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The Predatory Model

'And who comes to your irrigation workshops?
How many women?'

'Oh they are all men,' he replied and added,
'because men are the policy makers.'

'But why aren't the women policy makers? Surely
they have hands-on experience of the problems?
I think you should go back and tell the Dutch
Department of Agriculture to tell the Kenyans -
"No more workshops, unless half the invited
participants are women".'

His eyes glazed over: 'That would be very hard
to do.'

Conversation in a shared cab to Nairobi airport,
October '87

What is going on here? International agencies have acknowledged the close connection between women and their environment for ten years now. The World YWCA with its Geneva based Y's EYES, campaigns not only on health and human rights, but energy use, water supply and appropriate technologies. The Environment Liaison Centre in Nairobi is another independent NGO which runs sessions for women on forestry, sustainable farming, pollution control and urges political recognition of women's traditional farming expertise. The Rome/Santiago International Information and Communication Service, ISIS, facilitates women's education in similar areas. An International Women's Tribune Centre in New York provides leadership skills and resource material on conservation and development to a vast female network. In Santo Domingo, INSTRAW, a UN International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women, works on water management programs. In Bangalore, an innovative group called DAWN, Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era, is critical of the imported 'growth' ethic and oppressive gender division that it reinforces. World WIDE, Women in Defense of

Environment, Washington, is also trying to pre-empt superficial 'development' schemes and 'give voice to the voiceless' in policy.

But more than this: other organisations which focus on the women/environment nexus are - UNIFEM, the UN Development Fund for Women, New York; UNEP, UN Environment Program, Nairobi; International Centre , Ottawa; Associated Country Women of the World, London; the Women and Global Corporations Network, Philadelphia; Women's World Banking, New York; Women in Development Program of the Society for International Development, Rome; International Community for Relief of Starvation and Suffering, Nairobi; International Centre for Research on Women, Washington; and regional bodies, too many to name.¹ Yet, to quote Housewives in Dialogue activist Selma James:

... as most women's work is invisible, so are our Herculean efforts against it, North and South, East and West.²

At the celebrated Nairobi Forum '85 - Equality, Development and Peace - called to review the UN Decade for Women, the social and environmental impact of cash cropping and industrialisation was discussed thoroughly. The conference resolved to counter harmful 'development' by getting more women into advisory panels, pressure groups, management and education. There were plans to encourage publications, networking and women's own conservation initiatives with small financial grants. The media would be asked to promote more constructive images of women and governments to research and modify opinions which run against women's full participation in community life. These Forward Looking Strategies were adopted by delegates from 157 countries, and later, by the 40th Session of the UN General Assembly: the resolutions are supposed to be monitored by appropriate UN agencies up to the year 2000.

Other recent political initiatives, described in Third World Women's News, reveal West Indian women reclaiming their own history; efforts to reconcile the Koran and female emancipation, education for Malaysia's 'silicon slaves'; Nicaraguan women taking on machismo; the medical struggles of mothers at Bhopal.³ Women's environmental projects such as the Chipko movement among Indian peasants to preserve forests and limestone deposits from the 'formal' economy; Kenya women's Greenbelt Movement, which won the Alternative Nobel Prize; and model farming by the Acoa Femina Democratica Gaucha in the Amazon; are already internationally acclaimed. With increasing centralisation however, and the advent of 'official' accounts of 'development', women's activities are passed over. The UN Economic Commission on Africa, which identified women with their children as producing 70% of the continent's food, identified women as responsible for transport of that food as well. African women work a 14-16 hour day, but statistics describe only 5% as employed. National statistics on agricultural production in Peru indicate a female contribution of 2.6%, while local estimates put it at 86%. In Egypt, the same cultural phenomenon occurs: national figures show a 3.6% agricultural contribution by women, whereas local opinion has it between 35-50%. Tourist post-cards and agency propaganda shots also tend to portray 'rural workers' as male. Yes,

Women grow half the world's food. But most agricultural advisors are men -

who tend to give advice to men.⁴

And, what kind of advice is that? The Ethiopian famine threatening 30 million people, resulted from land being taken out of women's hands by those who would 'render it profitable' in terms defined by an abstract and unpredictable global economy.

In the South, the debt crisis gets worse as national 'aid programs' open the way for multi-national corporations and an increasing concentration of assets among the wealthy. Meanwhile, women, half the world's population own less than 1% of world property. Major breadwinners in the Third World, women receive less than 1% of UN Aid and their access to other forms of credit is invariably blocked by bureaucratic attitudes. Sithembiso Nyoni, coordinator of women's rural progress associations in Zimbabwe, believes that consultants and ministers are too concerned about international hob-nobbing to remember 'us', that 'we are the basis of their power'. Sudhadra Buthalia, a Karmika activist from New Delhi, notes that neither the famous Indian Report on the Status of Women nor the Sixth Five Year Plan acknowledge their problems with water, fuel and feed. The daily experience of Third World women gives them an astute knowledge of indigenous species, water holes, drought resistant seeds, storage methods and fuel materials. Beyond this, Hilikka Pietila of the Finnish UN, suggests that

the authentic female approach and value system concerning development (is) an untapped and fresh resource ...⁵

But a survey of professional staff in environment agencies and NGOs by Netherlands IUCN administrator Irene Dankelman, affirms that women are noticeably few at an advisory level.⁶ The IUCN has now set up a working party on Women, Environment and Sustainable Development to assess the World Conservation Strategy. The committee is to draft a Supplement considering how the WCS might be 'adapted' to 'incorporate' women's 'issues'. We might well ask: Why 'a supplement'? Why is women's central productive role being marginalised in this way? And by those with the best of intentions?

Why is it that women's work is not counted? That women are not counted? Don't count? In her booklet The Global Kitchen (1985), Selma James writes:

In the United States in 1979, only 51% of adult women were 'in the (paid) labour force', 48% in China and France; in Latin America only 14% of the total female population was counted as workers in 1975. In Britain, 40% of women are in the paid labour force now.⁷

Even so, these earning women receive only two-thirds of the average man's wage. More significantly, most of women's labour is left out of the basic government statistic, GNP altogether. A housewife in what is called the 'developed' world, completes at least 70 unsalaried hours a week; that is, twice the standard Australian working-week of 35 hours. She produces use value in cooking, laundry, mending or buying clothes, cleaning, maintenance and gardening. Then there are the emotional/moral obligations of her open-ended role - helping children, the aged and sick; sexual

relief for the man in her life, if there is one, and possibly the biological labour of child bearing consequent to this. Many middle-class women take on a heavy round of voluntary commitments like PTA, Amnesty work or resident action. Migrant women use extra energy absorbing new strains on the family and buliding community all over again. On top of this, as we have seen, non-metropolitan women grow the bulk of community food needs, usually unsupported by men, who are attracted into the urban cash economy. Similarly, in 'advanced' industrialised societies, one family in three is surviving with no male help. Women in North and South have more in common than many might think: the general rule is maximum responsibilities: minimum rights.

The Nairobi '85 Forward Looking Strategies stated that concrete steps should be taken to quantify the unremunerated contribution of women; to ascertain its exchange value. By the logic of the present economy,

... the woman who cleans a house is not 'working', but the military man who bombs it, is.

Further,

... the work of the same woman, if hired by her husband ... would pop into GNP. ⁸

Selma James argues that we should allocate domestic hours worked to standard job categories, apply the going wage, then total it up. Using such a method in the early 70s, J.K. Galbraith estimated household labour was probably worth 25% of US GNP. Carnegie Corporation, Ford and Rockefeller Foundation reports in 1985, claimed housework constituted 33% of US GNP. A 1972 Chase Manhattan Bank assessment of average weekly domestic work hours was 99.6, with a waged value of \$257, and Parents Magazine valued housework at \$35,000 per annum. No wonder women campaign so vigorously against military involvements, they are 'defending what they have produced'.

Given the predatory structure of this system, it is not surprising that Norwegian social psychologist Berit As should discover -

Economic growth in the male-dominated economy results in new burdens of unpaid work being loaded on to women.⁹

Sweat shop labour, employed for its 'dexterity and obedience' in a rapidly industrialising South Korea, leaves young women micro-chip assemblers blind after two years of intensive production. The import of tractors to Sri Lanka forces women to pick cotton twice as fast, in order to keep wages at the same level. The growing engagement of European women outside the home, locks them into an invisible/double-shift. Berit As quotes Swedish Central Bureau of Statistics figures which show 70% of men never clean house or cook; 50% never shop; 80% never wash clothes; and 60% never do dishes. Moreover, mothers right across Europe are picking up the community health costs of nuclear radiation, following Chernobyl. In the Third World, female illiteracy rises while a Western middle-class facing recession, chooses private schooling for its sons. Now the US fast-food habit brings deforestation and dispossession to Central American families, as World Bank funded

enclosure movement subsidises big cattle ranchers for hamburger snacks.

Just as the environment is degraded by 'development', so are womens lives. Rural women following men into the cities, find themselves in makeshift ghettos, on bad land, without water supply, garbage removal, health care or schools. Lin Nelson, a US occupational health researcher, has documented how those who gain employment in chemical or electronics plants are exposed to toxic contaminants of skin, lungs, and nervous system. Fetal damage, miscarriage and infant death are frequent for workers in these industries.¹⁰ Others in the South, fall victim to shonky contraceptives banned from sale in the North. Australian women clerical staff are suffering an epidemic of neuro-muscular repetition strain injury caused by long hours at word-processing machines. Those who enter the professions face a step-up in psychological harassment as male ego is shaken by having to work alongside credentialled women. According to sociologist Ruth Schwartz Cowan, housework in 'advanced' societies takes longer despite new 'labour saving' gadgets.¹¹ Home economics and the professionalisation of motherhood among educated women has created exacting standards in the quality of care they feel they should give. So technology and education may reinforce the gender division of labour which restricts women's access to 'economic' work. Finally, in 'developing' countries, an internationally organised trade in sex tourism, quietly helps balance an urgent need for 'foreign exchange', while more debt accumulates with the purchase of status-symbols like weapons and oil.

Berit As suggests that economic imperialism, not socialism or feminism, is the force most likely to destroy the family. Along these lines, Cecelia Kirkman who counsels in a New York City battered women's refuge describes the neglect of women and children at the 'apex' of the 'developed' world. In the military-industrial complex a marked shift in tax burden from the rich to those with low incomes meant that by 1983, the US corporate tax contribution dropped to only 6% of government revenue. Major defense contractors, Boeing, General Dynamics, General Electric, Grumman and Lockheed, paid no tax at all for a few years in the early 80s. Yet, in that time, the welfare dollar was severely trimmed. Cuts to social service agencies, schools, hospitals and day care centres also badly affected 'working' women, because these are major areas of female paid employment. But structural violence is not only economic in nature. To spend the tax dollar on the military is consent to a dehumanising brutality. Cecelia Kirkman has collected statistics which link men's socialisation for war with domestic violence - and not only against women. Child abuse in military homes in 147 cases per hundred thousand, while in the New York City civilian population it stands at 34.¹² The International Women's Tribune Centre is also examining the link between militarism, masculinity, and violence on individual women as part of a campaign for global peace:

In West Germany, one in five women is beaten, raped or sexually harassed ...
Each year some 50,000 adolescents (average age 12-14) struggle for survival in the brothels of Brazil's northern towns and cities ...
A 1983 report from Iran reveals that because Islam forbids the execution of virgins, they are first raped so as to make the execution possible.¹³

Despite the emergence of 'a new masculinity' in some quarters, Australian Bureau of

Statistics figures (1983) and the US Statistical Abstract (1985) confirm that men still commit 90% of violent crimes and 100% of rapes. On a wider front, military bomb tests in the South Pacific, both US and French imperialism, is leaving a trail of adults dying from Leukaemia and a generation of mothers with mutant babies to care for.

The feminisation of poverty in the military super-State is again recounted in Barbara Ehrenreich's brilliant essay The Hearts of Men (1983).

In the mid-sixties and until the mid-seventies, the number of poor adult males actually declined, while the number of poor women heading households swelled by 100,000 a year.¹⁵

It is worth commenting that when women's domestic labour is recompensed, payments are perceived as 'a gift' of the State, charity or welfare, but never as 'economic' exchange. Mostly however, money that might have sustained women breadwinners has gone into arms, foreign investments, six-digit executive salaries or 'a paper whirlwind of speculation'. For the fact is that men, whether in governments, unions, business or international agencies hold almost all authority positions and they set priorities which are comfortable to them. North and South, East and West, the flexible, do-it-yourself, cooperative economy of women is daily subsumed by private and public sectors alike; just as the degraded 'resource-base' of nature absorbs the longer term costs of what is called 'development'.¹⁶ But wait,

... if women's lived experience were ... given legitimation in our culture, it could provide an immediate 'living' social basis for the alternative consciousness which (men are) trying to formulate as an abstract ethical construct ...¹⁷

Equality and sustainability are closely inter-linked, as we shall see.

In her book Patriarchy and Accumulation on a World Scale (1986), German social theorist Maria Miles analyses what she calls 'the predatory model' of civilisation. Starting with the concept of 'labour', she notes that it is usually

... reserved for men's productive work under capitalist conditions, which means work for the production of surplus value ... The instruments of this labour - or the bodily means of production ... are the hand and the head, but never the womb or the breasts of a woman ...(since) the human body itself is divided into truly 'human' parts (head and hand) and 'natural' or purely 'animal' parts ...¹⁸

This bias characterises the social division of labour between men and women and is used to rationalise the (apparent) exclusion of women from the 'economic' sphere. The duality of humanity and nature is a mythic construction however, an ideological device which does not bear close scrutiny. In economic production, for example, the appropriation of nature involved, always means both an appropriation of external matter, and bodily appropriation of one's own labouring human substance as well. So

Marx, sounding a little like a deep ecologist reminds us.

Certainly, men's bodily interaction with nature is not identical with women's. Women in fact, productively appropriate nature in two ways - they may labour with the uterus and/or labour with the organs of head and hand, as men do. There is a qualitative difference between men's and women's work as well though. Women's interaction with nature is organised around a logic of reciprocity rather than mastery and control.

They are not owners of their own bodies or of the earth, but they cooperate with their bodies and with the earth in order 'to let grow and to make grow'.¹⁹

This logic of reciprocity is the basis of the first productive economy - invented by women - a subsistence economy which is still the mainstay of life for the majority of people on earth today, despite the superimposition of supposedly more 'efficient' mass scale modes of production.

Mies observes that historically, men's practice as hunter-gatherers meant that their notion of productivity was closely tied to the use of tools. And, therefore, was based on an instrumental logic. The culture of men still reflects this instrumentalism too, with its denial that men - 'humanity' is part of 'nature' along with women and other lesser beings. Further, while women's labour produces something new, men's tools, used primarily in hunting and warfare, are not strictly speaking productive. Men's relation to nature has been one of destroying life. So tooed, men have power to appropriate not only 'the abundance of nature' but to coerce the complex productive capacities of women. The continuing patriarchal civilisation premised on this process is entirely predatory, as our introductory discussion of women and 'development' shows.

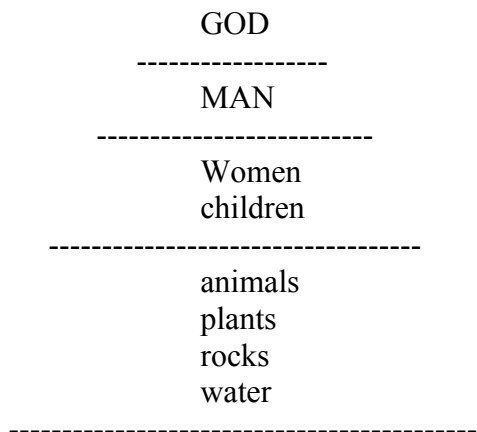
Mies demonstrates how the institution of marriage freed men to go on expeditions together, since women's work maintained a reliable subsistence back up. It is probable that the first private property was productive women (and children) brought back from adventure raids into other territories. The accumulation of wives, especially by 'big men' of older status, is still condoned in polygamous Third World societies. The pattern exists in residual and symbolic form in the Western world, where men at middle-age put aside their first wife for a younger one, and begin second families. Again, the semi-visible public female workforce in industrial economies, is recognised with only two-thirds of the male 'basic' wage - another modern echo of the same psychology. For the point is, women make wealth, however the relations of production may be organised; be it peasant agriculture, piece-work, the corporate factory floor or suburban shadow labour.

Under this order, women have a complex of roles. As labour, they are commodities themselves; they are also 're/producers' of new labour power and producers of new commodities for use and for exchange. All of this is appropriated by the husbands, middlemen or managers, who gain control over them. In the predatory ideology, both 'nature' and those who labour with nature are treated as 'resources' without intrinsic, that is 'human' value or rights. Newer modes of production, such as feudalism and capitalism, and more sophisticated technologies, have simply extended this underlying instrumental logic. The ensuing abuse of

women and of the natural environment by men participating in the appropriative culture of patriarchy constitutes structural violence against both. In our society, this is given legitimacy by the institutions of Church and State, Market and Trade Union, now Science and Technology have joined the battery. The injury caused by these institutions remains quite invisible to those who benefit from them.

With 20th century capitalism, an urban proletariat has come to seek 'a share of the spoils'. Bourgeois laws of contract and more recently, arbitration, have evolved to accommodate the demands of the 'small men'. But the 'truly human' sphere of masculine privilege has been widened only at a price - a cultural displacement which sharpens the 'naturalisation' of women's role particularly during the 50s 'growth' era. But if the emancipation of male workers was bought on the one hand, by forcing women deeper into the economics of a precarious domesticity; on the other hand, it has been bought at the expense of coloured people, who are drawn in around the margins of the paid workforce. Finally, the cost of economic justice for the male proletariat has been intensified industrialisation with its concomitant technological assault on nature. - Hopefully, as women and people of colour demand their 'humanity', their rights will not be met by an unthinking, linear extension of this same predatory model. Perhaps the emerging Green politics will appreciate this ...

Theologians Rosemary Ruether and Elizabeth Dodson-Gray see the patriarchal belief system which justifies all these things as a hierarchy, with God or Allah at the top; next Men, the stewards of nature; then Women; children; animals and finally plants and rocks at the base. ²⁰



Within the echelon that houses MAN, there is a sub-ordination of coloured men to white master. But despite the extent of institutionalised racism around the world, it seems easier for the North to acknowledge its prejudice and patronisation of the South, than for men to get to grips with their sub-ordination of women. A deep divide separates the categories of MAN and Women, and it is this same line which maintains the polarisation of 'reality' into the 'truly human' and the 'simply natural'. All that falls below this divide in the 'order of Creation' is seen to be scarcely evolved from the inferior realm of nature. Traditionally, Woman, children, animals and plants have been accorded no rights and have existed solely for the enhancement of GOD and MAN. Modern science with its devastating 'tools' and techniques has absorbed this

theology and largely usurped its political function in smoothing over masculine domination. The scientific claim to 'objectivity' is premised on nothing less than a rationalisation of this categorical split between humanity and nature. An appraisal of the role of 'scientific' thought in bringing environmental disease is long overdue.

Why have men chosen to alienate themselves from the rest of life in this way? A growing number of social theorists believe it may have begun with the realisation by men that while they may 'appropriate' life, they cannot 'produce' it; a painful sense of exclusion from the life-process. The suppression of this experience, and its sublimation in a compensatory but predatory culture has been analysed from several perspectives in recent years. Particularly valuable insights into the process are found in the writing of American feminist Dorothy Dinnerstein, and in Scottish midwife-philosopher Mary O'Brien's study The Politics of Reproduction (1981).²¹ Addressing men's existential condition, the latter concludes:

... this negation rests squarely on the alienation of the male seed in the copulative act. The unity of the seeds is quite objective, not abstract at all, but it is a unity and development which is experientially present in an immediate way only to female reproductive consciousness.²²

Common imagery affirms this abstract dislocation in men's consciousness of reproduction: children are described as 'falling from eternity into time', and again, 'trailing clouds of glory do we come, from God who is our home'. In contrast, women's alienation from the seed during the act of birth is mediated by labour (as opposed to play). Life is produced by women through the appropriation of nature in their bodies; it is a genuine process of creative production and a non-alienating labour that affirms their unity with others - their species being. Now, if as Marx suggested,

... human consciousness develops dialectically because it reflects the primordial experience of people in their productive existence in the world...²³

Then, it is easy to understand why men's and women's attitudes to a labour, life and production are structured so differently. Mary O'Brien points out that, unlike maternity, which is practical, concrete and sensuous,

Paternity is the conceptualisation of a cause and effect relationship....²⁴

Men's effort to make sense of this life-process from which they are included yet excluded, is abstract and ideological. Patriarchal myth abounds with attempts to bridge the fracture from natural time, gestation, by various 'principles of continuity'. The unfolding saga of 'human' mastery over nature, the global march of 'progress', is one such construction. But the 'tool of reason' and its linear cause/effect chains is utterly out of touch with the circular reciprocal flows of the living eco-system. The designs of masculine instrumentalism cut across nature and disrupt its flow.

The compensatory drive to control time and process is equally matched by men's historical suppression of women's knowledge and skills, like medicine and farming. In fact, the rise of 17th century Science came hand in hand with an epidemic of witch

burnings in Western Europe. The silence which continues to shroud women's expertise, and always birthing, in patriarchal culture, speaks loud to the species alienation of men. The new reproductive technologies which commercially subsume, yet by-pass women's capacities, are also symptomatic of this unresolved politics of reproduction. Instrumental reason is over-determined. It is conditioned by men's use of tools, and this material basis is mirrored and compounded further by men's social relations. The reproductive relation with a woman is clearly problematic, but the infant male relation to the woman/mother is no less so.

It has often been noted that patriarchal language and logic is structured around dualistic concepts such as sensuality/intellect; inside/outside; subject/object; black/white; A and not - A. These profound bifurcations in consciousness are supported by the fact that a sense of self-identity in the growing boy-child can only be got by cutting his sensuous tie with his mother.²⁵ This sensual grounding is gradually replaced by a more abstract 'idea' of love for her, but one that rests on a deep sense of difference between self and M/other. The excluded matter is not just the living mother however, but all that is 'feminine', nurturant and 'natural', both within the growing masculine identity and without - including what is called 'Mother-Nature'. In this splitting, one phenomenological basis of instrumental domination is laid down, only to be over-determined by other experiences later in life. Disconnected from the primal body, patriarchal reason deflects the life-force, floats in a void, is free to order, plan, manage, re-make and master the world. Then again, the cut is never perfect of course, and many men must find ways to shore it up in their subsequent 'adult' dealings with women. Analyst Nancy Chodorow claims that a girl's development is simpler.²⁶ Her early self-identity and attitude to the world around her rests in fusion with the mother, to be challenged only later, as 'Mother-Nature' begins to speak through the young woman's body. Feminine ego is not so fragmented, fragile, for it has continuity with its natural grounding.

Instrumental reason is a kind of thinking that makes a sharp separation between the person 'inside' who is thinking and acting, and the things or people 'outside' who are acted upon. This attitude is prerequisite to all power and domination, management and exploitation; the 'industrial machismo' as Hazel Henderson dubs its latest form. The separation of MAN and NATURE is an instrumental assumption that is especially strong in Western religions and cultures. The 'tool of reason' is seen as properly human and sensuality, merely natural, uncontrolled. Because of their fertility and what follows from it, women are said to spend their lives in the 'natural' sphere, and their rational intellect is therefore supposed to be poorly endowed. No surprise then, that they are not invited to the policy workshops.

In patriarchal cultures, the things that men do, called 'production' are valued; while the things that women do and especially re/production, are not valued. An extract from the Kenya Standard illustrates this well:

As more and more land will be required for food production in order to meet the demand from the population cash crop expansion may stagnate. Given ... the costs involved in adopting more modern farming techniques to raise productivity ... population growth, if allowed to continue, can only result in more encroachment on vital forest reserves ...²⁷

The line of causality pursued here deflects responsibility away from men and puts the onus squarely on women. As men see it, women must stop making new life since this must be detrimental to 'economic growth'. Investigations by New Internationalist substantiate the converse. The reason for Africa's falling food production is not scarcity of land nor lack of technology, but men's seduction by the 'formal' economy which takes both land and men's labour time away from family food growing. Where children now become supplementary farm labour for their mothers, it is inappropriate to demand population control according to the Western trend. Third World children are producers as much as consumers as prosumers, they should be seen as a global asset rather than a liability.

The focus on population in 'development' debates is symptomatic of deeper patriarchal concerns. And so are the compensatory preoccupations with status in an international economic pecking order or with expertise in frankly destructive technologies. Consider this piece from the Kenya Sunday Nation:

....only sound social, economic and political policies that favour or promote indigenous scientific and technological potential will help the continent meet its basic human needs ... the minimum target of 1000 scientists and engineers per million inhabitants ... 28

The iniquitous financial transfer from South to North which imported 'development' involves; the predatory consumption of food and energy resources by an industrialised North; lessons from the Green Revolution; are all glossed over, although they are very good arguments for disengagement from the multi-national order and concentrating on one's own back yard.

Women, half the world's population, put in two thirds of the world's work, and get back only 5% of all income paid.²⁹ The underlying cultural connection between this institutionalised theft and corresponding exploitation of nature is made abundantly clear by the eco-feminist analyses of Mies, Dodson-Gray and others. But until environmentalists confront this economic and psychological abuse of women, they will not recover the intellectual integrity and coherence that is so lacking in contemporary analyses of the global predicament. The 1987 report of the World Commission on Environment and Development put together by a collection of environmentalists, economists, politicians, scientists and engineers is a classic case in point.³⁰ Only when all levels of subsumption in the 'great Chain of Being' are acknowledged, will there be any real 'growth' towards a sane, humane, ecological future. The way that women labour in reciprocity with nature may then become visible as a model to learn from. To quote Hilikka Pietila again:

The informal or free economy, the world of nurturance and close human relations is the sphere where basic human needs are anchored and where models for humane alternatives can be found.³¹

Life has always been expendable under patriarchy. This is why the ecological crisis is fundamentally rooted in patriarchal culture and masculine identity. It's not

just a corollary of capitalism, as some would argue. The appropriation of women's complex productive capacities long pre-dates the appropriation of surplus from a 'working class'. Capitalism and communism both, are modern forms of the predatory model. So the message here, for social activists, environmentalists, governments and agencies, is this: As we try to find an ethic of sustainability and build an equitable culture, instrumental violence against women and nature will constantly creep back in, because patriarchal institutions - politics, science, marriage - and masculine ego itself, are saturated with it. I believe men are coming to understand how their actions reinforce such destructive institutions, but for change to happen, they must want to disconnect themselves from these compensatory structures; be strong enough to stand up without historical props. At this point, the world-wide mothering of all men by all women will be done with and men will recover their own human capacity to nurture life. Equality and sustainability are very closely interlinked.

NOTES

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4. FAO statistics and quote from Women and the Environmental Crisis, op. cit., p. 45.
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13. International Women's Tribune Centre team, Anne Walker (ed.), 'Peace is no violence against Women', The Tribune: a women and development quarterly, no 32 (1985), 3rd Quarter, p. 18.
14. Chris Brazier, 'Birth of a New Man', New Internationalist, no 175 (1987) Sept., p. 6.
15. Barbara Ehrenreich, The Hearts of Men (New York: Anchor, 1983), p. 172.
16. The reader is referred to Hazel Henderson 'Indicators of no real meaning' in Ekins, P. (ed.), The Living Economy (London: Routledge, 1986), p. 33, Fig.
17. Ariel Salleh, 'Deeper than Deep Ecology: the eco-feminist connection', Environmental Ethics, vol 6 (1984) winter, p. 340.

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20. Rosemary Ruether, New Woman New Earth (New York: Dove, 1975) and Elizabeth Dodson-Gray, Why the Green Nigger? (Wellesley, MA: Roundtable Press, 1979). The figure is adapted from the latter book.
21. Dorothy Dinnerstein, The Mermaid and the Minotaur (New York: Harper, 1977) and Mary O'Brien, The Politics and Reproduction (London: Routledge, 1981).
22. Ibid., p. 29 - italics mine.
23. Ibid., p.35 - italics mine.
24. Ibid., p. 30 - italics mine.
25. What follows is an adaptation of my piece 'Why eco-feminism?' Women's Action Against Global Violence Newsheet, vol 1 (1984), Feb-Mar.
26. See Nancy Chodorow, The Reproduction of Mothering (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978).
27. A Correspondent, 'How Food Production is Hit by Population', The Standard, Friday, Oct. 2, 1987, p. 14 - italics mine.
28. Otula Owuor, 'Sound science policies called for', Sunday Nation, Oct. 4, 1987, p.17 - italics mine.
29. ILO statistics adopted by the UN in 1980. The original wage percentage provided by ILO was 5%, the UN upped it to 10% in subsequent publications.
30. World Commission on Environment and Development, Our Common Future (Oxford University Press: 1987).
31. Hilikka Pietila, Tomorrow Begins Today, ICDA/ISIS Workshop, Nairobi Forum '85, p. 26.