

Notes

CHAPTER 1

1. According to the IPCC (2014a, 6), “People who are socially, economically, culturally, politically, institutionally, or otherwise marginalized are especially vulnerable to climate change and also to some adaptation and mitigation responses. This heightened vulnerability is rarely due to a single cause. Rather, it is the product of intersecting social processes that result in inequalities in socioeconomic status and income, as well as in exposure. Such social processes include, for example, discrimination on the basis of gender, class, ethnicity, age, and (dis)ability.”
2. Oceania was the region that saw the largest increase in media coverage of climate change between 2004 and 2010. North America was second, and Europe was third (Boykoff et al. 2020).
3. Levin et al. (2012) draw on the earlier concept of “wicked problems” from Rittel and Webber (1973).
4. It is interesting to note that while climate change research dominates global environmental politics, it is vastly understudied in the larger field of political science. See, for example, Javeline (2014) and Keohane (2015) for why this is problematic.
5. For other work in this vein, see Pettenger (2007).
6. Ecofeminism is one of the most well-known variations of feminist environmental work.

CHAPTER 2

1. Tickner (1997, 613) outlined three types of misunderstandings that often occur between feminist scholars and others in the field: “first, misunderstandings about the meaning of gender as manifested in the more personal reactions; second, the different realities or ontologies that feminists and nonfeminists see when they write about international politics, evident in comments that feminist scholars are not engaging the subject matter of IR; third, the epistemological divides that underlie questions as to whether feminists are doing theory at all.”

2. Problem-solving theories, on the other hand, are status-quo oriented and largely take the prevailing structures, institutions, and power relationships as the given framework for action.
3. O'Neill et al. (2013) have argued that methods are often underspecified in key GEP research areas.
4. This is echoed by Haas and Mitchell (2013, 73) when they say that “although the causes and effects of global environmental problems tend to be multidisciplinary and interdisciplinary, modern scholars too often are disciplinary. The complexity of environmental issues—in terms of the number of and interactions among variables, the length of causal chains, and the extent of interactions across time, space, and scale—requires insights from multiple disciplines to capture accurately the extensive and multiple understandings of their causes, causal mechanisms, and effects.”
5. The appendix contains information about the participants, including their location, length in climate change work, and type of current climate work.
6. I contacted nine environmental justice organizations and was unable to arrange interviews with any of their members. I also contacted two women and environment organizations and was unable to set up any interviews with their members.
7. The appendix indicates which participants were originally contacted and which were recommended by one of the interviewees.
8. The transcriptions were analyzed verbatim. The direct quotations that I include in the manuscript have been lightly edited for clarity. This entailed removing words or sounds such as “like” and “um.”
9. The surveys yielded a slightly different distribution of the discourses as the interviews. The women-as-vulnerable discourse was the most frequently used in the surveys (used twenty-three times). This was followed by the women-as-knowledgeable (eighteen times), then the women-as-agents (fourteen times) discourses. The women-as-caregivers discourse was only used once. However, the storylines of the discourses from the surveys were consistent with those from the interviews.
10. The women-as-agents discourse was the most frequently used in the interviews (used four hundred six times). The women-as-caregivers discourse was used two hundred fourteen times. The women-as-vulnerable discourse was used one hundred twenty-two times in the interviews. The women-as-knowledgeable discourse was used seventy-two times.
11. Participants have lived or conducted research in Bangladesh, Congo, Egypt, Gambia, Guatemala, India, Indonesia, Kenya, Nepal, Nigeria, Tanzania, Tunisia, Uganda, and Vietnam.

CHAPTER 3

1. Farhana is also centrally involved in efforts to raise awareness and encourage climate action in Muslim communities.
2. Studies have also focused on specific sectors of society that will be susceptible to the effects of climate change; these include, for example, agriculture (Challinor et al. 2007) and tourism (Scott, Hall, and Gössling 2019).

3. The study focuses largely on economic vulnerability to climate change impacts. While the focus on female-headed versus male-headed households offers a unique approach to gendered differences of experience, it does not address gendered differences within households, something the authors acknowledge (Andersen, Verner, and Wiebelt 2017).
4. Participants working in different climate change sectors—such as academics in the natural and social sciences and those in nonprofits—used the women-as-vulnerable discourse.
5. The women-as-water-collector storyline came up twenty-five times across the interviews, women-as-wood/fuel-collector nine times, women-as-food-provider twenty-three times, and women-as-agricultural-worker seventeen times.
6. More will be said about specific sources of knowledge in chapter 4.
7. Nine participants specifically mentioned women’s experiences in natural disasters in their responses.
8. We see this focus on climate change exacerbating patterns of marginalization in international policy documents (IPCC 2014b).
9. I asked whether participants saw any connections between the causes, experiences, and solutions to climate change, among other questions.
10. Early environmentalism in the global North has often been critiqued for its discourse of claiming natural spaces. For instance, within the history of German environmentalism ideas of sustainability and conservation were embedded in the spirit of military readiness and nationalist expansion from the nineteenth century (Markham 2008). In the United States and Canada, “conservation was tied to racist, sexist, and classist notions of wilderness protection in order to serve urban, bourgeois, white men’s desire to construct themselves as rugged frontiersmen” (Curnow and Helferty 2018: 148).
11. See Miranda Schreurs (2004) for an assessment of how this series of transformations played out in states such as Japan, Germany, and the United States.
12. The male-dominated nature of mainstream environmental organizations will be expanded on in chapter 5.
13. This frustration with the lack of progress on social justice issues within mainstream environmental organizations will be discussed further in chapter 5.
14. Their study specifically examined the impact of Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) programs.
15. Important exceptions include work like that of Carrigan (2010); Priestley and Hemingway (2007); Wolbring and Leopatra (2012).
16. The IPCC (2014a, 1066–1067) report on impacts, adaptation, and vulnerability does include mentions of disability such as this one: “Wealth, education, ethnicity, religion, gender, age, class/caste, disability, and health status exemplify and contribute to the differential exposure and vulnerability of individuals or societies to climate and non-climate related hazards.”
17. Fothergill and Peek (2015, 223) focus their natural disaster study on individuals aged three to eighteen. They explain that “children around the world are considered a social minority

- group because they are marginalized in terms of wealth, social status, and political power.” For other work on youth and climate change, see Tobin-Gurley et al. (2016).
18. More will be said about this topic in chapter 4.
 19. Notable exceptions include discussions of air quality and pollution in cities. See chapter 3 for more about asthma rates and climate change.
 20. Participants in this study have lived or conducted research in Bangladesh, Congo, Egypt, Gambia, Guatemala, India, Indonesia, Kenya, Nepal, Nigeria, Tanzania, Tunisia, Uganda, and Vietnam.
 21. These mentions of the unique position of “women in the global South” were sometimes coupled with a reflection on the position of marginalized peoples in the global North as well as some similarities and differences between them.
 22. The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) and the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) have long focused on climate change vulnerability across multiple underrepresented groups (Füssel and Klein 2006; Thomas and Warner 2019).
 23. According to Rao and Raj (2019), “There is global consensus that women are integral to climate change dialogue, not just because of their role and dependence on natural resources, but also because of their disproportionate vulnerability to climate change threats. Yet, there is a paucity of data documenting . . . women’s roles and engagement in climate change adaptation. We could identify no single standard measure focused on these issues. Global indicators on women and climate change action are lacking.”
 24. At the same time, the 2019 UN Environment Programme (UNEP) resolution on gender equality in environmental governance is another example of a policy document that overwhelmingly adopts a women-as-vulnerable discourse, with women depicted almost exclusively as marginalized and in need of empowerment.
 25. Racial composition of a neighborhood is a strong predictor of the siting of facilities that product environmental damage (Bullard 2005).
 26. There are many reported cases of women experiencing violence in relief camps after natural disasters (True 2012).
 27. Environmental decision-making often excludes marginalized communities such as indigenous peoples (Agyeman, Bullard, and Evans 2003).
 28. This is often conceptualized as a form of “maladaptation.” Barnett and O’Neill (2010, 212) explain that “adaptation strategies may increase the vulnerability of other systems, sectors, or groups if they increase emissions of greenhouse gases, disproportionately burden the most vulnerable, have high opportunity costs, reduce incentives to adapt, or set paths that limit the choices available to future generations.”

CHAPTER 4

1. Instead, Sherilyn MacGregor (2006, 6) has argued in favor of a project of “feminist ecological citizenship,” arguing that bringing the concept of citizenship into environmental debates “provides an inclusive space for the public performances of political subjectivity that destabilize and resist dominant ideologies of gender.”
2. According to Cameron Butler (2017, 275) queer ecology scholars “use the word ‘queer’ as an adjective to describe sexuality and gender, but they also use it as a verb, as in ‘to queer,’ to engage in the act of queering. *To queer* is to question the categories, definitions, divisions, distinctions, and dualities that exist and that usually go unchallenged within society.”
3. The women-as-caregivers discourse was used 214 times across the interviews by both academics and women in the nonprofit sector.
4. See Alscher (2011) and Evertsen and van der Geest (2020) for accounts of women’s migration being at least partially tied to environmental factors.
5. As mentioned above, gender is significantly associated with the extent of concern about specific environmental problems (McCright 2010; Mohai 1997; Xiao and McCright 2012).
6. Other groups include older people, people with existing health problems or disabilities, and poor and marginalized communities (Watts 2015).
7. The idea of women providing food or creating an inviting space came up in multiple interviews. Women were identified as teamakers, as providing food for meetings, etc.
8. One interesting contrast to this is the image of men in the environmental movement as performatively caring. Sharon, a US nonprofit worker, brought up the concept of the “mactivist”—a man who, in her words, uses “his caring and love to play around with the women in the movement.”
9. Population discourses have also specifically been applied to climate change through concerns about climate-induced scarcities and/or climate refugees (Hartmann 2014).

CHAPTER 5

1. The women-as-knowledgeable discourse was used seventy-two times across the interviews, making it the least frequently used discourse of the four outlined in the book.
2. Guy et al.’s 2014 study of people in Australia found that those who had greater knowledge of climate change causes were more willing to accept that climate change is occurring.
3. Several studies focus on specific states or communities, typically within the global South, to highlight women’s environmental knowledge. For instance, Lane and McNaught (2009) focus on the Pacific region, while Agarwal (2009) focuses on India and Nepal.
4. It is interesting to note that Evangelical individuals with lower incomes were also more likely to assess climate change as riskier than individuals with higher incomes. These findings suggest that people who have experienced marginalization in some form or another may be more cautious in their assessment of risk (Smith and Leiserowitz 2013).

5. Multiple of academic studies focus on conservative men in particular. For instance, Krange, Kaltenborn, and Hultman (2019) examine conservative Norwegian men and find that 63 percent of men in this category do not believe in anthropogenic climate change, while only 36 percent of the general population express climate denial.
6. “Drawing from examples in Western Europe and the US, we focus on those whose primacy blinds them to their impacts on society and environment—individuals and constituencies who are enmeshed with fossil-fuel addicted industrialisation and corporatisation, are commonly aligned with climate change denial and whose allegiances are emboldened by traditional socialisations of masculine identities that we refer to as ‘industrial/breadwinner masculinities’” (Pulé and Hultman 2019, 86). More will be said about this in chapter 7.
7. According to a twenty-six-country study by the Pew Research Center, climate change is regarded as a substantial global threat in regions across the world. In fact, in thirteen countries climate change was identified as the top global threat (Poushter and Huang 2019).
8. One interesting aspect of the report is the increase in understanding of climate science. Over half (57 percent) of the respondents understand that there is scientific consensus that climate change is occurring. This marks the highest level of assessed scientific certainty since 2008. However, this number drops significantly when respondents are asked about how strong the level of consensus is. Only one in five (20 percent) understand that over 90 percent of the scientific community agrees that human-caused climate change is happening (Leiserowitz et al. 2018).
9. Climate change is seen as the most serious global problem in Sweden (38 percent) and Denmark (29 percent). Less than one in ten respondents in several countries in Southern and Eastern Europe reported this level of concern (European Commission 2017).
10. Participants used the phrases “climate change denial” or “climate skepticism” to refer to the position of believing that climate change is not happening or that humans are not the main drivers of climate change.
11. This theme will be taken up again in chapter 6, which notes how participants censored their discussions of climate change so as not to cause tension or be exposed to ridicule.
12. These connections were also made in some of the survey responses. For example, one respondent said, “Women are often the purveyors of seeds and because of their traditional role as household caregivers they are concerned with getting the most nutrition into their families.”
13. This theme of the necessity of women’s participation in policymaking will be taken up in chapter 6.
14. Participants used a women-as-climate-change-leaders storyline fourteen times in the interviews.
15. Seven participants mentioned Christiana Figueres, five by name and two by referring to her position as leading negotiations for the Paris Agreement.
16. While there is much disagreement about the promise or shortcomings of the Paris Agreement, environmental politics scholarship has long revealed the difficulty of getting widespread participation in a binding multilateral agreement such as this one (MacGregor 2017a).

17. An exception to this storyline of women's participation in climate change diplomacy/negotiations was Elane's note that Middle Eastern countries are still reluctant to let women play a role in these negotiations. Kristy made a similar comment about the prevalence of women at global climate negotiations being mediated by gender norms in the country.
18. These figures cover the gender composition of constituted bodies established under the UNFCCC, the Kyoto Protocol, and the Paris Agreement (UNFCCC 2019).
19. Women's advocacy on climate change issues is also a frequently mentioned storyline and is discussed in chapter 6.
20. The finding that women are systematically cited less than men holds even when controlling for year of publication, venue of publication, substantive focus, theoretical perspective, methodology, tenure status, and institutional affiliation (Maliniak, Powers, and Walter 2013; Mitchell, Lange, and Brus 2013).
21. Along these lines, some interviewees drew from their experiences in the classroom to respond to my questions about gender and climate change connections. Annica, for instance, claimed that she has seen more interest in environmental topics from her female students than her male students. Darcy said that while she had not really reflected on it at the time, most of the students who reacted negatively to her critiques of large-scale climate solution approaches, like geoengineering, tended to be male.
22. Aida also argued that women might be more likely to seek the perspective of experts on matters such as climate change, saying that "maybe they are better at . . . knowing that they don't know, so they might take the advice of an expert."
23. Interviewees mentioned women's underrepresentation in the scientific community in general, along with specific sectors like the energy or transportation sectors.
24. A few participants apologized for cursing during the interview as well. One said "sorry" three different times during the interview for things like cursing, going off on a tangent, and critiquing a feminist approach that she thought I might be sympathetic to. Another interviewee apologized three times, for saying something in a "long winded way," for saying something that is "quite depressing," and for not providing an answer to my question. Both were native English speakers working in North America.
25. To be fair, I also apologized numerous times in the interviews for things like writing too slowly, not being clear in the questions, or having technical difficulties. In the course of one interview, both the participant and I apologized back-to-back for a miscommunication about when she started working in her current job. There is some scholarly evidence that women do tend to apologize more frequently than men, that they are expected to apologize for offenses, and that they assess perceived offenses as being more severe than men do (Schumann and Ross 2010; Walfisch, Van Dijk, and Kark 2013). Given this, it is perhaps not surprising that there were so many apologies.
26. The IPCC moved to include consideration of gender in its 2013 Fifth Assessment Report (AR5) (Nagel 2016).

27. There have also been publicly discussed instances such as a 2018 IPCC meeting in which the scientists present had to be reminded that this was a meeting of experts and that everyone's expertise must be respected. Some attendees listed a few specific examples of women facing belittling comments or behavior (Yeo 2018).

CHAPTER 6

1. Hurricane Katrina hit the Southeastern part of the United States in 2005. Several states experienced flooding and other negative ramifications of the storm. New Orleans was particularly hard hit and experienced numerous fatalities as well as significant infrastructure and property damage.
2. Interview participants used the women-as-agents discourse 406 times, making it the most widely used discourse of the four explored in the book.
3. For example, Linda Åhäll (2012: 104–105) “explores the workings of power inherent in the way in which female perpetrators of political violence are written as subjects/objects within various discursive practices.”
4. Lena Partzsch (2017) contrasts the concept of “power to” with “power over” (coercive power) and “power with” (collective power).
5. The women-as-active-environmental-participants storyline was used sixty-four times.
6. Phillis, a climate scientist in the UK, also discussed speaking at her child's school, but she referred to this as “outreach”—“just teach them the basic physics.”
7. According to World Bank data, women actually accounted for 49.6 percent of the world's total population in 2020.
8. This savior storyline often appears alongside the victim storyline discussed in chapter 3. See, for example, Seema Arora-Jonsson (2011) for further discussion.
9. There are also those that point out a lack of data on women's unique climate change experiences (e.g., Rao and Raj 2019), which makes it difficult to even understand the full picture of gendered climate change effects.
10. Five participants expressed skepticism that women would have made fundamentally different decisions about fossil fuel use or other factors relevant to the causes of climate change.
11. An exception is Selma mentioning WEDO by name—“I see all these huge movements like WEDO, etc., where you encounter incredible characters.”
12. Sustainable consumption is ubiquitous in “what you can do to help” lists in environmental documentaries, nonprofit factsheets, and other outlets.
13. There were a few exceptions to this trend, including Kathryn who works for a nonprofit in the United States. She recounted an event in her state featuring a woman from the Marshall Islands who is a poet, professor, and climate justice activist and who uses poetry to tell the stories of how climate change is and will continue to harm and impact her community.

14. Joe Curnow and Anjali Helferty (2018) specifically examine the racialized history of the environmental movement in the United States and Canada, and Christopher Carter (2018) focuses on the US context.
15. The study looked at conservation and preservation organizations, government environmental agencies, and environmental grantmaking foundations.
16. There have been several articles and blog posts about the whiteness of environmentalism. See, for example, Dahmen (2017), Swaminathan (2017), and Toomey (2018).

CHAPTER 7

1. The IPCC (2018, 19) warns that “if poorly designed or implemented, adaptation projects in a range of sectors can increase greenhouse gas emissions and water use, increase gender and social inequality, undermine health conditions, and encroach on natural ecosystems.”
2. Joe Curnow and Jody R. Chan (2016, 146) studied youth activists in Canada and found that representations of expertise related to three main forms of interaction: “ideas being accepted without discussion, exclusive talk, and affirmation. Through these practices, we see expertise being conflated with dominant masculine forms of participation, making those modes of participation difficult, and sometimes impossible, for women to perform.”

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Women and Climate Change

Examining Discourses from the Global North

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