (D.o.E, 1992d). Parks in large cities, especially London, have traditionally provided a detailed range of facilities, especially for (so-called) passive leisure (Thurston, 1974, and Whitaker and Browne, 1971). Women have stressed the qualitative aspects of open space, rather than quantifiable standards. Caroline Hanson and Jacqueline Burgess (*The Planner*, November 1988: 127) stress the detailed features that people like (such as parks with pools and ponds) and include a photograph of two women paddling in a pool with their children. This is compared (quoting from a Royal Society paper) with the contemptuous attitude some planners exhibit towards the masses, who are seen as ignorant and in need of control so they don't mess up the countryside too. Many people do not undertake informal recreation in the countryside, including many who are female, elderly, disabled, from ethnic minorities, single parent families, and many children. However, the deciding factor determining access may be car ownership rather than belonging to a minority (cf. GLC, 1986b). An emphasis in many women and planning policies is upon disaggregation, precision, and detailed consideration of who exactly needs what, with a greater emphasis being given to local facilities, and appreciation of the real space requirements of children's play. Anthony Fyson observes play needs space (*The Planner*, 21 September 1989: 3). The Dublin group (Barrett *et al.*, 1991: 38-46) identifies, with sensitivity, the different types of open space areas, and categories of land-use within public parks.

The men could keep some of their playing fields, and women could have more of them too. But I would prioritize the development of new Victorian style parks with duck ponds, flowerbeds, seats, safe supervised play areas and plenty of public conveniences (cf. WDS, 1990). I would have distinct dog-free areas, but also extensive areas for those who wished to exercise their dogs. Otherwise women dog owners might be pushed into using more remote, dangerous areas. In Switzerland there are apparently separate dog parks already. There would also be far more space for allotments within towns. As to the countryside, there would be no factory farming permitted, which

would result in a more interesting countryside and happier animals. With the blurring of town/country dichotomies, and discouragement of restrictive covenants against the keeping of pigs and poultry in residential areas, it is likely that one would also find more animals and chickens wandering around urban neighbourhoods, thus incorporating some of the better features of so-called third-world cities. Regarding clean/dirty dichotomies, definitions of hygiene might change. Currently dogs may see humans as the dirty ones polluting their favourite beaches with sewage.

In discussions on integrating work and home, and childcare location, some women planners have commented that there is nothing more beautiful than the sound of children playing. Lesser mortals have expressed concern about noise from (other people's) children. Further, play streets and integrated play areas alongside houses have always received a mixed reception from residents, especially from people working night shifts, those with babies, and those working at home. Standards such as the provision of children's play areas within 400 metres of all dwellings (Birmingham Draft UDP, page 21, para. 3.47) are still to be found, which reflect a traditional quantitative rather than a more sensitive qualitative approach to the issue. In some schemes the developers have donated the left-over bits of landlocked space between the house plots as play areas because they are seen as no use for anything worthwhile. There is much to be said for the practice in some (erstwhile) socialist states of locating both schools and palaces of sport near to employment rather than residential areas. Provision of adequate programmes of after-school and holiday supervision and care is required, with special amenities for older children and teenagers linked to school and sports buildings – with the choice of separate (and mixed) facilities for girls and boys. Amenities could also include private areas for study, and quiet, possibly linked to public library and local museum space, arts, music, and crafts facilities, and computer terminals. This could develop into a distinct care zone alongside (or between) housing and employment areas, linking to truly public open space, and acting as a cross-over zone between the public and private realms.

Shopping and food gathering

I would replace play with shopping as the third most important element, after home and work, because it is food gathering for survival, and in order to enhance the status of so-called consumption which should be seen as a form of work (like production). However, I am aware that this might also reinforce stereotypes of it being a role which women do as a form of play or leisure, as a result of being selfish or over-materialistic, when in fact they are usually doing shopping for others, not for their own enjoyment. See-sawing: in one of my tutorials, when discussing the need for shops to be near housing estates, one of the male students shouted out, 'you mean so that the wife can take her husband's credit card and waste all his money on buying clothes', interrupting

one of the female students who was struggling to present her concern about accessibility to food stores.

Shopping is the basis of an important bridging and reconciling middle zone, where public and private realms meet: literally across the counter. But this does not mean they have to be all in one clump, engendering unnecessarily high land values (in the central area) or access problems (in out of town centres). Many women and planning policies stress the importance of maintaining the existing hierarchy of shopping centres to protect local shops (Hillingdon, LWPG, 1991: 7, Policy, BP S24). Evening use of shopping centres, not only breaks down the legislative division between public and private time (reflecting in public opening hours), but is more convenient for women provided there is adequate public transport and lighting (and public lavatories do not close at 6 p.m.) – and provided that much ignored shops premises legislation which entitles assistants to have access to a chair is enforced, so they do not have to stand up all day and night.

Adequate provision should be made for women with children, both as customers and staff. Property professionals are catching on to this; an article in the *Valuer* (Vol. 60, No.8: 1, and 16–17, October 1991 'Creche course for developers') states mothers spend more if unencumbered by children. Lewisham has produced a guide to facilities for customers (Taylor, 1990) for developers of large new stores with an emphasis on toilets and crèches. Kensington and Chelsea (LWPG, 1991: 13, Policy 5.9) stipulates adequate distribution of public conveniences throughout the borough (empirically I find this is not the case), which includes part of the main tourist centre of London. (Why, incidentally, are able bodied toilets not shown on the A-Z map of London?) Certain categories of buildings are already required to provide toilet facilities, although compliance is poor. Categories include large stores, restaurants and, surprisingly, betting offices. See-sawing, the new Galleries shopping development in Bristol is designed with the toilets on the top floor, with less provision for women than men (although women are 80 per cent of shoppers) and with heavy, awkward double swing doors at the entrance to the Ladies. £6 million was spent on refurbishing a shopping centre in Cardiff and still it does not have door openings wide enough to take a double buggy. (Planning actually seems to have regressed in this respect, from the days of the old gentlemen planners, such as Adshhead in the 1930s, who stipulated 5-foot widths to accommodate prams, p.133.) Many design guides stress the importance of baby changing facilities and breast-feeding space, but few developers heed such guides, and yet women can be accused of disturbing the peace by the police if they carry out these necessary tasks in public.

The caring city

In seeking to facilitate activities such as caring, within a safe environment in which women have choice and opportunity for employment, mobility, and

personal development, with adequate childcare, shopping, and leisure provision, certain policy objectives are identified repeatedly in the various documents. These are, first, to reduce the need to travel, by increasing the mix of uses in areas (especially reintegrating work and home), and second, to provide a greater distribution of localized, small-scale, friendly, safe facilities, shops and amenities: effectively a multi-nucleated city. Third, women want better public transport, so we do not have that feeling of being stranded, and this is equally important for those living in the countryside. Finally, women's planning policies are generally against out-of-town shopping centres, dispersed housing development and distant suburbs: that is, land-use patterns based on the motorcar. Centralized (or concentrated decentralized) provision of facilities such as hospitals, comprehensive schools, and government offices to achieve economies of scale (for whom?) which diminish the provision of local facilities are to be discouraged. A return to a traditional hierarchy of centres and shopping provision would be welcomed, as most women are not anti-urban and want to retain the cultural benefits of central areas as well as having the convenience of local centres.²

PLANNING LAW: PUTTING POLICY INTO PRACTICE

To enforce women and planning policy one has to step into the public-realm of state planning law. To make developers provide facilities and modify designs one must use planning gain agreements, or impose conditions on the planning permission; otherwise we are just talking ideas and dreams, not implementation and development. There are possibilities and limitations inherent in planning law. Any conditions put on a planning permission must be for a genuine planning reason (Morgan and Nott, 1988: 139), this judgment being highly gendered. Some men planners still consider women and planning issues *ultra vires*, stating, 'women - that's not a land-use matter', but women argue that gender is a material consideration in planning, because women and men use space in different ways. (Taylor, 1990: 98). In respect of the unitary development plan system, Circular 22/84 (updated by PPG 12, 1992 concerning development plans) states that the unitary development plan system will provide authorities with positive opportunities to reassess the needs of their areas, resolve conflicting demands, consider new ideas and bring forward appropriate solutions. This has offered a foot in the door to women's issues. In granting permission, planning authorities can impose such conditions such as they think fit. This was previously embodied in Section 29 (1) of the 1971 Town and Country Planning Act. Further guidance as to what is considered valid, is given in Circular 1985/1, 'The use of conditions in planning permissions' (and see PPG 1, 'General policy and principles', D.o.E, 1991). Also, the local planning authority is required by law to take gender issues into account in the provision of public facilities under the 1975 Sex Discrimination Act, in so far as it is illegal to refuse or deliberately omit to provide goods and

services because of the recipient's sex. Similar requirements apply under Sections 19 and 20 of the 1976 Race Relations Act. Section 5.48 of PPG 12 (Planning Policy Guidance note) on local plans requires local authorities to consider the impact of policies on ethnic minorities, disadvantaged and deprived people. Provision of access for the disabled in determining a planning application is a requirement of Section 76 of the 1990 Town and Country Planning Act, and the Code of Practice for Access of the Disabled to Buildings (BS 5810: 1979) gives specifications. But certain authorities are notorious for refusing single-storey back extensions or widened front door porches to accommodate wheelchair usage; as if they expect the house extensions to all go somewhere else outside their area. As to access to planning education, Design Note 18, *Access for Disabled People to Educational Buildings*, published in 1979 by the D.o.E gives guidelines, although many colleges cite problems of compliance in older accommodation. The RTPI *Code of Professional Conduct*, 1986, makes it illegal to discriminate on the basis of race, sex, or creed, and religion. Many have found that application and enforcement of these regulations and principles has left much to be desired: some planners seem unaware they exist.

Planners have sought to get developers to provide or contribute to women and planning facilities by means of a planning agreement, that is by obtaining planning gain under Section 106 of the 1990 Town and Country Planning Act (amended as Sections 106A and 106B, by Section 12 of the 1991 Planning and Compensation Act in respect of planning obligations (unilateral agreements), and previously known as an S.52 agreement under the 1971 Town and Country Planning Act). Such agreements must only be used for the purpose of restricting or regulating the development or use of land and must be reasonable (Circular 22/83 and 16/91). Planning gain works best in high-value areas where developers are desperate to develop, and are willing to pay what many see as an additional land tax. Even if the developers are willing to build social facilities, someone has got to pay for their maintenance and management. Local authorities cannot afford to pay for this because of government cutbacks. A good example was the Section 52 agreement on the Ropemaker Street site, EC1, in the London Borough of Islington in 1985, where a crèche for thirty children under the age of 5 was provided to go with the new office block on the site, plus funding for ten years. Similar agreements were obtained at Orchard Square and Meadowhall in Sheffield covering crèches, toilets and baby changing facilities (Taylor, 1990). Other authorities have entered into agreements with developers to improve women's training (Newham), leisure facilities (Hammersmith and Fulham), and public transport (Camden Hopper bus service). Agreements must now be directly linked to the planning permission or they will fall foul of the 1989 Local Government and Housing Act, which requires 50 per cent of capital receipts to be set aside to repay current debts; this is a complex rate-capping issue that can limit the provision of social facilities (Aisbett, 1990). Lambeth has attempted to use the weapon of

land ownership to provide social facilities, and compulsory purchase is also a significant planning power. However, local authorities have been under pressure to sell land in order to meet their financial deficit. The mainstream debate about the extent to which town planning should intervene in land ownership, and whether developers should be subject to a betterment levy to plough back some of their profits into the community by contributing towards physical and social infrastructure, continues within feminism.

Provided that clear policy statements as to what is expected are written into the relevant statutory plan, developers may reasonably be expected to provide related social facilities, without the need for complex planning agreements. The Department of the Environment appears to prefer this approach than leaving it to the *ad hoc* imposition of complicated conditions of permission at the planning permission stage, or to complex planning agreements. As accepted and approved policy, these women and planning statements have the force of law when determining the planning application, but they have to be durable enough to stand up to a planning appeal: the fact that they are good is not enough. In the final analysis what happens in a particular local authority depends on the attitudes of the local planners as to whether they are cooperative or negative in their support of such issues. There is a need for training of professional planning staff to be aware of the issues. The existence of senior women officers, or at least sympathetic male officers, and support from the councillors themselves are essential (RTPI, 1988), the existence of a women's committee being particularly useful. It is a matter of political will. For example, Barnes (1989) comments that Hackney allows for a flexible interpretation of the law in respect of change of use, and that Haringeey tends to overlook technical contraventions because planning is seen as being about interpreting the law (especially on *sui generis* uses, and changes between use classes); it is not a mechanistic activity. Attention must also be given to monitoring of planning decisions to ensure that policies are properly implemented.

A GENDER CITY?

At the end of this book, sitting on the edge of the next millennium, I offer no ideal plan for a gender city to rival the garden city conceived a century ago (Howard, 1898). Indeed, presenting a master plan might be seen as a patriarchal approach. I have given an account of current women and planning policies and implementary procedures, with which I broadly concur. My emphasis is upon transforming existing cities, not starting again. This should be seen as a positive constructive attribute, not a sign of failure. I am not proposing a gender city because this approach marginalizes women (as, subconsciously, gender usually is taken only to apply to women). Rather, I am seeking to change all aspects of existing development to recreate the mainstream city in a manner which acknowledges the existence and needs of the

other half of the human race, but in which men would live too, their lives integrally transformed. In this process the economic, political and social issues and problems upon which the mainstream has focused (not least capitalism and employment) would also inevitably be fundamentally altered. I envisage the ideal urban form as a multi-nucleated city of cellular structure. I would like to see broken down the division between the suburbs and inner city areas (rather than between town and the country) giving each the advantages of the other. I would decentralize employment and commerce from the city centre into suburban areas, in order to provide them with a full, remedial, range of additional land-uses, job opportunities, and facilities to make them truly balanced communities for women and men. A detailed patchwork could be built up, with a diversity of local areas, all fully provided with local amenities and facilities. New housing development would be much more compact than at present with the option of private gardens around houses, but also medium-rise serviced apartments would be encouraged for those who wanted more back-up and no gardening. By the time we had fitted in the open space uses suggested and community facilities there would be no room for useless swathes of landscaping, but the city would be greener, and land values more even overall. Everyone would be in walking distance of at least some shops, amenities and local employment.

Such shifts in land-use patterns, by defusing the congestion of central areas, would solve many current transportation problems – of commuting, parking, and traffic congestion – as fewer people would make long journeys to work. But there would be a need for a certain amount of traffic calming (an expertise developed by women such as Carmen Hass-Klau *et al.*, 1992), but the choice of car transport would still exist, especially in the interim before the new policies became more effective. Gradually the effects of present planning policies would recede, as the new policies took effect (but it could take several years), so that people would not *have* to drive to an out-of-town centre to do the shopping, or to a distant hospital in an emergency, or to get children to school. People might need to use their car to carry loads, to transport large families, to take an injured animal to the vet, and as a recreational vehicle in the countryside, or for longer trips. But, public transport would be improved beyond all recognition so this might become a less popular freedom. But not everyone can be expected to cycle or walk, as some macho-greenies imagine. The existence of so many local facilities and businesses would create a vast array of new jobs, and also more flexible forms of employment might incorporate working from home or from new purpose-built mini-office blocks within residential areas, and would be linked to wider changes in the construction of the economy itself. This is not a middle-class tele-cottageing electric dream, nor a petty bourgeoisie nation-of-shopkeepers scenario, because some work is still best done (at present) in a purpose-built structure altogether with other people, be it a factory, college, or office. But at least the pressure would be taken off certain areas by the dispersed multi-nucleated

nature of development, and the land-uses throughout the city would be much more mixed and balanced overall, and thus commuter generated traffic jams would be reduced. Sophisticated, strategic planning at city-wide level would be needed to create this finely grained detailed city form and structure. But then so many more options would be permitted development than today that planners could concentrate on the more strategic, qualitative and pro-active aspects of planning – and on talking to people – and less on negative, controlling aspects.

One can only do so much through the statutory planning system and the above future scenario could only be achieved in concert with the operation of a range of other governmental powers and economic measures, plus a change in attitudes, gender roles, food production and distribution, and the functioning of business cultures. There is a need for a move towards more flexible ways of working which would enable women (and men) to order their lives more logically (RTPI, Yorkshire, 1991a and b), demands from women planners mirroring demands from working women in society. (I discussed the changes needed in education and practice for women in the built environment professions in the last chapter of my previous book, Greed, 1991.) At first, fiscal measures would need to be introduced to protect and subsidize useful shops, businesses and services in the local areas; controls would have to be put on big business, which is bound to argue that it could offer the economies of scale and be more efficient and profitable. In reply, I ask: for whom and at what social cost? The reconceptualization of work would not only make redundant the ancient dichotomized beliefs about the relative merits of production and consumption (words such as presumption making a debut, cf. McDowell, 1991) but would undermine the zoning of people into inappropriate social classes according to masculinist categories.

There are dangers in an apolitical vision of spatial transformation, for a post-modernist perspective has a habit of softening and blurring power differences and hierarchies, and turning oppression into a mere philosophical concept. Some women are wary that women's issues may just become one interesting factor among many, or subsumed under the broader category of gender. Whilst admittedly men are policed and controlled as much as women by the zoning and layout of the built environment, the current trend for replacing discussions of geography and gender with that of sexuality and space may detract from women's disadvantaged position, and deflect from the power of patriarchy. The shift from an emphasis on women's issues, to gender studies, to abstract discussions of sexuality, is a slippery downward slope in respect of distracting from the specific practical needs of women. On the other hand, removing the zones, or remixing the zones, does not negate the power structures which maintain patriarchal society, unless backed up by societal change. A phoney form of zone zapping may be created as superficial as social-mix policies in new towns (p. 000) unless underlying patriarchal attitudes are changed. Although an essential step towards change, some argue it is wrong to

press for new zones which cater for traditional conceptions of women's work as childcarers and housekeepers, which would perpetuate male/female role divisions and sexist stereotyping (and contribute towards the anti-feminist backlash, cf. Faludi, 1992, and a rerun of the only half-way to Paradise scenario of fifty years ago (Wilson, 1980), when women were planned for as housewives and not as zone zappers). But, as stated, this argument is spurious; childcare is needed – whoever does it – and when gender roles change in the future, childcare facilities will be there for the men to use too. A more subtle negating argument I heard recently was, 'these issues affect everyone and so they are not the specific concern of the planning profession and should not be included in policy statements'.

CONCLUSION

In order to assess the chances of changing planning one must identify its power source. In my study of surveying, it seemed that capitalism and socialism were but two sides of the same patriarchal system which shaped the built environment (cf. Stewart, 1981). From this present study it seems to me that capitalism, socialism and patriarchy are but three sides (among several) of a polyhedron, all of which reflect aspects of the dichotomy-centred nature of dominant belief systems; the root cause for this, in my belief, is a theological issue, although patriarchy, and the related dichotomized world view, is a primary manifestation of the problem. It seems to me that traditional mainstream criticisms of capitalists and capitalism as the culprits responsible for human inequality detract from the undoubted power of patriarchal, managerial structures in public-sector bodies, to keep women in their place. Such managers might redirect potential criticism of their own unwarranted power and high incomes within state bureaucracies onto the capitalists. The maintenance of patriarchal power and belief appears to be a driving power in itself as the spirit of planning, and yet is maintained, by its cultural manifestations in society, and in the design of the built environment, thus feeding back on itself. Local authority planners appear to have considerable power, but it is fragile, because it is, arguably, only a reflection from outside of other power sources, be they political, ideological, economic or religious. Town planning may be capable of endless metamorphoses, the professional arena acting as a place of discourse, a competitive ring, a hall of mirrors, a transmitter, for trends, ideas, and demands coming in from outside. It seemed to me from this research that planners are relatively weak, and easily swayed by the ideologies of others.

A frequent theme has been the power of the patterns of the past which reassert themselves in aspatial and spatial matters (cf. Foucault, 1972). We are, living in the overlap, seeking to implement new planning policies within old belief structures and established land-use patterns. Of necessity we seek transitional, sub-optimal solutions, to accommodate women's existing,

oppressed role in society by immediate, practical measures, not least to reduce the oppression of rush-hour commuting. This mirrors the classic dilemma as to whether town planning policy should be opportunistic and incremental, or long-term, pure and high-level goal-orientated. (cf. Healey *et al.*, 1988). Many women believe that fundamental change can be brought about by small-seed initiatives, from the grassroots of society upwards (because the personal is political), as well aiming at larger societal shifts. But, of necessity, we have to be pragmatic. We have got to stand and face it, seeking to implement change by whatever means possible. Waiting for the revolution is no policy, and can be seen as a delaying tactic to avoid dealing with women's immediate needs. There is no North (for the slaves to escape to), or feminist Jerusalem (to go to next year), and no male genius or earthly Messiah to offer us salvation from the evils of the city: we have to create our own realities. I'm finishing this book on a downer, and, as was the case in *Surveying Sisters*, much of the content has been negative. Likewise, Ramazanoglu (1992) concludes pessimistically that we must face reality and admit our current limitations in effecting change, but, significantly, she still talks of imagining the future (1992: 287): rather than waiting for some male genius to do it for us. We can all imagine, and plan; it is not selfish, or likely to cause disruption as we are society, and the majority of the urban population. The target of our imagining and amelioration of the urban condition must be existing cities, since it is unlikely in Britain that we can go off and build a new ideal city from scratch (North America is vast compared with Britain: Texas alone is four times the size of France, and six times that of England). One can, however, be inspired by an image of what it ought to be like, in the mind's eye, as something to aim at gradually. In dealing with matters such as control of the motorcar, and provision of public transport, one cannot put the clock back, or change everything immediately through draconian negative controls (and betray all those women and men who *have* to commute or cannot get between home → childminder → and work, early in the morning without a car), in the name of some ideal of the sophisticated, traffic-free, European city of the future.

The women and planning movement has restructured the discourse of planning – for women at least (sometimes it seems there are two planning professions). Although women may be seen as just being concerned with social issues, their policies are translated both into policies for restructuring city form, and into detailed, spatial standards on, for example, baby changing areas, shopping space, office development, play areas and public conveniences (Caffrey and Eanaigh, 1990; WDS, 1990). In this process women cut across the false physical/social dichotomy which has divided men planners throughout the twentieth-century, reuniting the public and the private, setting the groundwork for reuniting home and work, and dissolving the division in the process. Women are not simply concerned with producing detailed design standards in which form follows function, but with force determining form

(the life force sustaining the human race, p.106) that is with creating whole, new ways of living. Women planners have a key role to play as philosopher queens, to produce alternative visions of the city, for as Anais Nin commented (1978) we write to create the world we live in. Creating cultural realities, and getting others to believe in them by our confidence and actions, and the good sense of our proposals, is the power which can shape the built environment.

As to future strategy, it seems to me that it is vital, by writing, through planning education, and by consciousness-raising within the profession, to make planners aware of the folly of a dichotomized world view, and to present them with persuasive, convincing, alternative urban realities: translated into clear policy guidance where possible. But even if senior men planners do agree that women have a valid point, and perhaps praise them for their efforts, it does not follow that they are going to do anything about it. The current need – ostensible need – for cut-backs in resources seems to be applied in a noticeably gendered manner, with plenty of money still being available for the creation of new managerial levels. In contrast, I have come across many examples of women whose women and planning activities are being squeezed out of their professional lives, because of the pressure being put upon them by their bosses in terms of increased workloads, hours and responsibilities. Women who were once optimistic, liberal-minded feminists, are saying 'we don't seem to be getting anywhere', and are becoming more radically minded. Some feel betrayed, and angry about what has subsequently proved to be the transient nature of interest shown by some ostensibly supportive male planners. There is a growing distrust of male allies who speak with a forked tongue; who encourage and put the brakes on at the same time; who 'face both ways to please everyone'. The movement may need to become more political, and self-sufficient in order to push for changes in legislation which make equal opportunities policies more enforceable.

It seems to me that mandatory codes are needed, to implement women and planning policies (for women as consumers of the built environment) that can specify standards and performance criteria which must be complied with in a development.¹ These might cover issues ranging from widths for doors in shopping centres and minimum requirements for provision of public conveniences (the insides as well as the outsides of buildings would be seen as a land 'use' matter), to setting material considerations in respect of the location, siting and layout of schemes, plus specific requirements on the inclusion of women-related policies in all development plan documents (allowing for local conditions and variations, of course). Such measures would tie in with the trend towards quality assurance and the assessment of performance in development control. To complement this, EO codes (p. 172) are also needed for women in planning to create solid performance criteria against which employers' actions can be measured, covering staff recruitment, promotion, childcare and conditions of service. This should enable more women planners to achieve positions of seniority from which they will be able to exercise a

more positive influence on urban policy for the benefit of all women in society. Even though I dread opening the door to the lawyers, the only way to span the dichotomy (p.16) between words and deeds, is to have mandatory laws, as men have had a time of grace to put their house in order and have not taken it. Greater vision is also needed in planning education and practice (Moser, 1993). Currently, the ability to demonstrate managerial ability is essential for progression: a gendered attribute, which has little to do with whether a person has enlightened ideas and constructive policies about the built environment. Control of space no longer appears to dominate, because it is masked by a veil of managerialism. Women have remarked upon a creeping managerialism – anti-academic and anti-practical in nature – which is taking over much of the world of planning. Again, what is needed is not more waffly EO statements but the setting of precise objectives and parameters, backed up by formal monitoring, quality assurance measures and disciplinary measures for code infringement. At present, many women consider men do not take women and planning seriously, remarking of senior management, 'they do not seem to think it applies to them; but is just for young women'.

Other possibilities are emerging. Some women planners are questioning what has really been gained by their becoming planning officers, and entering the world of men. In spite of the current property recession, some are reflecting upon what might be achieved in operating from within the private-sector world of property development, not as powerful incipient capitalists, but as deviants, as outcast traders seeking alternative paths of influence over the built environment. Some are investigating the mileage in voluntary organizations such as housing associations, planning aid groups and national networks and data bases. Others are being drawn to ancient, private-realm forms of zone zapping power, evaluating the potential of spiritual forces, and the scope of their own nurturing powers over the next generation as a means of shaping the future. But, most of all, many are saying: to make progress in the built environment professions changes are needed in the domestic sphere of home, family and marriage, with a reconceptualization of roles and responsibilities between men and women, and attitudes and assumptions in general. Much of our zone zapping has been one way. Women have penetrated the public realm, but there has not been a commensurate change in man's role and responsibilities in the private realm. The public/private dichotomy itself has not been broken down but is still full of power. Domestic labour must be reallocated more fairly between men and women, or reconceptualized as a public responsibility. The issue of childcare, including synchronization of school hours with working times, has scarcely begun to be addressed. An enormous gap exists between the illusion of equal employment opportunities for all, and the reality of inadequate childcare provision for many. Tackling this private issue publicly is fundamental to implementing genuine equal opportunities policy. In conclusion, I believe the

women and planning movement will continue evolving, and the form of its future development will be innovative, surprising, unexpected, risk-taking, blessed and powerful.²

NOTE

¹ Some of the policies referred to in LWPG, 1991, from Draft Unitary Development Plans were subsequently rejected by the D.o.E. planning inspectors' at Inquiry, because they were seen as *ultra vires*, that is 'not a land use matter'. Some UDP women's policies were also seen as too detailed for a development plan, being concerned with 'quotas' (which the D.o.E. particularly disliked) on, for example, crèche provision, customer toilets, baby buggy parking space, whereas no similar problem was encountered with car parking requirements. Women's policies fall foul of the general policies/detailed standards dichotomy, and also the insides/outside debate in respect of the extent of a planners control over the design of a development internally as well as externally. The London Women and Planning Forum, in association with WDS and the Association of London Planning Authorities is monitoring the situation as there are undoubtedly disparities between individual Planning Inspectorates' decisions on such places.

² I invite the reader to write out her/his own list of contents for such a code. In Appendix III, as an intermediate stage, I set out my own list of areas which require change, and some planning policy guidelines, as a basis for further discussion.

Day 5: FIELDTRIP
Monday 6th July

8.30h.-19.30h.

Fieldtrip to Girona led by Isabel Salamafia, Responsible of Environment, Regional and Strategy Planning, Girona City Council (details will be announced).

**Day 6: WOMEN AND ENVIRONMENT IN THE DEVELOPING
WORLD**

Tuesday 7th July

- 9.30h.** Janet Momsen (University of California at Davis) "*Gender and environmental perception in the developing world*".
- 10.30h.** Janet Towndsen (University of Durham) "*Environmental change and women's troubles in Mexico*".
- 11.30h.** Coffee break.
- 12.00h.** Emma Mawdsley (University of Durham) "*Lions of the forest: women and trees in the Indian Himalaya*".
- 13.00h.** Lunch.
- 14.30h.** Workshops on lectures and literature.
- 16.00h.** Workshops on the fieldwork.

Janet Henshall Momsen

“Gender and environmental perception in the developing world”.

Abstract

The decade of the nineties is seen as a period of increasing international focus on sustainable development. Growing linkages between poverty, loss of natural resources and biodiversity, and environmental degradation are a formidable challenge to development. Of the world's 1.3 billion people living below the poverty line, four-fifths live in rural areas, mainly in the largely agrarian countries of South Asia and sub-Saharan Africa, and of these nearly 60% are in regions of low agricultural potential and high ecological vulnerability. A majority of the rural poor are women and children and women make up about half the farmers.

The synergistic adoption of gender and environment issues by donor agencies owes much to the discourse of ecofeminism. Although one of the major and most successful promoters of ecofeminism, Vandana Shiva, hails from India, this discourse has predominantly western roots, an academic literature and an increasingly vocal and international presence. But equating the 'environment' with 'nature', and making non context-specific sweeping statements 'can obscure the historical and continued shaping of landscapes by people' and 'the plurality and the politics of environmental perceptions' (Leach et al, 1995).

This paper will consider gendered environmental perception of natural hazards, soil erosion and deforestation in the Caribbean, Thailand and China. Data drawn from field studies, undermines the essentialist and universalist ideas of ecofeminism and emphasises the importance of situated knowledges grounded in the concrete realities of daily life.

Key points for discussion

1. The synergism of women and environment in development policies.
2. The political ecology of environmental perception.
3. Gender and environmental perception in industrialized and non-industrialized countries.

Article

Flaherty, Mark S. & Filipchuk, Vesta R. (1993) "Forest management in Northern Thailand: a rural Thai perspective", *Geoforum*, vol. 24, n.3, pp.263-275.

Janet Townsend

“Environmental change and women’s troubles in Mexico”.

Abstract

Women in the families which have tried to make farms in the forests of southeast Mexico have social and economic problems which, on close inspection, seem to be closely related to the physical environment and environmental change. The very attempt to settle the forest and establish new relations with the environment creates a whole array of deprivations: these are new settlements without clean or piped water, electricity, drains, teachers, a clinic or health worker. All these deprivations bear heavily on the women in their roles as carers for men and children, and are complicated by new diseases and dangers. At a later stage, as the agrarian system changes from crops to cattle, jobs wither away and economic problems develop. Women’s personal problems of increasing male alcoholism, violence and rape are linked to the new stresses as well as the national rural crises. Even their bodies have new and contested roles in the new economy, women’s concerns are not, primarily, ecofeminist: many would like to save the rainforest, but to do so they see jobs and income as the only solution.

Key points for discussion

1. How ecofeminist are Mexican women pioneers?
2. How far do we seek to read our own dreams into their lives?
3. Are poor rural women a problem or a solution in global environmental change?
4. Is “sustainable development” a red herring, a trick, to distract our attention from intragenerational equality (between ourselves, rich and poor, and our descendants? (The question comes from Bill Adams at Cambridge).

Article

Townsend, Janet; Arrevillaga de Escobar, Ursula; Bain de Corcuera, Jennie; Cancino Córdova, Socorro; Pacheco Bonfil, Silvana & Pérez Nasser, Elia (1995) “Women settlers in the mexican rainforest: destroyers or saviours?”, in Daltabuit, Magalí & Vargas, Luz María (coord.) *Mujer: madera, agua, barro y maiz*, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Centro Regional de Investigaciones Multidisciplinares, Cuernavaca, Morelos, pp.23-47.

Emma Mawdsley

“Lions of the forest: women and trees in the Indian Himalaya”.

Abstract

The Chipko movement of the Indian Himalaya is one of the most frequently deployed examples of an environmental and/or women's mobilisation in the South. But few accounts explain (or even refer to the fact) that it is now practically non-existent in the hill region, and many of the more neopopulist representations of the Chipko movement have recently been strongly criticised. This paper suggests that by reassessing Chipko, especially in the light of more recent social mobilisations in the hills, it is possible to offer a more plausible and sensitive account of environment, gender and society in the Himalaya.

Key points for discussion

1. Women and the environment in the 'South'. How might their interests, knowledges and needs differ from those of women in the North?
2. How might they differ from those of men of the South? What might divide women of the South (in terms of their environmental concerns/needs)?

Article

“Chipko: environmentalism of the poor”, *Down to Earth*, 30 april 1993, pp.25-51.

Forest Management in Northern Thailand: a Rural Thai Perspective

MARK S. FLAHERTY* and VESTA R. FILIPCHUK,* Victoria,
Canada

Abstract: Deforestation is considered to be one of Thailand's most pressing natural resource management problems. Critics of past management practices argue that protection policies have been ineffective because of inadequate attention to the needs and concerns of local people. This study compares the responses of men and women. The results show that men are quite involved, and that the genders do not differ in their perceptions of deforestation.

Introduction

Thailand's ongoing transition from a traditional agricultural economy to a modern industrial one has come about through the active exploitation of its diverse natural resources. One of the darker symptoms of rapid industrialization that has often been disregarded in the clamour for growth, however, is the deterioration of the environment. Serious concerns are now being expressed about the high rates of exploitation of natural resources, and their subsequent degradation [see, for example, PARNWELL (1988) and PHANTUMVANIT and SATHIRATHAI (1988)]. One area of particularly acute concern is the continuing loss and degradation of the nation's forests. Despite the many legislative initiatives that have been undertaken in recent decades to protect this resource, conservation and management efforts have consistently fallen short of stated goals. As a result, deforestation now poses a significant threat to the future welfare of Thailand's predominantly rural population (HAFNER and API-CHATVULLOP, 1990; RAMITANONDH, 1989).

Many critics of forest management practices in Thai-

land argue that past efforts have been ineffective at curtailing forest loss because the complex interaction between humans and the resource has been neglected and is not well understood [see, for example, PRAGTONG (1986)]. The core of past management programs has been to emphasize the ownership and control of forests by the state. Rural people have often been depicted as villains whose cavalier actions pose direct threats to the resource rather than as indigent people whose welfare is intimately tied to the state of the forest. While recognition has grown that forest conservation efforts must take this relationship into account, the participation of rural communities in the management process, while often articulated, has seldom been achieved in reality (WATNAPRA-TEEP, 1989).

A better understanding of rural people's knowledge of the forest, their awareness of deforestation and its perceived impact on their welfare is fundamental to the development and implementation of management strategies that are both sustainable in the long term and sensitive to existing local needs. To this end, explicit consideration must be given to the opinions of both men and women. Neither group can be considered the sole participant in, or beneficiary of, the harvesting of forest products, nor does any one group alone bear the brunt of the environmental impacts

*Department of Geography, University of Victoria, P.O. Box 3050, Victoria, British Columbia, Canada V8W 3P5.

now associated with forest degradation. It has been suggested, however, that men and women have different attitudes towards the environment and natural resource use (RATHGEBER, 1992). While it is possible that women have a different perspective than men on the impacts of forest loss and forest management needs, given their position in the family and local community, analysis of the relationship between gender and environment is in its early stage. This paper reviews the factors contributing to forest loss in Thailand and presents the results of a study undertaken in Northern Thailand to identify the concerns of rural men and women about the use and management of the local forest resource.

Thailand's Forest Situation

Prior to the establishment of the Royal Forest Department (RFD) in 1896, forests belonged to the king, the rulers of provinces, especially in the northern region, and to some landlords. With the establishment of the RFD, all forests belonged to the state (WATNAPRATEEP, 1989). At the beginning of the century, Thailand's forests covered over 70% of the country (RAMITANONDH, 1989). Since that time, however, forest area has been dramatically reduced. Between 1976 and 1980, Thailand had the second fastest rate of forest depletion in Asia next to Nepal (DANKELMAN and DAVIDSON, 1988). By 1985 only 29% of the country was forested (Figure 1), with some estimates being as low as 17% (WATER CONSERVATION BUREAU, 1989). National-level figures, however, do not provide a complete picture of Thailand's forest situation, as the distribution of the remaining forest cover is by no means uniform. The North East, East, Central and South regions have relatively little forest remaining (Figure 2). While Northern Thailand contains the majority of the country's remaining forests it is also the region in which the rate of deforestation is highest (FOREST BUREAU, 1989). Large parts of the northern region have been heavily logged or burned, and now consist of savannah woodlands and open grasslands.

The factors contributing to forest loss and degradation in Thailand are both numerous and complex. Many, however, can be traced to meeting the basic needs of expanding rural populations. In 1938, Thailand's population was 15 million which grew to just

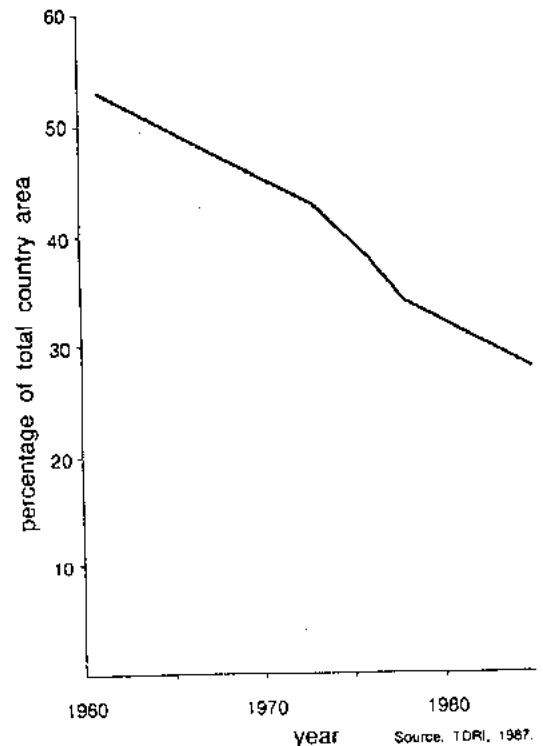


Figure 1. Forest area in Thailand.

under 55 million people by 1990, with over 70% classified as rural (DEMAINE, 1992). Houses, fences, stalls for animals, and furniture are all made from local woods. As well, household firewood collection and the production of charcoal have helped to reduce forest area (NTUSFP, 1987). It is land clear-

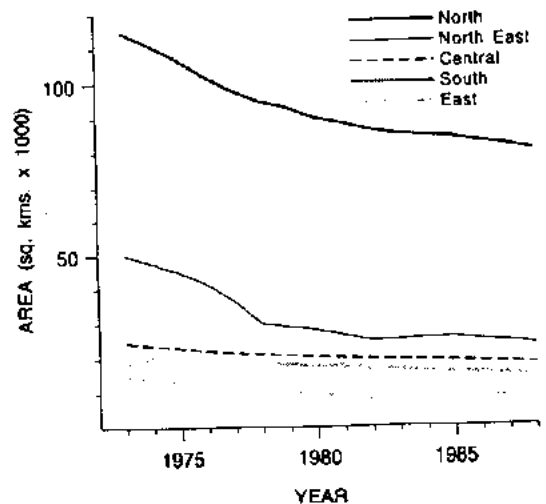


Figure 2. Forest area in Thailand by region. Source: FOREST BUREAU (1989).

ance for crop production, however, that has had the largest impact on Thailand's forests. Fuelled by an increasing agricultural labour force and favourable export market for rice and upland crops, the farm holding area tripled between 1950 and 1988 from 8 million ha to 24 million ha, while forests shrank from 32 million ha to 14.4 million ha (PANAYOTOU and PARASUK, 1990).

Vast areas of Thailand have been designated as forest reserves under the jurisdiction of the RFD. Control over the reserves, however, had been far from effective. Many low-income and landless people regard the forest as 'Khong Luang' or public property, and have encroached on the reserves so as to practice subsistence farming (HIRSCH, 1988, 1990; ONCHAN, 1990). Twenty-two percent of the 125,440,000 ha of forest reserves and national parks recently surveyed has been encroached, with 8.7 million people now living and farming in the forests (TONGPAN *et al.*, 1990). Eviction of squatters from the forest reserves by government authorities is rare, as removing large numbers of people runs the risk of creating widespread social unrest. Land outside the reserves is already occupied, and there are limited employment opportunities available in the non-farm sector. Furthermore, their presence in the reserves is officially acknowledged as they must pay the government land taxes in the form of PBT.5 certificates. Many do this in the hope that they will eventually acquire legal title to the land that they farm (FEDER, 1988).

The forest situation is further complicated by the practice of slash-and-burn or shifting cultivation by ethnic Thai and Chao Khao or Hilltribe people, particularly in the mountainous areas of the north. The term 'Hilltribe' is used to refer to several highland ethnic minorities which are linguistically and culturally distinct from the Thai. The term includes Karen, Lua, Hmong (Meo), Yao, Akha, Lahu, Lisu, H'tin, and Khamu. Many of these people are relative newcomers to Thailand, few have been granted Thai citizenship, and most are registered aliens. However, they now number in the order of 500,000 (BHRUK-SASRI, 1989). The Hilltribes occupy upland areas at varying elevations depending on the group, and rely on shifting cultivation for their subsistence living and, more recently, cash cropping. Although shifting cultivation can be a sustainable form of agricultural land

use, current population pressures are such that cultivated areas are not given sufficient time to regenerate. Insecurity of land tenure precludes adequate investments in soil conservation and fertilizers, which has led to declining yields and a move deeper into the forest to find new and more productive land.

Commercial logging has also speeded the pace of deforestation. Thailand's forests were for many years a major source of foreign exchange and government revenue. Unhindered by extraction quotas, however, timber stocks were rapidly depleted, as many long-term commercial concessions were awarded in forest reserves with the idea that the concessionaire would care for and preserve the forest. In practice logged areas were left to regenerate on their own and, in most cases, were further degraded by local populations through the gathering of firewood and agricultural expansion (FEENY, 1988). Although the government abolished the granting of concessions in 1977, and 2 years later reduced timber production by 50% so as to conserve wood supplies, by the early 1980s Thailand became a net importer of forest products (ROYAL FOREST DEPARTMENT, 1989).

Further restrictions on the forest industry were imposed by the Royal Thai Government following the deaths of several hundred villagers in floods and mudslides in Southern Thailand in November 1988, which were intensified by logging. A complete ban on logging was imposed on 10 January 1989. Despite this initiative, cutting continues as illegal logging is entrenched in the Thai timber production system, and has often exceeded the legal production (YASUHARA and YASHIZAWA, 1987). Log poaching is practised by innumerable subsistence farmers as a means of improving their economic status (PHANTUMVANIT and SATHIRATHAI, 1988; RAMITANONDH, 1989). Feeny (1988, p. 128) notes that:

... because the villagers do not own the forest and cannot exclude others from using it, they have little incentive to conserve and every incentive to capture the gains from cutting before someone else does.

The destruction of Thailand's forests has given rise to a variety of environmental impacts that are increasing both in severity and extent. Loss of forest cover, especially on steep slopes and in watershed areas, has increased runoff, which in turn accelerates nutrient

depletion and soil erosion. Many wildlife species have been seriously depleted while others are now extinct (BHUMIBHAMON, 1986; PARNWELL, 1988). Downstream areas are subjected to flooding, sedimentation of water bodies, and decreased availability of water during the dry season (PANAYOTOU and PARASUK, 1990). The gravity of the situation is succinctly stated by the THAILAND DEVELOPMENT RESEARCH INSTITUTE (1987, p. 5):

Unless Thailand conserves these resources, ensuring sustainable development rather than ruthless destruction, Thais may experience environmental bankruptcy along the lines of Africa's Sahel and Ethiopian Highlands.

Environmental awareness amongst farmers, urban dwellers, academics, and the country's ruling élite is growing. Throughout the country concern is being expressed about the impact of environmental degradation on the health and welfare of people, as the majority of Thais live in rural areas and depend on their surroundings for all or part of their livelihoods. Protection of the environment figures prominently in Thailand's Seventh Economic and Social Development Plan (NATIONAL ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT BOARD, 1992). Within the forestry sector it is acknowledged that conservation and management programmes must involve local people who depend upon the forests for their survival, and that a better understanding of the technical, cultural, and socio-economic aspects of forest use in rural communities is needed.

An important component in furthering this understanding, in the context of forest management, is to determine rural people's awareness of deforestation, and its perceived impact on their welfare. Unless the people whose future well-being is most at stake perceive a problem in the way forests are presently used and managed, new programmes are likely to prove ineffective (FISHER and GILMOUR, 1990). Although studies have been conducted into the relationship between rural societies and forest resources in Thailand, many have limited themselves to the analysis of specific forest management projects [see, for example, FAO (1989) and MITTLEMAN (1988)]. Few have examined the involvement of women in the use and management of forest resources. Much of the information that has been collected has often been obtained by asking husbands

what their wives think (VAN DER BORG, 1990). GAMMELGAARD (1986) and NATPRACHA and CHUNTANAPARB (1987) provide detailed profiles of forest use in northern and north-eastern Thai villages, respectively, and examine the attitudes of women towards forest conservation and rehabilitation. However, they do not examine the viewpoints of men. Contrasting awareness of deforestation impacts on the basis of gender could provide further insight into the existence of different perspectives on forest use and management in the communities. If differences exist, education and management programs could be better designed and targeted to match local resource potentials with the expressed needs, concerns and knowledge levels of the men and women who rely upon the forest for a wide range of products and income.

Rural Household Survey

Northern Thailand encompasses 17 million ha of land with a population of 10.5 million in 1987 (ISRANGKURA and CHULASAI, 1990). Five parallel mountain ranges (known collectively as the Phi Pan Nam range) run north-south with elevations ranging between 550 and 2500 m, and valley floors varying from 200 to 500 m above sea level (SINGHASAKARES, 1988). Forests in the north can be divided into two main types: evergreen and deciduous. Each type may be classified into different subtypes on the basis of differences in altitude, soil, rainfall, and other factors. The deciduous forest consists of dry dipterocarp, dry mixed deciduous, and moist mixed deciduous. The evergreen forest is made up of lower montane, coniferous, and dry evergreen (SANTISUK, 1988). The most economically important forest is the mixed deciduous forest which comprises an abundance of hardwood species, including the highly valued teak.

Despite the mountainous terrain, Northern Thailand is a major food production area, with over 70% of the population earning their living in agriculture (RFD, 1988). Most of the cultivation occurs in the river valleys, with the Chiang Mai valley being the largest and most productive (GYPMANTASIRI *et al.*, 1980). However, as the land in the valley areas is now occupied, growing numbers of landless people are

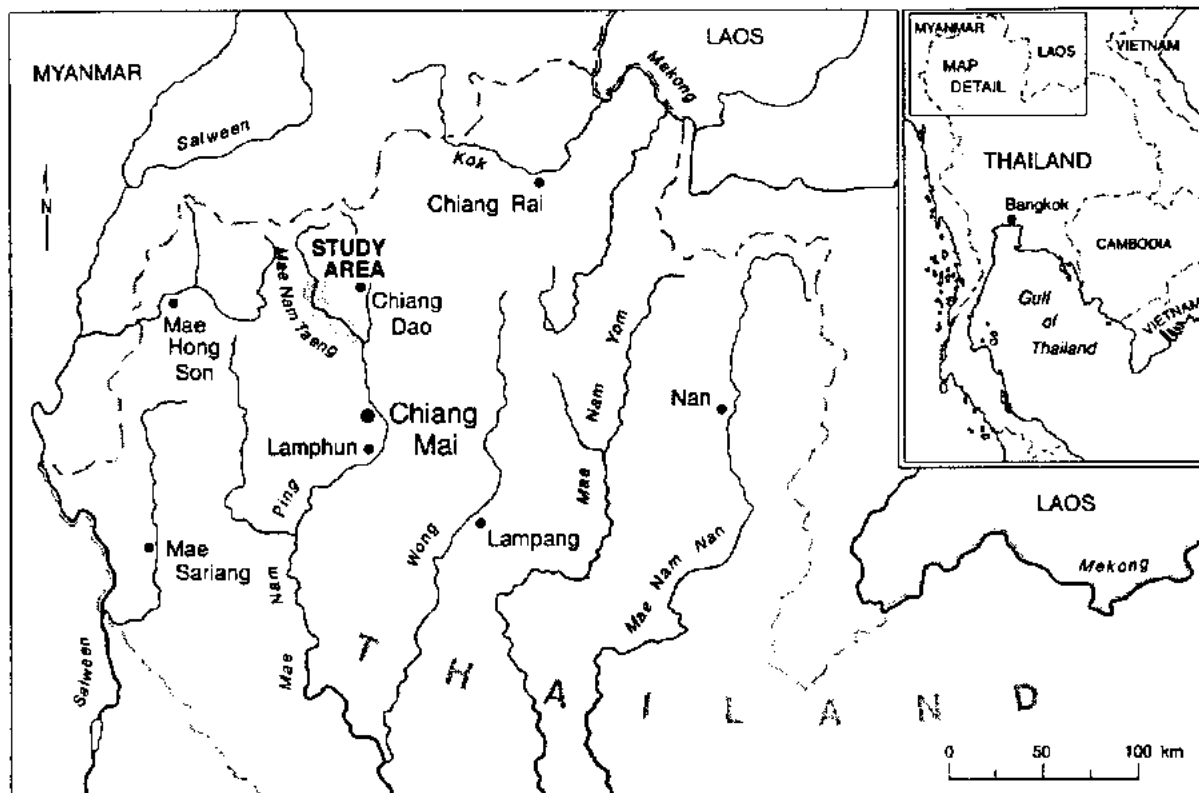


Figure 3. Study area.

moving into upland areas to practice subsistence agriculture (HIRSCH, 1990; HURST, 1990).

The survey was conducted in the Mae Taeng watershed which extends from the border of the Union of Myanmar, to meet the Ping river approximately 50 km north of the city of Chiang Mai (Figure 3). The forest situation in the watershed is quite varied. In the lower reaches the mixed deciduous forest has been severely disturbed by excessive cutting and burning, and is being replaced by bamboo (MAXWELL, 1990). The selection of the study area was guided by the institutional linkage between the Regions and Resources Study Group at the University of Victoria and the Social Research Institute (SRI) at Chiang Mai University. This affiliation provided access to the expertise of researchers at the SRI, and was also important for gaining the support and approval of village leaders (Phuyaibans) for conducting the study. As the target population has relatively little education and speaks the Northern Thai dialect, the development of the questionnaire involved extensive consultation with Thai researchers, and underwent several revisions so as to ensure rele-

vance and clarity of wording. It was pretested on a small, randomly selected group of villagers.

Although several Hilltribe villages are scattered throughout the watershed, this study focuses on ethnic Thai as they constitute the largest group whose activities affect the forest. Interviews were conducted with respondents randomly selected in three lowland villages, as they tend to experience the accumulative effects of deforestation. In all 162 individuals were interviewed, with the sample evenly divided between the gender groups and proportionally drawn from each village according to the total populations. The names and precise locations of the villages are not revealed so as to protect the confidentiality of the respondents. Forest management is an extremely sensitive issue in Thailand. Forest guards and environmental activists have, in many areas, been subjected to threats and/or violence [see, for example, *Bangkok Post* (1988) and LOHMANN (1990)].

Results

So as to provide a backdrop for interpreting the responses, the personal and household characteristics

Table 1. Socio-economic characteristics of respondents

Characteristic	Men (n = 81)	Women (n = 81)
Age (years)		
17-20	5	9
21-35	44	49
36-50	12	16
51-65	13	7
>65	7	—
Absolute difference = 0.161	Probability = 0.25	
Education (years)		
None	8	6
1-2	8	2
3-4	50	56
5-6	9	12
>6	6	5
Absolute difference = 0.099	Probability = 0.82	
Length of residence (years)		
<5	11	7
6-20	14	20
21-35	34	39
35-50	12	10
>50	10	5
Absolute difference = 0.086	Probability = 0.92	
Household income (1 baht = U.S.\$0.04)		
<10,000	30	27
10,000-14,999	15	21
15,000-24,999	15	12
25,000-35,000	6	3
>35,000	15	18
Absolute difference = 0.038	Probability = 0.99	

of the respondents are examined first. The men and women interviewed are quite similar to each other in terms of age, education, length of residence in their villages, and household income (Table 1). Fully 91% of the respondents have some formal education, with the majority having completed 3 or 4 years of elementary school. This level of education reflects the fact that prior to 1977 the Thai government's mandatory school attendance requisite was 4 years rather than the 6 years that is now required. The majority of the respondents have spent most of their lives in their present village, which places them in an excellent position to comment on the state of the local forest and how it has changed over time.

The division of labour between men and women in rural Thailand has traditionally been assigned in different ways. Generally, a man has been regarded as the head of the household in matters relating to

economic and agricultural decision-making. His duties include land preparation, sowing, and fertilizer and insecticide application, while the women take on the main responsibilities in household management such as cooking, bearing and rearing children, and collecting foodstuffs from the forest (PARANAKIAN, 1984; THITIPASET, 1991). The traditional rigid division of labour between sexes, however, has begun to break down. Most women participate in family economic decisions, some engage in wage labour or are self-employed, while many work in the fields as unremunerated family labour (MUECKE, 1984; SOOKASAME, 1989). For their part, men often take part in household duties traditionally assigned to women such as cooking and caring for children. While water and firewood collection have traditionally been viewed as female duties, firewood collection is now frequently shared (GAMMELGAARD, 1986; NATPRACHA and CHUNTANAPARB, 1987).

The division of labour within the sampled households is presented in Table 2. Women assume the major, although not exclusive, responsibility for raising children and housework. They also assume or share responsibility for financial management in a majority of the households. A significant difference exists in the responses regarding general decisions about the family. Men tended to claim this role for themselves, while many women reported it as a shared duty. Planting crops and harvesting crops are also shared activities, although a significant difference in the responses arises in the latter case owing to a split in the attribution of sole responsibilities. While women continue in their traditional role of collecting water, almost 60% of the respondents indicate that firewood collection is a male responsibility. Nevertheless, a significant difference exists between the two groups as the men tend to report that they were solely responsible, while the women indicated that it was a shared duty. One other household characteristic that is considered an important factor related to forest loss is land tenure (HAFNER and APICHATVULLOP, 1990; HIRSCH, 1988; HURST, 1990). Although women in many developing countries cannot hold or own land, women in Thailand are not denied access to property rights. Nevertheless the number of women holding land title has generally been less than that of men owing to their traditional position within the family. Before examining the situation in the study

Table 2. Household responsibilities

	Men (n = 81)	Women (n = 81)
Housework		
Men	5	2
Women	60	64
Both	16	15
Chi-square = 1.447 d.f. = 2	Probability = 0.49	
Caring for children		
Men	—	—
Women	61	70
Both	20	11
Chi-square = 3.231 d.f. = 1	Probability = 0.07	
Financial management		
Men	42	33
Women	15	22
Both	24	26
Chi-square = 2.484 d.f. = 2	Probability = 0.29	
Decisions about the family		
Men	56	36
Women	2	7
Both	23	38
Chi-square = 10.814 d.f. = 2	Probability = 0.004	
Planting crops		
Men	32	23
Women	4	11
Both	45	47
Chi-square = 4.783 d.f. = 2	Probability = 0.09	
Harvesting crops		
Men	21	11
Women	4	13
Both	56	57
Chi-square = 7.899 d.f. = 2	Probability = 0.02	
Collecting water		
Men	10	5
Women	60	64
Both	11	12
Chi-square = 2.913 d.f. = 2	Probability = 0.40	
Collecting firewood		
Men	57	39
Women	7	11
Both	17	31
Chi-square = 8.347 d.f. = 2	Probability = 0.02	
Personal title to land		
Yes	38	23
No	43	58
Chi-square = 5.153 d.f. = 1	Probability = 0.02	
Type of land document		
SK1	7	2
NS.3 or NS.3.A	11	5
PBT.5 or PBT.6	11	9
Chanode	1	1
More than 1	8	6
Valid chi-square statistic cannot be calculated		

area, an overview of Thailand's rather complex system of land titling is required.

The highest form of land title is the Chanode Thidin. It represents an unrestricted title deed, and is similar to the fee-simple ownership system in North America. Holders of such certificates are free to sell, transfer, or mortgage their property. Full title deeds, however, are most common in urban areas where population pressures and land disputes create a demand for their issuance. The most commonly held land tenure certificates in Thailand are the NS.3 and NS.3.A. Holders have the right to farm the land and may also use the certificate as collateral when borrowing money. The next most commonly held certificates are the PBT.5 and PBT.6 certificates. These are simply land tax receipts, and do not provide holders with a legal title to the land. The land can be farmed and residences constructed, but it cannot be sold or used for loan collateral. Their most important limitation as far as security of tenure is concerned is that the land can be taken away at any time for reforestation or reallocation under the Royal Forest Department's Forest Village Programme (FEDER *et al.*, 1988), which provides little incentive for long-term management. The STK or 'right to farm' land use permits (usufructuary licenses) have been granted to squatters in forest reserves by the RFD. In principle, the programme is aimed at halting further encroachment by providing farmers a sense of ownership so that they have an incentive to settle on and invest in the land they occupy. The land remains the property of the state, but can be inherited. It cannot, however, be sold, rented, given away, or mortgaged, the idea being that with security farmers would settle permanently and invest in the land.

Overall, 35% of the respondents indicated that they did not have title to land. Although this might be considered high in some contexts, it is believed that 90% of all property owners in Thailand do not have proof of ownership of their properties (JEFFRESS and ONSRUD, 1989). A significant difference does exist between the men and women in their holding of land title. As is the case throughout the country, men are more likely to hold title to land than women. Although a valid chi-square statistic cannot be calculated owing to low expected cell frequencies, the distribution of the types of land documents held by the men and women is quite similar. The PBT.5 and

Table 3. Rating of forest importance

	Men (n = 81)	Women (n = 81)
<u>Maintaining water supply</u>		
Very	60	48
Somewhat	19	30
Not	2	3
Absolute difference = 0.148	Probability = 0.34	
<u>Building materials</u>		
Very	47	38
Somewhat	29	40
Not	5	3
Absolute difference = 0.111	Probability = 0.70	
<u>Wildlife habitat</u>		
Very	42	26
Somewhat	35	52
Not	4	3
Absolute difference = 0.198	Probability = 0.09	
<u>Control soil erosion</u>		
Very	38	29
Somewhat	32	48
Not	11	4
Absolute difference = 0.161	Probability = 0.25	
<u>Food</u>		
Very	40	26
Somewhat	34	45
Not	7	10
Absolute difference = 0.173	Probability = 0.19	
<u>Firewood</u>		
Very	34	28
Somewhat	42	48
Not	5	5
Absolute difference = 0.074	Probability = 0.98	
<u>Family income</u>		
Very	28	26
Somewhat	40	38
Not	13	17
Absolute difference = 0.049	Probability = 0.99	

PBT.6 tax receipts are the most commonly held documents, followed by the NS.3 and NS.3.A.

The first set of questions dealing with forest management asked the respondents to rate how important the forest was for selected activities and for maintaining local environmental conditions. These items are presented in order of frequency of response in Table 3. While it might be expected that the most important activity that people would associate with the forest would involve direct consumption of forest products such as firewood use, the maintenance of water supply is of greatest concern. This response may well

be related to the fact that each village has experienced water shortages over the last couple of years. Although water supplies have been adequate for crop production, low water levels have led to a reduction in the availability of electricity which is generated locally by small hydro plants. When water is high villages have electricity all day. Presently, it is only available on Saturday and Sunday, and parts of weekdays.

Although the respondents make a connection between forest loss and water shortages, they also indicated that the forest was very important for supplying building materials. However, not all the timber remains in the village. It has been a common practice for villagers in Northern Thailand to build sturdy houses with extra large beams every 2 or 3 years, and then sell the entire house to timber merchants (CHUNTANAPARB and WOOD, 1986). This is a very lucrative activity as the sale of one small house can easily equal an entire year's income from agriculture. Ten houses were under construction in the villages during the survey. It is also the case that trucks from the city make regular trips to the area to purchase lumber. This is despite the nationwide ban on logging announced in 1989.

There is no significant difference in the importance given to the control of soil erosion, which is interesting given the division of labour within the households. Men are largely responsible for tilling the soil, but twice as many men as women indicated that forests were not important for controlling erosion. The collection of foodstuffs does not rank as high in importance as might be anticipated, as most food items that are collected, such as mushrooms, berries etc., serve more to provide variety to local diets than acting as mainstays.

The majority of respondents rate the forest as being somewhat important for firewood, which is surprising since firewood is the main fuel used in the villages. It may be, however, that the respondents simply do not consider the areas where they collect firewood to be forest because so many trees have already been removed. Alternatively, they may simply not wish to admit that firewood is collected in the forest reserve areas. That the forest is not seen as an important source of income comes as no surprise, as such a

Table 4. Forest loss near village

	Men (n = 81)	Women (n = 81)
SERIOUSNESS		
Very	29	18
Somewhat	34	38
Not	18	25
Chi-square = 3.9 d.f. = 2	Probability = 0.14	
CAUSES		
<u>Villagers</u>		
Yes	42	33
No	31	35
Do not know	8	13
Chi-square = 2.5 d.f. = 2	Probability = 0.28	
<u>Illegal loggers</u>		
Yes	23	27
No	50	41
Do not know	8	13
Chi-square = 2.4 d.f. = 2	Probability = 0.30	
<u>Commercial logging</u>		
Yes	2	3
No	71	65
Do not know	8	13
Chi-square = 1.7 d.f. = 2	Probability = 0.44	
<u>Firewood collection</u>		
Yes	45	33
No	36	48
Do not know	—	—
Chi-square = 3.6 d.f. = 1	Probability = 0.06	

response might be interpreted as an admission that they are personally involved in selling timber rather than food products.

The second set of questions asked the respondents to indicate how serious they thought the loss of forest around their village was, and to indicate who they thought was responsible for it (Table 4). The Head of the National Forest Reserve Improvements Section in Chiang Mai considers the condition of the Mae Taeng watershed to be poor as the ecosystem is being destroyed by forest encroachment (CHOOKARA, 1990). However, only 29% of the respondents consider forest loss to be a serious problem for their village. This raises the issue of whether the local people are unable to recognize the degraded state of the surrounding forest, or whether they are simply unwilling to acknowledge it. With regard to the causes of forest loss, only 47% of the respondents attribute it to the activities of villagers, and only 31%

attribute it to illegal logging. Commercial logging has not been practised in the area for many years as the largest trees have all been removed. Local officials of the RFD, however, consider illegal logging to be a serious problem in all three villages. It is also somewhat surprising that 52% of the respondents do not believe that firewood collection has contributed to forest loss. However, many people may simply be unwilling to admit that their own actions, or those of their neighbours, are in any way harmful to the forest.

Generally, there was a certain reluctance on the part of the respondents to identify the causes of forest loss. Twenty-one of them consistently indicated that they did not know whether any of the listed groups of activities were responsible. It should not be assumed, however, that these responses accurately reflect their knowledge of factors contributing to deforestation. Their reluctance may be related to the fact that forest encroachment into forest reserves, and illegal logging are extremely volatile issues in Northern Thailand. It has resulted in threats of murder and even the death of those acting against the powerful business people who promote the activity. It has also created conflict between residents in the villages, and between lowland Thai and Hilltribe people. The sensitive nature of the forest use issue often results in people being cautious in their responses by giving a general answer rather than pointing the finger at a specific group, or at themselves, as in the case of firewood collection. There can be little doubt that this situation has had some influence on the willingness of people to respond openly and honestly to the questions. Although confidentiality was continually stressed to reassure the respondents, many were curious to know if the interviewers were from the RFD. When informed that there was no affiliation many people were more willing to comment on sensitive issues although others remained suspicious. It is common knowledge that some government officials are involved in the illegal logging trade, and that speaking too freely or complaining about their activities can get one into trouble.

The reluctance of people to openly comment on the local forest situation was anticipated. As a means of investigating their knowledge of the activities that contribute to forest loss in a more general manner, several questions were asked about forest loss in

Table 5. Forest loss in Thailand

	Men (n = 81)	Women (n = 81)
Deforestation a serious problem in Thailand		
Yes	78	78
No	2	1
Do not know	1	2
Valid chi-square statistic cannot be calculated		
CAUSES		
<u>Illegal logging</u>		
Yes	78	81
No	2	—
Do not know	1	—
Valid chi-square statistic cannot be calculated		
<u>Shifting cultivation</u>		
Yes	71	69
No	8	9
Do not know	2	3
Chi-square = 0.29 d.f. = 2		Probability = 0.87
<u>Commercial logging</u>		
Yes	68	51
No	9	14
Do not know	4	16
Chi-square = 10.71 d.f. = 2		Probability = 0.005
<u>Charcoal production</u>		
Yes	53	62
No	27	16
Do not know	1	3
Chi-square = 4.52 d.f. = 2		Probability = 0.10
<u>Farming in the forest</u>		
Yes	47	44
No	31	27
Do not know	3	10
Chi-square = 4.14 d.f. = 2		Probability = 0.13
<u>Roads and dams</u>		
Yes	41	31
No	35	41
Do not know	5	9
Chi-square = 3.01 d.f. = 2		Probability = 0.22
<u>Firewood collection</u>		
Yes	36	35
No	45	46
Do not know	—	—
Chi-square = 0.000001 d.f. = 2		Probability = 0.99

Thailand (Table 5). Almost all the respondents consider forest loss in Thailand to be a serious problem, and attribute this loss to shifting cultivation, illegal and commercial logging, and charcoal production. One significant difference in the responses is that the men are more inclined to ascribe forest loss to com-

Table 6. Forest management

	Men (n = 81)	Women (n = 81)
Who owns the forest?		
Royal Forest Department	20	25
Community	38	28
Government	13	5
Other	3	6
Do not know	7	17
Chi-square = 10.8 d.f. = 4		Probability = 0.03
How strict are forest protection laws?		
Too strict	7	7
About right	37	42
Not strict enough	34	19
Do not know	2	9
Chi-square = 8.9 d.f. = 3		Probability = 0.03
How would you rate the government's forest management?		
Good	31	34
Fair	23	22
Poor	23	17
Do not know	4	8
Chi-square = 2.4 d.f. = 3		Probability = 0.49
Should villagers manage the forest?		
Yes	64	59
No	13	11
Do not know	4	11
Chi-square = 3.6 d.f. = 2		Probability = 0.16
If yes, who should be involved?		
Men	22	19
Women	—	—
Men and women	42	40
Chi-square = 0.004 d.f. = 1		Probability = 0.95

mercial logging. Farming in the forest and the construction of roads and dams are not seen as major causes of forest loss, and a majority of the respondents indicate that firewood collection is not responsible. Again, the latter response may be due to the reluctance of people to acknowledge that the types of activities they participate in damage the forest. On the other hand, their knowledge of deforestation problems in Thailand comes largely from the media which has tended to focus on the damaging effects of commercial and illegal logging, as well as shifting cultivation.

The final set of questions concerned the ownership of the forest and the management practices of the RFD (Table 6). A significant difference exists between men and women in their knowledge of who owns the forest. Men tended to indicate that the community

owned the forest rather than the RFD while twice as many women as men indicated that they do not know who owned the forest. A significant difference also exists in their evaluation of the strictness of forest laws. Generally, it was the men who indicated that forest protection laws significant difference also exists in their evaluation of the strictness of forest laws. Generally, it was the men who indicated that forest protection laws are not strict enough. The two groups do not differ in their evaluation of the effectiveness of government management. However, while the majority indicated that the government has been doing a good job, it cannot be said that there is overwhelming support.

One of the characteristics of forest management in Thailand is that it is very much top down. The involvement of rural people in policy making is extremely limited. However, when asked whether villagers should be responsible for managing the local forest, the majority of respondents felt that they should. While there is no guarantee that rural people would be better custodians of the forest than the RFD, there is the distinct possibility that they would do no worse. Of those people who favoured local control, it is encouraging to note that the majority believed that both men and women should be involved in managing the forest.

Conclusions

Thailand's predominantly rural population has a vital stake in the health of the nation's forests. Forests provide a host of renewable benefits that form the basis of rural people's sustenance. Evidence continues to accumulate, however, that the ecological stress created by competing groups of forest users including tribal communities, landless farmers, and business élites is growing. This trend poses a serious threat to the future social and economic well-being of rural communities.

Although some analysts contend that men and women hold different attitudes towards the environment and natural resource use, investigations into gender differences in concern for the environment have been relatively few, and generally inconclusive. Some studies have found men to be more concerned than women, some that women are more concerned

than men, while others have found no significant differences (MOHAI, 1992). This study found only modest differences between the genders, and those that do exist do not show a consistent pro-environment stance on behalf of either group. In brief, the men and women share similar levels of knowledge and concern about forest use. Perhaps the most encouraging finding is the strong degree of support expressed by men for the participation of women in managing the forest.

Generally, the responses provided by the people in this study to questions about deforestation are both puzzling and somewhat disconcerting. They are keenly aware of forest loss and its causes at the national level, and view it as a serious problem. However, they are not nearly as concerned about forest loss around their own communities. This is despite the fact that they live in a degraded forest environment, and are already beginning to attribute water shortages to the loss of forest cover. It is difficult to identify a single plausible explanation for this. It is a fact that sufficient numbers of trees remain in the watershed which will satisfy their day-to-day needs for fuel and building materials for a considerable time into the future. They may lack the education and experience that would enable them to make more direct connections between forest loss and welfare in their communities, or they may be unwilling to acknowledge that their actions impact on the forest. Then again, they may simply fear that speaking out may be detrimental to their personal security. Whatever the case, it must be kept in mind that these people are characterized by insecure land ownership, low incomes, and low levels of education, in a country whose recent economic performance has created soaring expectations of material well-being. These are the component parts of a social system of resource use that is inherently contradictory and unsustainable. On the one hand rural people may recognize the need to conserve and protect the forest but, on the other hand, they must exploit it for land, food, basic household needs, and income, both as part of short-term survival strategies, and from a desire for a better life.

Involving local people in forest management decision-making, raising their level of knowledge about the cumulative effects of forest loss, providing them with greater security of land tenure, and dele-

gating the power to control access to the forest to local communities, are all important considerations in developing a forest management programme that will meet the needs and aspirations of rural people now and in the future. However, changes in the administrative, institutional and legal arrangements pertaining to forest use alone will not solve the problem of forest degradation. The tensions created by a growing population, a limited resource base, and the greed of rival claimants will assure persistent pressure to overexploit forests. Unless a concerted effort is made in the national arena to reverse the marginalization of indigent people from the mainstream of economic development by providing alternative employment opportunities, better infrastructure, and greater control over the power of the élites in natural resource exploitation, the prospects for achieving sustainable forest use are dim indeed.

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Magali Daltabuit y Luz María Vargas
Coordinadoras

**MUJER: MADERA, AGUA, BARRO
Y MAÍZ**

Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México
Centro Regional de Investigaciones Multidisciplinarias
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Women Settlers in the Mexican Rainforests: Destroyers or Saviours?

Janet Townsend¹

Ursula Arrevillaga de Escobar²

Jennie Bain de Corcuera³

Socorro Cancino Córdova⁴

Silvana Pacheco Bonfil⁵

Elia Pérez Nasser⁶

If we did not fell the forest, what would there be to eat?

Cristina, age 58 (Cuauhtémoc, Veracruz), July 1990

We set out, in 1990 and 1991, to ask women pioneers in settlements recently created by felling the forests what they saw as their problems and what solutions they proposed. We worked in fourteen Spanish-speaking communities in Southeast Mexico, in the following municipalities: Los Tuxtlas (actually San Andrés Tuxtla) and Cuauhtémoc (Veracruz), Matías Romero (Oaxaca), Palenque (Chiapas), Balancán (Tabasco) and Escárcega and Champotón (Campeche). This paper will set out our questions and recount some of our findings. Because we could not return to check them with our informants, individuals and communities have fictional names, save for Balzapote.

1. The context of the research

We knew from the literature on women's experiences in land settlement in the tropics that women pioneers seem to be "invisible" to planners, and to suffer for their invisibility. Very commonly, women pioneers

- lose economic rights, such as title to land
- lose access to income
- experience an increased workload

¹ Dept. of Geography, University of Durham, Inglaterra

² Lic. en Sociología, Universidad Autónoma de Chiapas, México

³ University of Durham, Inglaterra.

⁴ Lic. en Sociología, Esc. Nal. de Trabajo Social, UNAM México.

⁵ Ing. Agrónoma Rural con especialidad en Sociología, Universidad Autónoma de Chapingo, México.

⁶ Ing. Agrónoma, Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana, México.

—lose their social networks and suffer severely from social isolation.

This pattern was demonstrated by *Robert Chambers (1969)* in a classic study, but almost nothing has been done to correct it. It has since been documented for Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, India, Malaysia, Nigeria, Sri Lanka, Thailand and Zimbabwe (*Townsend, 1991*). Janet Townsend had conducted questionnaire studies with women pioneers in Colombia (*Townsend and Wilson de Acosta, 1987; Townsend 1993a, b*) but had found herself documenting their invisibility and suffering, not their strength or their own worldview.

We knew that there had been only a few studies of women and the rural environment in Mexico (*Hewitt de Alcántara, 1985; Bain de Corcuera, 1992*) and still less on women and tropical environments, although there is much very important work now in progress. *Lourdes Arizpe (1989)* had written of rural women's "profound knowledge of their natural world", but this was reflected remarkably little in the extensive ethnographic, sociological and even ethnobotanic literature on rural Mexico (*Bain de Corcuera, 1992*). Very little has been published on the lives of women pioneers in Mexico. An exception is the book-cassette Sk'op Antzetik (*Calvo et al., 1992*), where Tzotzil and Tzeltal speaking women from Las Margaritas, Chiapas, tell their story.

We knew also of the crises of sustainable development in humid tropical regions (*Leff, 1990*), of the deforestation and grass revolution of the Mexican tropics (*Feder, 1982; Gómez Pompa, 1990; Toledo, 1990*) and of "deteriorating development" (*Tudela, 1989*). *Arturo Gómez Pompa (1987)* and others that had written of the success of prehistoric Maya farming systems in the environments where production today is unsustainable. *Maria Elena Álvarez-Buylla Roces, María Elena*

Lazos Chavero and José Raúl García Barrios (1989) had written of the success of pioneers in creating sustainable forest gardens in Los Tuxtlas and had shown that these gardens were the fruit of family labour and family research, and the only sustainable production in the region.

But all these were outsider's perspectives, problems and solutions identified by academics, some working more, some less with the actors engaged in the real struggles for survival. We therefore tried to record the views of the actors themselves, using depth interviews, life histories and workshops to ask women what they saw as their problems and potential solutions. It should be noted that we worked only in new, Spanish-speaking communities and not with indigenous communities, new or old, or on the lands of ranchers ("pequeños propietarios"). (*Townsend et al. Voces femeninas de las selvas.* (In press) and Methodological Appendix.)

2. Women's problems and changing relationships with the environment

Pioneer women themselves identify different kinds of problems:

— *Economic*: the lack of employment (for women and men) and of income-generating opportunities, and the consequent poverty. This is produced by the change in relations with the environment as the agrarian system changes from crops to cattle.
— *Social*: the community needs (or total lack of) clean, piped water, electricity, drains, teachers, a clinic or health worker, improved access to market (a road or road improvement). These needs are partly a function of the newness of the communities, which have created *ejidos and colonias in the forest, establishing new relations with the environment.*

— *Personal*: (male) alcoholism and violence against women, and conflicts over women's control of their own bodies (rape) and over their own fertility (conception or sterilization). Changing practices around fertility are related to the changing agrarian system and employment crisis (changing relations with the environment) as well as to national patterns, and many local people claim that alcoholism and violence are also linked to the agrarian crisis in the communities as well as to the national rural crisis.

We shall now, therefore, briefly examine this agrarian change. What is changing, and how are women specifically involved?

All the communities where we worked are new creations. The older people have migrated to them from different parts of Mexico to make a new life; only the young were born here. The communities still have some difficulties in access to markets; few forests remain, although most have some second-growth. The creation of each settlement was a painful process with many years of great hardship; the pioneers made a community out of the forest. Now the old people can say, "My children don't suffer as we have suffered" (Bonita, Uxpanapa). But all the communities are facing the same agrarian crisis, when changes in the relationship to the physical environment transform women's lives. This crisis is the change from food crops to cattle.

Initially the pioneers would live in the forest, often in a shack of palm-leaves under a tree; they slept in hammocks or on the round poles of saplings; privations were severe. "We made a small roof and hung hammocks for the children... We used to cut a tortilla in two for the two of us" (Magdalena, Los Tuxtlas). Snakes and biting insects were daily problems and still are to a lesser degree. "You could hear the lions roaring... We slept in the wood smoke because of the mosquitoes" (Ofelia, Los Tuxtlas). The pioneers lived from their crops, sowing maize,

beans, gourds and chillies in the ashes of the forest; this was standard slash-burn cultivation. In some communities the women participated working in the forest and fields, but in others they only worked in the house and yard. Women are there to sustain the men who worked in the forest and fields, to provide sexual services and above all to create the future labour force, for labour was a great asset as long as there was forest from which to make milpas. Now, the forest is running out, and crop production is not sustainable without heavy expenditure. Land use is changing from crops to the extensive production of cattle, which involves very few jobs. This is the "ranch-isation" (Toledo, 1990), the "grass revolution of the American tropics" (Parsons, 1976), "hamburger and frankfurter imperialism" (Feder, 1982) and "deteriorating development" (Tudela et al., 1989). Unemployment and outmigration follow the takeover by cattle-migration to the cities or to more forest.

When we got here [early 1970s] it was a forest, there was no village... We had plenty to eat. There was everything, rodents, deer, what they call armadillos. We could get everything! Then with time it got used up. It was all destroyed for pastures, when the ejido moved in all the forests were destroyed to sow maize. It all turned into a pasture, and the poor animals got further and further away... (*Micaela, Balancán*).

Some had experienced this more than once.

There, the milpas weren't producing... when we got here, the land was good, it was pure forest... so we came, and we planted yuca, sweet potatoes, 'macal', planted chilli, tomato, and it all did well. But now it's all gone to pasture, there's nowhere to grow crops... Life was good then, it was cheap, we all went to the forest to work... [Where we came from], it was pasture too, yes, that's why we came here, to plant crops... We think it's sad that the forest is running out, it's gone. Now there's no wilderness. The forest is better, because you hunt in the forest and

there's no need to be putting down fertilizer or anything; you only have to cut down the weeds that come up. Now, if you don't use fertilizer it all chokes and starves, and it doesn't yield anything. Then, there was nothing of this, everything was by machete and then in a little while the maize would grow. What heads of corn there used to be! Beautiful!... Yes, the maize used to yield a lot, to yield enormous amounts, but now it doesn't yield the same.... the land is very tired now (*Odilia, Balancán*).

With this agrarian crisis of the grass revolution, there is a tremendous contraction in the need for labour. Even in the ejidos, this is a time of polarisation, essentially between those who have cattle and those who do not (three-quarters of the families we interviewed did not). With the crisis, investment and education become important and demands for "unskilled" labour drop. Intensive cattle production, for instance, requires technical skill, improved stock, more fencing, better pasture and much more rotation of pastures; it means calculation, investment and much negotiation with experts and with banks or other sources of credit. Education is then a great advantage -but on the whole these communities have had little time or even opportunity for education. Credit and extension services are poor and were drastically cut in the 1980s, if any children complete secondary education, they leave for the towns, so there is little improvement in skills (*Townsend and Bain, 1993*).

This situation brings a family crisis. With the shift from crops to cattle, far less labour is needed, paid work become scarce and many adults become superfluous. When there is no forest left to make milpas, money must be earned, food must be bought. Women have to confront radical change. In the pioneer communities, families needed as many children as possible, with skills taught mainly in the family; traditional families were large. Now a very different labour force is needed: household prosperity depends on new skills and labour requirements are greatly reduced.

Lucía (Matias Romero) told us:

Men who don't have education work in the fields. That's the only thing they are good for... There is no work any more in the fields. They're full of stones... the more you sow them, the more you use them up; they're only fit to plant grass to feed cattle... When I married, we went to work in the fields. The soil was good, we planted rice, corn. We both worked equally... Afterwards, only the men looked after the cattle, milked them, cured them, everything... Our job [the women's job] had finished. The fields weren't planted any more... the soil isn't good any more.

Or Maria del Carmen (Campeche): There will be no work for those who don't study.

Women are skilled in meeting the old needs but not the new; most left school "because my mother was ill". Painful demographic change is in progress. Many young couples plan to have only two children (usually the man's decision) and many older women are sterilized. There are still many other women in their thirties who already have eight or ten children and want no more but whose husbands see contraceptive measures as a threat to their masculinity. Control over fertility is at the centre of many marital disputes; although half the families say it is a joint decision, a third say that it is the man's. Three quarters of families "have enough" children, and most know of contraceptive methods.

Wages and income generation become central issues. Only half of our survey households lived mainly from the farm; half lived from wages. Changing labour needs are deeply implicated in conflicts over women's fertility, though not for their own cause. It is even possible that alcoholism and domestic violence play an important part in the crisis.

In Cuauhtémoc and Matías Romero, we met a variant on these problems. Here, soils are poor and agriculture unprofitable; timber extraction has been the main source of employment and profit and for the funds to improve pasture. Now state restrictions on permits to extract timber bear heavily on employment and income, many workers are fired and many farms suffer severe difficulties.

3. Losing the forest?

As one part of our research, we asked seventy-seven respondents to our main questionnaire about their attitudes to the clearing of the forest (most of these respondents were women, but there were some men, alone or with their partners. We did not study the gendering of opinion on this); sixteen had no opinion. Of the remaining sixty-one, only seven were pleased that the forest had been cleared (to produce food, because there were dangerous animals, insects and snakes and because the trees bring thunderbolts) and only nine more were "not worried". The remaining forty-five expressed considerable concern. As this was in answer to brief questions, not a depth interview, it may have been that they felt this was the right thing to say to outsiders, but the detail of their answers is interesting.

The leading concerns expressed were that when the forest ran out

- there would not be enough rain (16),
- that there would be no land to work (15),
- that the animals would be lost (and with them a source of food) (12),
- that there would be a lack of oxygen or clean air (10),
- that there would not be enough to eat (8),
- that there would not be enough firewood (5),
- that there would be no wood to build houses (5), and
- that the beauty would be lost (5).

Other concerns were the loss of shade, knowledge and fine timber, and possible increases in disease and drunkenness. Evelia (Los Tuxtlas) said: When the men don't go out to work, they drink a great deal.

Of those who thought it was necessary to protect the forest, twenty-two thought it was everyone's responsibility, ten thought it was up to men (as they cut it down and "as it is the man who maintains the house") and six thought it was up to women because they are "more aware". Catalina (Campeche) said:

As a woman, you think about the welfare of your children, and if they cut down all the trees, they'll leave all the forest destroyed and as a desert... The woman wants to see a better future for all of us, so that we may breathe clean air.

This is a minority opinion, but held in distant places: Carmela (Palenque). Women have to watch out that the men don't use up all the forest.

In the two communities in Campeche, the forest still remains; the clearing is more recent. It was here that we found most awareness: more people had opinions and were worried about the loss of forest. In the remote settlement where many have never seen television, the worries were about land to work and one man, Jesús, volunteered: The drought is not because we have cleared the trees.

This was the only time we heard this opinion in any of the settlements. The highest level of concern about air and water was also in Campeche, in the settlement which has most access to the media, but still has some primary forest. One settlement in Los Tuxtlas has disputes with the UNAM about a biological reserve, but people there pay at least lip service to the

need to maintain the reserve "to keep the rain coming" (1990). In both 1990 and 1991 we were told in all communities how much rainfall had decreased since the communities had been founded (in 1991 there was a severe drought and many expressed concern). "It used to rain twice as much as now" (ejido chairman, Matias Romero, 1990). Some described the decline in rainfall as a benefit: "In August, it used to rain day and night; you can work more, now it is dry" (Cristina Uxpanapa, 1990). Maria de Jesús, aged about 85, told us in Los Tuxtlas:

Well, now we're all convinced by what they say, that the day we felled the trees will be a shame to us... many have even wept with this weather now that it hasn't rained. And it was all because of this, they cut down many trees, and the forest attracts the water, so it was their fault.

We have no evidence that there is any gender difference in this discourse about the loss of the forest. Manuel (Palenque) was emphatically critical of clearing:

We came to kill the trees... The forests had no undergrowth and were very beautiful; the streams ran clear... The land was rich... The atmosphere is so bad now that sometimes it doesn't rain, because the water goes with the vegetation... The soil is completely destroyed by fire.

Equally, some women see sympathy with animals and trees as a feminine thing, but Isabel (Los Tuxtlas) does not conform to this image:

We saw jaguars, those things—big rodents, armadillos, raccoons, badgers—then wild boars, and in the streams, shrimps. And we were scared because we didn't know that kind of jaguar, the pumas there used to be, pheasants... But then afterwards we took control of the forest and when hunting by night or in the day. I had an eighteen-shot rifle; I loved shooting at the ani-

mals, killing pigeons, doves. Once I killed a small jaguar of about, mmm... 40 kilos. It was in a tree. The chickens panicked, and I went—but then you had to be careful underfoot because of the snakes, because there were lots of bushmasters. I don't know how many of those I killed because there were so many; I killed them with the rifle, with the machete—little ones, but they still count, don't they?

4. Skills for sustainable development

Yet in all these communities, a new, sustainable form of production has been developed. The original slash-burn agriculture to produce maize in the milpa is complemented by the development of production of meat, fruits and other things in the solar. In diversity and productivity, this system reaches its peak in Los Tuxtlas, where high rainfall and volcanic soils have been used to develop an imitation rainforest, but everywhere we found a complex structure of production in the solar*. Even in Campeche, the rather bleak, dry landscape is relieved by bursts of green in the solares of families speaking indigenous languages, although the environment is as new to them as to the Spanish-speakers, they are the more successful in learning to live in it. Without a translator, we could not inquire into this.

The solares in Balzapote (Los Tuxtlas), were studied intensively in the early 1980s as multispecies agroforestry cropping systems by botanists from the UNAM (*Alvarez-Buylla Roces, Lazos Chavero and Garcia Barrios, 1988 and 1989*). It is important to summarize their work briefly here. They found the solares to be both productive units and living space, with a complex structure of yard (patio), flowers (jardin), bushes and trees (huerta). The solar really includes the house: it is a house-and-garden unit. The mother is generally in charge of the yard and gardens, the father, of the fruit and other trees; all the family work in the solar. 338 species were recorded in Balzapote, wild and cultivated: 127 ornamentals, 86 for food, 31 for medicine, others for seasonings, shade, firewood, con-

* bot

struction or to serve in rituals. Only 18 had no apparent use. The commonest uses are for food and ornament. It was shown that the settlers came to Balzapote (its real name) from many areas, bringing domesticated plants and constantly seeking to incorporate new plants, from the forest or from their neighbours, to improve their gardens.

The father and the older sons are in charge of acquiring the knowledge involved in the handling and use of cultivated trees. Mother and older children are in charge of obtaining the plants for the garden (mostly ornamental, medicinal and seasoning species), as well as investigating the way of growing and using them.

The role played by children is very important, since they introduce to the home garden new useful species...

So, the home garden is a place of agricultural experimentation where all the family take part. The father tests new seeds that are later introduced to crop fields and the mother generally selects the best food and ornamental varieties. (*Lazos Chavero and Alvarez-Buylla Rocas, 1988*).

The solares are shown to meet very different needs in different families, as reflected in their plant structures. All, however, are very diverse and highly sustainable. There is almost no use of chemical fertilizers or pesticides and most plants are perennial. Tools are cheap and inputs are low; most work is by the family although labour is sometimes hired for weeding. Work and production are year-round. This is a highly sustainable system, unlike most systems of production in the Mexican tropics, but it is contracting in the face of cattle-rearing and commercialization. Purchased teas and medicines are replacing those from the solar as cattle replace maize. Although a few products from the solar are sold, the cash income generated is very small. These are essentially subsistence systems, shrinking in the face of the cash economy. They could expand in response to an expansion of markets for their products, but this is not the case.

We found very similar patterns everywhere, although the greatest floristic diversity appears to be in Los Tuxtlas. Everywhere, women are involved in production in the solar. We found from our survey data that most tasks are highly gendered, and strongly linked to women's supposed confinement to private, domestic space: the solar. The exception is fetching water, which is the work of women and children in all the communities whether it be from a well in the solar near Palenque or one more than a kilometre away in Campeche. Laundry may also take a woman out of the solar to do the washing at the water source, although if she has water in the solar she will wash and dry clothes there. (Most of those who fetch firewood are men and boys, but women are much concerned with the product and its burning qualities). Everywhere, the care of hens, pigs, flowers and ornamentals plants in the solar is primarily women's work, but they are less involved with the crop plants and trees; women do not dominate numerically among those who "always participate" in work with the plants and trees, save in Los Tuxtlas. On the whole, women sell some of their pigs and poultry and spend the proceeds on family expenses (especially in emergencies) although some men control even these earnings. This small income is important to them: Juliana (aged 66, Los Tuxtlas) needed treatment for her kidneys for which her husband would not pay; she was able to sell the orange crop to pay for it herself.

Only an in-depth study such as that by the UNAM botanists would establish women's productive role in the solar, since they often deny it: Maribel (Los Tuxtlas) denied having a garden, in 1990, but tended a fenced area full of herbs, seasoning, medicinal plants and flowers. Opinion is divided as to whether men or women know more about plants, but we generally agree with Olga (Los Tuxtlas): Some men know a lot, but for most of it is the women.

Some men are fascinated by plants, trees and medicine: as it is they who go to the forest, generally go out much more, travel more widely and meet more people, they have more op-

portunity to develop new and more specialized knowledge. The most beautiful flower garden we saw (in Cuauhtemoc), a great mass of colour, scent, flowers and butterflies, was the man's work; he had completed secondary education, but wanted his children to grow up in a rural area. But it is women who have the everyday care of the solar and of family health. Only a few still use a wide range of medicinal plants and not all still make teas from the solar, but most make frequent use of a few plants for health care.

An important part of our study was to inquire into women's solutions to the problems they perceived. Naively, we expected them to see opportunities to market more goods from the solar; we are aware of the experiments in agroforestry all over the tropics, and here they have already developed a satisfactory, productive, sustainable system. We are also aware of the premium attached to "organic" products in Europe and North America, of "rainforest ice cream" and "forest-friendly" snacks. Fresh fruit drinks in Mexico are a revelation to foreign visitors, but canned or frozen mango or passion fruit in Europe or North America come from high input, monocultural plantations, heavily dependent on herbicides and pesticides. To us it seems tragic that these sustainable, labour-intensive systems may be lost before the market can discover them. In fact, pioneer women are well aware of the marketing difficulties they face, and see no future for their gardens.

Their solutions relate much more to the UAIM (Unidades Agrícolas e Industriales de la Mujer), or to the possible development of activities often seen elsewhere in Mexico as highly exploitative such as homeworking or fruit-packing plants. Homeworking is an immensely attractive option to them: if they can get a course, women will work all week embroidering (although this is not a traditional activity) to make a profit equivalent to a day's agricultural wage. Although they may make this profit by travelling to a town to sell the goods, this preference relates strongly to another dimension of their lives: women's identification with the domestic sphere, which is also important

in many problems of the UAIM.

5. The domestic sphere

Women's identification with the solar colours their whole lives. One interview emphasized both the importance of the solar to women and their identification with it. This was in the settlement which is a part of Plan Balancán-Tenosique; the people had settled in the forest and had later been moved to a new, urban-style site by the Plan. Only here were the solares small and shabby: their size had been decided by the planners and was the subject of constant complaint to us. Micaela speaks highly of the old site and illustrates the importance of productions in the solar to women, and of its domestic status. She has never worked in the fields, but values work in the solar very highly:

I used to work as I wanted; not like here, where you are shut up in one plot. No, there you had the land you wanted to raise animals, pigs, chickens. I had such a lot of animals! I didn't think each year that I might go hungry. I wanted to eat? I killed something. And here, no, here you can't have them, because everything has to go in the yard, and in a yard which has no grass, what can you breed? And what can you contribute [to the household]? Nothing, nothing... [The old settlement] is a wonderful place! It didn't flood; the streams didn't rise; it was on a high place where you could put plants and trees behind the house. And -everything grew! I used to work there. Behind the house we had beans, and harvested plenty; we used to sow tomatoes and gourds. It helped my man because we used not to buy anything: we had everything within reach of our hands. But here, no, the basis is money. If we have money, we buy; and if not, we don't buy anything...

In the new settlement,

The problem is, there's nowhere to work. Often, you want to work in the solar and you can't. We've tried, with my husband carrying earth to sow coriander, vegetables—and they don't grow.

Micaela has never gone to work in the fields and can give a big variety of reasons for it. Her distaste for going away from the house to the fields and her enthusiasm for work in the solar are widespread among women.

We women put ourselves in charge of the plants as the men are in the fields: *Francisca* (Los Tuxtlas).

Most women claim that they "never go out" and few work in the fields, save in Los Tuxtlas, where the recent development of commercial production of peppers depends heavily on the casual labour of women and children. Children collect fruits from the acahual, but it is mainly men and boys who work in the forest and milpa although women and children will deliver hot food to them. This spatial restriction is an important parameter of women's lives. They see this positively. In our workshops, groups would discuss: Do we like being women? Why?

And would often answer: Yes, to make good homes.

The solar is a part of this:

I like being a woman to care for my home and have my plant.
We like being women because we like to have flowers and garden.

We like being women because we like to sow plants and fruits.

Being in the house attracts strong statements, mostly in favor, some against:

I like being a woman, to work in the house with the children, because the man works in the sun and we in the shade.
I don't like being a woman because he doesn't let me go out, to the church or to dance.

Womanhood is very much tied up with the house. I don't like being a woman because I like to work in the fields, and I don't in the house.

I like being a woman because I like it, and I don't like going to the fields.

I wouldn't like to be a man because of the heavy work and going to the fields. (All these statements come from workshops).

Homeworking combines well with these attitudes. Despite the few women who work in the fields regularly and enjoy it, women's distaste for agricultural work is widespread in these new, Spanish-speaking settlements in the selva. This presents real problems where there is a UAIM and landless women of the village have the use of one, family-sized ejido plot between them, for the projects which they are encouraged to undertake are still essentially agricultural. The advice of *Lourdes Arizpe and Carlota Botey (1987)* to develop non-traditional, non-agricultural projects has still not been heeded in these areas; the successful UAIMs run cattle, usually with the women organizing and arranging for their husbands or hired men to do the work. Only the poorest women who have no man and cannot afford to hire a man actually work on the UAIM land. Women are widely enthusiastic about the economic potential of UAIMs, but they have no experience of collective work and minimal training, so that conflict and fraud are the rule. Many women welcome the opportunity to get together with other women, which otherwise they can only do in church or temple, but few want the kinds of productive work allowable in UAIMs and few want to be away from home to work.

Conclusions

Women's lives are transformed again and again as relations to the environment change in new communities in the selva. At first, life is hard and children are at a premium; later, there may be more services but there is a desperate shortage of jobs and a

desperate need for education. Considerable disquiet is expressed about the loss of the forests, the perceived loss of rainfall and the undeniable reduction in work opportunities, but there is no clear identification of women with environmental concern. Women identify personal as well as economic and community problems: alcoholism, child abuse, marital rape and wife-battering; marital conflicts around fertility are common. Some women are denied contraception by their husbands; other have been sterilized against their will, at their husband's wish (see *Townsend et al. Voces femeninas de las selvas*). At present, there is an intense expressed demand for training, for income-generating opportunities and for an increased association with other women to confront the personal problems. Unfortunately, there seems little opportunity to expand the sophisticated, labour-intensive agroforestry which families have developed in the solar and in which women have considerable expertise. Yet women's economic options are limited by their frequent wish to stay in the solar. It would be a very attractive partial solution if a link could be made between the multiple products of the solares and the world market for tropical goods.

Methodological appendix: The research project

We started work in July 1990, when Jennie Bain and Janet Townsend carried out a pilot project. In 1991, Ursula Arrebillaga, Socorro Cancino, Silvana Pacheco, Elia Pérez and Janet Townsend worked on the main project; fieldwork took from June to August, this time using our own vehicles. Both projects were funded by the British Economic and Social Research Council and by Durham University; the support of the Colegio de Michoacán made the main project possible. The projects were thus the fruit of Anglo-Mexican cooperation, and were run on a collective basis.

Our aim was to learn from pioneer women of their problems and of the solutions proposed. Two misfortunes limited the areas which we could visit. One was that two of us con-

tracted typhoid, which restricted our diet for some time after, so that we were not able to sleep and eat in the communities as much as we wished. The other was the conflict over timber in Pico de Oro and Marqués de Comillas in July 1991: the pioneers suffered at the hand of the police and the military, and we felt that we could not ask them the very next month to accept and assist strangers and talk about their most intimate lives, as other communities were willing to do. We, therefore, did not work in Marqués de Comillas, which is the area of rainforest with the most recent colonization in Mexico; we went instead to Campeche, which also has relatively new communities in forest, although in a very different, much drier environment.

Women's voices in this book cannot represent all women settlers in Southeast Mexico. None of us speaks an indigenous language, and we felt it important to concentrate our limited resources on hearing what women had to say to us directly, so we worked only in Spanish-speaking communities. We did not, therefore, work in coastal areas of Michoacán (*Cochet et al., 1988*), Jalisco or Guerrero or in Las Margaritas, Chiapas (*Calvo et al., 1992*) or even south of Palenque, where there is colonization by indigenous communities. For rather different reasons, we did not work with ranchers, large farmers or their resident workers, since the people who actually live on the ranches and farms tend to be caretakers and workers who fear that their answers could cost them their jobs. We have therefore no information from women who live on ranches, where we suspect that they may be painfully isolated as in Colombia (*Townsend and Acosta, 1987; Townsend, 1993a, b*) nor from women in new indigenous communities, where problems and opportunities may be very different. We look forward to the publication of current work by Lourdes Arizpe, Magali Daltabuit and Xóchitl Leyva, all arising from interviews with both indigenous and Spanish-speaking women in Southeast Mexico. There appears as yet to be no work with the women isolated on the ranches, who may now number more than women in indigenous communities in colonization areas.

We, nevertheless, feel that these voices do represent the needs of hundreds of Spanish-speaking communities formed in the last fifty years in the tropical lowlands of Mexico: in Veracruz, Oaxaca, Chiapas, Tabasco, Campeche and perhaps in Yucatán and Quintana Roo. From our previous experience working in rural Mexico, they also express the feelings of women in many other communities.

In each of fourteen communities, we conducted a questionnaire survey in some twenty-three households (selected at random) to learn the outlines of the living conditions, the economy, the demography and the divisions of labour by gender and age. Where possible, we followed the questionnaire with informal discussion. Each interview was "paid for" with a polaroid photograph of the family (the cost being approximately equivalent to half a day's agricultural wage), as a courtesy. Only one household refused to be interviewed—on a Sunday, in pouring rain. In each community, we asked some women to tell us the story of their lives, so that we might better understand what it is to be a woman in these communities. We selected these women both for their willingness and capacity to talk and as representing different attitudes and experiences. Only one woman was "too busy". Where possible, we arranged women-only workshops, where the women told us about their problems and proposed solutions. This gave us seven workshops, five with members of UAIM (Unidades Agrícolas e Industriales de la Mujer), one with the UAIM and others and one open to all women in a community with no women's group. We were clearly perceived as an opportunity. As educated women, we represented the power elite, there and accessible in the community, in many of these communities, no woman with a degree had ever been seen. Even the women officials who are paid to support the women's production groups, the UAIMs, almost never visit the communities. We explained that we had no resources, no projects, no credit to offer, that we planned only to publish a book about women's lives in these

communities. But we in ourselves were a resource, a means of getting their story told. There was suspicion, of course, we were frequently interrogated. In Jasso, there was a rumour that we were Americans coming to take their land, in la Palma, that we were robbers with machine guns. Certainly many women set out to manipulate us and probably many succeeded; this was the price of our being accepted. It is perhaps more surprising that the men were so supportive, particularly considering how critical the women were of the men. Men were friendly and helpful. Tacana (Champotón, Campeche) is five miles from a road fit even for a jeep: the village leader and his committee, all men, arranged to meet us with horses to carry our hammocks and food, and lent us the teachers' house to sleep in (it was during the holidays). They, like many other men, were immensely helpful, making positive use of outsiders. All the communities are in economic crisis: in all of them, many men seem to welcome the idea of income-generation for women and are also, of course, eager for better services.

Note

(1) These women migrated from the Allos de Chiapas to the forest further east at their husbands' command, against their own wishes, travelling the last five days on foot in deep mud. They record their early sadness in the heat and the thick forest, and their satisfaction as the new community took shape and the forest was driven back: now, they "work hard, but eat well". They have achieved the self-drawn dream: the groups heard of empty land and went to make it their own; they remember with horror the poverty, hunger and insecurity of the old days of day-labouring in the Allos de Chiapas. Their tale is one of work and pride. The tales we heard were also of work and pride, but fear and desperation were there too as livelihoods disappeared and women sought new sources of income to feed their families.

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"coordinating thousands of farmers is quite onerous".

The fact is that in the late 1980s, there was so much eucalyptus wood being produced on private farms, prices in Haryana and Gujarat dropped so low that many a desperate farmer literally plucked out saplings. Even now, Haryana foresters are frantically searching for new uses for eucalyptus wood to prop up prices. They are persuading Himachal Pradesh officials to buy eucalyptus wood to make apple crates. So, if there is glut in softwood, is the wood industry crying wolf?

Afforestation does pose a major challenge to socially conscious industrialists, requiring them to identify softwood species that are less harmful than eucalyptus,

develop an extension system that helps farmers to grow trees efficiently and then buy these trees from the farmers at remunerative prices. The industry could thus meet its needs and everyone would pay the true price of paper, factoring in the ecological costs of the wood industry including the full cost of land for producing wood.

The present situation calls for a paraphrase of the old Hindi saying *Sou chuhe kha kar billi haj ko chali* (The cat goes on a pilgrimage after eating a hundred rats) to *Paper mill malik sau ped kat kar ab jungle lagane chale* (After cutting down a hundred trees, paper mill owners want to plant a forest).

From: DOWN TO EARTH, 30 APRIL 1993

Chipko: Environmentalism of the poor

WHENEVER a dictionary of green terms is written, even if it is in English, it will contain at least one Hindi word. And that word is Chipko.

The idea that people are prepared to hug trees to save them from being felled excited and enthused so many people across the country, that it built the foundation for a nationwide environmental concern and a whole generation of home-grown environmentalists. Given the fact that there was a powerful environmental concern growing in the West, there would have been, sooner or later, a fallout of this Western phenomenon in India. But this country did not have to wait for it. Chipko had a deep intellectual impact and helped to resolve the conflict between the concepts of development and environmental protection, without which the environment concern could not have come to enjoy a reasonably widespread acceptance in a poor, developing country. Whereas Indira Gandhi had told the 1972 Stockholm Conference in no uncertain terms that "poverty is the biggest polluter", Chipko told Indians and the rest of the world that it is the poor who suffer the most when the environment degrades. They depend on their immediate environment for their daily survival. And, therefore, they have a vested interest in its management on a more sustainable basis.

Chipko has been the subject of hundreds of articles, numerous films and quite a few books. Various aspects of the movement have been highlighted, including the nature of the environmentalism of the poor; the interest and role of women in environment movements; the demand for community control over natural resources, and the role of the state in dispossessing the poor from their resource base. All of this has been most inspiring and will continue to be a beacon in the days ahead.

Twenty years after the start of the movement, a *Down To Earth* correspondent visited many of the villages where the movement had begun and grown. His

report, however, is unexpected and demands introspective study by all those interested in the environment, the poor and the larger Indian society. It seems that in all the writings on Chipko, what was most neglected is that which the local participants of Chipko most wanted. The interviews show that for them Chipko was an assertion of local people's rights over their resources, but in a very developmental context, though, of course, the nature of development they were seeking was integrated with environmental concerns.

But with the conservationist element receiving greater emphasis, a gulf widened between the local reality and the national and international perceptions. And, it now

appears, this expanding gulf finally began to alienate many of the youth who came into the movement hoping for radical political change. A few of them even started a *Ped Kato Andolan* — the very antithesis of the perception of the Chipko Movement — when the centrally controlled Forest Conservation Act began being an obstruction to the construction of village roads, ropeways, bridges and electric poles in the region.

But, looked at in another way, both actions amount to the same local concern: the right of local communities to decide how they should manage and use their resource base. The state has, meanwhile, used the growing environmental concern to centralise environmental management without any concern for devolution of environmental rights and obligations. Not surprisingly, even women from the legendary villages of Reni and Doongri-Paitoli, now ask:

Hamen kya mila (what have we got)?

There is every possibility that many will disagree with our report on Chipko. We, too, are sad in presenting it because knocking a legend is painful. But our correspondent's report shows one thing: A deeper analysis of Chipko and its gains is needed, for only then will we get a better understanding of the true environmentalism of the poor.



"NO WOMAN ever had to hug a tree to protect it," says Chandni Prasad Bhatt, the founder of Chipko. "It was not necessary to do so, for the mere threat was enough." The concept of hugging a tree to defend it was so powerful, it brought in a new consciousness to the country and put environment at its centre.

Chipko — "to hug" in Hindi — today evokes romantic images of poor, village women in the hills of northern India determinedly hugging trees to prevent them from being cut down by the very axes of forest contractors that were also a threat to their lives. But Chipko's multi-faceted identity has given it a different meaning to different people. For some, it is an extraordinary conservation movement of the poor; for others, it is a local people's movement to regain control of their natural resources, snatched away first by a colonial power and then by the free government of India, and, finally, it is a movement of women trying to save their environment with a message to loggers: "Our lives before our trees". In fact, as a women's movement, it inspired ecofeminism in India and, to some extent, throughout the world.

The volume of literature Chipko generated is enormous, but, today, 20 years after its birth, questions remain: What has been its impact locally, nationally and internationally? Did it achieve its objectives or were its gains only intellectual, with few benefits for the villagers?

The struggle

Chipko's first battle took place in early 1973 in Chamoli district, when the villagers of Mandal, led by Bhatt and the Dasholi Gram Swarajya Mandal (DCSM), prevented the Allahabad-based sports goods company, Symonds, from felling 14 ash trees. This act took place on April 24 and, in December, the villagers again stopped Symonds agents from felling in the Phata-Rampur forests, about 60 km from Gopeshwar.

In 1974, the forest department marked trees for felling in the Peng Murenda forest, near Reni village in Joshimath block, which had been badly affected by the massive Alaknanda flood of 1970. More than 680 ha were auctioned for Rs 4.7 lakh to Jagmohan Bhalla, a contractor from Rishikesh. But the women of Reni drove out the contractor's labourers on March 26, 1974 (See box). This was a turning point for Chipko, as it marked the first time the initiative was taken by women, especially when their menfolk were not around. The Reni incident also prompted the state government to set up a nine-member committee, chaired by Delhi botanist Virendra Kumar and whose members included government offi-



The founder: Chandni Prasad Bhatt.

cial; the local MLA, Govind Singh Negi of the Communist Party of India (CPI); Bhatt, and Govind Singh Rawat, the block pramukh of Joshimath. The committee's report, submitted after two years, led to a 10-year ban on commercial forestry in Reni and in nearly 1,200 sq km of the upper catchment of the Alaknanda. The ban was extended for 10 years in 1985.

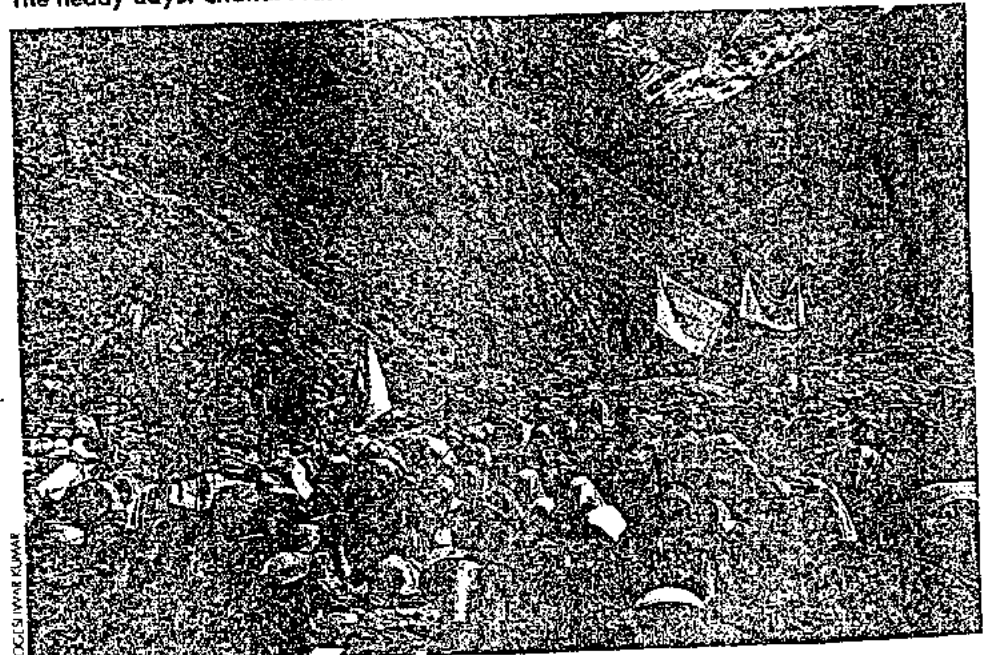
Another response to Chipko was the formation of a Van Nigam, a state-owned forest corporation, in 1975 to take over all forms of forest exploitation from private contractors. "It was generally believed," says Surendra Bhatt, a veteran Sarvodaya worker of Uttarkashi, "the government would not be as ruthless and corrupt as private contractors in exploiting forest resources." But this

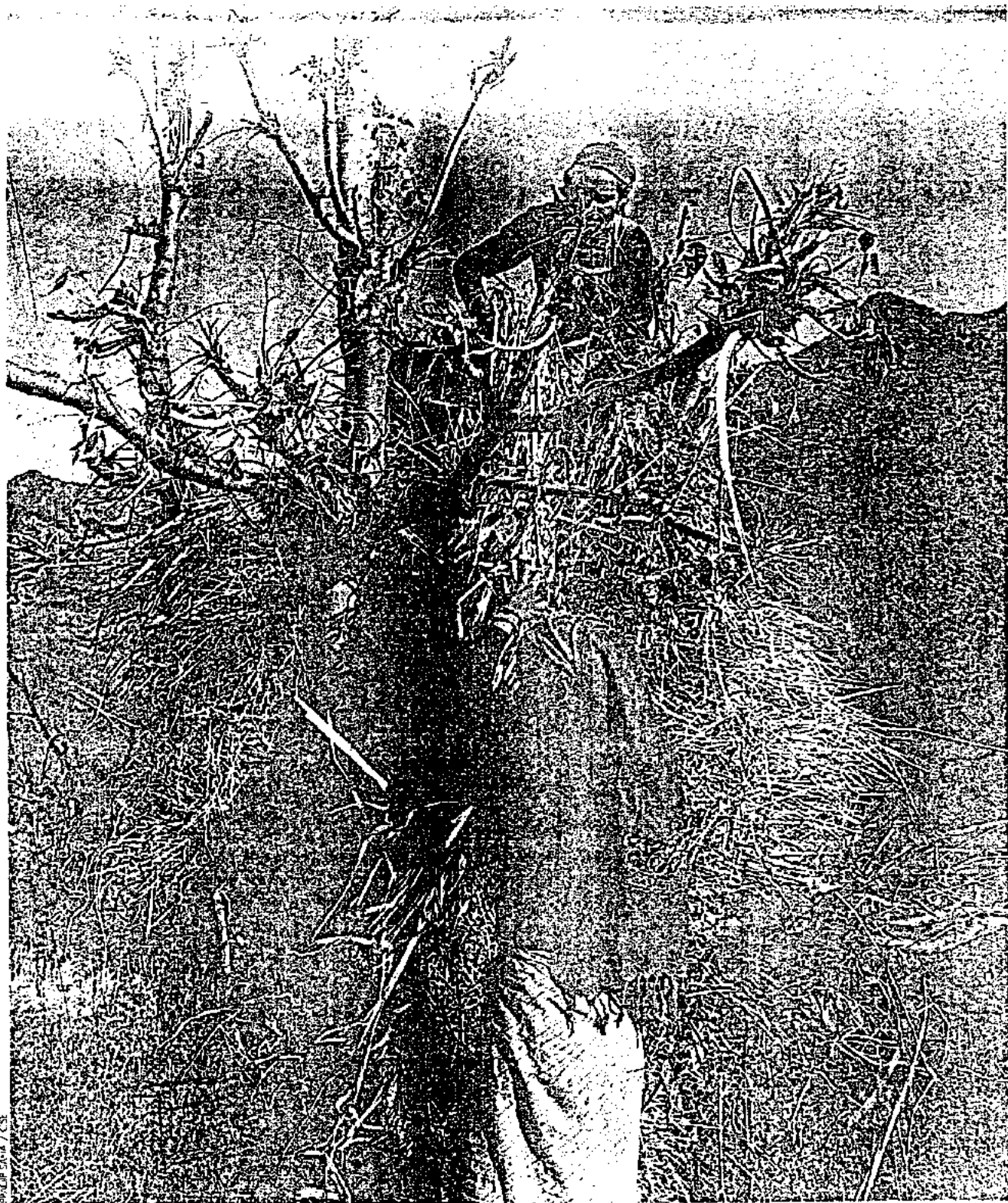
belief was unjustified for many agitations were targeted in time against Van Nigam.

The protests spread

Meanwhile, other protests were staged in the Uttarakhand region. In 1974, a struggle was launched on July 25 — and reached its peak in October — by villagers from the Vyali forest area near Uttarkashi, seeking to halt tree-felling. In Kumaon, Chipko made its debut at the Nainadevi fair in Nainital in 1974, and activists proceeded to block forest auctions at several places, including Nainital, Ramnagar and Kotdwar. The movement in Kumaon gathered momentum following major landslides at Tawaghat in 1977 and student activists successfully blocked the auction at Shailley Hall in Nainital on October 6, 1977. On November 28, another protest by students was forcibly dispersed by the police and many of the activists were arrested. The Nainital Club was set ablaze and this led the police to open fire. Says poet Girish Tiwari "Girda", whose folk songs inspired Chipko rallies, "in 1942, during the Independence movement, the British fired two rounds in Nainital. Since then, there had never been any firing in Nainital."

The heady days: Chandni Prasad Bhatt addressing villagers at Reni.





PHOTOGRAPH BY / CNS

Women storing fodder: Chipko fostered the realisation that people are an integral part of the environment.

In Tehri Garhwal, meanwhile, Chipko activists led by Sunderlal Bahuguna began organising villagers in May 1977 to oppose tree-felling in the Henwal valley. They resorted to direct action in December 1977 to protect the Advani and Salet forests and in March the following year, 23 volunteers, including women, were arrested for opposing a forest auction at Narendranagar. "The struggle in Henwal," recalls Pratap Shikhar, "marked the transformation of Chipko from an economic struggle to a fight for conservation." The agitation to save the Badyargarh forests gained momentum after the jailing of Bahuguna, who began a hunger strike on January 9, 1979.

Chipko resumed activities in Chamoli during 1977-

78, with the women from Pulna stopping the felling of forests in Bhyunder valley. Similar protests were staged in Doongri-Paintoli in 1980, and in Bacher, as late as 1984-85. "But by then, the Chipko protests were breathing their last," says Sudarshan Kathait of Gopeshwar, who was actively involved in the Chanchridhar struggle (See box). "After early gains, Bhatt began to spend more time on plantation work, eco-development camps and organising women into Mahila Mangal Dals (MMDs). Bahuguna did not believe at that time in plantations, though he is currently involved in promoting afforestation."

After Bahuguna met British forester Richard St. Barbe

created by Chipko."

And Nirmal Kumar Joshi, director of the Forest Training Institute at Haldwani, adds, "Chipko created a new wave of understanding among foresters. We realised that our plans to exploit forests were not at all scientific, as it was claimed. We realised that nurseries and plantations were more important than cutting down green trees."

International ecologists saw Chipko as a cultural response of the people's love for their environment. Chipko was popularised by the feminist movement, who pointed out that village women have to walk long distances to collect fuel and fodder and they become the first victims of forest destruction. Eco-feminists argue that women are therefore closer to nature and more ecologically conscious.

But Chipko's biggest contribution probably was the pro-poor environmentalism that it brought in its wake. Says Mahendra Singh Kunwar, who was a student during Chipko's heyday, "It dismissed the notion that the poor destroy their environment and do not want to

Chipko was primarily an economic struggle. Environment and ecology were attributed to it later.

protect it. The Chipko message captured the imagination of activists across the world. Until Chipko, people refused to believe the poor could live in harmony with their environment.

"Chipko had a very humane appeal: Cut me down before you cut down the tree. The tree is far more important than my life, it is the basis of my survival."

Several environmental activists discerned in Chipko a powerful assertion by people of their rights over their environment. This concept, in fact, set a major trend in environmentalism, and one Chipko observer has written, "Local control over the habitat — in this case the forests — might have been illegal in terms of contemporary laws, but it was not immoral."

This was the true social justification of the protests, which defined a new morality in environmental concern. "This gave rise to the notion of the need to empower local communities to manage their resources," says Shamsar Singh Bist, an ardent Chipko activist when he was a student in the 1970s. He is now associated with Uttarakhand Kranti Dal, a local political party.

Unfortunately, people's control over local resources has been the least of the state's concerns, even though, under pressure from the growing, international, environment lobby and the "summits" in Stockholm and Rio, it has adopted a series of conservationist policies. However, most of them still deny people the rights to manage their environment for their own use and so the villagers who participated in Chipko have suffered as a result

Not a preserve of women

Though women were the primary participants in Chipko, men and children were also involved in the movement at various levels.

WOMEN were involved in popular agitations in Uttarakhand long before Chipko, but it is Chipko that produced courageous women who even dared to take on the state.

In the Vyali forest agitation in Uttarkashi in 1974, women acted as messengers and lookouts because the men were under police surveillance. Some, like Chooma Devi of Kishanpur village, led processions, a red flag in hand. She is in her 80s now and almost senile, but the mention of a procession is enough to set her muttering, "Get me my red flag. Why are you sitting and watching? We have to march against the pigs of the Van Nigam."

Then there is Bachni Devi of Advani village, whose contractor husband, Bakhtawat Singh, wanted to cut down trees in the nearby forests. She rebelled and joined Chipko in December 1977. Today, Bachni Devi mourns her dead husband and says, "He was a good man. So what if he made a mistake? I convinced him and, in any case, he did not throw me out of the house for joining Chipko."

In Doongri-Paintoli, Gayatri Devi led a group of women and prevented an oak forest from being cleared in 1980 for a horticulture farm. And, when some men in Bacher village agreed to allow the forest department to cut down dead trees, the Mahila Mangal Dal she organised blocked department labourers, contending, "We need the trees for fuel. The trees are ours." (See page 50)

These examples have often been cited as proof that Chipko was exclusively a women's movement. Though this is not to decry the role of women, this argument is not true. Some



Leading from the front: Chooma Devi (top) and Bachni Devi.



for ecological degradation and wants strict conservation; another led by Bhatt, which works at environmental regeneration with people at the centre, and, the third named Uttarakhand Sangharsh Vahini (USV), which seeks to move Chipko away from being publicly identified with Bahuguna and Bhatt, though the latter founded it. USV insists the human-nature relationship must be viewed in the context of relationships between humans and so social and economic redistribution are more important than ecological harmony. USV does not associate itself with state-sponsored development programmes and has on occasion engaged in sharp confrontations with the administration in Kumaon.

Several USV activists formed the Uttarakhand Kranti Dal, which is leading a movement for the region to be given statehood. Dal activists felled thousands of trees throughout Garhwal and Kumaon during their 1988-89 *ped kato andolan* (fell trees movement), which was launched to counter delays in environmental clearance for road and water pipeline projects. Explains Bipin Tripathi, who led the 1978 struggle to save the Chanchridhar forest from being felled by a paper mill, "We cut trees in 111 places, where the government was using the Forest Conservation Act to hold up development projects. After all, we had to consider whether the trees are for the people or if it's the other way around. Nearly 4,500 development schemes in the hills are held up due to environmental reasons. The hill people want trees, but they want development, too."

It is indeed an irony that the very region that gave



ANIL KUMAR / CSE

The crusader: Sunderlal Bahuguna.

Chipko to India and the world now has activists promoting the *ped kato andolan*. This came about because the state used the environmental concern that was first enunciated in the country by Chipko to centralise forest management, instead of decentralising.

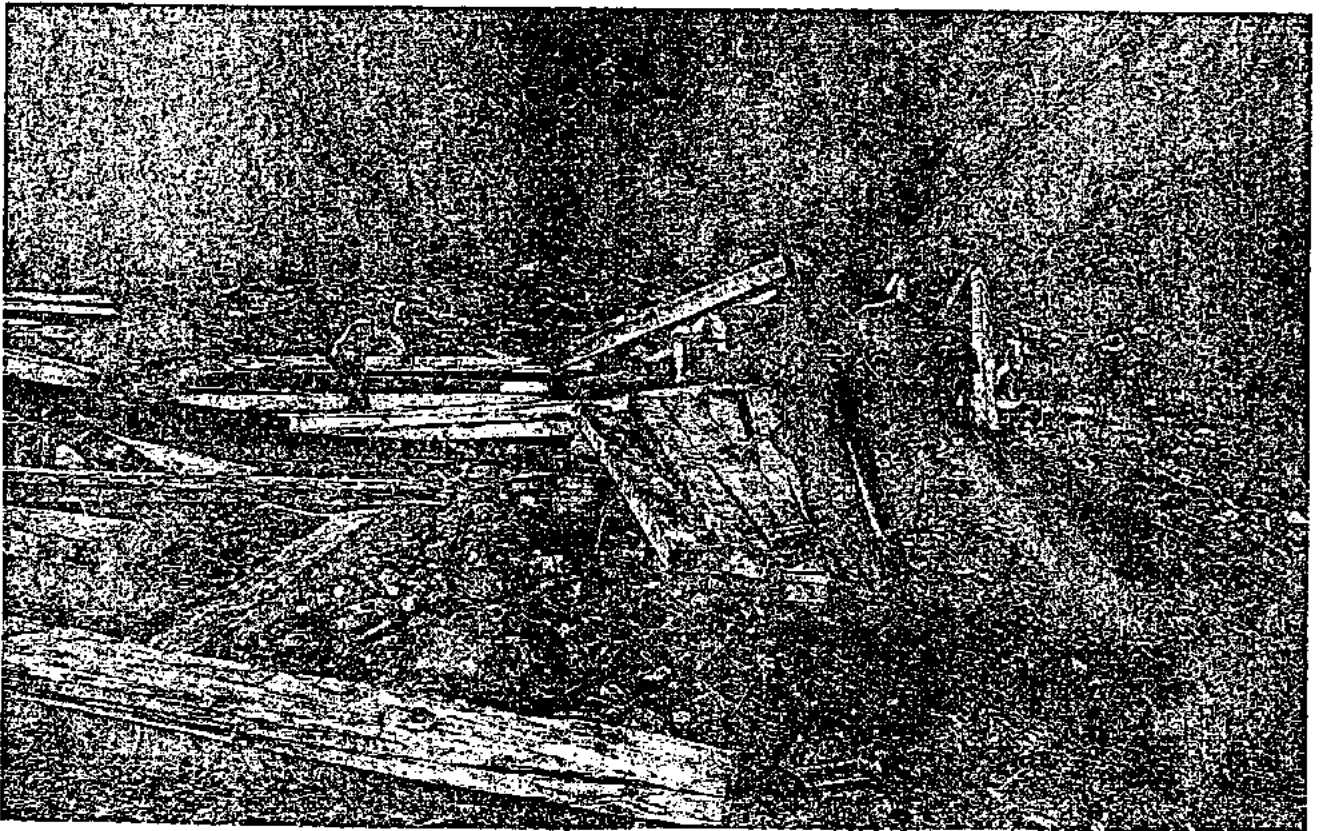
Now the complaint throughout Uttarakhand, from Almora to Uttarkashi, is: "We got nothing from Chipko. Even our *haq-haqooqs* (traditional rights and customs) to forest produce, have been taken away from us." Gayatri Devi, the heroine of the Doongri-Paintoli struggle, says, "Earlier, we could fight the contractors, but now the *sarkar* and the Van Nigam are the biggest contractors. How can we fight them?"

Even in Reni, a woman who wished to remain anonymous, complained, "They have put this entire area under the Nanda Devi Biosphere Reserve. I can't even pick herbs to treat a stomach ache. *Chipko karke hum latak gaye, bas ab aur kuchh nahin karna* (We got into enough trouble with Chipko. Now we don't even want to attempt anything else)." The woman said she had come to hate the word *pariyavaran* (environment).

Analysing these complaints, Bist says, "The internationalisation of Chipko wrought havoc on the local people in many ways. While green felling has been stopped to a large extent, the people watch helplessly as the Van Nigam continues to be the biggest exploiter. The roads, electric lines, bridges and water pipelines that we need are all held up."

"Chipko was essentially an economic campaign, a

Logging in the Reni forest: Once private contractors felled the trees; now, it's the government.



PRADIP SAHA / CSE

fight for local livelihood and when this was not achieved, the people became disillusioned. Now, even their traditional rights have been taken away and the forest guard is supreme.

This is conceded by N K Joshi, a forester, who says, "The Forest Conservation Act has not given the people much. It has not stopped development but it has certainly delayed it, as permission to build roads and lay down pipelines has to be obtained now from the Centre. This can take months and no villager wants to wait that long."

Both Bhatt and Bahuguna maintain the villagers' traditional rights have not been taken away. They maintain that the media myth that they were, is fostered by vested business and political interests to break the movement. Bhatt concedes development has been affected in the region, but he blames this on "short-sighted government policies" and not on Chipko. On the other hand, Bahuguna contends, "Development is the major cause of ecological destruction. The needs of modern civilisation will have to be curtailed to preserve the environment."

Is Chipko moribund now? Bahuguna says no and describes his agitation against the Tehri dam as a continuation of Chipko. Bhatt, too, calls his campaign against the extension of the Vishnuprayag hydroelectric project to the Bhyunder valley and his encouragement of the afforestation work undertaken by MMDs as Chipko-related.

Bhatt explains he has moved on to what he calls *rachnatmak* (constructive) activities, primarily involving women in tree-planting. The trees they plant, he adds, generally have a higher survival rate than those planted by the forest department.

DGSM holds a number of three-day environment camps annually and they attract a few hundred people each. In 1986, MMDs of 30 villages where the DGSM worked got the Priyadarshini Vrikshamitra Award of the then National Wastelands Development Board.

Bhatt receives some government support for his afforestation work, exposing him to criticism that he has "governmentalised" Chipko. But, then, Bahuguna's critics say he has "internationalised" Chipko by putting it at the service of the world conservation community, from which he derives considerable respect.

But the Himalayan villagers, who joined Chipko to further their struggle for basic subsistence rights that had been denied to them by state institutions, are dissatisfied with what they got. Their major complaint is against the eulogising of Chipko to the extent that their other social movements, such as

against alcoholism and untouchability, were overlooked. Alcohol continues to be the bane of Uttarakhand and the plight of Harijans there is still unhappy.

Media role

The media may have played a key role in building up Chipko, but today it is subjected to widespread criticism in Uttarakhand. Says Bist, "Looking back, a major reason for the failure of Chipko was the role the media played. They made it an international movement, but how many newspapers bothered to send reporters to villages in the interior Uttarakhand? They reported on hearsay because they never talked to us."

Pratap Shikhar of Jajal, a Chipko activist during the 1970s, was even more forthright in his criticism of the media. "The media reports sparked a wave of bitterness between Bhatt and Bahuguna, creating an unbridgeable rift between them, to the utter damnation of the movement," he says.

The many national and international awards received by Chipko leaders alienated them further from the people. Both Bahuguna and Bhatt were awarded the Padma Shri, Bhatt received the Magsaysay Award and Bahuguna accepted the Right Livelihood Award given to Chipko.

Pathak analyses the movement further: "The major

failing of Chipko was its refusal to recognise its political dimensions. Political organising — both at local and national level — and electoral politics are necessary for a movement of this kind. But when politicisation was attempted, especially by the youth who came into the movement, the Sarvodaya workers dissociated themselves from it."

Bist confirms the youth did try to politicise Chipko, "but we were highly confused at that time. We looked to Bhatt and Bahuguna for leadership."

Nor did political parties learn from Chipko. The national CPI leadership didn't show any interest in the mass movement even though local CPI cadres were involved in it. "The final act of betrayal," says Bist, "came when a potentially radical political movement for self-determination and self-management of our resources turned into a purely conservationist one."

What this means is that a movement that could have given the world its

most powerful green party with village self-governance at its heart, fell apart. It inspired a generation of young Indians to consider environment a critical concern, but many of the young of Uttarakhand who came to join it in the 1970s feel empty today. ■

Just so much paper: Gaura Devi's granddaughter holds up the Vrikshamitra award given to her grandmother

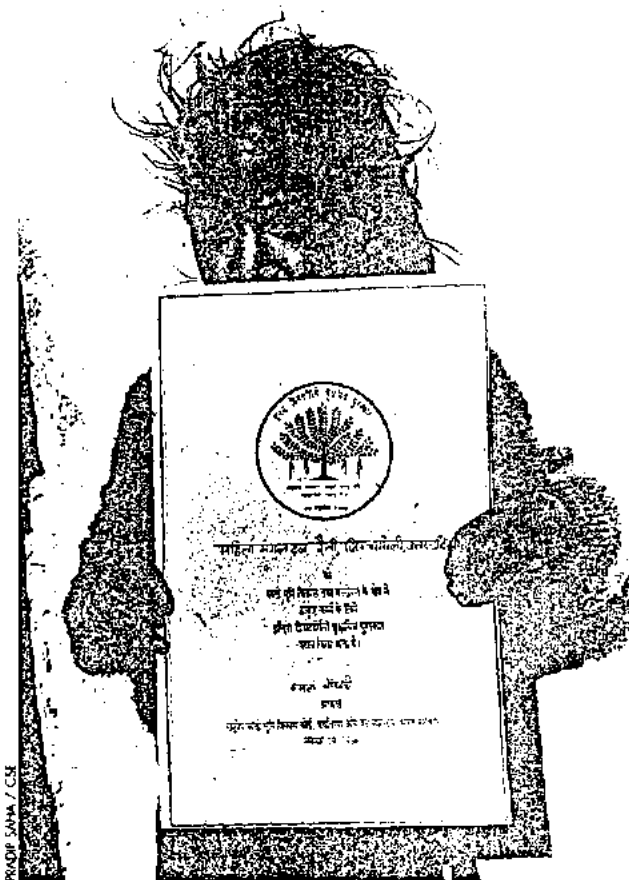




PHOTO: SAHA / CSA

“There can be no development without women”

REACHING Doongri, a picturesque village perched 1,750 m above sea level in the Pinder valley in Chamoli district, is a daunting task. The nearest bus stand is at Narayan Bagad, 12 km away and at a height of about 1,100 m. From there, a narrow, slippery mountain path climbs steeply and is certainly not recommended for those who suffer from vertigo. An attempt to build a motorable road to Doongri was abandoned in 1971.

One of Chipko's most significant agitations took place in 1980 in Doongri, when the men of the village agreed to sell their oak forest to the horticulture department so that a potato and apple seed farm could be started there on about 20 ha. However, if the forest was cut down, the women would face severe problems getting fuelwood and fodder, for it was the only forest for miles around. But their opposition went unheeded. It was at this juncture that Chipko activists intervened. With help from the district administration, they saved as much of the forest as possible, as part of it had already been felled. In the forefront of the Chipko struggle was Gayatri Devi, president of Doongri's Mahila Mangal Dal. The organisation received the Vrikshamitra Award in 1986 and Gayatri Devi came to Delhi to accept it.

But, today, Doongri still remains backward and isolated and in an interview with Down To Earth, Gayatri Devi, now 48, voiced her disappointment. Excerpts:

AMIT MITRA DOONGRI (UPI)

What happened in your village in 1980?

The horticulture department got 10 ha in 1978 or 1979 — I can't remember exactly when — from Shyam Singh Bhandari, the village *pradhan*, to build a seed farm for potatoes and apples. This was a part of our forest of oak, rhododendron, *gauriphal* and *atish* trees. But towards the end of 1979, a contractor who was related to the *pradhan* came and erected a stone boundary around the entire forest, which was more than 50 ha. The *pradhan* wanted to bring in development projects and he thought that a seed farm would lead to officers coming to our village and staying here. He thought we would get roads, schools and hospitals. Then one day, at the end of January or early February, 50 labourers sent by the contractor began cutting down trees. We tried to stop them, but they said they were only labourers and they were

helpless. We pleaded with them at first, then there was exchange of abuses and we grabbed some of their axes, while they took away our scythes. But we could not stop them and they cut down about 60 trees.

Why was the forest so important to you?

The forest is our life. It gives us fuel, fodder, medicines, almost everything. The horticulture department had already cleared 10 ha and we didn't want them to clear the rest. What would we get in return?

What did you want in return?

Well, the question of giving away the entire forest does not arise. We could have sacrificed more if we were assured of a road to the village, a school, a proper water supply and a primary health centre. We had to walk 5 km to get fuel from nearby forests. To lose our forests

The forest is our life. It gives us fuel, fodder, medicines, almost everything. The horticulture department had already cleared 10 ha. I did not want them to take away the rest.

faith in the *pradhan*. *Aur woh vikas ho hi nahin sakta jisme mahilaon ki hissedari na ho.* (No development is possible without women's participation.)

So what did you do?

First, we went to the then *pradhan*, but he abused us and drove us out. Then the present *pradhan*, Bachchiram, who was on our side, got in touch with Ramesh Pahadi (editor of *Aniket*, a weekly published from Rudraprayag). Pahadi contacted Chandi Prasad Bhatt and then came to our village. He told us to form a Mahila Mangal Dal (MMD) and fight. I think this happened on February 8. Bhatt came a few days later and told us of the wonderful things that women elsewhere were doing. We heard of Gaura Devi and felt we could do the same things.

How did the men react?

They were angry with us for stopping development, opposing the government and defying them. They had been used to women as silent and uncomplaining slaves. We had a big fight and it continued through the year. I became the subject of cruel taunts.

What happened then?

Bhatt forced the sub-divisional magistrate (SDM) to come to our village. He had to ride a mule as he couldn't walk up. This was on February 23. We held him by his collar and forced him to listen to us. The horticulture farm workers had set a hut on fire and spread the rumour that it was the work of the women. The men told us we would be put in jail, but I was ready to go to prison and so were most of my sisters. However, the SDM was very nice and told the men they were wrong and that we could keep our forest.

What does the MMD do now?

After a lot of running around, we got a high school in our village in 1990. The village men joined us in a seven-day hunger strike before the school was allotted to us. Most of us are illiterate, but we want our children to grow up educated. Each of our families contributes foodgrain to engage a guard for the forest. We ourselves put up a stone fence around the entire forest.

Doesn't the horticulture department do anything for you?

would have meant an even longer walk and, perhaps, another long walk to find a place to defecate.

But was that not what your *pradhan* also wanted? Why did you oppose his development plans?

If you think I didn't want development, you are wrong. The *pradhan* has done nothing since 1971, when the road to our village was abandoned. Many men, including my husband, who is an ex-serviceman, were convinced by the *pradhan's* arguments. I had no

Nothing. They don't even give us seeds. We have to pay Rs 10 for a small packet of seeds and that, too, after a lot of pleading. Even then the seeds often don't germinate. They don't employ any of the villagers. Nobody cares for us and we are treated as *pahadi junglis* (uncivilised mountain folk).

But you and your village are famous. Surely, a lot of visitors come here?

Who comes here? Bhatt came just once in 1980. Gopal Joshi of Delhi also came, but they soon forgot about us. Then, one day, Bhatt's son came and said I would have to go to Delhi in 1986 to get an award. And, I went.

What about the government?

Do you think these officials would bother? Don't ask such silly questions. And, in any case, even if they want to come, how would they walk such a long distance. There is a very good nurse in Narayan Bagad. Even if she wants to come here, she cannot. She has to spend a full day walking up to our village to attend a delivery case. How many patients can she care for this way? She has to worry about her security, too. Even the block development officer, a lady, has never come up to our village. We desperately need a road. There are times when I wonder whether we are in India or some other country.

What did you get out of Chipko?

I don't know. We acted to save our trees. We never clung to any tree but when I went to Delhi, I was told that ours was a very big *andolan* (movement). Maybe it was, but we never got anything out of it.

The road to our village is yet to be constructed and water is still a problem. Our children cannot study beyond high school unless they can afford to go and stay in a town. The girls simply cannot do that. Now they tell me that because of Chipko the road cannot be built because everything has become *pariyavaran* (environment) oriented nowadays. Chipko has given us nothing. We cannot even get wood to build a house because the forest guards keep us out. *Hamare haq haqooq cheen liye gaye hain* (Our rights have been snatched away).

We desperately need a road and water is still a problem. There are times when I wonder whether we are in India or some other country.

But why did you end the struggle?

Who said I did? I hold MMD meetings regularly, twice a month, and those who are absent without a valid reason are fined. I also insist that those who steal wood from the forest or cut down trees should be penalised. With the money from fines, we will buy utensils for wedding feasts. I plan to contest the panchayat elections and become the *pradhan* next year. I am alone and I'm getting old and I cannot do much but as long as I live, I shall not give up fighting to improve our village conditions. My first fight will be for the road, *pariyavaran wale chahe kuchh bhi karen* (let environmentalists do what they will). ■

Day 7: NATURE, SOCIETY AND BODY
Wednesday 8th July

- 9.30h.** Catherine Nash (University of Wales, Lampeter)
"Environmental history, philosophy and difference: feminist perspectives on human-environmental relations".
- 10.30h.** Kirsten Simonsen (Roskilde University Centre) *"Women, embodiment and the urban environment"*.
- 11.30h.** Coffe break.
- 12.00h.** Verena Stolcke (Autonomous University of Barcelona) *"The sex of biotechnology: nature in culture"*.
- 13.00h.** Lunch.
- 14.30h.** Workshops on lectures and literature.
- 15.00h.** Students preparing presentations.
- 18.00h.** Round table: *"Gender and the environment: North and South"* in Barcelona.
Chair: Maria Dolors Garcia-Ramón.
Participants: Josepa Bru, Catherine Nash, Emma Mawdsley, Janet Momsen, Janet Townsen.
- 19.30h.** Visit to the Institut Català de la Dona in Barcelona.
Cold buffet.

Catherine Nash

“Environmental history, philosophy and difference: feminist perspectives on human-environmental relations”.

Abstract

Both environmental history and ecofeminism have long been interested in relationship between people and the environment. Environmental history arising as it has from a concern with the adverse environmental effects of modern capitalism especially in contexts of European colonial settlement, is an area of study with strong ethical, moral and critical dimensions. Yet despite its sensitivity to issues of class and distinctions between settler and indigenous groups in its fascinatingly detailed ecological narratives, environmental history has tended to be predominantly blind to questions of gender. The question of human relationships to nature and the meanings of ‘nature’ and the ‘human’ have been central theme also within feminism and feminist geography. Here in contrast the gendered meanings of these categories have been thoroughly interrogated. Yet questions of history are sometimes less critically approached. The isolation of these two areas of theory and research is thus problematic for both. This paper draws both on environmental history and ecofeminism to consider the ways environmental history could become more sensitive to social difference, including gender difference, and importantly also how environmental history can enrich the study of the material and symbolic relationships between gender and the environment. It explores new attempts to rethink how relationships between ‘nature’ and ‘society’ and differences within both can be understood. Instead of rejecting the problematic dualism between nature and the human, recent theorists are attempting to develop an environmental politics of difference which critically explores the continuities and differences between and within nature and human society.

Key points for discussion

1. How can we think critically about the damaging effects of capitalist forms of development without romanticising women’s or indigenous peoples’ relationships to nature?
2. What are the dangers of romantic ideas of ‘becoming one with the nature’?
3. It is possible to find new ways of talking about difference within ‘nature’ and ‘society’?

Article

Leach, Melissa & Green, Cathy (1995) “Gender and environmental history: moving beyond the narratives of the past in contemporary women-environment policy debates”, Brighton, IDS Publications, Working Paper, *Institute of Development Studies*, University of Sussex, n.16.

Kirsten Simonsen

"Women, embodiment and the urban environment".

Abstract

The lecture takes its starting point in the general image of urbanity or urban life as it is forwarded within social sciences as well as humanities. The purpose is to expose two interconnected problems in the figure in question; it is highly gendered and it is based on visualism. This recognition is used as a background to discuss the necessity of incorporating the body into feminist analysis. A discussion that enforces a reconsideration of one of the great achievements of contemporary feminist analysis - namely the sex/gender division. Furthermore, it is argued that a better understanding of the body is of specific interest within geography, because of the close connection between body and space.

Key points for discussion

1. Can we talk about a connection between visualism and masculinity within the geographical tradition?
2. What are the dangers and advantages of emphasizing the body in feminist analysis?

Article

Duncan, Nancy (1996) "Renegotiating gender and sexuality in public and private spaces", in Duncan, N. (ed) *BodySpace: destabilizing geographies of gender and sexuality*, Routledge, London, pp.127-145.

Verena Stolcke

“The sex of biotechnology: nature in culture”.

Abstract

The sensational and disturbing news of the creation of Dolly, the clone, confirms the impression that while the twentieth century was the century of physics, the twenty-first century will be that of biology (Craig Venter & Cohen, 1997, p. 32). Dolly is just one illustration of the vertiginous progress that is taking place in biotechnology which the molecular biologists' fascination with conquering the ultimate secrets of life has precipitated. Even though cloning of humans seems a distant possibility, the moment has moved closer when 'man' will be at last capable of redesigning his own species. Biotechnological laboratories, drug companies and Wall Street investors who put down enormous sums of money on genomic research are confident about the extraordinary technological and economic potentialities of biotechnology. Nor is the academic world, of course, immune to the irresistible charms of biotechnology. Hardly had Dolly seen the light of the stable did Lee Silver, professor of molecular genetics of Princeton University, for example, announce a new seminar with the catchy title "Sex, Babies, Genes and Choice". As Silver explained in futuristic terms, in this seminar he intended to examine "contemporary practices such as genetic-based abortion, 'wombs-for-rent', sperm and egg markets, frozen embryo banks, and genetic selection of children-to-be from embryo pools." Besides, he would also look at "the biological and cultural evolution of sex and its changing relationship to reproduction" and consider "possible scenarios in the not-so-distant future that include shared genetic motherhood of fatherhood for gay couples, computer-generated embryo profiles for viewing by potential parents, and stem cell insurance." (Silver, 1997, p.1).

Article

Stolcke, Verena (1997) “The sex of biotechnology - nature in culture” (manuscript).

**GENDER AND ENVIRONMENTAL HISTORY:
MOVING BEYOND THE NARRATIVES OF THE PAST IN CONTEMPORARY
WOMEN-ENVIRONMENT POLICY DEBATES**

Melissa Leach and Cathy Green

Introduction

Writing on colonial history has been heavily criticised, initially for its complete ignorance of women as historical subjects and, more recently, for its gender-blind methodology and hence failure to envisage history as a gendered experience. A deluge of counter histories have been produced in response to these criticisms, some singularly focused on relocating women in history, and others which have examined women in relation to men in specific historical contexts. Despite the rush to locate 'lost female worlds' (Nair 1994), however, gender issues have yet to receive serious attention in work on environmental history.

Indeed the growing body of work on the causes and impacts of land use change and of colonial environmental policy by environmental historians has to date shown remarkably little interest in their gender dimensions.

Yet claims about history figure prominently in contemporary ecofeminist and activist concerns with gender and the environment, for example in constructing particular images of harmonious, women-centred pre-colonial ecological relations which colonial development processes undermined. This work has not been carried out by historians, yet in keeping with the present paper's concern with the relevance of history for contemporary policy issues, it needs to be addressed. With reference to examples from rural South Asia and Africa, this paper considers such historical narratives and their uses in contemporary gender-environment policy debates.

These representations of gender and environmental history are, we suggest, highly problematic. They obscure crucial issues necessary for understanding linkages between changing gender relations, ecologies, and colonial science, ideology and policy. Worse, they render opaque the character of 'environmental issues' which women face, and employ history to suggest policies which could well prove regressive in gender terms. Critiques of these historical narratives have been formulated within contemporary policy debates, and these are also proving fruitful in throwing up key issues for historical analysis. These

challenges connect with recent work by feminist historians, anthropologists and political ecologists - not all of which is environmentally-focused, but which addresses relevant issues tangentially - to suggest important parameters and research agendas for a properly gendered environmental history which could greatly enrich environmental historiography more generally.

Historical representation in contemporary ecofeminism and 'women and environment' debates

The link between women and the environment has been hotly debated within activist, academic and development policy-making circles in recent years. The women, environment and development (WED) approach, an amalgamation of a number of closely related interpretations of the link between women and natural resources, has come to dominate policy-making around the issue. In the late 1980s, the accent of this approach swung from images of women as victims of environmental degradation to a stress on women's efficiency as environmental managers. (Currently, it favours women's roles in used to suggest an extensive accumulated knowledge and experience of natural resource management and this, in turn, has led to easy assumptions of women being the obvious constituency for programmes and policies concerned with environmental conservation, rehabilitation and management (Danckelman and Davidson 1988; Rosida 1991). This approach has been heavily censured for promoting uncritical notions of the 'special' relationship between women and nature (see Leach 1992; Agrawal 1992; Jackson 1992), critiques partly founded on detailed even histories of gender environmental interactions, as we will show.

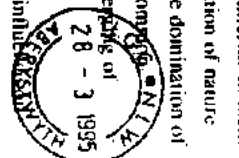
In upholding this 'special' relationship, WED has allied itself conceptually with ecofeminism, which has sought authentication through having numerous historical claims. Ecofeminism views women as 'close to nature' in a spiritual or conceptual sense, different from - yet able to be invoked in support of - WED's focus on women's material roles. Largely of Northern origin, ecofeminism nevertheless has an increasingly vocal international presence (for example through the work of Vandana Shiva, and discussions at UNCED in Rio, 1992), and an implicit influence on many development perceptions (cf. Brakoff *et al.* 1994). Although ecofeminism is multi-stranded, many of the elements which have tended to filter into wider debates about women and the environment can be traced back to what has been termed 'cultural ecofeminism' such that 'biophilic ecological activism by women, while perhaps not explicitly ecofeminist, implicitly draws on and is motivated by the connection between women's reproductive biology (nature) and male-designed technology (culture)' (Merchant 1991: 197). In patriarchal thought, it is

argued, nature is seen as inferior to culture, and hence women are seen as inferior to men. The domination and oppression of women and the domination and exploitation of nature have thus gone together. This gives women a particular stake in ending the domination of nature. To scale up from individual to organisation, it is argued that the complex objectives of feminist and environmental movements are conducive to a merging of perspectives and action.

While ecofeminist arguments have been heavily criticised, their persistent influence on WED perceptions and on young scholars justifies the need for a continued critical engagement with them. At a general level, historical narratives are used to justify broad ecofeminist notions. To some ecofeminists, women's link with nature, within a nature/culture divide, is biologically inevitable (e.g. Salleh 1984; Starhawk 1990). This underlies an emphasis on celebrating the link to achieve a reevaluation of women's relationship with the environment. While women-nature connections are thus represented in an inherently a-historical and essentialist way, as natural and timeless, such images form the basis of 'histories' in which women's biology becomes subordinated by culture during the 'colonial' or 'capitalist' period.

Others employ history more directly in arguing that connections between women and nature, and the female:male:nature:culture dichotomies in which they are embedded, are ideological constructs which arose in particular societies at particular times. The Scientific Revolution, spanning the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, is taken by many ecofeminists as the time in western history when both women and nature were conceptually devalued (Merchant 1982; Plumwood 1986; Warren 1987). Organismic theory had predominated, in which the earth, viewed as a nurturing female, lay at the centre of a cosmology in which nature and society were dynamically interconnected. With the arrival of modern science, organic theory was replaced by a mechanistic view of nature which upheld competition and domination as necessary to the pursuit of progress. 'The renewal of animistic, organic assumptions about the cosmos constituted the death of nature... Because nature was now viewed as a system of dead, inert particles moved by external, rather than inherent forces, the mechanical framework itself could legitimate the manipulation of nature' (Merchant 1982: xvii). Ecofeminists see the death of nature precipitating the subordination of nurturing female principles; ideological changes argued to have precipitated an actual change in attitudes and behaviour towards nature and towards women at this point in western history (*ibid.*: 2).

Ecofeminists see these western post-enlightenment images as having been imposed on 'indigenous' societies in Asia and Africa through scientific and development processes during and since the colonial period. Thus Miles and Shiva (1993) characterise imperialism



and colonialism as bearers of western, mechanistic science and rationality which, as patriarchal, have 'done violence' to women and nature. They underlined, it is argued, pre-existing conceptions which were very different, viewing people and 'nature' as interdependent, and male-female relations as non-hierarchical (Shiva 1989). In some versions, this conceptual subordination went hand-in-hand with material subordination as patriarchy in colonialism and capital accumulation sanctioned new relations of property and power (Mies and Shiva 1993; Mies 1986). In alliance with reductionist scientific paradigms, these systematically undermined women's natural resource management roles and sources for 'staying alive' (Shiva 1989). This provides the basis for a call for rejection of dominant development models and scientific paradigms, the recovery of a localised 'subsistence perspective' which will necessarily, it is argued, be respectful of 'nature' and of women.

Ecofeminist perspectives are upheld - and gain credibility in policy - through more specific narratives concerning colonial environmental history. The most elaborate example is found in Shiva's (1988) account of women and forests in the Indian hills (cf. Philippe 1989). This has served to immortalise the Chipko (tree-hugging) movement as a 'feminist' environmental movement, providing a potent and widely-quoted image to justify a particular approach to women and natural resource management. The first Chipko demonstration occurred in 1973 in Chamoli district, Uttar Pradesh; Chipko demonstrations have since spread throughout the four districts of Garhwal division, and been replicated in other parts of India such as Karnataka where the Appiko Movement has taken on the fight to save the forests of the Western Ghats region. Shiva argues that Chipko is a response by people, especially women, within Garhwal to the invasion of commercial forestry, which is itself part of 'maldevelopment'; i.e. the means by which modern western patriarchy 'imposes the scientific and economic paradigms created by western, gender-based ideology on communities in other cultures' (Shiva 1988: xvii).

Central to Shiva's historical analysis is the notion that colonial forest policies and non-colonial development activity have desolated a 'golden age' when feminine, conservation and ecological principles predominated, when women's subsistence livelihoods were analogous to nature 'renewing herself' (Shiva 1988: 4), when the satisfaction of basic needs was enough to ensure societal affluence, and when patriarchy was absent. The work of men and women during this period was complementary and life harmonious, and apparently casteless and classless. Shiva bolsters this imagery by drawing on ancient Hindu cosmology; claiming that 'nature is Prakriti, a living and creative process, the feminine principle from which all life arises' and - conflating symbolic representation with material reality - that women's interaction with nature has always taken place in the context of preserving the feminine principle (Shiva 1988: xviii). Moreover, she claims that:

Forests have always been central to Indian civilisation. They have been worshipped as Aranyani, the Goddess of the Forest, the primary source of life and fertility, and the forest as a community has been viewed as a model for societal and civilisational evolution (Shiva 1988: 55).

According to Shiva, the colonial period marks a turning point in history where capitalism and the new, destructive, science and technology of environment, as represented by commercial and industrial forestry management principles, was transferred into Indian culture and society, where post-colonial development activity consolidated it. The conceptual link between this version of history and the current Chipko movement is the notion that women through their special affinity with nature, 'have conserved those categories of thought and action which make survival possible' (Shiva 1988, emphasis added). Women in Garhwal are thus represented as conceptually in a half-world somewhere between pre-colonial times and the present, their essential affinity with nature forcing them into a desperate fight against the vestiges of western-style progress, while glancing back at a dying golden age. Shiva attempts to build up Chipko's image as a feminist movement since this reinforces her argument about women's agency in environmental protection. To this end she claims that 'Chipko is a history of the visions and actions of exceptionally courageous women', and that similar movements elsewhere 'have been fuelled by the ecological insights and political and moral strengths of women' (Shiva 1988: 67; cf. Chavde 1984).

In the African context, historical narratives concerning women, agriculture and environment provide a parallel example of the use of claims about history to uphold WED and ecofeminist concerns. The arguments here turn on the image of ecologically-harmonious, female subsistence farming systems, and their capture through colonial commercial crop development. Boserup's (1970) influential analysis of the effects of colonialism and 'capital penetration' on subsistence agriculture, while an important scholarly landmark in some respects, nevertheless produces arguments which resonate with Shiva's, and are open to invocation in ecofeminist/WED histories whether concerning particular societies, or 'African women' more generally.

In these historical narratives, female farming is portrayed as an 'original' form. Boserup (1970: 16) argued that 'Africa is the region of female farming par excellence', where productive labour is carried out largely by women - perhaps assisted by men's tree-felling or land preparation. These female roles, it is commonly argued, were centrally valued

The Green Belt movement in Kenya is frequently referred to as the African equivalent of Chipko, and is similarly represented as a feminist environmental movement indicating women's agency in environmental protection. However we know of no systematic ecofeminist 're-writing' of the movement's history and manifesto.

within relatively gender-egalitarian societies. As Guyer (1991) has pointed out, women's farming roles are often portrayed as naturally arising from and attuned to their reproductive functions, especially child care. They have also been portrayed as inherently 'co-operative' with the productivity of soil and vegetation processes viewed as inherently female: for instance in images of the earth as a mother (cf. Mies 1986). Pre-colonial agriculture is viewed as subsistence-focused, isolated from commercial forces, and harmoniously integrated with environmental use by ecologically-attuned women, such that 'nature' is minimally modified. In the forest zone, for instance, such images reproduce Brumann's classic view that an association of forest ecology, dominance of non crops over cereals, minimal cultivation of the soil and female farming have persisted 'in the African primate forest... from time immemorial' (1928: 294).

This primordial harmony is portrayed as breaking down under the effects of male biased colonial export crop and labour policies. As Basorun (1970) argued, men engaged in growing high-value export crops, introducing new gender inequalities associated with private property and women's unpaid 'family labour' on men's holdings. Women's food farming was relegated to an increasingly underresourced and devalued subsistence sector in which 'nature' was simultaneously devalued:

When commodity production as the prime economic activity is introduced as development, it destroys the potential of nature and women to produce the and goods and services for basic needs... Women are devalued, first, because their work co-operates with nature's processes, and second, because work that satisfies needs and ensures sustenance is devalued in general... Nature's economy - through which environmental regeneration takes place - and the people's subsistence economy - within which women produce the sustenance for society through 'invisible' unpaid work... are being systematically destroyed to create growth in the market economy (Mies and Shiva 1993: 75).

'Environmental degradation': it is argued, arose both as export crops and products themselves were environmentally damaging, and as women in devalued subsistence production were forced to mine soils, cut trees and so on in order to survive.

Environmental degradation and the degradation of women's status thus went hand in hand. But women have, it is argued, retained subsistence-focused regenerative energies which now need to be harnessed in restoring the environment, a process which, it is argued, will simultaneously restore their power and status (Molinaro 1989; Maathai 1988).

These accounts of history serve a purpose: supporting a particular policy and political agenda. In common, they suggest that women have, and maintain, a closeness to nature and subsistence concern - as demonstrated in feminine environmental movements and persistent female roles - which make them the obvious agents for environmental

conservation and rehabilitation, and for the local, subsistence-focused development necessary for this. And they suggest that this will simultaneously be good for women, their communities and 'nature'.

4 Challenging ecofeminist and WED 'histories'

These historical accounts and their ecofeminist tenets nevertheless sit very uneasily with other areas of scholarship about gender and rural change by anthropologists, historians and others, whether or not concerned explicitly with 'environment'. Their implicit criticisms coincide with many explicit, and vociferous, critiques of the conceptual framework of ecofeminism, not least from those examining environmental change and development from a gender perspective. It is worth briefly summarising central elements of these critiques which in challenging the concepts structuring ecofeminist histories, also raise disturbing questions about the policy agenda they support.

First, the notion of universal links between women and 'nature' in ecofeminist accounts has been strongly criticised. Anthropological studies show up wide cross-cultural and historical variability in the meanings attributed to 'female' and 'male', and the ways they are linked with concepts relevant to environment (MacCormack and Strathern 1980; Moore 1988). A woman's procreative roles are by no means necessarily seen to place her closer to a universally-conceived nature, and to exclude men from this relationship. Thus for example, Shiva (1989) succumbs to unwarranted extension of principles she associates with Hinduism when she suggests that all pre-colonial societies 'were based on an ontology of the feminine as the living principle' (Shiva 1989: 42).² Furthermore, in non-western thought 'nature' may not be categorically distinguished from a separate 'society', while as a generalised category 'nature' certainly fails to capture complex ideas about the physical and non physical attributes of different micro-environments and ecological processes (cf. Troll and Parkin 1992). By failing to disaggregate 'environment', ecofeminist formulations fail to ask whether different environmental categories are differentially linked with ideas about gender. Ecofeminism obscures these variations by in effect offering only a single, inverted alternative to supposed western female:male:nature:culture hierarchies, falling into the same dichotomous trap as western thought (Afoloye and Steinberg 1995). This raises central doubts about its political project: Can 're-casting as a virtue' women:nature links that people do not perceive be an adequate basis for political action? And will inverting the hierarchy not just reproduce it? (cf. Braikanti *et al.* 1994).

2. Varshel (1992), for example, argues that the imagery of Prakriti varies in its connotations and relevance even among Hindu groups in India, as well as being of comparatively little importance among non-Hindu people.

A second, related critique concerns the portrayal of women as a homogeneous category in their relation to the environment. Thus Shiva's analysis of the women-nature link is, for example, intended to apply to all 'third world women'. But this fails to address the conceptual and material factors which distinguish individual or groups of women from each other, whether by age, class, caste, ethnic group, or local ecology (cf. Leach 1994). That some women become involved in environmental action does not mean that this represents all women's interest and agency (Jackson 1993).

Third, men remain largely invisible in many of these accounts, except as the other side of the dichotomy. Indeed that women's relationship with the environment appears 'special' in WED work can be at least partly because men's does not appear (Leach 1992). In Shiva's analysis, for example, rural men's ecological work, knowledge and so on are subsumed under a genderless 'peasant' or 'tribal' categorisation, while the male:female, destroyer:protector dichotomy is sustained by an allusion to the dominance of women and nature by western industrial man.

Furthermore, the tendency to treat women and men as dichotomously separate obscures the relations between them. Indeed gender analysis perspectives, focusing on gender relations and roles as socially and historically constructed, have posed the greatest critical challenge to ecofeminism and WED. In drawing attention to the ways that gender relations structure (and are structured through) environmental use and management, as mediated by divisions and relations of labour, responsibility, property, power and knowledge, they undermine common WED policy images and assumptions. They would suggest, for instance, that if certain women are 'closely involved' with natural resources, this reflects gender divided roles and possibly a lack of other opportunity, rather than any inherent caring relationship (e.g. Agarwal 1992). They would suggest that women's labour involvement with the environment may obscure gendered relations of property and power which deny women control over and benefit from their activities. And they suggest the possibility of conflicts between environmental and women's gender interests; for example that allocating women responsibility for 'saving the environment' could increase their workloads or reinforce regressive gender roles, rather than representing progressive change or enhanced gender equity (Jackson 1993; Leach 1992).

Ecofeminist histories reduce the material aspects of people's changing gender and environmental relations to a dichotomy between a harmonious, timeless pre-colonial golden age and the destructive effects of capitalism and colonialism; in effect, to the endless reproduction of glorious 'tradition' until the arrival of 'modernity'. However this is to obscure the evidently important dynamics of gender, social stratification and environmental

change in pre-colonial history.³ Dynamics often influenced by trade and commerce in ways which strongly deny images of subsistence isolation. While all scholars agree that colonialism and capitalism have profoundly restructured - and continue to restructure - economies, societies and their gender relations, the accumulated evidence from a large number of historical analyses shows the complex and varied forms of this articulation (e.g. Etienne and Leach 1980; Moore 1988). That colonial and capitalist economic relations have often served to encourage ecologically-destructive practices, while supported by some evidence, also cannot be generalised *a priori*; this is to obscure the specific policies and politics of colonialism, their interactions with local land-use practices, and the ecologically specific responses of land to use in particular contexts.

Finally, the effects of colonial science and ideology on 'indigenous knowledge' and ecological concepts are treated in similarly sweeping, and misleading, terms in these ecofeminist/WED histories. There is an assumption that pre-colonial, organic, sacralised views of 'nature' went hand in hand with harmonious environmental practices and egalitarian gender relations. Yet this cannot be upheld. Indigenous 'organic' conceptions can evidently encompass struggle and conflict between people and certain ecological processes as well as harmony (Croll and Parkin 1992). That certain ecological processes are 'socialised' in local thought, and certain resources culturally valued, does not translate into an all-encompassing respect for nature (Persson 1989), and often speaks to local power relations (Fairhead and Leach forthcoming). Indeed, as Jackson (1995) points out, there is plenty of evidence linking organic conceptions of society and ecology with oppressive social institutions: the territorial cults which managed land and fertility concerns in late nineteenth century southern Africa have, for example, been associated with the aristocratic domination and lethal taxation of commoners, as well as the subordination of women (Schiffelers 1979; Maxwell 1994; cf. Fairhead 1992). Recent anthropological analyses of ecological knowledge and gender ideology, in contrast, locate the ways in which certain ideas are produced and debated within social and political processes, and in relation to particular groups and institutions.

Equally, the image of western thought and colonial science as monolithically wiping out other views and knowledges (leaving perhaps a shadowy residual of the old feminised order) is problematic. This obscures the complex content and political-economic relations of production of colonial and modern scientific discourses, and the processes through which

3. Shiva implies that both gender inequality and class-caste stratification were essential, western influences on Indian society, and thus non-existent in pre-colonial India. However, this invisibilises the older roots of patriarchy in both Vedic and pre-Vedic culture (Dierich 1992: 99), and the caste systems which - albeit operating in an attenuated form in the hills - are seen by Pertone (1992: 205) as crucially underlying the energetic and form of the Chipko movement.

they articulate with rural people's own. While ecofeminism is valuable in drawing critical attention to the consistencies of scientific epistemology and their operation through colonialism, and in raising questions about links between science and oppressive social relations, such a critique needs to be developed through engagement with the highly diverse and contradictory theories and practices that constitute science, rather than pretending it is all the same thing (Molyneux and Steinberg 1995: 92).

These critical perspectives would not necessarily deny the events which ecofeminism interprets; women's involvement in some environmental movements or in conserving soil or planting trees for instance. But they would interpret these as particular to certain times, places and social relations, and interrogate the power relations which may produce them. As Guyer emphasises, in as much as 'female farming' is evident, it needs to be taken as a 'variable product of society and history', rather than a fixed starting point of agricultural evolution (Guyer 1991: 259). And women's involvement in Chipko can be represented quite differently: not as evidence of women's closeness to nature but as a struggle for material resources in the context of gender-ascribed natural resource dependence; and women's limited opportunities to out-migrate as compared with men (Jain 1984; Perinore 1992).⁴ The movement can be alternatively interpreted not as feminist, but as a peasant movement which emerged at a particular historical juncture (Guba 1989), and in which women's participation was actually conservative of their subordinate position (Jain 1984).⁵

Towards gendered environmental histories

Ecofeminist histories thus, in effect, rob people of their own histories, their agency, the agency of their ancestors and their identities, steering them to artefacts of a western category of 'nature'. This draws attention away from serious political and environmental issues and women's perspectives on them. But while disavowing these historical accounts on the basis of their ecofeminist assumptions is relatively straightforward, the danger is that this leaves a vacuum of well-researched gender-focused environmental history. Shiva's

⁴ Perinore (1992) argues that up to 60 per cent of the male population of Earth'sal Bishna have not migrated, while Jain (1984) presents evidence that 20 per cent of the area's households are female headed.

⁵ In this context, it has been argued that the reversion of images of Pradhii may be harmful to women 'Pickled up by the cross currents of caste and middle class ideology, [ideas such as the feminine principle] are open to communal manipulation and can even be used to manipulate women and ecological issues from a middle class perspective. Patriarchal manipulation of women's power concepts is, anyway a sad chapter in the history of religions.... [In India] there is a class component in the difference between the Devi as an independent female power-principle and the spineless Goddess, the more domesticated, patriarchal version of the goddess...the projection of a certain middle class type of feminine principle has... turned her/him to woman in the practice of and debate on *stree*' (Dietrich 1992: 103).

brand of historiography thus becomes a 'default' gap-filler in the absence of other information.

However many elements of an alternative historical genre, and approaches for researching it, are already present in the literature. These are found, for instance, in works analysing gender and agrarian history, but which address 'environment' in a more tangential way (e.g. Berry 1993; Martin 1988; Moore and Vaughan 1994). These both draw on and assist studies of gender and rural change by social anthropologists and others which reflect on history and environment, but which do not write a history of environment (e.g. Guyer 1984, 1986; Leach 1994; Lissner 1992; Sharma 1980). Third, an emerging area of work has specifically focused on gender relations and processes of social and environmental change, albeit examining these from the present (e.g. Jackson 1993; Jukes *et al.* 1995).

Works of this third kind, whether categorising themselves as feminist environmentalism (e.g. Agarwal 1992), feminist political ecology (e.g. Rocheleau 1995; Thomas-Slayter 1992), or in a more applied sense as gender, environment and development, share a concern with gender relations, not women, in examining differentiated experiences, interests and opportunities with regard to environment and resources. In turn, many address the ways that environmental relations structure relations between women and men, methodologically: they often 'unpack' in a detailed way the 'micro-political economy of gendered resource use' (Leach 1994); identifying not only people's different activities, responsibilities and rights within processes of natural resource use and management, but also the specific conflicts, nested complementarities and processes of contestation characterising resource claims. Long-term perspectives have been important here to reveal the parameters and critical power relations of changing terms of resource access and control (cf. Guyer 1986). In combination, these micro-level and historical perspectives can reveal how wider social relations of gender structure processes of resource use, whether patterns of marriage or power relations between women and men. And as Agarwal (1992) argues in the Indian context, symbolic representations of gender, 'nature', and their interrelationship may be seen as (interactively) part of this structuring, but not the whole of it: as players in a field of material struggles.

While not explicitly dealing with environmental history, studies of this genre show the importance of gender issues not only for examining changes in women's status, but also for more general comprehension of land-use and its change. They suggest that landscapes are shaped in the articulation of local-level political economies of gendered resource use, with wider political and economic changes. This translates directly into the general concerns of environmental history, where attention to gender relations will be central to tracing

environmental event histories and the ecological, as well as social, impacts of colonial environmental policy and economic relations.

A number of issues have emerged which would be important for more focused study and combination in a properly gendered environmental history. These include gender and labour in relation to ecology; changing regimes of tenure and property rights; gender dimensions of institutional arrangements around natural resource usage; changes in gendered product, site and technique use in the context of colonial economic change, trade and policy, and relationships between gender and environmental knowledges and discourses, including those of colonial states. Here we simply and briefly illustrate the treatment of such themes in some examples of gendered environmental history which broadly follow the approach outlined above. The selected illustrations, again, relate to African female farming and Indian women and forests, revealing some very different interpretations of situations treated in ecofeminist histories. In showing the particularity of specific situations, these examples also suggest the difficulty of constructing generalised narratives about women's environmental experience.

Gender, land and vegetation in African farming

Work on tree crops in the West African forest zone exemplifies how the spread of a colonially-promoted export crop economy was conditioned by gender relations, with specific environmental effects. In encouraging cocoa and coffee production from the 1930s onwards, both British and French colonial policies targeted chiefs, compound and perceived 'household' heads - generally male - as planters, and even when high product prices in the 1940s and 50s encouraged more 'spontaneous' spread, those who came to plant, inherit and control tree crops on their own account were predominantly men (e.g. Berry 1975; Hill 1956). As Berry (1988) has summarised, in different areas women's 'underinvestment' variously reflected their limited access to male labour for tree crop maintenance tasks, wives' obligations to harvest and process their husbands' crops which limited their opportunities to work on their own, inheritance practices, and tenure arrangements in which in-married wives could not plant trees in case they inappropriately established long-term claims to lineage land. However there was by no means a clear male-female dichotomy: some male immigrants faced similar restrictions to wives, for example, while certain women - notably older widows with control over labour and status in village political institutions - were able to plant and inherit tree crops for themselves (cf. Leach 1994). Gender contestation over coffee income claims, and wives' resistance, at times, to working 'unpaid' for their husbands discouraged some men from planting and

maintenance through pruning and under-brushing, especially in periods of low prices (Leach 1994; Fairhead and Leach 1995).

These gender issues influenced the environmental impacts of tree crops by conditioning both their overall historical pattern and extent of spread, and the ecological composition of particular plantations. While cocoa and coffee planting involved thinning and modifying forest canopy, its effect cannot be generalised as 'environmentally degrading'; indigenously-managed plantations often replicated forest structure, retaining soil and micro climatic conditions and elements of biodiversity in trees kept for shade and other uses, and in some regions provided a vehicle to extend such conditions into bush and savanna lands (Fairhead and Leach forthcoming). Where gender issues reduced plantation maintenance, undergrowth increased, altering biodiversity and paths of long-term vegetation change, while at least in Sierra Leone, the selection of canopy trees to preserve 'wild' products valued by women or men reflected the gendered ownership of particular plantations, and the outcome of gendered contestation over management and resource priorities (Leach 1994).

The spread of tree crops also had indirect environmental effects in altering land use patterns for food cropping. Again, these were mediated by the micro-political economy of gendered resource use. Thus Guyer (1988) shows how in Cameroon, Beti women's personal groundnut fields underwent historical transformations of site, labour routine and income claims in articulation with cocoa production and then food marketing. In moving from an embeddedness in long, forest food production cycles initiated by men, to separate fields and cycles farmed on an individual basis, land use for groundnuts was transformed both ecologically and in its gender relations. In Mende areas of Sierra Leone, Leach (1992b) relates shifts of 'household' rice production from uplands to inland valley swamps since the 1940s to labour bottlenecks with tree crop farming, and shows how women have adopted new land uses in swamp vegetable gardening, to compensate for lost rights to prepared upland vegetable-planting sites once associated with the upland rice farming cycle. These changes have had important influences on patterns of forest and fallow management, and on swampland vegetation.

These studies show that associations between African female farmers, particular crops and work patterns are by no means 'natural', but very often relate - as Guyer (1991) argues - to the politics of labour control. Thus Guyer re-works Baumann's model of 'primordial' female farming based on root crops and individualised, childcare-comparable work, showing the important distinction in gendered labour patterns to be not between roots and grains, but between 'old' staples (e.g. rice, yams, millet) and 'new world' staples such as maize and cassava, introduced later in the pre-colonial period. Production of the former

was and largely remains characterised by grouped, orchestrated, performance of gender- and age-specific tasks, often in ritualised choreographies as for West African rice (e.g. Linhares 1992) and millet in Zambia (Richards 1939). As pre-colonial agricultural practices incorporated cassava and maize, a different, more individualised and secularised division of labour emerged, in which individual women or men took responsibility for an entire field, crop or product. This distinction was strongly related to women's and young men's lack of access to the labour of others, and limited social or political power to organise the large work parties typical of the old staples.

Other work has examined male out-migration in the context of colonial economy and policy, and its impact on gender relations in production in ways relevant to land-use change and environment. Thus Moore and Vaughan (1994), for example, describe how in Zambia colonial discourses and policies concerning the *citemene* 'slash and burn' system persistently considered it as verging on ecological and social collapse: ecological in the face of population growth, and social in the face of men's labour migration to the Copperbelt, removing crucial labour for 'cutting down trees'. Yet they show that this view overlooked changes in the gendered division of labour and cropping strategies as women compensated for male absenteeism. Increases in women's labour inputs and adaptations of task and timing in *citemene*, as well as women's multiple cropping strategies, additional permanent gardens and linked non-agricultural activities, responded to and hugely extended the system's flexibility in the face of population, labour and marketing fluctuations. Gender relations of work and income, property and household organisation thus conditioned a particular event history of landscape largely unperceived by colonial policymakers, partly accounting for why their interventions provoked resistance, and shaping their interaction with actual land use.

A related example comes from Guinea's forest-savanna transition zone. Kuranko farmers show a preference for gardening on the sites of old settlements, where soils have been enriched and structurally-improved by fertility import and deep kitchen garden cultivation over long periods (Leach and Fairhead 1995). Indeed, any intensive gardening is likened in its impact to producing such 'trained site' soils, which carry better woody fallows when abandoned. Since the 1940s a conjuncture of changes including men's out-migration, diminishing farm household size, a switch from upland to swamp rice cropping, and women's greater responsibility for food provisioning, marketing and tax payments, has encouraged women to 'garden' larger areas of pecanuts, citrus and hawk production. This site use pattern suits their reduced access to male labour and indeed to cleared upland sites. In extending gardened areas, and in concentrating farming during long sequences on only some of them, it has had the effect of multiplying and enlarging patches of dense woody vegetation in the savanna, a significant impact on the landscape (Leach, discourses about

landscape represent these sites as distinctly 'improved' compared with surrounding land. Within these terms of debate, ecological opinion is gender-differentiated, with in-married wives' tendency to define the sites in immediate agro-ecological terms as fertile gardens, contrasting with patrilineage elders' tendency to represent them as politically-salient, tenured lineage land, like ruined villages themselves. But both these viewpoints differ strongly from colonial and indeed modern environmental debates which have assumed farming only to reduce woody cover and soil quality in the forest-savanna transition zone. (Fairhead and Leach forthcoming).

That in this Kuranko case women's practices had the effect of improving land productivity despite their underresourced character, contradicts common assumptions that lack of labour and secure land tenure lead women into short-termist, environmentally-degrading forms of land use. Clearly, differences in the local dynamics of soil, water, vegetation, fire, climate and animals may profoundly alter how land responds to the same use practices, suggesting the need to examine environmental history in terms of the interaction of gendered resource use with particular ecological processes.

Although specific environmental impacts may have varied, historical work leaves little doubt that African women's farming and land use altered with changes in land tenure and property rights regimes. Colonial intervention and economic relations not only precipitated re-workings of customary legal frameworks in which women maintained diverse land use rights, but sometimes introduced new forms of statutory law which named men as title holders. While such changes weighed heavily on certain women, especially as they intersected with emerging socio-economic differentiation, gendered histories also show up their agency in responding to them. Mackenzie's research in Kenya, for instance, indicates that women have been adept at manipulating the meanings of, reinterpreting and exploiting the spaces between customary and statutory legal frameworks, and in resisting others' attempts to silence or de-legitimise their claims (Mackenzie 1991, 1994). Several authors draw attention to the intricately-resisted landscape 'niches' and resources over which different women and men have maintained different rights, and to the undermining or obliterating of the 'less visible' rights of subordinate groups under tenurial and technological change. Thus Rochelieu (1991, 1995) documents how in Kenya, with cropping transformations and land tilting, women lost previous rights to collect, domesticate and preserve wild plant products and intercropped as land came under certain men's tenurial and technological control. Their responses, in making new uses of hedgerow and boundary land for preserving needed plants and income sources, has affected changing patterns of biodiversity and vegetation over time.

Gender, land and forest resources in India

Questions of changing regimes of property rights have also emerged as central in historical work in India from a feminist environmental perspective. Agarwal (1989, 1992) has examined gender-differentiated experiences of more general processes of exclusion of rural people from natural resources, and the narrowing of the resource base itself. At work here are historical processes of state appropriation and privatisation of common land, the deterioration of communal management systems for forest and grazing resources, and technological change in agriculture. Regional differences in rights to land are reflective of the historical intersection of religious and customary inheritance laws, and these articulate with class, gender and other differentiating variables to form inter- and intra-household inequities in rights of access and control. For example in the case of the Garos, a matrilineal group in north-east India, women's usufructuary rights to land in shifting cultivation were eroded with the shift to settled agriculture, the adoption of new technology and the growing trend towards land privatisation and male land-tilling during the colonial and post-colonial periods (Agarwal 1989: 54).

Kelkar and Nathan (1991) examine how among *adivasi* groups in Jharkhand, land rights acquired different meanings for women through manipulation by colonial officials and male kin during and following the colonial period. Women's land rights have reflected with some continuity a gender bias in their structuring such that land has passed through male lineages and women's access has been derived indirectly through male kin. Nevertheless they were also structured among women; daughters and wives tended to have indirect rights to the produce of land held by their husbands, whereas widows were entitled to claim what amounted to a life interest in land, involving its maintenance, management and control of produce. The latter has been contested over the last century. In 1906 women from one tribal group, the *Santals* were recorded as holding life interest rights to land, but by 1922 these were increasingly being recorded as *khoposh*, or basic maintenance rights where women were allocated specific plots of land for the fulfilment of their familial obligations. This reflected attempts to level out life interest rights to a lower order, especially by male kin reluctant to wait for a widow's death before inheriting the land. Means to overrule these rights have included witchcraft accusations. However, Kelkar and Nathan avoid constructing images of women lacking agency, documenting for instance *Santals*, *Ho* and *Munda* women's attempts to side-step male appropriation by transferring land rights to daughters.

However, in other circumstances women have seemed more willing to collude with the status quo, and have shown instances of outright hostility to altering traditional patrilineal inheritance rights, as was the case in a meeting of the Jharkhand *Mahila Mukti Samiti* (a

women's group) in 1989 (Kelkar and Nathan 1991: 93). These mixed sentiments need to be contextualised, but show women manoeuvring to make the most of their immediate situation. Whether they actively collude with patrilineal inheritance systems because they perceive significant security to be bound up in men's land rights, and not least because they protect themselves from accusations of witchcraft, or whether they actively seek their security in extending their own rights to land—these are both ways in which women make trade-offs between possible losses and gains and actively seek to extend their opportunities. There is also evidence to suggest that, at the turn of the century, alongside the efforts of some male kin to speed up their inheritance of widows' land, other Jharkhandi men, particularly from amongst the *Santals*, were active supporters of the need to extend women's land rights (Bodding 1925, cited in Kelkar and Nathan 1991: 92). This historical analysis thus creates a variegated picture of conflict, manipulation, and trade-offs around gender and land rights in Jharkhand. Importantly, it firmly grafts the relationship between tribal women and natural resources onto a material plane, rather than the spiritual one emphasised in ecofeminist 'histories' of tribal women, land and forests.

Gendered historical work suggests that common property resources (CPRs) in India have, to varying degrees, borne the impact of rural women's exclusion from private property resources. Agarwal (1989: 55) shows how they have provided poorer women, reliant on provisioning from the natural resource base, with an array of materials for food, fuel, construction and medicinal usage in both domestic and market economies, and a resource which can be accessed independently of male kin. In focusing on the intersection of gender, class, property and market relations, this analysis interprets women's involvement with wild plants and gathering very differently from ecofeminist histories, which take it to epitomise women's 'closeness to nature'. Furthermore studies show that gender relations within the institutions managing CPRs have affected people's ability to access, control and maintain their resources over time. In Jharkhand, for example, Kelkar and Nathan (1991) show that village-owned forests are and have been managed by village assemblies or *panchayats* on which women have seldom had representation. Here, as elsewhere, increasing pressure on CPRs has often translated into their management for products of interest to certain groups, sometimes to the exclusion of women's resource priorities.

Gender, ecological opinion and represented histories in the colonial encounter

The focus on issues of resource access, use and control in gender analyses of environment has also cast new light on questions of gender and ecological knowledge. As Fairhead (1992) exemplifies for cassava cropping in Zaïre, apparent differences in gendered knowledge can reflect less 'who knows what' than differences of ecological opinion;

options which influence who controls the resource in question (cf. Cashman 1991). Equally, divergent explanations of land productivity, fertility and ecological processes can reflect gendered positions and control within institutions, and become a means to contest them. A few studies have begun to trace how colonial science and policy have articulated with these processes, although this remains an area where much more work is needed. Thus for example in Zambia, Moore and Vaughan (1994) present evidence of nineteenth century political contestation and dissent expressed at least partly through ecological opinion: chiefly Bemba men's attempts to establish centralised political control rested on ritual control over land productivity and fertility as enacted in *chitembe* tree-cutting, while very different opinions about fertility provided a basis for dissent among commoner women (Hinfelaar 1989 in Moore and Vaughan 1994: 9). The former came to be reinforced through struggles with the early colonial administration over *chitembe*, settlement and mobility, as local men actively forged associations between masculinity, warriorhood, tree-cutting, chiefly politics and Bemba identity: 'the *chitembe* fields cut out of the forest became an important symbol of male Bemba autonomy, even as these same men became drawn into the evolving labour migrant economy' (1994: 15). Men's representations of pre-colonial history, in terms of a ritualised polity ancient and uncolonised, were important in forging this symbolic association. Colonial administrations (and anthropologists) seem largely to have accepted this 'history', constructing policies towards the environmental economy and gender accordingly.

In a similar vein, studies reveal how representations of past environments, of landscape history – become part of oral histories which upheld particular social or political relations, and gendered rights and statuses linked to them. In West Africa for instance, descent group status in local politics, linked to control over women in marriage, is frequently legitimised through 'origin stories' of settler/peasant founders moving into uninhabited 'wilderness' areas (Dupré 1991); whether high forest (as among Sierra Leonean Mende groups; Hill 1984; Leach 1994), or barren savannas (as among Kissi; Fairhead and Leach forthcoming). These representational histories may have little to do with real ecological events, or indeed with women's experience of such ones. Yet in many cases colonial administrations were exposed to them, constructing their own versions of history and environmental policy in relation to them.

Conclusions

The approaches exemplified above allow the possibility of 'rescuing' gender differentiated environmental experiences from the invisibilising glosses which environmental 'histories' place on them. They can, so we contend, relations shape patterns of environmental use and

management with tangible ecological effects, making gender analysis indispensable for understanding environmental history. And gender relations mediate the effects of external economic and political processes on people and the environment, rendering them necessary to a historical account of colonial environmental intervention.

Such alternative accounts of history, in turn, suggest the flawed nature of ecocriticism (Wells) policy implications: that women, as guardians of nature, should be targeted as allies in resource conservation projects, or that women's and environmental interests are necessarily complementary. For they point out the social and historical contexts which may indeed make some women especially concerned with resource conservation in some situations, but in others may divorce them from it. They point out the conflicts between women's and 'environmental' interests in some circumstances, for instance where women's involvement with natural resources reflects their subordinate position in gendered relations of property and power. And they underline the risk that policies premised on an assumption of a pre-ordained affinity between women and nature, or simplistic observations of 'what women do' will simply instrumentalise women as a source of cheap or unremunerated labour in activities where benefits they may not control. Historical analysis suggests to policy that 'complementarities' between women's and environmental interests have to be carefully sought out, not assumed from a perspective which takes account of gender relations in the culture, access, use and control of particular resources. In specific situations gendered environmental history can usefully illuminate the particular dynamics of ecology and resource control which must inform such policy approaches.

In context, and by contrast, perhaps the relationship between women and nature, ecocriticism's 'green' environmental history, in years which vitriolate women in static roles. In this sense, the 'green' environmental history, indeed, as Jackson (forthcoming) suggests, 'is a history of women's environmental history, but not a history which does not purport to describe the environment as it is, and the progress of ecological change, or applying particular policies to environmental change, or a high celebration in a post modern world of representation and difference. Yet so far a full history distribution may be too strong, for that the positionality of the interpreter always shapes the questions asked of history (Cox 1994). We all know of accounts and, to a certain extent, representation as well as ecocriticism's construction and supportive of particular institutional or political outcomes. In this respect, interrogating ecocriticism's historical narratives as one sort of representation of history should make space to consider a plurality of other accounts, including the representations of their own environmental history which women and men have been actively forging during and since the colonial period.

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7 These interconnections between gender analysis and aspects of economic growth, and specifically economic geography, are explored further in a forthcoming paper.

8 While the home/work distinction may validly be read as an instantiation of this dichotomy it must be stressed that there is far more to the possibilities of 'immanence' than having children and doing the housework.

9 This view was reinforced in some cases by the contrast in attitude to the skills of paid work on the one hand and the domestic sphere on the other. Thus a number of the scientists ascribed the fact of their partner doing almost all of the housework to the fact that 'she's better at it'. The interesting thing here is that there seems to be no understanding that this skill is one which could be learned. In contrast to the highly intellectual paid jobs, for which much learning was necessary, this skill seems to be seen, although *implicitly*, as innate.

10 This is broadly true of most workplaces, though to different degrees. The window-less boxes of so many modern factories precisely demonstrate the desire not to let the eye/mind wander 'outside' during working hours. But in the kinds of employment under discussion here, together with some others, it is especially marked.

RENEGOTIATING GENDER AND SEXUALITY IN PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SPACES

Nancy Duncan

INTRODUCTION

In this chapter I offer a general introduction to the issues of regulating and negotiating gender and sexuality through the opposition of the public and the private. I argue that the binary distinction between private and public spaces and the relation of this to private and public spheres is highly problematic. Although it is a distinction encoded in law and deeply rooted in North American and British cultures, it is nevertheless unstable and often problematically conflated with related distinctions such as that between domestic or familial autonomy and public spheres. Increasing privatization, commercialization and aestheticization of public space has tended to depoliticize space and shrink public spheres. However, I will discuss various ways that the spatial and political practices of marginalized groups such as abused women and sexual minorities (lesbians, gays and sex workers) work to undermine the (always already unstable) coherence of this binary and related binaries. The destabilizing of this boundary is a countervailing force working to open up not only private space but to reopen public space to public debate and contestation.

One could choose other groups such as the homeless¹ with an interest in transgressing the public/private dichotomy. However, I have chosen abused women and sexual minorities because members of such marginalized groups have experienced acute spatial dissonance and in some cases have found workable strategies for resisting the spatial framework and dominant spatial practices of Anglo-American society. I will also discuss various spatial practices that work to reinforce this boundary and some of the tensions surrounding the concept of privacy implied by the boundary. By pointing to examples drawn from these marginalized groups I attempt to show some of the complexities and subtleties of oppression on the basis of spatially constituted gender and sexuality. I then conclude with a discussion of the need to further unpack and destabilize this binary distinction. My focus will be on contemporary North America and Britain.

THE PUBLIC AND THE PRIVATE

The distinction between the public and the private is deeply rooted in political philosophy, law, popular discourse and recurrent spatial structuring practices.

These practices demarcate and isolate a private sphere of domestic, embodied activity from an allegedly disembodied political sphere that is predominantly located in public space. The public/private dichotomy (both the political and spatial dimensions) is frequently employed to construct, control, discipline, confine, exclude and suppress gender and sexual difference preserving traditional patriarchal and heterosexist power structures.² Although the social and political problems to which I refer clearly have spatial (material, corporeal) components, the solutions to these problems will by no means be purely spatial or environmental ones. There is no question, however, that confinement (voluntary and forced) in private spaces contributes to a reduction in the vitality of the public sphere as a political site and diminishes the ability of marginalized groups to claim a share in power.

It is clear that the public-private distinction is gendered. This binary opposition is employed to legitimate oppression and dependence on the basis of gender: it has also been used to regulate sexuality. The private as an *ideal type* has traditionally been associated and conflated with: the domestic, the embodied, the natural, the family, property, the 'shadowy interior of the household', personal life, intimacy, passion, sexuality, 'the good life', care, a haven, unwaged labour, reproduction and immanence.³ The public as an *ideal type* has traditionally been the domain of the disembodied, the abstract, the cultural, rationality, critical public discourse, citizenship, civil society, justice, the market place, waged labour, production, the polis, the state, action, militarism, heroism and transcendence.⁴

The idea of privacy is deeply embedded in Western political theories of freedom, personal autonomy, patriarchal familial sovereignty and private property. Traditionally there have been spatial and corporeal components to the idea of autonomy. The linkage between individual, family and group autonomy and privatization, localization and other exclusionary spatial strategies is one of the most important and interesting aspects of political geography. However, this linkage is one that is often taken for granted and therefore tends to be naturalized or depoliticized. The idea of spaces (material and metaphorical) hidden from the light of public view in which autonomy is most effectively enacted is widely respected. However, this idea is also highly charged and tension filled for many across the political spectrum.

Lawrence Stone and others have suggested that the perceived need for increased privacy in domestic spaces arose with the European nation-state. Attempts were made by both the state and private households to strengthen the institution of the family and to limit the space of state authority over the reproductive family unit (Stone 1977: 133-42). The home was accordingly considered a microcosm of the political order with the male head of household as ruler.⁵ While modern liberal notions of individual freedom and rights within the family or household as well as within society clearly differ from these earlier ideas of paternal dominance, the latter are still quite evident in contemporary culture and the administration of justice. As Judith Squires (1994: 39-41) puts it:

the preliberal antiliberal patriarchal tradition of family sovereignty has, for reasons not inherent to the liberal tradition itself, been incorporated

- tortuously - into the liberal rhetoric and legislation on privacy rights. Individual autonomy, which is the bedrock of liberal theory, has in practice been conflated with family autonomy.

Historically, in legal terms at least, women have been treated as private and embodied, in the sense of apolitical. They have long been treated as if not fully capable of independent disembodied political thought and objectivity as evidenced by the fact that it was relatively recently that women were given the vote. Still today most men's move between public and private spaces and spheres with more legitimacy and physical safety (see Pain 1991; Valentine 1989), and less burdened by responsibilities as caregivers of children and the elderly than most women.

Both private and public spaces are heterogeneous and not all space is clearly private or public. Space is thus subject to various territorializing and deterritorializing processes whereby local control is fixed, claimed, challenged, forfeited and privatized. In some cases this may have socially progressive results in terms of providing a safe base (site of resistance) from which previously disempowered groups may become empowered. On the other hand, isolation in a private or quasi-private space or sphere may have an undesirable depoliticizing effect on a group, fortifying it against challenges from, and allowing it to inadvertently assume independence from, a wider public sphere. However, as Brian Massumi, in his interpretation of the thought of Deleuze and Guattari, says, there is an important difference between 'untouching one's self in a closed space (hold the fort)' and 'arraying one's self in an open space (hold the street)' (Massumi 1992: 6). The street serves here as a metaphor for sites of resistance that are part of a rhizome-like process of deterritorializing and a progressive opening up to the political sphere. The fort signifies territories, securely established centres of domination. (On the political ambiguity of place and localizing processes and whether they are conservative or progressive see Massey 1993.)

There are many privatized or quasi-privatized, commercialized public spaces including shopping malls and exclusionary suburbs. This privatization of ostensibly public places has very uneven consequences for the population as a whole because groups with greater resources can more easily privatize spaces. Such privatizing of space is often accompanied by aestheticization as for example when urban space is cleared of marginalized people and political activities and redesigned as a spectacle for the consumption of affluent classes. Furthermore by privatizing (depoliticizing) these spaces, the owners and users of such spaces more easily free themselves from various types of public surveillance, regulation and public contestation.

The private is a sphere where those families who are not dependent on the state for welfare have relative autonomy. Those who are dependent, however, are often subject to unwarranted intrusion and surveillance.⁶ In general, however, liberal political and legal theory can be seen as a territorializing spatial practice that attempts to differentiate the public and private by erecting a boundary around a private sphere of relative non-interference by civil society or the state.

PUBLIC SPHERE

The public sphere is not just the site of state politics and regulation, nor is it limited to the market place or the economy.⁸ It is also the site of oppositional social movements. In fact, under many definitions, the public sphere is a political site separate from, and often critical of, the state and the economy.⁹ As opposed to the private sphere, it is the discursive and material space where the state and its powers, as well as oppressive aspects of the dominant culture (misogyny, homophobia, racism), are open to challenge by those who have been marginalized in various ways. Don Mitchell gives an example from Berkeley, California.

The People's Park was working as it should: as a truly political space. It was a political space that encouraged unmediated interaction, a place where the power of the state could be held at bay.

(Mitchell 1995: 110)

According to Mitchell ideally public spaces are 'unconstrained space within which political movements can organize and expand into wider arenas' (Mitchell 1995: 115). However, he says that most often public space is constituted as 'a controlled and orderly retreat where a properly behaved public might experience the spectacle of the city'. In this view public space is seen as politically neutral. Although somewhat more likely to become a site of political organizing than private space, public space is very often planned and controlled for non-political purposes. Public spaces and public spheres often do not map neatly onto one another.

As a normative ideal the public sphere is open to all; in practice, however, it is much more restricted. In fact, Habermas (1991) would argue, the public sphere no longer functions effectively in the interest of any group. Examples of recently increased restrictions on the public sphere as a place where groups can meet to protest and publicize their views is the introduction in Britain of the Criminal Justice and Public Order Act of 1994. This law includes limitations on the right to assemble for peaceful political protests. It is noteworthy that such increased regulation of public behaviour (*allegedly* for fear of *potential* violence) is not matched with a similar increase in the regulation of *actual* violence in the private sphere.¹⁰ This is not to say, of course, that violence in public is adequately controlled or that provisions should not be made to control politically motivated violence.

Moreover, the ideal of a single public sphere that serves as a site of political contestation is considered by some to be either utopian or deceitful in its pretence of homogeneity and inclusiveness (Fraser 1993; Howell 1993; Robbins 1993; Young 1990). There are some very persuasive arguments for the expansion and repoliticization of the notion of public sphere into a multiplicity of heterogeneous publics also known as 'alternative or counter public spheres' or 'counterpublics' or 'critical publics' (Cohen and Arato 1992; Fraser 1993; Robbins 1993). Such counter public spheres can be seen to develop out of social movements. Iris Marion Young (1990: 120) states that:

the concept of a heterogeneous public implies two political principles: (a) no persons, actions, or aspects of a person's life should be forced into

privacy; and (b) no social institutions or practices should be excluded a priori from being a proper subject for public discussion and expression.

Although in practice various critical publics would never be equal in influence or legitimacy, they could ideally all have access to the public sphere and public spaces (where they could challenge, and be exposed to challenges by, members of other counterpublics).

PRIVACY AND DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

Paradoxically the home which is usually thought to be gendered feminine has also traditionally been subject to the patriarchal authority of the husband and father. Personal freedoms of the male head of household often impinge on, or in extreme cases, negate the rights, autonomy and safety of women and children who also occupy these spaces. The designation of the home as private space limits the role of political institutions and social movements in changing power relations within the family. 'A man's home is his castle' – this familiar expression reveals the important historical link between masculinity, patriarchal autonomy and its spatial expression in the form of private property. As a relatively unregulated sphere the private is a place where men have traditionally dominated their families and the privacy to do so has been jealously protected. Legal definitions of privacy thus gender space and tend to reproduce inequalities. As Schneider (1991: 978) put it:

the interrelationship between what is understood and experienced as private and public is particularly complex in the area of gender where the rhetoric of privacy has masked inequality and subordination. The decision about what we protect as private is a political decision that always has important public ramifications.

Although legal ideas of privacy were established to protect civil liberties under certain circumstances they can also:

mask physical abuse and other manifestations of power and inequality within the family . . . The belief is that it is for family members to sort out their personal relationships. What this overlooks is the power inequalities inside the family that are of course affected by structures external to it.

(O'Donovan 1993: 272)

The private home has been historically seen as a place where men have assumed their right to sexual intercourse. Problematic questions of genuine consent on the part of partners have only recently begun to be addressed with any frequency. The private space of the home can also be a place where aggressive forms of misogynous masculinity are often exercised with impunity, it is a place where rape and other forms of non-consensual sexual activity take place more often than many people realize (see Edwards 1989). Although I recognize that the private space of the home is a place where some men use violence as a way to control women,¹¹ I wish to distance myself

from arguments made by radical feminists such as Brownmiller (1975) and Mackinnon (1989) who argue that violence, especially sexual violence, is used by men collectively as a way to control women. This is to implicate many innocent men who abhor violence and it assumes a narrow view of power — one that sees it as primarily coercive. (On this issue see Pain 1991: 425; however, Pain does not take a stand on whether there is a conscious conspiracy among all men and not just sex offenders to intimidate women.)

Instead, I would choose to explore the idea of a complicity which includes men and women who fail to act decisively against both public and private sexual violence, resorting instead to staying at home at night or encouraging wives, daughters and women friends to do so. Here I am not suggesting that individuals place themselves in the 'sucker position' of risking their own safety. Quite the contrary, I am suggesting that such violence directed against women in both public and private spaces is a problem requiring highly organized, structural solutions, not isolated individualistic ones. The feminist slogan 'Take Back the Night' should be seen as a suggestion not for women to disregard personal safety, but for all those who can (not just women) to organize and ask for public funds to transform public spaces to make them safe and accessible to everyone at night as well as during the day.

Because it is very often invisible and inaudible, domestic violence remains a privatized problem. Unanswered questions remain: to what extent is the home an oppressive site of sexual power and pathological types of masculinity? To what extent is domestic violence explained by historically persistent perceptions of masculine autonomy and entitlement within the space of the home? To what extent does the privacy of private property allow or even legitimate misogynistic violence? One reason why the underlying explanations and motivations of domestic violence are unclear is that such abuse has generally been a private and hidden problem. It is a good example of Berger's dictum elaborated by Soja, that it is space more than time that hides the consequences from us (Soja 1989: 22).

Feminists 'discovered' wife beating in the late nineteenth century as they attempted to open up the realm of the private and patriarchal family affairs to public discourse (see Cobbe 1868). Although since the nineteenth century wife beating has been formally outlawed,¹² the issue still does not receive the public attention it deserves. Enforcement of laws is highly inadequate.¹³ According to the Surgeon General of the United States, the battering of women by partners and ex-partners is the 'single largest cause of injury to women in the US' accounting for one-fifth of all hospital emergency cases (Zorza 1992: 83). According to the FBI, roughly 6 million women are abused and 4,000 women are killed by their partners or ex-partners in America each year (Saland 1994). These statistics suggest that domestic violence cannot be dismissed as something private and beyond the scope of public responsibility (Thomas and Beasley 1993: 45). Clearly there are contradictions between ideas of privacy, which assume autonomy of male heads of household, and the prevention of 'the violence of privacy' (Schneider 1994).

Police officers in many places are given a great deal of discretion in dealing with 'domestic disturbances'. Often such 'domestic' calls are not taken

seriously. When the police do go to a house, they usually do not make an arrest. Wives may not decide to press charges fearing the alien world of courts, police stations and publicity, even more than the familiar, private violence of the home. The police may understandably fear for their own safety or even their lives.¹⁴ Furthermore the police sometimes share the misogynous views of the batterer, believing, for example, in corporal punishment for 'nagging' wives or at least sympathizing with an overstressed husband.

Many programmes to aid battered women have focused on establishing outside moral as well as material support in order to counter the batterer's often strenuous attempts to privatize the problem by cutting his partner off from contact with relatives, friends and public institutions (Pence and Shepard 1988: 291). One can clearly see spatial strategies at work in the abuser's attempt to isolate his partner from extended family and other social networks by confining her in private spaces. This makes it difficult for her to seek outside support or to organize politically with other battered women. Answers may lie, in part at least, in deterritorializing public and private spheres — that is in questioning the links between individualism, privacy, autonomy and allegedly apolitical private spaces.

Making contacts and establishing outside support networks is a crucial step for a woman who seeks to escape a violent home. It is often difficult to break the financial and emotional dependence on the family home and husband. The need for alternative housing is paramount. Women's shelters often provide temporary accommodation. Daycare, peer and professional counselling, and various training programmes are sometimes available through such organizations.

Women's shelters provide a site of resistance against the imprisoning strategies of the battering partner. While the names of shelters sometimes convey the idea of much-needed social networks — Friends of the Family, Woman to Woman and Good Neighbors Unlimited — often they reflect this spatial dimension — Womanspace, Women's Survival Space, Safe House and Safespace.

Beyond the lack of sufficient funding for shelters and limited space availability, and beyond psychological and economic dependence of women on abusive partners, there are many other reasons why shelters do not always provide an effective solution to isolation and violence. Many women do not take advantage of the opportunity to remove themselves physically from violent situations for various geographical reasons. Women from rural areas may have to travel long distances to find a shelter and women from non-English-speaking communities may be reluctant to leave a neighbourhood where they have some degree of language and cultural support. However, a much more pervasive sentiment that affects not only the willingness of a woman to go to a shelter, but also interest in funding such shelters, is the individualism and privatism of British and North American society. People who must depend on the help of strangers often feel shame. The ideal of the private family home is so deeply ingrained that even temporary residence outside of such private spaces can be highly embarrassing and stigmatizing. The idea of communal living and sharing of tasks which is encouraged in such

shelters is unfamiliar. The fact that shelters are outside the norms of Anglo-American society is also reflected in the names of the shelters – many of which make reference to the temporary, crisis-induced nature of these shelters: Women in Crisis, Transitional Living Center, Assault Crisis Center, Crisis Intervention, Guest House, Emergency House, Sojourn Women's Center, Victim's Crisis Center and Women's Transition House.¹⁵

While many feminists wish to expose the abuses of masculine privilege in the home, others worry about the opening up of the private to public surveillance, because it could simultaneously open up the realm of individual reproductive rights to state interference. However, Elizabeth Schneider argues for a right to privacy that is not 'synonymous with the right to state non-interference with actions within the family' (1994: 53). Recalling Justice Douglas' opinion in *Roe v. Wade* (1973) she suggests that the concept of privacy has the potential to be defined affirmatively as the right to autonomy for all family members which requires freedom from battering and coercion by partners.

Judith Squires also argues for a notion of privacy closely linked to individual autonomy on empowerment. She writes:

there are very strong grounds for articulating a specifically embedded and embodied conception of privacy as a means of conferring autonomy. For the body can be viewed as one of the core territories of the self; control over one's own body is crucial to the maintenance of a sense of self and hence the ability to interact openly with others. To have control over own's bodily integrity (to regulate access to it) and to have this integrity recognised, is a minimal precondition for free and equal social interaction. To ensure the possibility of such an embodied autonomy for all persons in contemporary society – with all its multifarious mechanisms of observation and control – we will need a political defence of privacy rights.

(1994: 399)

Others argue for the necessity of private spaces for protection against an overly aggressive state. However, despite this very real consideration, I would argue that the existence of relatively unregulated spaces is a political arrangement that tends to hide the causes as well as the consequences of oppressive power relations within the family from a wider public. It protects particularly those who have the resources to most effectively privatize space. Intrusive or even fascistic state practices (and all their hidden and privatized manifestations) might better be opened up to scrutiny in the public sphere (or counter public spheres) under more informal, unconstrained and inclusive conditions of discourse and debate within civil society.

I suggest, then, that there is a positive concept of privacy related to the autonomy of individuals which allows for and may even require the opening up of private spaces to the public sphere in order to protect individuals whose autonomy is compromised by the concept of unregulated private space, especially when that space is constituted by unequal power relations or outmoded ideas of domestic patriarchal sovereignty.

Early feminism concentrated so much energy on opening up the public sphere to women through the use of sex-discrimination legislation that the question of how the private sphere might be reconstituted through law was rarely addressed. Only a few basic steps have been taken in this direction. An example is the elimination of spousal exclusion from the possibility of rape.

A broadly Foucauldian conception of (albeit highly uneven) relations of power as suffused throughout society and across space can aid in undermining the public/private dichotomy. 'The personal is the political' is a proclamation commonly heard among feminists, gays and lesbians that challenges the public/private dichotomy as it has traditionally been formulated. This phrase serves as an evocative reminder of the artificiality of such a clear-cut distinction despite its long history and naturalization in legal discourse. It is a statement of the fact that personal relationships are also power relationships and that everyone is implicated in the production and reproduction of power relations. Domestic and even intimate relations are political relations that can be transformed through political means. Although places may be more or less overtly politicized, there are no politically neutral spaces. Similarly, whether or not embodiment is explicitly recognized – whether or not a dis-embodied, allegedly objective perspective is claimed – the spatial and social situatedness which comes from necessary corporeality is inescapable. Foucault (1980: 187) argues power relations emanate not only from state or juridical sources, but concern:

our bodies, our lives, our day-to-day existences . . . Between every point of a social body, between the members of a family, between a master and his pupil . . . there exist relations of power.

Furthermore, Foucault argues, such power is met with a multitude of points of resistance throughout a network that encompasses the whole of a society.

One important form of resistance is to bring issues of privatized power relations into a public forum where efforts to bring about structural change in these relations can be more easily organized. There has always been a close relation between the degree of women's confinement in private space and their relative exclusion from the public sphere of organized social movements and political action. Thus a smoothing out of the public/private boundary and an opening up of privatized problems to public contestation is necessary despite risks of facilitating undue state intervention. Non-progressive state intervention into private lives can theoretically be prevented through the increased use of the critical functions of publicity and strengthened, increasingly heterogeneous public spheres.

PRIVACY AND RESISTANCE

Dorcen Massey (this volume) speaks of the problematic boundary between workplace and home as reinforcing the gendered distinction between transcendence and immanence. Transcendence is the use of Reason in the production of History, Knowledge, Science and Progress; immanence is 'the static realm of living-in-the-present' of reproduction, of servicing those who

make history. Contrasting this public/transcendence private/immanence correlation in the US and Britain with examples from Eastern Europe, Joanne Sharp (this volume) points to cases in which the identification of private space with immanence and public space with transcendence was inverted. During the communist period a major site of resistance and political organization was in the private space of the home. Civil society was spatially marginalized by powerful governments forcing it into a repoliticized private sphere of the home: 'It was here rather than in any formally public sphere that the possibility for transcendence occurred.' She adds, however, that the opposition of family to state served only to deflect attention away from uneven power relations within the family.

bell hooks offers another destabilizing perspective on the idea of the traditional home as a place of immanence rather than transcendence. She says that because public space can be very hostile to African Americans (men as well as women), the home can be an important site of resistance. She sees the homeplace as having a radical political dimension. It's a place where, as she says, 'we could restore to ourselves the dignity denied us on the outside in the public world' (hooks 1990: 42). hooks, however, makes it clear that while the home *can* be a site for organizing subversive activity, it is often viewed as a politically neutral space where the political role of black women is devalued (hooks 1990: 47). She blames the influence of white, bourgeois norms (which produce domestic space as an aestheticized space of consumption and reproduction) for redefining the home as a depoliticized site.

hooks acknowledges of course that the black home can also be the site of patriarchal domination. Kimberlé Crenshaw sees it as a site of multiple oppressions where women of colour sometimes face an 'intersectional disempowerment of race and gender'. She states that women of colour who are subjected to domestic violence are often reluctant to call the police as there is:

a general unwillingness among people of color to subject their private lives to the scrutiny and control of a police force that is frequently hostile. There is a more generalized community ethic against public intervention, the product of a desire to create a private world free from the diverse assaults on the public lives of racially subordinated people. (1994: 103)

But, as Crenshaw states: 'this sense of isolation compounds efforts to politicize gender violence within communities of color, and permits the deadly silence surrounding these issues to continue' (1994: 111).

Nevertheless, hooks argues for the need to reaffirm the home as a site of organizing, affirming political solidarity and regrouping for resistance in spite of the fact that from the standpoint of the relatively more powerful this may seem a minor political resource. hooks (1990: 45) argues that 'the devaluation of the role black women have played in constructing for us home-places that are the site for resistance undermines our efforts to resist racism and the colonizing mentality which promotes internalized self-hatred.'

Habermas (1991) also sees certain private sphere institutions as having served, in the past at least, important political purposes. He points to the

literary salon, club, cafe and lodge as semi-private political spaces with a public sphere critical function. I cite these various examples to show that there is often no clear-cut distinction between the private as a site of immanence and the public as a site of transcendence. These examples should not be interpreted as showing that private spaces (which have a tendency to be exclusionary and isolating) are ideal sites of liberation struggle, however.

Supportive home environments can, of course, also reproduce white racism. Iris Marion Young argues that private, homogeneous, and exclusionary spaces provide autonomy that should be distinguished from empowerment. While she sees autonomy as a closed concept referring to non-interference, empowerment is an open concept allowing agents to participate in democratic decision making (Young 1990: 251). Possibly a distinction should be made between private spaces that are sites of empowerment and resistance (becoming open, publicized and political) and private territories that are exclusionary or oppressive (remaining closed and private in the sense of spaces where the privacy of some to oppress others – who for various reasons may share the privatized spaces – is protected from public or state regulation). This distinction may be useful in conceptually opening up the boundary between the public and private.

THE SPATIAL REGULATION OF HOMOSEXUALITY

Like gender, sexuality is often regulated by the binary distinction between public and private. It is usually assumed that sexuality is (and should be) confined to private spaces. This is based on the naturalization of heterosexual norms. Naturalized heterosexuality makes sexuality in public spaces nearly invisible to the straight population (Valentine 1993). Surveys have shown that the majority of respondents have no objection to homosexuals as long as they 'do not flaunt their sexuality in public' (Herek 1987 as quoted in Valentine 1993). 'What they do in private is nobody's business', is a commonly heard, well-intentioned expression. However, as Gill Valentine puts it, the idea of homosexuality as appropriate only to private spaces:

is based on the *false* premise that heterosexuality is also defined by private sexual acts and is not expressed in the public arena... This therefore highlights the error of drawing a simple polar distinction between public and private activities, for heterosexuality is clearly the dominant sexuality in most everyday environments, not just private spaces, with all interactions taking place between sexed actors. (1992: 396)

While public space appears heterosexist to gays and lesbians, many expressions of sexuality are so naturalized as to be virtually invisible to the straight population. As Valentine points out: 'heterosexuality is institutionalized in marriage and the law, tax, and welfare systems, and is celebrated in public rituals such as weddings' (1992: 396).

Valentine and others have pointed out that suburban housing developments as sites of overtly heterosexual as well as familial sentiments and rituals are generally considered alienating environments by lesbians and gays. While the

home may be a haven for some gay couples, the family home is often an extremely heterosexist and alienating site for gays.

Gloria Anzaldúa speaks of a former student, a lesbian, who said that she connected the word homophobia with 'fear of going home' (Anzaldúa 1987: 20). Here, in the home, the patriarchal, heterosexist exercise of territorialized power and regulatory practices freed from public intervention and political contestation may be especially threatening, keeping gay identities in the closet. The spatial metaphor of the closet is a particularly telling one in this context where gays may not be 'out' even to their own families within their own home.

Although many would think of workplaces as generally asexual (except for occasional sexual harassment) these are nevertheless also heterosexual and often heterosexist spaces. Nearly invisible because it is universalized and naturalized, heterosexuality is inscribed in public as well as private spaces as the dominant ideology. Like trying to convince WASPs (White Anglo-Saxon Protestants) that they have an ethnicity, it is difficult to make heterosexuals aware that their spaces invoke a sexuality. Naturalizing one's own heterosexuality means imposing one's own inability to see him or herself as Other on one's surroundings. Failing to notice your own difference as heterosexual is an act with significance. It leads to the heterosexualing of space.

An interesting article by Bell *et al.* (1994) addresses the issue of various ways the heterosexuality of public space might be resisted. The authors examine the performance of two types of homosexual identities, the hyper-feminine 'lipstick lesbian' and the hypermasculine gay 'skinhead' that serve (often unintentionally) to parody heterosexual identities. They ask, however, whether such stylistic transgressions of popularly held stereotypes of lesbians and gays can actually have any significant destabilizing effect on heterosexism and the assumption of public spaces as generally asexual. They worry about the danger of celebrating transgression for transgression's sake. I share the latter concern and argue that there is a danger of the aestheticization of politics whenever style is used as a mode of transgression. However, I argue, once again, that significant social change requires organized action in the public sphere and access to various resources, including the media, rather than individualistic, privatized action.

Thus, I suggest that lesbian and gay practices which potentially denaturalize the sexuality of public places could be more effective if they were widely publicized. If they were made more explicit and readable then contests around sexuality would become more visible to the straight population. Furthermore, one would expect that such denaturalizing tactics would work for the gay population as well, by pointing to the fluidity of identity and helping to transgress clear-cut heterosexual/homosexual dichotomies including stifling codes of dress and behaviour sometimes imposed in an attempt to stabilize an internally coherent identity politics.¹⁶ The media could also do more to publicize some of the complex and challenging questions about the performance and the reconstitution of gender and sexuality in public spaces that are raised in this article and in the work of Judith Butler (1990, 1994) upon which Bell *et al.* (1994) draw.

Public space can be used as a site for the destabilization of unarticulated norms, or as Munt calls it, the 'politics of dislocation' (Munt 1995: 124). Deconstructive spatial tactics can take the form of marches, Gay Pride parades, public protests, performance art and street theatre as well as overtly homosexual behaviour such as kissing in public. An example cited by Bell and Valentine (1995) of such tactics is the 'queering' of space by Queer Nation Rose (QNR) and ACT-UP who refused to allow the Montreal Pride Parade to be ghettoized in the gay village as it had in past years. Instead they marched through the downtown streets. Furthermore, they ignored the anti-drag, anti-leather parade rules by declaring 'If you're in clothes you're in drag': 'irreverent combinations of identities proliferated, including fags posing as dykes, dykes dressed as clone fags, and bisexuals pretending to be fags pretending to be lipstick lesbians' (Bell and Valentine 1995: 14).

Tim Cresswell makes the important point that it is difficult to get people to recognize normative geographies until these are transgressed. 'By looking at events which upset the balance of common sense', he says:

I let events themselves become the questions. The occurrence of 'out-of-place' phenomena leads people to question behavior and define what is and what is not appropriate for a setting. The examination of common-sense becomes a public issue in the speeches of politicians and the words of the media.

(Cresswell, 1996)

When spatial tactics of queer politics become what Cresswell (in another context) calls 'crisis points in the normal functioning of everyday expectations' for the mainstream heterosexual population – then normative heterosexual geographies become more clear. This is the first step towards destabilizing and eventually overturning such repressively striated geographies of gender and sexuality.

SPATIAL MARGINALIZATION OF SEX WORKERS

Prostitutes also offend the aesthetic sensibilities of the upholders of the public/private dichotomy. They upset the 'everything in its place' mentality that reproduces the public/private spatial dichotomy. They threaten notions of 'respectable' and 'orderly' behaviour on the part of women who, it is thought, should be escorted at night in public spaces. Because of women's traditional exclusion from the political sphere, the term 'public woman' in dominant discourse has traditionally meant 'not respectable', a prostitute, whereas a public man was a statesman (Matthews 1992). To be a respectable woman was to sexually serve one man – a husband at home. While this ideal need no longer be strictly adhered to for a woman to be considered respectable in Anglo-American society, all forms of commercial sex are generally considered beyond the bounds of respectability.

Glenna Matthews (1992) surveys many sites of resistance against this definition of public woman that have accompanied the rise of women in the public sphere. However, there are other agents and sites of resistance against

the gendered public/private dichotomy. There are many women with a strong sense of agency who are proud to be public women in the traditional sense of the term. In many cases they would not wish to join the ranks of establishment feminism or the political elite. Many (but certainly not all)¹⁷ adult prostitutes and other sex workers freely choose¹⁸ marginal or eccentric locations from which to claim their rights as sexual minorities and challenge the very structures which elite women employ to get ahead. They also challenge the narrow definitions of politics and power employed by those who seek public office. However, their views have only just begun to be heard as they have long been silenced by members of the dominant culture, including many prominent feminists who see their work and lifestyles as epitomizing oppression by men.

Prostitution is a good example of a practice both spatially and socially marginalized by societal attitudes and the law. There are complex spatial implications in the laws regarding its practice. The laws in Canada and Britain make prostitution itself legal in principle but all but impossible to practice without breaking one of many laws. These laws regard such issues as solicitation or procuring in public places, where prostitution may be practised and who may benefit from the profits gained.¹⁹ This latter restriction makes it illegal for a prostitute to live with members of her family if they benefit from her earnings.

These externally imposed spatial limits to the legal practice of prostitution again deny the sexuality of public places by imposing greater spatial restrictions on sexual minorities than on those who conform to the societal standards. In some places these limits serve to hide from public view and thus privatize many of the aesthetically and morally offensive physical, psychological, medical and social problems surrounding the highly marginalized identities of prostitutes. In other places, they force prostitutes onto the street where they can be subjected to surveillance and segregating practices of the police.

The state and public morality (the latter represented by the religious right and certain radical feminists²⁰ among others) define prostitutes as either deviant and immoral or victims suffering from false consciousness who symbolize the oppression of all women by all men. Such characterizations succeed in cutting them off from having an effective role as public women in the political sense of speaking on their own behalf and reclaiming their civil rights. These include their right to citizenship,²¹ to work in safe conditions, their right to exercise control over their own bodies and to earn respect as healers, sex experts and business women as well as the right to freedom from harassment by police and self-proclaimed upholders of public morality (Bell 1994: 100).

If prostitutes could safely 'come out' in the public sphere and speak on their own behalf there would be many benefits, including the meaning of choice and consent, personal autonomy, sexual exploitation, victim identities, false consciousness and power relations, structural explanations for what are all too often seen as individual problems.

CONCLUSION

To conclude, I would say that the public/private distinction is still among the most important spatial ordering principles in North America and Britain today. Public space is regulated by keeping it relatively free of passion or expressions of sexuality that are not naturalized, normalized or condoned. It is further regulated by banishing from sight behaviours that are in various cases repugnant either rightly (as in the case of domestic violence) or wrongly (as in the case of publicly expressed homosexuality or unforced adult prostitution) to many members of the dominant groups in society. The institutionalized dividing off of critical public debate and political expression into specialized and increasingly controlled spaces allegedly allows for the possibility of disembodied dispassionate rational discourse and formal political decision making under conditions of public order. This has left the private domestic sphere to remain invisible, relatively unregulated (i.e. selectively regulated) and generally free from public scrutiny. However, we argue that certain so-called private issues need to be de-deterioralized, that is more thoroughly publicized) and legitimated as appropriate to public discourse. As Benhabib puts it, 'the struggle to make something public is a struggle for justice' (1992: 94). This should *certainly* not be taken to mean that justice is *necessarily* served when an issue becomes publicized. It is, however, more *likely* to be served in a truly open public debate where no parties affected by an issue are excluded.

Subversive discourses first articulated in private spaces may eventually become public. Members of various marginalized social movements eventually learn to negotiate their way into the public sphere. However, feminist political practice has begun to tackle the problem of the public/private sphere distinction itself as a gender-biased spatial practice which facilitates what are largely gender-specific abuses and also the marginalization and enforced privatization of sexualities which do not conform to dominant ideas of 'natural' dynamics of heterosexual love. Their explicit intent is to reveal exactly how disempowering it can be for those who differ from the *allegedly* neutral norms and therefore cannot act with the same degree of autonomy or protection assumed by established models of the democratic society.

The goal is to mount a multi-pronged attack on the spatial and discursive boundaries that regulate behaviour and discipline difference. This would entail among other things an 'outing of everybody'. By 'outing' here I do not refer to the highly problematic practice of the outing of individual gays. I think that the practice of publicly identifying the sexual orientation of individuals against their wishes cannot be considered a just or effective solution to the problem of homophobia. Nor do I mean to say that privacy should not be respected when it does not harm others. Rather, I suggest that the boundaries between the private and public can be destabilized by being actively questioned and placed in the public consciousness through the media, through challenges in the courts and through the efforts of social movements. The physical design of our societies' highly privatized landscapes however, have been shaped not only to protect those whose privacy should rightfully be respected, but also to secure the privacy and autonomy of the abusers of the women and children who share their domestic spaces.

By 'outing', then, I am talking in very general terms about a transformed spatiality – an empowering deterritorialization, the creation of smooth, less striated space. Here I refer to Deleuze and Guattari's (1987) notions of smooth or open-ended space as opposed to state space which they describe as striated or gridded. Smooth space is contrasted with defended, exclusionary, confining spaces where oppressive patriarchal and heterosexist practices can become entrenched. These terms are highly abstract and meant to be evocative. Allowed to wash over one, listened to like music, as Deleuze and Guattari suggest, their writings provide inspiration to rethink conventional notions of space. I refer to a potential spatial revolution that would conceive of physical and political or discursive space as less clearly divided between publicly recognized territories of formal power, depoliticized spaces of urban spectacle and protected domestic spaces of uneven privatized power relations. This would enable the consequences of our individual and collective actions to be made more visible and accountable to critical public debate and oppositional social movements. To quote Seyla Benhabib once again:

All struggles against oppression in the modern world begin by redefining what had previously been considered 'private', non-public and non-political issues as matters of public concern, as issues of justice, [and] as sites of power. (1992: 100)

Although privacy has always been a contingent rather than an absolute right, it is widely cherished and seen as indispensable for the protection of individual autonomy. However, privacy is closely associated with highly privatized spatial arrangements and social codes of 'civil inattention' which facilitate the violation of the rights of a significant percentage of the population. Thus we must stop to ask ourselves if there are not better ways to control the abuses of state and other public manifestations of power. Should each individual and social movement be left to individually renegotiate the public/private spatial and discursive boundaries for themselves? Or should this deeply rooted division (so sacred and central to understandings of personal freedom) be radically rethought? I would argue for the latter.

I do not endorse spatial or political anarchism. There is clearly a need for effective government at a range of scales (see Pentose 1993: 46), various types of regulation, a progressive redistribution of power and resources, and expanded, multi-scale welfare programmes. However, the ideal geography would work to minimize: household autonomy as opposed to the empowerment of its individual members, place-based identity and privilege, local control which has highly uneven consequences for social justice across communities,²¹ nationalism, and other territorializing and confining exclusionary processes. The creation of progressive geographies would require deterritorialization – the creation of open-ended, proliferating and inclusive sites of empowerment and resistance against exclusionary, reterritorializing processes: place essentialism and homogenizing identity politics or coerced assimilation. These would be sites of 'radical openness' as bell hooks (1991)

puts it – sites which may be nurturing – which may serve as havens, but which are opened up to the public sphere and politicized (or repoliticized) as the case may be. On the other hand while deterritorialized geographies would encourage heterogeneity they would also discourage the naturalization, reification and ghettoization of differences – including, importantly, differences of gender and sexuality. Fluid geographies would construct and in turn be constructed by fluid identities.

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NOTES

- 1 A study which looks at the homeless as an example of another marginalized group which has developed spatial strategies that transcend the public/private distinction, politicize space, and attempt to claim sites of resistance against the regulation of behaviour in public spaces is Mitchell (1995).
- 2 Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak (1988: 103) consequently goes so far as to claim that 'the deconstruction of the opposition between the private and the public is implicit in all, and explicit in some, feminist activity'.
- 3 On immanence as distinguished from transcendence see de Beauvoir (1974), Lloyd (1984) and Massey (this volume).
- 4 There are in fact a number of different public/private distinctions; these include the state versus the market, citizenship versus both the state and the economy, and domestic versus waged labour. See Robbins (1993: xlii) who draws on an essay by Jeff Weintraub.
- 5 It should be noted that over the centuries the role of the male head of household as well as the very notion of masculinity itself has varied considerably, and it differs by class as well. See Tosh (1994) for a review of the literature on this subject.
- 6 But see Myslik (this volume) on the limitations placed upon the free movement of gay men by those who harass and violently attack them.
- 7 Such intrusion points to the downside of increased state regulation of the private sphere. One would hope however that this might be rectified through more enlightened public policies which distinguish between areas of public concern and people's legitimately personal affairs.
- 8 As stated in note 3, the public is sometimes defined as the state in opposition to civil society, sometimes the public includes the market. The market sometimes is seen as private, however.
- 9 On the history – and normative theory – of the public sphere see Habermas (1991). For debates around Habermas's concept see Calhoun (1993) and Robbins (1993).
- 10 Ironically, while rape and assault is often ignored if it takes place in private spaces,

- consensual and private sexual practices among gays are sometimes not tolerated. Operation Spanner was a recent police operation in Britain designed to catch and arrest men participating in sadomasochistic activities in private spaces. Sixteen arrests were upheld in court on the grounds that sadomasochistic practices among consenting adults can not be afforded protection by laws of privacy (on this see Bell 1995: 305).
- 11 In fact it was not until the twentieth century (1922) that wife beating had become illegal in all US states (Pleck 1987: 108-21).
 - 12 For example in Britain the Matrimonial Cause Act which dates from 1878 (see Hamneron 1992).
 - 13 Buel (1988: 217) states that police officers fail to arrest in the majority of cases where battered women request an arrest be made. Some policemen say that they arrest depending upon the reason the man hit his partner, perpetuating the notion that some women deserve to be beaten.
 - 14 According to the United States Commission on Civil Rights (1982: 12-22) a majority of the police who have been killed on duty were handling 'domestic disturbance' cases.
 - 15 Women's shelters first opened in Britain in 1971, spread to Europe and then to the US. It is not surprising that the US would be slower to accept the idea of shelters in that individualism and privatism are even stronger than in Britain. And the public spheres are weak in comparison with Britain.
 - 16 Oppressive dress codes was the topic of a paper by Gill Valentine presented at the Association of American Geographer's national meeting in San Francisco, April 1994.
 - 17 The World Charter of Prostitutes' Rights distinguishes between voluntary and coerced prostitution: 'Voluntary prostitution is the mutually voluntary exchange of services for money or other consideration; it is a form of work, and like most work in our capitalist society, it is often alienated, that is, the worker/prostitute has too little control over her/his working conditions and the way the work is organized. Forced prostitution is a form of aggravated sexual assault' (quoted in Bell 1994: 114). It calls for the decriminalization of all aspects of voluntary adult prostitution. The Charter also states the need for help and retraining for prostitutes wishing to leave prostitution. It states: 'The right not to be a prostitute is as important as the right to be one' (quoted in Bell 1994: 116).
 - 18 By using the words 'freely choose' here I am not suggesting any kind of radical freedom. Freedom to choose work in a capitalist society is of course highly contingent. Most choices are accompanied by some degree of alienation and contradictory consciousness. Furthermore, prostitutes typically (but not always) have fewer choices than the majority of individuals in society.
 - 19 Prostitution is illegal in 49 out of 50 states of the US.
 - 20 The Mackinnon-Dworkin wing of feminism is often referred to as radical feminism. It is known for its campaigns against pornography and prostitution and their affinity with the organization WHISPER (Women Hurt in Systems of Prostitution and Engaged in Revolt). Such feminists construct prostitutes as victims of male oppression by definition and thus seek to end prostitution. They stand in opposition to prostitutes' rights groups which seek to empower prostitutes and politicize sex work (Bell 1994: 99-102). The latter are represented by the International Committee for Prostitutes' Rights and two World Whores' Congresses and groups such as the San Francisco-based COYOTE (Call Off Your Old Tired Ethics) and Toronto-based CORP (Canadian Organization of Prostitutes' Rights).
 - 21 Various prostitutes' rights groups in North America and Europe have been campaigning for legal and human rights including freedom of speech, travel, immigration, work, unionizing, marriage and motherhood, employment insurance, health insurance and housing. *The World Charter for Prostitutes' Rights* seeks decriminalization of 'all aspects of adult prostitution resulting from individual decision' (i.e. based on either free choice or necessity) (see Bell 1994: 113).
 - 22 This is especially true in the US as opposed to Britain. In Britain local government is far less dependent upon locally generated funding for various community projects; local control means control over funds largely generated at the national as opposed to the local level; thus there is not the same inequality between communities.

THE SEX OF BIOTECHNOLOGY - NATURE IN CULTURE

(manuscript)

Verena Stolcke

"According to all media reports, genetic determinism is a paradigm whose time is here and now; everyone will get better as their biotherapists become richer." (Strohman, 1997, p. 196).

"I don't know whether there are many man who are like me in this, but I have always wanted, even as a younster, to carry a girl of my own blood in my arms. I have always thought that that this would give me a kind of fulfilment without which my existence as a man would be incomplete." (Maalouf, 1993).

"Among all glands, the one which has the greatest influence on the potency and quality of the spirit are the testicles. The great poets, genial artists, the conquerors and even the saints, are usually strongly sexual." (Carrel, 1935).¹

"Cloning is the only predictable way to reproduce... Sexual reproduction is a crapshoot by comparison." (Myhrvold, 1997)²

The sensational and disturbing news of the creation of Dolly, the clone, confirms the impression that while the twentieth century was the century of physics, the twenty-first century will be that of biology (Craig Venter & Cohen, 1997, p. 32). Dolly is just one illustration of the vertiginous progress that is taking place in biotechnology which the molecular biologists' fascination with conquering the ultimate secrets of life has precipitated. Even though cloning of humans seems a distant possibility,³ the moment has moved closer when 'man' will be at last capable of redesigning his own species. Biotechnological laboratories, drug companies and Wall Street investors who put down enormous sums of money on genomic research are confident about the extraordinary technological and economic potentialities of biotechnology.⁴ Nor is the academic world, of course, immune to the irresistible charms of biotechnology. Hardly had

¹ Alexis Carrel, *L'homme, cet inconnu*. Paris, 1935, quoted by Marti (Marti, 1995, p. 32). Carrel was a physician, biologist and had received the Nobel prize in medicine in 1912. He was a staunch advocate of eugenics.

² Nathan Myrvoid is the technological director of Microsoft, one of the major firms in the field of informatics which is now investing heavily in biotechnology.

³ The first known experiment in human cloning took place in 1979 when L.B. Shettles of Columbia University transplanted male germ cells into human eggs (Blanc, 1981). The evolutionists F.J. Ayala and J.W. Valentine at the time condemned human cloning as a threat to democratic society. *Mundo Científico*, 180, June 1997, p. 545. When the science journal *Nature* was about to publish the Roslin Institute's report describing the procedure of cloning the sheep Dolly received an anonymous letter from a Harvard University scientist who drew attention to the probability of human cloning with mature cells within the next ten years. The author asked the journal to withhold the report in view of the lack of debate and clarity on the bioethic implications of this scientific "achievement". "Caught napping by clones - Pleas for ethical advice on mammalian cloning reveal a lack of foresight", *Nature*, 385, 1997, <http://www.nature.com>.

⁴ "Biotechnology: betting on the genome. The genomics gamble", *Science*, 275, 7 February 1997, pp. 767-775 for a detailed assessment of the range of enterprises involved in investigating the human genome and the vast sums invested.

Dolly seen the light of the stable did Lee Silver, professor of molecular genetics of Princeton University, for example, announce a new seminar with the catchy title "Sex, Babies, Genes and Choice". As Silver explained in futuristic terms, in this seminar he intended to examine "contemporary practices such as genetic-based abortion, 'wombs-for-rent', sperm and egg markets, frozen embryo banks, and genetic selection of children-to-be from embryo pools." Besides, he would also look at "the biological and cultural evolution of sex and its changing relationship to reproduction" and consider "possible scenarios in the not-so-distant future that include shared genetic motherhood of fatherhood for gay couples, computer-generated embryo profiles for viewing by potential parents, and stem cell insurance." (Silver, 1997, p.1).⁵

Cloning has radically transformed the procreative process in mammals. When I was gathering information on cloning I was struck by a notable paradox in contemporary production of knowledge. It is as if during the past fifty years molecular biologists and social and political scientists had been inhabiting separate and distant planets. Whereas in the life sciences since the fifties genetic determinism has become the dominant paradigm, socio-cultural analyses of the contemporary globalized and fragmented world are increasingly beset by profound scientific scepticism and all manner of relativist cultural differentialisms (Wolfe, 1996). While molecular biologists seek to unlock the secrets of the human DNA taken to be the blueprint of all life, socio-cultural anthropologists are steeped in cultural analysis and politics of difference.

Watson, Crick and Franklin's discovery in 1953 of the structure of DNA brought new energy to prevailing genetic determinism in the form of a theory of life circumscribed to the gene. In the following decades this theory evolved into a thoroughly molecular form of mechanicist genetic determinism. Biology entered a phase of glorification of the gene even if dissident voices can by now be heard and there are signs of the beginnings of an epigenic revolution (Strohman, 1997; Goodman & Armelagos, 1998).⁶ Nonetheless, as Watson declared almost four decades after having

⁵ Professor Lee Silver is also a member of the Coordinating Committee of Science, Technology, Ethics and Politics of Princeton University.

⁶ A distinguished critic of present genetic determinism is R.C. Lowentin (Lowentin, 1991). As Strohman, emeritus professor of the Department of Molecular Biology and Cells of the University of California, Berkeley, notes, there is a notable absence of correspondence between genetic and evolutive changes. The interaction between DNA, proteins and the determination of organic functions is far more complex than the gene theory pretends since, as the advocates of an epigenic theory maintain, a sort of feedback occurs on account of the regulation of the genetic expression by the environment (Strohman, 1997).

identified the double helix, "We used to think our fate was in the stars, now we know, in large measure, it is in our genes." (Watson, 1989). In the social sciences, on the contrary, the crisis of the great modern universalist liberal, humanist and marxist narratives has spread profound doubts about the very possibility of objective knowledge and has been replaced by the postmodern pursuit of cultural meanings. As social anthropology has become a humanist and moral discipline concerned with human intent and responsibility there is a notable difficulty in incorporating biological perspectives for they seem to threaten assumptions on meaning and accountability (Littlewood, 1997, p. 7).

It would be an over-simplification to see hegemonic genetic determinism in biology as a mere pseudo-theory designed to justify the socio-political status quo. The powerful consensus around genetic determinism has produced real and dramatic advances in biotechnology independent of the controversial assumptions about what is actually in the genes on which they are based (Strohman, 1997). Moreover, it can hardly be denied that science and technology are influenced by the sociopolitical environment in which they evolve, and in turn influence the cultural values and sociopolitical relationships that engender them. Cloning provides a disturbing opportunity to examine the intersection not only between genetic determinism and socio-cultural assumptions but between biotechnological innovations and socio-structural processes, that is, to detect the links between the new 'facts' created by biogenetic research and society. The divorce between the biological paradigm driving on biotechnological experiments and developments and the interpretative turn in the social sciences should be confronted to identify the point where the culturalist and the geneticist view of the world in which we live converge. Yet, it is insufficient to deconstruct and situate the determinist genetic paradigm historically. Careful attention needs to be paid to the very material transformations of 'the facts of life' biotechnology has brought about.

Cloning: cultural reason versus biological facts

My aim in this paper is threefold: to identify the biological facts of cloning and uncover the motives that may favour the application of this technique among humans. This will provide the background for assessing the effects cloning may have both biologically and culturally, its potential consequences for consecrated Western notions of conception and in particular for women.

Francois Jacob, Nobel prize in medicine, reacted to Dolly, the sheep, with prudent irony. Jacob reckoned that "for a long time we attempted to have pleasure without children. With in-vitro-fertilization we have children without pleasure. And now we have come to make children without pleasure and without spermatozoa..Evidently this changes family structure somewhat...for the moment at least among sheep." (Nodé-Langlois & Vigy, 1997). That is, cloning is about sex and familiar relatedness.

Among anthropologists notions of familiar relatedness and kinship systems have occupied a singular, prominent place among subjects that have exercised their minds which paralleled the keen interest in "primitive" cosmologies, especially those which denied the discontinuity between the social and the natural world. Peculiar notions in distant cultures of genesis, procreation and kin relatedness defied our 'forefathers' intimate bio-genealogical convictions on the 'facts of life'. Ever since, a quintessential dilemma has beset kinship studies, namely whether the social bonds anthropologists traditionally identified as kinship were engendered by biological facts of procreation whose key stone is sexual intercourse or ought to be viewed, instead, as social artifacts to be understood independently of biological processes. Yet, as has been noted, if kin relationship are conceived as one sort of culturally constituted bonds with no necessary connection with procreation, analysts are then hard put to distinguish them from other kinds of social relationship. Conversely, if kinship replicated biological facts of engendering it became difficult to account for the diverse meanings with which it is endowed in different cultural environments. Schneider and Needham, though never great friends, reacted to this dilemma in 1971 agreeing that kinship as a privileged, objective, unitary phenomenon warranting a coherent theory did not exist (Needham, 1971; Schneider, 1971). Schneider attributed the presumed cross-cultural ontological reality of kinship to anthropologists having projected their own Western ethnocentric bio-genealogical assumptions on other cultures (Schneider, 1984). Schneider never enquired, however, into why so-called Euro-american familiar conceptions are thought to replicate biological facts so closely. It was Delaney, one of Schneider's distinguished disciples, who took up this challenge in her incisive analysis of conceptions of conception in the great monotheistic religions (Delaney, 1986 and 1991). All this is a familiar story. It is not always realized that those who deny kinship a trans-cultural reality of its own use biological procreation as their bottomline argument.

The developments in feminist theory in the past decades in a way replicate the kinship debate. Feminist anthropologists began to scrutinize the meaning biological difference in the roles of men and women in procreation had for the cultural organization of gender in the seventies (Collier & Yanagisako, 1987). The vagaries of feminist theory may be summed up as a conceptual movement from sex difference as the explanatory datum of women's subordination to gender as a socio-cultural construct and more recently back to sex. In the beginning feminists assumed that the biological fact of maternity accounted universally for all ills affecting women, our domestication at the service of all others, be they the children, the fathers of the children, the world. In defiance of those who attributed prevailing sexual orders to nature and biology, some of us soon insisted on and endeavoured to identify the socio-economic circumstances which accounted for manifestly diverse experiences of maternity in history and society. By revealing the socio-political and symbolic mechanisms due to which maternity in a patriarchal order meant women's material and emotional dependence and hardship we overcame the early demonization of maternity. In the eighties in particular Black women made us realize that the experience of being a woman and a mother varies notably depending on whether one is poor or rich, White or Black and/or belongs to other cultures. We thus learned to distinguish between biological facts - sex difference and its consequences in the realm of reproduction of humans as a species - and gender referring to the social construction of relationships between women and men under concrete socio-political circumstances which endow "the facts of life" with varying symbolic meanings, or even denying a necessary link between sex and gender (Collier & Yanagisako, 1987). Throughout this often controversial conceptual-theoretical trajectory the distinction between sex and gender acquired, as Barret and Phillips have noted, an almost talismanic character, sex exclusively applying to the purely biological difference that distinguishes females from males physiologically while gender referred, instead, to the assembly of ideas and symbolic meanings regarding the emotional, psychological and behavioural traits with which femininity and masculinity are associated in specific socio-political contexts. Sex difference was thus reduced to its smallest denominator, the recognition that women's procreative capacity and rights constituted a political factor. "Femininity" as an inferior form of humanity whose plenitude man represented, was condemned as a distortion of women's own human potential (Barrett & Phillips, 1993, pp. 1-9).

The analytical distinction between sex and gender in feminist theory had the merit of challenging the essentialist rationalizations of gender hierarchies. The dissociation between biological and hence universal and immutable facts of life and symbolic orders rooted in culture and, therefore, liable to change revealed the enormous historical-cultural variability of gender systems.

The consensus on gender in feminist theory collapsed in the eighties under the impact, on the one hand, of black women's critique of white feminists' ethnocentrism and the crisis, on the other, of the rigid distinction between sex and gender. Women in the more privileged parts of the world have succeeded in improving their socio-economic conditions and contraceptives have increased women's ability to decide on procreation but sex differences have proved not only more resilient but women's experience of maternity and an ethics of caring have been reclaimed as the foundation of alternative conceptions of morality. The universalist denial of sex differences came to be interpreted as a capitulation to male values (Barrett & Philipps, 1992). The new differentialist conceptual shift in feminist thought has endowed women's experience with new positive value, illustrates also persistent theoretical difficulties involved in the distinction between biology and socio-cultural constructs for it did not solve the crucial issue as to which difference in the last instance makes the difference. "It is one thing", Phillips has noted, "to argue for heterogeneity and diversity to be written into our theories of equality and justice; it is quite another to accept 'the' difference and rearrange our thinking around that. And one of the things this indicates to me is that, notwithstanding the conceptual difficulties feminists have raised around the distinction between sex and gender, we will continue to need some way of disentangling the differences that are inevitable from those that are chosen, and from those that are simply imposed." (Phillips, 1992, p. 23).

Let me now return briefly to kinship. By the seventies kinship studies ceased to be a favorite pastime among Anglo-saxon anthropologists. The birth of the first test tube baby in 1978 achieved by extrauterine fertilization initiated, however, a new wave of kinship studies confined mostly to feminist scholars. With rare exceptions who were agnostic about the conceptual and legal dilemmas the new reproductive technology raised by confounding cherished Western convictions of the past that kin relatedness invariably originates in the encounter in sexual intercourse of a sperm and an egg, this momentous event went practically unheeded among mainstream anthropologists (Héritier-Augé, 1985;

Rivière, 1985). Feminist scholars proceeded, instead, to examine the bewildering new age of potential multiple parenthood by in-vitro-fertilization together with the heated ethical and juridical controversies over how to define legally and socially the new kin bonds so engendered in order to determine the social and political consequences assisted conception had in particular for women (Stolcke, 1986, Strathern, 1992, Edwards et.al., 1993, Franklin, 1997). By contrast with feminists engaged in the politics of difference and their recent recovery of sex, students of assisted conception came to view kin relationships "after nature", to quote Strathern apt title, as more evidently cultural than ever before (Strathern, 1992).

The culturalist consensus in kinship studies is not, however, complete. There are significant conceptual differences over the relevance of biological facts for kinship, though seldom do they seem to be acknowledged by Anglo-saxon anthropologists. Françoise Héritier stands out in France for having sustained for some time that although kinship systems do not translate biological facts of procreation they, nevertheless, necessarily take into account three basic biological data, namely the acknowledgement of procreation which implies the succession of generations, sexual reproduction characteristic of humans and the birth order among siblings born to a couple. "These three natural relationships," Héritier wrote, "express the difference in the relationships between feminine/masculine, between father/child and between the first and second born (Héritier, 1996, pp.53-4). Héritier's thoughts about the linkage between biological facts and their social translation into kinship are not always clear. Still, her assertion that safe in the event of cloning relationships of descent, even when they are deduced from no particular event of procreation, ultimately relate to the idea of sexual reproduction which "necessarily refers back through females and males to the paternal and maternal status, to the paternal or maternal as the support of the bond with the group is as intriguing as it turns out to be prophetic (Héritier, 1996, p. 278).

Cloning: what will become of sex?

Phillips as well as Héritier wrote well before Dolly, the clone of a sheep, was born. Scientists had been trying to clone animals from adult tissue for decades. The achievement of Wilmut, Dolly's "father", consists in having demonstrated that it is now possible to envisage procreation of adult mammals in an asexual fashion. The majority of anthropologists may be convinced that kin relationships are everywhere cultural artifacts which have little to do with

biological facts of procreation. Cloning in humans may seem a distant even if not improbable eventuality. Still, by radically recasting "the facts of life", cloning recasts the elusive bio-cultural enigma of kinship and of sex/gender in the broader context of deeply rooted modern Western dualist conception of culture and nature which has inspired Western arrogant quest to dominate nature. Western common sense usually distinguishes the realm of nature, that is, of that which is naturally determined, from that of culture understood as the product of human creativity in society, as if they were two evidently distinct and separate dimensions of human experience. Anthropologists are, of course, aware that notions of nature are culturally relative but when they undertake to analyse particular cultural conceptions of nature they tend to do this assuming their really existing separateness, the realm of culture precisely constituting the characteristic field of socio-cultural anthropology. One important consequence of anthropologists privileging "culture" over "nature" in their interpretations of human experience is the omnipotent disregard for the materiality of the dramatic transformations of "nature" humans have engineered. Cloning is just one instance.

The "immaculate conception" of Dolly, the clone of a sheep, has created genuinely new natural facts. Cloning entails more than a simple sophistication of ordinary assisted conception aided by biotechnology. Cloning transforms the biological procedure of conception qualitatively by eliminating sexual conception. But cloning having been achieved by human intervention simultaneously blurs the conventional separation between what is "artificial" and what is "natural" in a peculiar way (Kalka, 1997, p. 2). Thus, Dolly, the Scottish sheep allows us to examine anew the intersection between the biological fact of sexual dimorphism and sexual procreation which hitherto have been characteristic of the human species in their relation with cultural and symbolic meanings. By dispensing of sexual conception, after Dolly's creation sex suddenly once again matters. For as long as humans have walked on this planet, they have manipulated and transformed their own "nature" no less than that surrounding them. Socio-cultural creations and meanings are, nonetheless, circumscribed by in material realities.

Hegemonic bio-genetic determinism in science and in popular common sense have generated a qualitatively new "fact of life" in the form of cloning. To comprehend the human consequences of this far-reaching transformation of the biological process of conception we need to look further afield beyond socio-cultural motives and meanings that may lead to cloning of humans and the new conceptual uncertainties cloning may provoke. We need to take into

account the materiality of the bio-genetic developments to assess the "nature" of this new "fact" and the broader conditions which may make this "fact" possible in the first place precisely because "culture" and "nature" do not constitute separate realities.

A passion for genetic descent

Governments and institutions clamor for the regeneration of the sacred family and treasured family values, otherwise in evident decline. Women in the wealthy countries are encouraged to bear more children. The older new reproductive technologies (artificial insemination and in-vitro-fertilization), did, indeed, obviate the genuine pleasure of having sex in good company. Conception assisted by several donors of reproductive materials have defied Western biologist assumptions which rooted kin relatedness in sexual intercourse, and eroded familiar notions of family relatedness. Yet, cloning entails an additional spectacular biological and symbolic aspect. Cloning not only eliminates sexual reproduction among mammals but in particular the participation of the male in conception. One should not be carried away by the sensationalist outcry in the media nor succumb to simple-minded conspiratorial interpretations of the potential effects this new turn of the technological screw in matters of procreation may have for humans. Scientific and technological progress has a powerful logic of its own which usually transcends its concrete effects and does not occur in a socio-cultural and political vacuum.

With the 'immaculate conception' of Dolly scientists have overcome another barrier in the creation of life ("Genetic engineering. Building to order", 1997, p. 97). The first clone of an ewe elicited widespread alarm in scientific, social and political circles provoked above all by the possible abuse of cloning of humans. Liberal advocates, beside underlining the potential medical benefits of cloning, tend to minimize the risks involved arguing typically that even if cloning were technically feasible also in humans this does not imply that it would be done. Critics reply that whatever is scientifically possible has been put into practice and demand that cloning of humans be outlawed. Fainzilber of the Molecular Neurobiology Laboratory of Stockholm exemplifies well the vexing ethical problems human cloning is felt to raise because of the dilemma of how to reconcile broader human interests with individuals' right of choice. Fainzilber agreed that scientific knowledge acustoms to be used and developed no matter ethical considerations and hence might

demand being regulated but he wonders at the same time whether, for instance, parents of a young child fatally injured in an accident could be denied cloning of viable cells recovered from the child's body (Fainzilber, 1997, p. 431).

Dolly is a normal sheep safe for its conception whose genetic endowment is substantially that of the cloned adult ewe. Dolly has three 'mothers' but no 'father'. According to the dramatic description one can find on internet, "to clone Dolly, Wilmut and his colleagues took a mammary gland cell from a six-year-old ewe. Wilmut then removed the nucleus of a sheep egg cell taken from a different ewe, and inserted the mammary cell into the now nucleus-free egg cell. Wilmut then zapped the two combined cells with a jolt of electricity, and to general amazement the combined cells acted like a fertilized egg cell and began to divide, using the DNA from the mammary cell as its genetic blueprint. He then implanted the now developed embryo into yet another ewe, and in a few months Dolly was born, an exact genetic copy of the ewe from which the mammary cell had been taken." ("A spark of science, a storm of controversy", 1997, p. 2).

As the media uproar over Dolly's creation subsided there remained from among the multitude of more or less fantasmagoric scenarios one weighty and important issue, namely, as the renowned science journal Nature, Biotechnology made a point to note, the "apparently more realistic debates on infertility", that is, the debates on the potentials of cloning for curing certain types of infertility in humans ("Thinking about cloning", 1997, p. 293). And the National Bioethics Advisory Commission asked by President Clinton to draw up policy recommendations on human cloning proposed that cloning in humans for implantation be banned arguing that "the history of infertility treatment - especially of in-vitro-fertilization - demonstrated that where there is a sizeable and well financed demand for a novel service, there will be professionals willing to try to provide it." (Wadman, 1997, p. 644).⁷

A common reaction to the bioethic alarm over future human cloning has been to dismiss this probability as pure science fiction. Ian Wilmut, Dolly's creator, though acknowledging its technical feasibility, himself played down the probability of human cloning relegating it "to the world of science fiction." (Kolata, 1997a, p. 30; "L'hypothèse d'un

⁷ The 'fathers' of the first test tube babies were, of course, also approached to give their opinions about cloning. Neither mentioned cloning as an infertility treatment. Robert Edwards thought that germ cells could be made available by means of cloning for the fabrication of organs for transplant in cases of disease or accident whereas Jacques Testart was generally critical of the technique (Postel-Venay & Millet, 1997, p. 546).

clonage humain est jugée possible mais inacceptable", p. 22). As a passionate scientist, he believed, all the same, that "one cannot detain the advance of science thinking about what could happen." The benefits of this discovery would anyway surpass by far its potential risks. (Ramos, 1997, p. 6). Anticipating future biotechnological feats, the Roslin Institute of Edinburgh where Dolly was born, in May 1997 applied for registration of the patent of its procedure of cloning not only for animals but also for humans! (CNN, 1997).

To assess the actual chances of cloning of humans transcending the realm of science fiction and becoming reality and what this radical recasting of the natural procedure of conception may entail for our conceptions of conception and for gender relations it is instructive to go back over the history of biotechnology.

As I have shown elsewhere (Stolcke, 1988), Man's dream to create life is an old one. Until the postwar extraterrestrial fertilization in humans was similarly a mere fantasy. Still, the Italian physician Spallanzani had shown already in the 1770s that contact between seminal fluid and the egg was essential for fertilization to take place. In the late 1770s, he successfully inseminated a bitch, although the penetration of the egg by the spermatozoa was not discovered until 1879. Given the simplicity of artificial insemination consisting simply in depositing the semen of a man in the vagina of a woman, it comes as no surprise that the first successful attempt in humans dates back almost 200 years. In 1799, Hunter in England achieved the first pregnancy with semen of the husband, a feat Thouret in France replicated in 1804. And Pancoast in the United States carried out the first insemination with donor semen in 1884 in the case of the husband's azoospermia. Critics usually allude either to Mary Shelley's famous dystopia Frankenstein, the fable of a scientist who by usurping the right to generate life ends up creating a nameless man-monster, or to Aldous Huxley's Brave New World to draw attention to the dangers of a science devoid of moral responsibility. More pertinent and prophetic are, however, the eugenic utopias of two distinguished biologists, the British J.B.S. Haldane and the North American Nobel prize in medicine H.J. Muller. In 1923 Haldane published Daedalus, the utopian description of a perfect society achieved by eugenic breeding of children by ectogenesis (Haldane, 1923). Only little later, in 1936 Muller wrote Out of the Night. A Biologist's View of the Future, an eugenic utopia foreshadowing a 'brave new world' peopled by a race supremely intelligent and cooperative. Artificial insemination, the culture and storage of sperm from great men (his heroes were Lenin, Newton, da Vinci, Pasteur, Beethoven, Omar Khayyam, Pushkin, San Yat Sen, and

Marx), the recovery of eggs for extrauterine fertilization, embryo transfer, and sex selection to eliminate genetic defects and determine the sex ratio at the service of a new science of eugenics abolishing classes by improving human's intellectual and moral qualities. Muller was convinced, at it turned out rightly, that "...all this is no idle dream. It not only certainly can be done - I believe it certainly will be done." (Muller, 1936, pp. 145-55).

Haldane and Muller shared their enthusiasm for eugenics with most of their contemporaries but they were no laissez-faire social darwinists. On the contrary, they proposed planned eugenic breeding as a path to social betterment. It is noteworthy that both Haldane and Muller actively participated as volunteers in the Spanish Civil war on the Republican side. Muller condemned the fascist use of genetics but never questioned the elitist premises of his own theory, however. He also defended the liberation of women from the 'martyrdom' of involuntary motherhood but harboured no doubts about instrumentalizing women at the service of his eugenic dream.⁸

In-vitro-fertilization began to be developed in the thirties although research using human eggs advanced only slowly. Reproductive technologies used in cattle breeding to increase efficiency and profitability usually preceded their application to humans. In the 1960s experimentation with in-vitro-fertilization of female eggs received new impulse and in 1978 the British scientists Steptoe and Edwards fathered the first baby conceived by in vitro fertilization and embryo transfer. Since then some thousands of children have been born by what has come to be benevolently known as "assisted conception".

Assisted conception is at once a result and necessary condition for embryological experimentation at the service of biogenetic research and depends on the development of ever more sophisticated biotechnologies. The cloning of adult mammals is the latest achievement in the race to know and conquer the principles of life. But as I suggested above, in strictly biological terms cloning implies much more than just another quantitative advance in reproductive technology. In-vitro-fertilization consists in improving on natural reproduction and/or in overcoming physiological

⁸ Haldane and Muller are by no means exceptional. Other scientists more recently share their enthusiasm for planned procreation inspired by an elitist genetic determinism. William Shockley, Nobel prize in physics in 1956, planned to create a sperm bank to breed children of other fellow Nobel prize winners. Joshua Lederberg, Nobel prize in medicine, advocated in 1966 for cloning humans to 'reproduce superior individuals'. Joseph Fletcher in 1974 defended the creation of human clones specialized in certain tasks and MacFarlane Brunet, also Nobel prize in medicine, in a book of 1978 called attention to the great advantages systematic genetic selection of individuals would have (Postel-Venay & Millet, 1997, p. 545).

obstacles for natural conception by technological means without altering qualitatively, however, the basic "facts of life", that is, sexual reproduction which is a species characteristic trait in mammals. Cloning, by contrast, entails a fundamental alteration of the process of procreation for conception by cloning occurs without and therefore dispenses with sexual reproduction.

In-vitro-fertilization was presented at first as just one more scientific-technological achievement in the culturally and sexually neutral quest to conquer the secrets of life to better satisfy human needs and desires. Yet, as feminist scholars have demonstrated, these old new reproductive technologies meant a substantial increase in medical-technical control of human reproduction whose privileged objects were women to the extent that because of physiological differences between the sexes these technologies require above all the manipulation of women's bodies. The privileged site and material of embryological experimentation are eggs, the womb, the bodies of females. When Francois Jacob quoted the prophetic assertion taken from Diderot's Conversations with d'Alembert in the preface to his celebrated book of 1970, The Logic of Life "Do you see this egg? With it you can defeat all schools of theology, all churches of the world" (Jacob, 1973) he was precisely alluding to the special embryological value of the egg.

Apart from the ambitions of scientists, their pursuit and competition for fame and the economic profits involved, artificial insemination and in-vitro- fertilization responded, indeed, to a socio-cultural demand, namely the desire for biological parenthood by means of technological motherhood. The British Warnock Report on the legal and ethical implications of the new reproductive technologies made the nature of this desire quite explicit:

"Childlessness can be a source of stress even to those who have deliberately chosen it... In addition to social pressure to have children there is, for many, a powerful urge to perpetuate their genes through a new generation. This desire cannot be assuaged by adoption." (Warnock, 1984, pp. 8-9).

But what is the root of this 'intense desire to perpetuate one's own genes'? Could it also be in our genes? Although the biological process of procreation and the different contributions women and men make to conception are universal, anthropology has, of course, demonstrated that notions of maternity and paternity associated with conceptions of conception vary greatly cross-culturally.

In view of this ideal of genetic immortality it seems paradoxical that assisted conception which permits the participation of third, fourth or even fifth parties in the act of fertilization, would appear to call into question conventional biological concepts of parenthood and above all of paternity as occurs in the case of fertilization with donated semen, ova, or embryos and surrogate motherhood, while motherhood has, instead, become technically more "natural". The vast juridical literature on assisted fertilization by donor focuses mainly on the legitimacy of the child, the legal status of the donor and the doctor's responsibility. Opponents of fertilization by donors are generally oblivious of women's concerns focusing mostly on the rights of the father or the child. The Spanish professor of law Balcells Gorina, of the Catholic lay organization Opus Dei, already in 1980 argued that "Sperm banks mean a real dehumanization of paternity" and rejected heterologous insemination - fertilization of a woman with the semen of a male donor who is not her husband -because it constitutes adultery (Balcells Gorina, 3 May 1980). This concern to protect paternity has followers also among jurists and the State for, as they warn, the new reproductive technologies provide women with "a socially adequate instrument to dislodge the husband (Balz, 1980, pp.21-22). In vitro fertilization allows for the implantation of a woman's eggs fertilized in the laboratory for gestation in a woman's hired womb which may provoke disputes between the two women involved as the most famous litigation in the United States over who was the rightful mother of Baby M illustrates. But the biological participation of both women in the process of procreation can hardly be disguised. With assisted conception the status of men as fathers has, by contrast, become very uncertain adding further to the Western contemporary crisis of masculinity (Badinter, 1993).

New genetic paternity

Biotechnology has, however, found a remedy for growing paternal frailty. Almost two decades have gone by since the birth of the first test tube baby. During these years assisted conception has progressed greatly above all in the field of assisted biological paternity. In February of this year a baby girl was born conceived by means of a combination of two pioneering techniques: the freezing of eggs and their insemination by injecting sperms into the oocyte's cytoplasm ("Nace una niña concebida de un ovocito congelado e inseminado", 1997).⁹ This new in vitro fertilization

⁹ A further example of the speed at which biotechnology advances is the recent news of three successful pregnancies achieved with frozen eggs ("Equipos de EEUU e Italia logran que nazcan tres bebés a partir de óvulos congelados", 1997).

technique is denominated ICSI (intra-cytoplasmatic sperm injection) and allows men whose sperms are abnormal and even those who are incapable of producing mature sperms to procreate. Whereas until now the insemination of the woman with donated sperm was the only option couples whose male partner was sterile owing to low sperm quality or levels had to procreate, it is now perfectly feasible for a man to achieve biological descendence by means of injecting one single sperm of his directly into the oocyte of his partner. There are men, as a doctor who works in the field of assisted conception told me, who are willing to undergo up to eight surgical interventions for the sake of extracting one single spermatozoa from their testicles.

The development and enthusiastic social acceptation ICSI although experimental evidence on its safety was still flimsy, is not a mere biotechnological issue but has to do, as the French geneticist Axel Kahn, has pointed out, with

"the current strong social and psychological trend towards a fanatical desire for individuals not simply to have children but to ensure that these children also carry their genes, even when faced with the obstacle of sterility (or death)...today's society is characterized by an increasing demande for biological inheritance, as if this were the only form of inheritance worthy of the name. One reason is that, regrettably, a person's personality is increasingly perceived as being largely determined by his or her genes." (Kahn, 1997, p. 2).

This biologization of descendence and this powerful desire for genetic paternity and maternity sound familiarly eugenic. New is only the biotechnological achievement of biological paternity. But even though with ICSI a single sperm is now sufficient for a man to have biological offspring, women's bodies, their oocytes and wombs continue to be, nonetheless, indispensable for biological paternity. Cells are the basic units of life but they need eggs to bring them to life.

The essential site of embryological experimentation and reproductive medicine out of which biotechnology has evolved are the bodies and the reproductive materials of women. As I indicated earlier, new reproductive technologies accustom to be used initially in cattle breeding. Referring to cloning, Dr. Alain Nivot, head of the French laboratory Procrea FIV, drew attention to the fact that "cattle breeders will need wombs, more so still than in in-vitro-fertilization or the transfer of embryos, and therefore cows, but males will be no more than animals to be replicated, models which will be bought by the unit." (Duparq, 1997).

The fanatical desire for immortality embodied in the ideal of having biological descentance carrying one's own genes is founded in the biologist cultural conception of fatherhood and motherhood as blood ties paradoxically typical of Western notions of kinship. This kinship imagery of blood and genes is part and parcel, as I have argued elsewhere, of the contradictory modern Western ideological 'habitus' to attribute individuals' social condition to biological endowment in modern class society otherwise deemed to be composed of autonomous, self-determining subjects. Since the eighteenth century, scientific naturalism which sought to discover the laws of nature that accounted for the order in nature and society gradually replaced previous theological-moral explanations and classifications of things in the world. Scientific naturalism as the new secular context of knowledge not only inspired modernity's pursuit of control of nature and progress but served simultaneously to reconcile the liberal ideal of the modern self-determining individual born equal and free with deepening social inequalities and new national boundaries by presenting them as being in the nature of things thereby neutralizing them politically. In the latter nineteenth century determinist biological doctrines such as social Darwinism, eugenics, and scientific racism provided the endeavour to disguise the socio-economic roots of social inequality and political inclusion and exclusion with a scientific basis (Stolcke, 1993). As Goldberg has noted with respect to the contradictory modern tendency to naturalize the modern free subject, "This is a central paradox, the irony perhaps of modernity: The more explicitly universal modernity's commitments, the more open it is and the more determined it is by the like of racial specificity and racist exclusivity." (Goldberg, 1993, p. 4).¹⁰

The traditional familiar metaphor was 'blood'. According to present day procreative convictions it is as if individuals' identity was embedded in their genes. Contemporary enthusiasm among scientists with genomics and genetic determinism which account to a large extend for research in the field of genetics indicates that biological determinism far from being an anachronic survival of past times, is not only striving but forms part of Western society's self-representation.

In the light of this "familiar" genetic conception of conception it comes as no surprise that the issue of what makes a person's identity should occupy a central place in the controversy prompted by the prospect of cloning of

¹⁰ It should be noted, however, that racism is not the only form modern doctrines of exclusion take but that their argumentative structures and the naturalist assumptions on which they are based may vary (Stolcke, 1995).

humans. A German journalist, for example, asked Wilmut whether Dolly was not in a sense a reincarnation of the cloned adult ewe ("Jetzt wird alles machbar", 1997). Though the question may have been a provocation this journalist indirectly and perhaps inadvertently put the finger on a fundamental ethical-legal problem cloning of humans is felt to pose, namely what, exactly, a human being is. The moment at which human life is believed to begin proved to be one sticking point in the debate over a ban on cloning of human cells and over where the limits of biotechnological experimentation should be drawn to protect human dignity without, however, wiping out biomedical research (Coale, 1997, p. 1-2).¹¹ Ironically, those who are opposed to cloning in humans being outlawed shed serious doubts on identity among humans being genetically predetermined so as to discredit the alarm on the part of advocates of a ban who, in turn, precisely emphasize prevailing genetic determinist convictions (Mario, 1997, pp. 1-6; Newman, 1997, p. 488). As one defender of cloning pointed out, if Einstein had been brought up by an Amazonian tribe he would surely not have turned into the genius he was. Similarly, doubts have been voiced about whether Dolly was in reality the same as her genetic mother since organisms' genetic structure does not depend only on nuclear DNA but also on the mitochondria which live in the cytoplasm of the cells outside the nucleus and have their own DNA ("Updating on cloning: 'Dolly' is not the same as her genetic mother", 1997; Kolata, 1997).

Cloning: a shift in power?

Be this as it may, while contraceptives dissociated sex from conception granting women a greater say in procreation and the old new reproductive technologies have confounded traditional Western biological notions of kin relatedness, cloning which dispenses with sexual conception raises the important question as to whether it would resignify sex difference among humans. Cloning, of course, requires mature cells of the organism to be cloned but because they continue to be indispensable, it converts wombs and eggs into the most valuable and precious materials in procreation. Opponents of cloning denounce the deleterious effects cloning has in diminishing genetic diversity and adaptability and consequently the survival of species and for contradicting human dignity which demands that an

¹¹ But while cloning may be a seductive a technique to replicate one's own cherished individual identity, the science fiction writer Ursula LeGuin, the daughter of Alfred Kroeber, some years ago described how multiple cloning of the same cell would paradoxically eliminate individuality (LeGuin, 1968).

individual should never be thought of only as a means, but always as an end (Kahn, 1997, p.3). The advocates of biotechnology and cloning emphasize their benefits for diagnosing and treating hereditary diseases, for the production of new drugs, of organs for transplant and for genetic engineering. But while a British microbiologist, for example, welcomed the controversy over cloning for calling into question the present tendency to exaggerate genetic determinism (Postel-Vinay & Millet, 1997, p. 547), Kahn warned that precisely the fanatical desire to have biological descent could indeed become a powerful driving force to condone cloning in humans as a technique to cure severe forms of sterility in men such as dysplasia or testicular atrophy:

"Applying the technique used by Wilmut *et al* in sheep directly to humans would yield a clone 'of the father' and not a shared descendant of both the father and the mother. Nevertheless, for a woman the act of carrying a foetus can be as important as being its biological mother. The extraordinary power of such 'maternal appropriation' of the embryo can be seen from the strong demand for pregnancies in post-menopausal women, and for embryo and oocyte donations to circumvent female sterility. Moreover, if cloning techniques were ever to be used, the mother would be contributing something - her mitochondrial genome. This suggests that we probably cannot exclude the possibility that the current direction of public opinion will tend to legitimize the resort to cloning techniques in cases, where, for example, the male partner in a couple is unable to produce any gametes." (Kahn, 1997, pp. 2-3).¹²

Amidst the ethical and scientific hand-wringing over the repercussions which cloning could have for humanity and the anthropomorphic language in which this technological feat is often presented - one speaks of the egg donor, the mother that carries the fetus, and the mother that raises the child - there is no reference, save for occasional ironical

¹² The National Bioethics Advisory Commission which was asked by President Clinton to draw up policy recommendations on human cloning, heard a wide range of views which ranged from calls to treat human cloning as simply another form of assisted reproductive technology to 'grave concerns' from animal rights activists. Kass, a professor of social thought at the University of Chicago, for example, argued that human cloning would be impossible without unethical experiments and presents an unacceptable threat to human identity and individuality but one ethicist disagreed for a ban on cloning would infringe scientific and reproductive freedoms which were protected by the US constitution: hence, "cloning should receive the same protection as other non-coital methods of assisted reproduction." (Wadman, 1997, p. 204).

President Clinton's advisors are overall cautious regarding human cloning which for the time was 'morally unacceptable'. Scientists consulted by the European Union opposed human cloning for reproduction although they did not reject experimentation with embryos less than sixteen days old as long as they were not implanted in a womb ("Expertos en infertilidad de EE UU se muestran a favor de la clonación en humanos", *El País*, 8 June 1997, p. 26). But there is also evidence that the desire to have genetic offspring may give rise to all manner of frauds difficult to control. According to *El País*, a sect called the Raelians domiciled in Switzerland has been offering infertile or homosexual couples children conceived by cloning on internet to be produced by a company in the Bahamas (*El País* 10 June 1997, p. 35).

allusions to a future world without men, to what cloning might actually mean in particular for women. One exception is the German weekly Der Spiegel which reported that the German feminist journal Emma had welcomed this technological achievement for it opened a new path leading towards a society of women ("Jetzt wird alles machbar", 1997, pp.217-8). This may be no more than a misogynist imputation, an illustration of the dark fears the new conceptive and contraceptive technologies call forth in men on account of the freedom they grant women to control procreation. In actual fact, however, an asexual procreative future though making male genitors superfluous would hardly usher in a world of happy and free mothers.

Cloning in humans would, in fact, entail much more than a more extensive medicalization of procreation and a renewed defiance of traditional biological notions of kin relatedness. By dispensing with sexual conception and making procreation more evidently dependent on the availability of female body parts cloning might at first sight, instead, bring about a more radical reversal of Western conceptions of conception.

Hitherto, sexual dimorphism and sexual reproduction have been in the nature of the human species. Being, however, a dimension of life in society it makes no sense to think sex difference separately from society for, as we as anthropologists know only too well, these "facts of life" inevitably acquire symbolic meanings in concrete socio-cultural environments. Notions of maternity and paternity are never devoid of cultural meanings even when, as in Western society they appear to replicate biological facts. Gender values influence the way scientists describe their discoveries of the natural world. Although scientific textbooks portray female and male reproductive organs as systems that produce valuable substances such as eggs and sperms, male and female reproductive physiology is valued very differently. As Martin has shown, one textbook, for instance, described menstruation as the chaotic desintegration of matter while the production of hundreds of thousands of sperms and their race to fertilize an egg was depicted as a magnificent feat (Martin, 1997, pp.85-9). This is only one display of the conventional patriarchal monogenetic theory of procreation according to which man provides the life giving seed whereas woman furnishes the nurturing environment which Delaney has found to run through all monotheist religions (Delaney, 1986, 1991). A reverse feminine monogenetic theory of procreation is, of course, the Trobrianders' wellknown conception of conception made famous so long ago by Malinowski.

The Western image of woman as before all else a mother is nothing new. As the classic adage has it, mater semper certa est while according to the popular Brazilian proverb "fathers can be found at every corner". Traditionally, the certainty of singular paternity depended on the control of maternity. The prominence of the womb, the vessel of the male's seed, in Victorian representations of women's body, pertain to the argument according to which women are governed and defined by the natural procreative capacities while the man-father embodies the quintessence of human reason (Poovey, 1986, p. 145).

Even though Western society has not changed in any qualitative sense, the post-war sexual revolution coupled with contraception appear to have done away at least in the wealthy countries with this tangle of controls of women's bodies at the same time as the classic nuclear family is disintegrating before our very eyes. All this is true to an extent. In this neo-liberal world and an increasingly competitive and individualist social environment structured by a global division of labour into a myriad of hierarchically ordered functions, individual achievement has become the very basis of social condition. The value attached to individual merit and difference is attributed perhaps more than ever before, however, to innate abilities and endowment. Contemporary genetic determinism is evidence of this.¹³ Similarly, even in advanced industrial societies women continue to be defined in an unmediated manner as mothers on account of their sexual specificity, that is, as the incommensurable "others" to men in an essential biological sense.¹⁴ (Stolcke, 1992, pp. 87-111).

Notions of maternity and paternity the same as the contrasting monogenetic doctrines are symbolic elaborations which are situated in specific socio-cultural contexts. Despite the culturally diverse symbolic meanings of maternity and paternity, in strictly biological terms women have always been the limiting factor in the reproduction of humans as a species. The old new reproductive technologies and more so ICSI, the most recent cure of sterility in man,

¹³ The New Scientist recently reported on the study of 240 Swedish couples of identical twins of eighty years or over among whom, in spite of their long and diverse lives, 62 percent of the variations in their general cognitive abilities could be attributed to genetic factors. Hence, "after eighty or more years of conditioning by the social environment, nature emerges increasingly" (Holmes, 1997, p. 16). The media tend to vulgarize such findings fuelling geneticists prejudices. El País published this piece of news under the provocative title "Genes more than experience influence cognitive ability also in old people" (El País, 6 June 1997).

¹⁴ Nature recently informed of a study according to which women's better social skills by contrast with men had a genetic root (McGuffin & Scourfield, 1997, p. 652).

instrumentalize women at the service of genetic parenthood and/or paternity. Cloning as a new asexual procedure of procreation transforms the "facts of life". But there is more to cloning than its strictly biological implications. Cloning constitutes a procreative bio-technique which while dislodging men from conception more radically transforms women-mothers into the primary sites of conception. Paradoxically, if on account of the powerful cultural desire to have genetic offspring cloning was applied in humans under the pretext of offering an infertility treatment for sterile men, these new biotechnologies might threaten to erode the very Western patriarchal monogenetic conception of procreation. Against the background of cherished Western ideas of conception and bio-genealogical kin relatedness in a strongly genetically determinist socio-cultural environment cloning, by dispensing with sexual conception, could convert women not only into the reproducers par excellence and reinforce maternity as the fundamental destiny and responsibility of women but, in addition, give rise to a feminine monogenetic theory. The endowment of women, their wombs and eggs, with heightened reproductive value could, however, have perverse consequences. The obverse of women's maternal empowerment might not only lead to more extensive medical control but also to new forms of control by potential fathers. The creation of a clone of the "father" mentioned by Kahn is a case in point. Those who defend procreation, even by technological means, as a right should be aware that cloning cannot do without female body parts. Moreover, so long as the prevailing structures of social, international and scientific power persist, the potential new prominence of women as procreators resulting from the symbolic-technological "feminization" of reproduction can only entail new forms of domination by science, the State, by men as frustrated fathers.

Cloning of humans "without pleasure and without spermatozoa", is a procedure which will presumably be beset with multiple technical difficulties for some years. Nonetheless, Western bio-genealogical ideals of kinship coupled with sedimented eugenic convictions constitute a fertile ground for biotechnological progress. It would not be the first time that science fiction became reality. All the same, as Dr. Nivot warned in relation to the risks of cloning for biodiversity in cattle breeding, even if cloning achieved a good rate of success "it would still be necessary to breed rustic races so as to recover the old genes and carry out new miscegenations adapted to the market. This is reassuring." (Duparcq, 1997). This raises the question as to who would be assigned the role of and who would be in charge of procreating such "rustic races", reserves of the old genes, in humans.

To conclude, the new and newest reproductive technologies constitute one of the critical points where genetic determinism typical of modern Western culture and society converge with dominant cultural ideals of familiar relatedness founded on sex difference as the assumed precondition for procreation which, according to Hérítier, in turn constitutes the substratum for the symbolic elaboration of historical conceptions of conception and kinship (Hérítier, 1996). In other words, biotechnology is a product of the culturally inspired Western quest for discovering and controlling the ultimate secrets of life but in the process transforms life itself. A spiral may perhaps be the best image of this interplay between biological facts and transformations and cultural meanings, that is, the import of nature-biology in culture. Genetic determinism is a historically situated doctrine which politically neutralizes social inequality and exclusion in advanced class society and at the same time provides the driving force for new biotechnological developments. Biotechnology has succeeded in altering the very "facts of life" - sexual conception. The new biological procreative reality - asexual conception - does not exist, however, in a cultural vacuum but is itself situated in a socio-cultural context which shapes its application and endows its factual consequences with new symbolic meanings. While sex difference was taken as a given of conception anthropologists and feminists debated about its link with cultural notions of kin and gender. Now that biotechnology threatens to do away with sexual reproduction, we may suddenly realize that sex difference after all mattered.

It is in the nature of history and biotechnology never to stand still. The spectacular feat of cloning in mammals opened only a small window for the lay person to gaze at some of the more stunning biotechnological feats. The latest on the biotechnological front is the creation of a surrealist head and taleless frog embryo by a technique thought to open a new way for cultivating organs to order for transplant. The press reported that cells of a patient injected with genes so as to prevent the development of any other body parts safe the organ to be cultivated "would be implanted in an oocyte and could grow until the desired organ was sufficiently large to be transplanted...A sort of artificial placenta would be necessary to facilitate this process." ("Dudas éticas y científicas en el Reino Unido tras los avances sobre las ranas sin cabeza", 1997, p. 25). I leave the consideration of this novelty to the readers.

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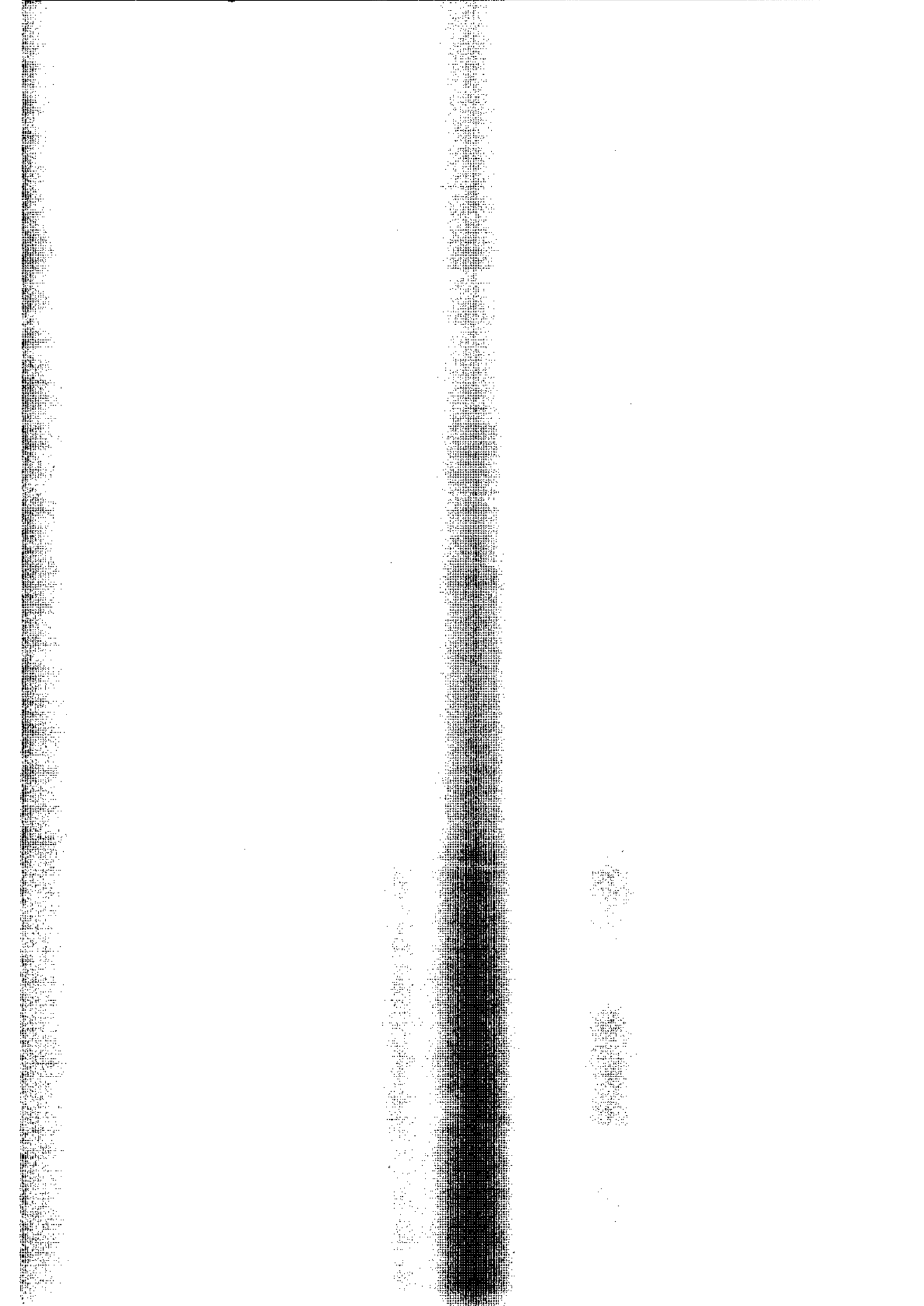
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Day 8: CLOSING SESSION
Thursday 9th July

- 9.30h. Student's presentation of the results of workshops and the fieldwork.**
- 11.30h. Coffee break.**
- 12.00h. Evaluation of the course and farewell.**



BIBLIOGRAPHICAL DATA CONCERNING LECTURERS AND ORGANIZERS OF THE SEMINAR

Karin ANDREASEN

She finished her MA in Human Geography at the University of Copenhagen in 1987. From 1987 to 1988 she worked as Principal at the Treasury. From 1988 to 1990 she was consultant at the Centre for Alternative Social Analyses (CASA), and Research Fellow at the Copenhagen School of Economics and Business Administration and from 1990-1994 she was consultant at the Librarians Union in Denmark. Since 1995 she is a Research Fellow at Roskilde University Centre.

Mireia BAYLINA

She holds a PhD in Geography from the Autonomous University of Barcelona (1996). She is lecturer at the Department of Geography of the UAB. She has done research on gender issues in rural areas of Spain, specially focused on women homeworkers in industrial activities. Her writings include articles dealing with informal economy, homeworking, rural restructuring and geography and education. At present, she lectures in regional geography.

Asunción BLANCO

She is a PhD student at the Department of Geography at the Autonomous University of Barcelona. She has also studied in France: Maîtrise UFR de Géographie (Univ. de Provence Aix-Marseille I, 1994) and Diplôme d'Etudes Approfondies en Géographie at the same University. Her main research areas are alternatives to rural development, gender and telework in the European Union.

Anna BOFILL

She has collaborated from 1964 with the *Taller d'Arquitectura-Bofill* realizing projects and designing buildings as the *Barrio Gaudi* at Reus, the building of social protection houses *Walden-7* at Sant Just Desvern or the *Barrio Le Lac* at *Marnela-Vallée* (Montpellier, France). Since 1981, she has her own consulting office and has participated in different projects as *Escuela integral de enseñanzas artísticas* at Tàrraga, la *Plaza Catalunya* at Lleida, the social protection houses at the Plaza de Sant Agustí Vell (Barcelona), the *Institut de BUP "L'Escorxador"*, the *Estación de Cercanías* de RENFE at Plaza Catalunya, the buildings *Les Portes de la mer* at St. Cyprien (France), etc. She has also participated in conferences in Europe and USA and has taught in *Escuelas de Arquitectura* at Barcelona, Montpellier (France) and UCLA (California). She has published articles in specialized journals for architects. She has developed research programs about ways of life and built environment. At present, she is coordinating the European project "Women and the city".

Josepa BRU

She is professor in Human Geography at the *Universitat de Girona* and director of the *Institut de Medi Ambient* (Environmental Institute) at the same university. She has been consultant for the OCDE in local development (1988-1993) and represent of the European Network of Women Studies (1991-1994). Her main research areas are

Environment, territory and gender; Environment and development; Pollution, territory, environmental management and civil society; and Evaluation of the regional environmental systems. Recently she has published the book *Medio ambiente: poder y espectáculo. Gestión ambiental y vida cotidiana* (1997), ed. Icaria, col. Antrazyt.

Alba CABALLÉ

Alba Caballé holds a PhD on Geography (UAB 1997) and is currently teaching at the University School of Tourism at the Autonomous University of Barcelona. Her recent research has been on the gender role of women in rural restructuring through their work on farm tourism. Her present research deals with leisure and tourism topics. She has been visiting at the University Victoria of Wellington (NZ), Durham University and Exeter University (UK), University of Amsterdam (NL), National University of Misiones (AR) and University of Arizona (USA).

Gemma CÀNOVES

She holds a PhD in Geography from the Autonomous University of Barcelona (1990) where she presently teaches. She has done a research at the University of Reading, University of Durham and recently at the University of California, at Davis. She is also an active member of the Working Group on Geography and Gender at the UAB. She has participated in research projects in relation to women and rural development, especially on women's work and women's role in the family farm, and on the role of women in rural tourism in Catalonia and Galicia. She is editor of *El Campo*, Banco Bilbao-Vizcaya since 1995, journal of rural studies which published a monographic number about rural women.

Joos DROOGLEEVER FORTUIJN

Joos Droogleever Fortuijn (PhD) is lecturer Human Geography in the Faculty of Environmental Sciences of the University of Amsterdam since 1977. She lectures in urban geography and research methods. Her publications are in the field of urban geography, rural geography and gender studies. Since 1989 she is coordinator of the ERASMUS/SOCRATES network on geography and gender. She is full member of the Commission Gender and Geography of the International Geographical Union since 1992. She is member of the editorial board of *Geografie* and *Geografie-Educatief*.

Maria Dolores GARCIA-RAMÓN

She holds an M.A. in geography from the University of California, Berkeley and a PhD. from the University of Barcelona, and she is a Professor of Geography at the Autonomous University of Barcelona since 1984. In the last decade she has been a Visiting Scholar at the Southwest Institute for Research on Women (University of Arizona, 1988), at the European Societies Program (Cornell University, 1992), at the Department of Geography (University of Buenos Aires, 1995) and at the Gender Institute (London School of Economics, 1997). From 1988 to 1996 she has been the secretary of the Gender and Geography Commission of the International Geographical Union. Presently, she is on the editing board on several Spanish and international journals in geography or social sciences. Her writings include a quite large number of books and articles in Spanish and international journals dealing with rural geography, history of geographical thought and gender geography. From 1988 to the present she has directed

several large comparative regional projects within Spain on the theme of rural women's work and development, focusing on family farming, industrial homeworking, rural tourism and pluriactivity. Lately, she has also been working on an European project on women and flexible working in the retail sector and on the relations between geography and colonialism in Northern Morocco, focusing on women travelers. Recently she has edited (with Janice Monk) *Women of the European Union. The politics of work and daily life* (1996) Londres, Routledge.

Lia KARSTEN

She is PhD and lecturer at the Department of Human Geography and research at the Amsterdam Study Centre of the Metropolitan Environment, University of Amsterdam. She has several publications on gender and leisure, on daily lives of women in urban and suburban environments and on children in the city. Recently she has done research on children's use of urban public space for the municipalities of Amsterdam and Groningen. She is chair of the Commission Women's Studies of the Royal Dutch Geographical Association and member of the Commission on Daily Schedules, an advisory board of the Minister of Social Affairs.

Emma MAWDSLEY

I did my undergraduate and graduate years at St John's College, Cambridge in Geography. My PhD was on nonsecessionist regionalism in northern India, and included fifteen months fieldwork there (which was full of great ups and downs). I came to Durham two years ago and teach on environment, gender and development. My research on regionalism and social movements is continuing, but slowly as summer and the tennis courts call!

Janet MOMSEN

She is professor of Geography at the University of California, Davis. She has also taught at universities in Canada, UK and Brazil. Janet was Chair of the IGU Commission on Gender and Geography from 1988 to 1996 and has just been elected a member of the Board of the Association of Women in Development (AWID). Her main field area is the Caribbean but she currently has research projects in Mexico, Costa Rica and Hungary. She is the author of *Women and Change in the Caribbean* and co-editor of *Different Places, Different Voices* and of *Land and Development in the Caribbean*.

Catherine NASH

Catherine Nash (BA, PhD Nottingham) lectures in Human Geography in the University of Wales, Lampeter. Her research interests are in cultural and historical geography working especially on issues of gender in relation to national identity and representation. Her work has involved both a historical and contemporary focus on the shaping and reshaping of versions of Irishness in cultural, cartographical and placename projects and in various designs for developing Ireland. Her recent publications include:

Nash, Catherine (1998) "Mapping Emotion" *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 16(1), p.1-9.

Nash, Catherine (1998) "Visionary geographies: designs for developing Ireland", *History Workshop: a journal of socialist and feminist historians*, 45 Spring, p.49-78.

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Oriol NELLO

Oriol Nello (Geographer at UAB, 1981 and MA International Affairs at Johns Hopkins University, 1988) is a lecturer in Urban Planning at the Autonomous University of Barcelona and is the director of the *Institut d'Estudis Metropolitans* since 1988. He has also taught at universities in UK, Italy, The Netherlands, France and Portugal. At present, he works about urban dynamics and the relationship between administrative and territorial organization and he has also done research on urban, strategic and territorial policies.

Isabel SALAMAÑA

She holds a PhD in Geography from the Autonomous University of Barcelona (1991). Presently she is a lecturer at the University of Girona and is the responsible of Environmental, Regional and Strategy Planning at the Girona City Council. She is an active member of the Working Group on Geography and Gender, and has participated in large research projects in relation to women and rural development. She has published on rural geography and on gender and agriculture. Her PhD is on women's role and relations in the family farm in three areas of Catalonia.

Kirsten SIMONSEN

She is PhD and associate professor in the Department of Geography and International Development Studies, Roskilde University Centre since 1986. She has published several studies on urban and gender issues. She has been assistant professor at the Nordic Institute of Urban and Regional Planning in Stockholm (1979), associate professor at the University of Aarhus (1980-1983) and consultant at the Ministry of Environment on Urban questions (1983-86). She is member of the Editorial Committee on "Nordisk Samhällsgeografisk Tidskrift" and Coordinator of the Nordic PhD-Programme on Urban and Regional Development in Europe.

Montse SOLSONA

She holds a M.A. degree in demography from CELADE (Centro Latinoamericano de Demografía) at the University of Santiago de Chile (1986) and a PhD. in Geography from the Autonomous University of Barcelona (1991) where she is presently lecturer on Demography, Geography and Gender; Demography and Gender; and Demographic Analysis of the Biographies. She is an active member of the Working Group on Geography and Gender at the same University and research assistant at the Centre d'Estudis Demogràfics where she is the chair of the research group "Gender, Family and Work". Her research interests focus on women's activity and fertility, women's life cycle and family structures. Her publications include the book *Estructuras familiares en España* (1990), and the article *The Second Demographic Transition: from a gender perspective* (1997) and *Separation and divorce in Spain* (1998).

Verena STOLCKE

She is professor of social anthropology in the *Departamento de Historia de Sociedades Precapitalistas y Antropología Social* of the Autonomous University of Barcelona. Born in Germany in 1938, she was educated at Oxford. (D.Phil., 1970). She conducted field and archival research in Cuba in 1967-68 and in Sao Paulo, Brazil, between 1973 and

1979. She is the author of *Marriage, Class and Colour in Nineteenth-Century Cuba* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974, reprinted in the University of Michigan Press in 1989); *Planters, Workers and Wives: Class Conflict and Gender Relations on Sao Paulo Plantations 1850-1980* (Oxford: St. Antony's/MacMillan, 1988); "Women's Labours: The Naturalisation of Social Inequality and Women's Subordination", in *Of Marriage and the Market*, edited by K. Young, C. Wolkowitz, and R. McCullagh (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1981), "New Reproductive Technologies-Old Fatherhood", *Reproductive and Genetic Engineering I* (1), "Is sex to Gender as Race is to Ethnicity?" in *Gendered Anthropology*, edited by Teresa del Valle (London: Routledge, 1993) and "New boundaries, New Rhetorics of Exclusion in Europe" in *Current Anthropology*, vol.36, n.1, 1995.

Janet TOWNSEND

Janet has lectured in Geography at Durham University since 1970. Her doctoral research had been on peasant pioneers in the rainforest in Colombia and she continued on this theme. From 1984 to 1994, she was working with the women pioneers; from 1995, with local, rural Mexican NGOs on their roles in women's self-empowerment. Her main books have been:

Momsen, Janet & Townsend, Janet (eds.) (1987) *Geography of Gender in the Third World*, London: Hutchinson John Beauclerk.

Narby, Jeremy & Townsend, Janet (1988) *Indigenous Peoples: A Field Guide to Development*, Oxford: Oxfam.

Townsend, Janet with Ursula Arrevillaga, Jennie Bain, Socorro Cancino, Susan F. Frenk, Silvana Pacheco, Elia Pérez (1995) *Women's Voices from the Rainforest*, London: Routledge.

Antoni TULLA

He is professor in Geography at the Autonomous University of Barcelona., where currently is vice-chancellor. He holds a MA in economics and PhD in geography. He has been visiting scholar at the University of Bristol (1972) and the University of Durham (1990). He has widely published on rural geography, planning and GIS. He is doing research on development of GIS for the management of mountains areas, mainly the Pyrenees. He has published on women and agriculture in the Pyrenees.

Dina VAIYOU

Studied architecture at the National Technical University of Athens (1969-74) and Planning at UCLA (MA 1976-78) and the University of London (Ph.D. 1985-90). Since 1982, she teaches at the Department of Urban and Regional Planning of the National Technical University of Athens. Her research interests and publications in Greece and abroad include: feminist critiques of urban analysis and planning; the changing features of local labour markets, with special emphasis on women's work and informal activities; informal activities and forms of work as a key to understanding urban and regional development in Greece and in Southern Europe; the impact of European integration on women in Southern Europe; the changing relationships between the economic and the cultural in spatial analysis.

Sarah WHATMORE

She holds a PhD. in Geography from University College, London (1988). She has been Visiting Research Professor at the Centre for Rural Research at the University of Trondheim in Norway (1994-1996), Visiting Professor at the Department of Geography at the University of Newcastle, Australia and UK co-ordinator EU COST programme on "Institutional innovation and integrated rural development" (1998-2000). She is editor of *Environmental and Planning A*, editorial board member of *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* and of *Rural Sociology* and joint editor of book series with John Wiley & Son *Critical perspectives on rural change*. Her last published articles are:

- Whatmore, S. (1997) "Dissecting the autonomous self: hybrid cartographies for a relational ethics", *Society and Space*, vol.15 (1), pp.37-53.
- Whatmore, S. & Thorne, L. (1997) "Nourishing networks: alternative geographies of food" in Watts, M. & Goodman, D. (eds.) *Globalising food*, Routledge, London.