

IMPACT OF CLIMATE CHANGE ON WOMEN – A HUMAN RIGHTS PERSPECTIVE

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Abstract

Globalization has benefitted mankind immensely. Life, for some, has become more comfortable, with everything available, from across countries, with just a click of the mouse. Technology has reduced the world into a 'global village'. But, development in the name of progress, has also added onto the misery of mankind – especially the damage caused to the environment, which needs to be addressed on an urgent basis, or else, could become a threat to the survival of man on this planet. This paper tries to explore the interrelatedness between women and nature, the intrinsic bond between them and the inherent ability of women as life-givers, to nurture nature. The paper also demonstrates how women are more vulnerable and bound to be directly impacted by the damages caused to the environment. But in spite of her close proximity to nature, women seem to be completely kept away from all decision making processes related to environment. This paper tries to highlight the lacunae in the socio-legal system and concludes by explaining why women need to be incorporated into the decision making processes, with respect to matters related to environment.

Key Words: Environment, Women, Health care system, Conservation of bio-diversity, Climate change Policies.

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INTRODUCTION

Globalization has shrunk distances between countries and has reduced the world into a 'global village'. Materially, life has become easier and more comfortable, to the extent that any work, be it paying bills or shopping, can be done, sitting at home, with just a click of the mouse. But, amidst all the glitz and glamour that we see around us, there is a major cause for concern that is looming large- the irrevocable damage that man is inflicting on the environment, in his greed to amass more and more. The destruction of forests, water and land that is happening in the name of development and progress, is in fact threatening our life- support systems itself. It is the developing countries that are made to bear the brunt of the atrocities heaped on to nature, by the developed ones. Most of the green house gases are emitted into the atmosphere by the industrialized countries. The cumulative displacement caused by development has made homelessness a cultural characteristic of the 20th and 21st Centuries. Land, water and soil, which are the sources of life for man, have been transformed to private property that could be bought and sold. Currently, these natural resources are being used for profit – maximization, “which sets off a financial imperative for the development and destruction of these resources for the market.”¹. 'Development', as it is happening today, displaces the poor man, robbing him of all natural resources that are essential for his survival. This has increased the divide between the rich and the poor.

INTER-RELATEDNESS BETWEEN WOMEN AND NATURE

The violence inflicted on nature, which is part and parcel of the development model, is closely associated with violence heaped on rural women, who live in close proximity to nature, from whom they draw sustenance for themselves, their families and societies. Thus the marginalization of women and the destruction of biodiversity go hand in hand. Women in India are an intimate part of nature, because of their ability to create and conserve life. “All ecological societies of forest-dwellers and peasants, whose life is organized on the principle of sustainability and the reproduction of life in all its richness, also embody the feminine principle.”² When such societies get colonized or broken up, men normally participate in life-destroying activities or migrate in search of jobs. Women, meanwhile continue to be associated

¹ Ode Magazine-“Two Myths that keep the world poor”, Vandana Shiva, Nov 2005 issue.

² “Women in Nature”-Vandana Shiva in, The Women Gender and Development Reader. P.62.

with life and nature, providing food, water and sustenance to their families. Thus, women's role as life-giver and sustainer, has not only a biological basis but also a historical and cultural one. Maria Mies, clearly explains the inter-relatedness between nature and women and how they work in partnership with each other. 'Women 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 make grow'.³ Rural women, who work in the forest, the field and the river, create sustenance in quiet but essential ways. It is this invisible work, done in close association with nature, which helps them in balancing the ecological cycle and sustain human life by providing the family with the basic requirements like food, water, firewood and nutrition. It is this balance that gets impacted in the process of 'development.'

Women's work and livelihoods in subsistence agriculture, for example, are based on multiple use and management of biomass for fodder, fertilizer, food and fuel. The collection of fodder from the forest is part of the process of transferring fertility for crop production and managing soil and water stability. The work of the women engaged in such activity tends to be discounted and made invisible for all sectors. When these allied activities which are ecologically and economically critical, are taken into account, agriculture is revealed as the major occupation of working women in rural India. The majority of women in India are not simply 'housewives', but farmers. The combined effects of globalization-related marginalization and environment-related marginalization, can wreak havoc on whatever resilience poor communities might otherwise have possessed. Under such circumstances, women are forced to bear a disproportionate burden of climate change consequences such as decreased food security, impact on livelihoods, scarcity of water and increased burden of providing nutritious food for children. Increasingly, women are sustaining their livelihoods as farm labourers rather than as cultivators, with their knowledge and labour largely marginalized as a result of mechanization and other technical intervention, which they are traditionally excluded from using. In addition, their workload has increased, as the switch to high-yielding varieties of grains has created fewer crops and animal wastes for animal fodder and household fuel, the provision of which is largely the domain of poor peasant and tribal women.⁴

³ Maria Mies quoted in Vandana Shiva's "Women in Nature."

⁴ Venkateshwaran, S. Environment, Development and the Gender Gap, New Delhi: Sage Publications, 1995.

The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) considers India, with its large, agrarian population, to be acutely vulnerable to the impacts of climate change, and extreme weather conditions. Recent events such as the cyclones in Orissa in 1999, and the severe drought in Northern and Central India in 2000, support this view. The drought in Orissa, for example, forced many small and marginal farmers to give part of their landholdings to money lenders, with unofficial estimates indicating that another half million people were forced into distress migration. These impacts will affect agriculture and forestry, as well as human health. A decline in farm-level income alone will have deleterious effects on the rural poor, particularly women, who are among the lowest paid agricultural labourers. In addition, women whose livelihoods depend on cultivating small plots and gathering fodder and firewood will be even more vulnerable as climate change advances, as they do not have access to the necessary resources or social status within household and communities. They experience inequalities in areas such as healthcare and nutrition. They are more likely to suffer sex-selective abortion or infanticide and are less likely to receive education. They also have lower access to employment and promotion in occupations; lack ownership of homes, land, and property; and take disproportionate responsibility for house work and child care.⁵ This asymmetrical division of labour, rights, and assets make women more vulnerable and are unable to cope with the additional stress and deprivation brought about by climate change. Thus, poverty, created in the name of 'development', debt and environmental destruction, severely affects women and children. Vandana Shiva sums up this impact clearly when she says that the maintenance of ecological cycles has no place in a political economy of commodity and cash flows. Such an economy destroys natural cycles and reduces nature to raw materials and commodities.

As climate change affects the health and wellbeing of women, there is a need for adoption of certain measures which can check not only the ill effects of climate change on women, but also help promote gender justice. The following paragraphs discuss various strategies which can be incorporated into various legal frameworks to protect the human rights of women.

IMPROVEMENTS IN HEALTH CARE SYSTEM

⁵ Patel,V. 'Of famines and missing women', Humanscape 9[4],<http://humanscapeindia.net/> 2002

One of the impacts of climate change on human health is increase in infectious diseases. Positive cases of malaria are reported throughout the year in India, as a right combination of average temperature, rainfall, and precipitation conditions persist across the country over all seasons in some part or the other.⁶ Women are more vulnerable to this environmental hazard. The Gender and Climate Change website gives reasons as to why women are more affected than men because of climate change. It says women are affected not at least because they represent the majority of the world's poor but because they are more than proportionately dependent on natural resources that are threatened.⁷

Considering the fact that climate change affects the health of the women, it becomes necessary that the state has to take adequate measures to ensure that the health and life of people are protected against natural disasters. There are duties cast on the state under the Constitution to protect and promote the health of people. The Directive Principles of the State Policy in Part IV of the Constitution (Art. 38) casts a duty on the State to secure a social order for the promotion of the welfare of the people. But without public health, welfare of the public cannot be achieved. Again, Article 47 considers it the primary duty of the state to raise the level of nutrition and standard of living and improve public health.

The Directive Principles of the State Policy are not justiciable in the court of law. Nevertheless, its importance lies in the fact that it clearly articulates certain mandates which are to be applied by the state in its governance. The courts also have constantly reminded the state in a series of cases, its constitutional obligation enshrined in Part IV of the Constitution. In relation to promotion of public health, mention may be made here of *Paschim Banga Khet Mazdoor Samity & Others v State of West Bengal & Others*⁸ wherein the court held that in a welfare state it is the primary duty of the government to provide medical care for the people. Despite the state being reminded of its duty by the judiciary, there seems to be little improvement made by the state in the direction of promoting health and welfare of the people.

⁶ Sumana Bahttacharya, C.Shrama, R.C. Dhiman and A.P.Mitra, climate Change and Malaria in India < http://www.environmentalportal.org.in/files/malaria_and_climate_change.pdf > at 27 June 2012.

⁷ Janice Duddy, Is Climate Change A Gender Issue? Association for Women's Rights in Development < <http://generoyambiente.com/arcangel2/documents/453.pdf> > at 29 June 2012.

⁸ 1996 4 SCC 37.

The Constitution under Part III guarantees certain fundamental rights to the citizens. Right to life and personal liberty provided under Article 21 has received an expansive interpretation in the hands of the judiciary after Maneka Gandhi's case.⁹ Some of the rights which are not expressly mentioned as fundamental rights have been given the status of fundamental right. The apex court in its judicial activist role has also acknowledged right to health as a part of right to life under Article 21 of the Constitution. Mention may be made here of State of Punjab v Mahinder Singh Chawla¹⁰ where in the court held that right to life includes the right to health. Again in CESC Ltd v Subhash Chandra Bose¹¹ Supreme Court relied on international instrument and concluded that right to health is a fundamental right. Although it could be argued that the enforcement of such a right would be difficult in a country like ours as the majority of the citizenry are poor and illiterate, the need for express articulation of the right to health as a fundamental right cannot be ruled out. At the same time, the state has to take up its constitutional obligation of promoting the health of the people in a more effective manner, more so, when the spread of epidemics in the country is scientifically acknowledged as due to climate change. Otherwise the safeguards guaranteed to people under the constitution would only remain as dead letters in the statute book. Gender justice and equality as enshrined in the Constitution would be an unattainable goal.

At present, The Ministry of Health and Family welfare oversees the implementation of the policies and programmes for health care around the country, within the framework set by the National Health Policy of 2002 and the priorities set in successive five year plans. While the responsibility for the delivery of health care rests largely with the State Government, the Government of India plays a role in setting policy and providing resources for the implementation of National Programmes. The country has a well structured multi-tiered public health infrastructure, comprising District Hospitals, Community Health Centers and Sub-centers spread across rural and semi-urban areas and tertiary medical care providing multi-specialty hospitals and medical colleges. Improvements in health indicators can be attributed in part to this network of health infrastructure. However, the progress has been quite uneven across regions

⁹ Maneka Gandhi v Union of India (1978) 1 SCC 248.

¹⁰ AIR 1997 SC 1225

¹¹ AIR 1992 SC 573,585.

with large- scale inter- state variations. Despite the consistent effort in scaling up infrastructure and manpower, the rural and remote areas continue to be deficit in healthy facility and manpower..

Awareness programmes about climate change have to be organized through these public health infrastructures. People should be educated about the spread of water borne and vector borne diseases through climate change. A gender perspective must be incorporated into infectious disease analysis and research to target policies and programmes. Other measures that can be taken up through the public health care centers are-

- Improve medical health services
- Provide Greater accessibility to medical health services
- Identification of vulnerable areas by developing vector- specific regional maps
- Development of robust predictive model linking climate and incidence
- Public education¹²
- Allocation of more financial resources by the government for improving public health. The current total expenditure on health is 4.2% of the GDP. This amount is low.

Surveillance and monitoring of diseases, access to technologies, at an affordable cost, access to health professionals, especially in rural areas, and sustainable education and training of future health professionals are also the need of the day.¹³

It should be noted that there is no legislation to effectively deal with climate change. The existing environmental legislations are silent about climate change. In the absence of a suitable legislative provision to check climate change, there would be an increase in litigation in India alleging violation of the right to live in a pollution free environment guaranteed under Article 21 of the Constitution by the state. Through public interest litigations, it would be easier for the litigants to approach the Supreme Court and the High Courts seeking damages for the ill effects of climate change. The common law remedies too could also be invoked. As the impacts of climate change on human health and ecosystem are large, it may not be possible to insure the same. The state would be liable to make good the loss suffered by its citizenry due to climate change.

¹² Sumana Bahhtaacharya

¹³ Lancet

Other indirect health impacts following extreme weather events include increased burden of work and responsibility, especially on women, increased anxiety, fears, and intra house hold tension, increased rates of suicide among men and women in cases of drought. This can be addressed by empowering women to enhance their capacities to look after themselves and their families and specifically to use available social and other networks to cope with increased burden and tension. There is also a need to design gender- sensitive capacity building programmes. Cleaner technologies in the agricultural and water sector should target women. Community – based CDM Projects, will, by nature of their setting, involve more women than men.¹⁴

STRENGTHEN PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN IN CONSERVATION OF BIODIVERSITY

Women's work and knowledge is central to biodiversity conservation and utilization, both because, they work between sectors and perform multiple tasks. Women, as farmers, have remained invisible despite their contribution. Economists tend to discount women's work as 'production' because it falls outside the so-called 'production boundary'. These omissions arise not because too few women work, but too many women do too much work of too many different kinds. Gender studies now being published, confirm that women in India are major producers of food in terms of value, volume and hours worked. In most cultures, women have been the custodians of bio-diversity. They produce, reproduce, consume and conserve biodiversity in agriculture. However, in common with all other aspects of women's work and knowledge, their role in the development and conservation of biodiversity has been rendered as non-work and non-knowledge..

It is possible to strengthen women participation in conservation of biodiversity through joint forest management programme. The Indian Forest Policy (MOEF, 1988) and the subsequent resolutions on participatory forest management emphasize the need for people's participation in natural forest management.¹⁵ Under the joint forest management village communities are

¹⁴ Njeri Wamukonya, and Margaret Skutsch, Is there a Gender Angle to the Climate Change Negotiations ?

¹⁵ Ram Prasad, Joint Forest Management in India and the Impact of stste Control over Non- wood forest Products ,
FAO Corporate Document Repository < [http:// www.fao.org/docrep/x2450e/x2450e0c.html](http://www.fao.org/docrep/x2450e/x2450e0c.html) > at 28June 2012

entrusted with the protection and management of nearby forests. But unfortunately the program has certain drawbacks. The joint forest management program among other things suffers from

- Lack of legal status and financial and executive powers for Forest Protection committees.

Absence of participation by women in spite of their formal representation in management committees.¹⁶

Ten years after the issue of the 1990 circular, the Government of India issued a new set of guidelines on 21st February 2000 for strengthening the joint forest management program in the country. The guidelines were framed in the light of the experience with the JFM process in India since 1990. The new guidelines provide for the following:

- all state Governments to register JFMs or village committees under Societies Registration Act by the 31st of March 2000.
- Women's participation on forest management programmes have to be encouraged.¹⁷

Although the circular has emphasized the need for registration of joint forest management program, some states have registered it under the Societies Registration Act. But it has not been done in all the states. There is a greater need to bring the joint forest management program under a statutory framework in all the states and also strengthen women's participation in forest management. The said programs have to be integrated to the Forests Act 1937.

STRENGTHEN WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN DECISIONS RELATED TO ENVIRONMENT

Women's participation in decision making processes involving climate change is an important prerequisite for more gender – responsive and efficient climate change policies that best serve the needs of the society. Women are patently absent from such processes. The climate debate has not sought to address the existing marginalization of women, nor their need to be integrated in environmental policies. Increasing participation of women in international conferences are

¹⁶ Damodaran Appukkuttannair, Engel Stefanie, Joint Forest Management in India : Assessment of Performance and Evaluation of Impacts 2003 ZEF- Discussion Papers on development Policy No. 77
< <http://ageconserach.umn.edu/handle/18752> > at 29 June 2012.

¹⁷ Appukkuttannair

essential to promote gender equality.¹⁸ Several publications, illustrated with many cases, have since described the different roles that women have in the management and use of land, water, energy, and biodiversity. According to feminist analyses, such as that of Esther Boserup (1989) it is actually woman- the gatherer- and not man-the –hunter who was traditionally a source of sustainable food supply. Even in the 18th Century, women under the leadership of Amrita Devi were actively involved in an environmental struggle for survival in Rajasthan, India. When in the 1970s, Cape Verde was struck with severe drought, women's organization Acao Democratica Feminina Gaucha which had originally focused on social and educational issues –put environmental issues high on its agenda.¹⁹ World over, women have spearheaded movements against environmental damages. Medha Patkar's involvement with the NBA and the active participation of ordinary women like Itwari Devi and Chamundeyi in the Chipko Movement, clearly substantiate the concern that women have for nature and environment. The Bhopal Gas Peedit Mahila Udyog Sangathan has continued to remind the government of India, Union Carbide and the world, that they still suffer and that no amount of money can restore the lives and health of the victims. Similarly, women have been a driving force in movements against the construction of nuclear power plants at Wyl in South-West Germany, against chalk-mining and logging in the Himalayas and the activities of the Green Belt Movement in Kenya.. All these illustrate that women, world over, have the same sense of anger and anxiety in preserving the basis of life and saving it from destruction.

Although the developing countries are at the receiving end of environmental disasters, they are not even at the periphery of decision and policy making processes. The climate debate has not sought to address the existing marginalization of women, nor their need to be integrated in environmental policies. Moreover, rural Indian women have little power within the household, and their contribution, especially in family enterprises, is often hidden from public awareness. This lack of power extends beyond the family, as women rarely participate in community level decision making, and are consequently not able to act as agents of change to better their

¹⁸ Fatma Denton, Climate Change Vulnerability, Impacts, and Adaptation: Why does Gender matter? Gender and Development (2002) 10 (2) 2 July 2002 at 12.

¹⁹ Irene Dankelman, Climate Change: Learning from Gender Analysis and Women's Experiences of Organizing for Sustainable Development 10 (2) July 2002 Gender and Development at 23.

situation. The new and emerging field of climate change mitigation, through project activities in developing countries, is based on modern scientific concepts. According to Vandana Shiva, the approach is based on a world view that supports, and is supported by, the socio-economic and political system of western capitalist patriarchy, which dominates and exploits nature, women and the poor. Historically, the western mode of development has reinforced a patriarchal style of decision-making.

Research shows that women's participation in decision making with respect to climate change, at local, national or international level is not equal to that of men. Reasons for women's low participation are rooted in organizational and cultural structures, in the traditional division of care responsibilities between men and women and in educational choices.²⁰ Some efforts have been made to secure women's participation in environmental decision making. In Bheerapani, a small remote village in the Nainital district in the Central Himalayas, a tiny NGO Community Awareness Centre encourages discussion of gender inequalities and empowers women by raising awareness of their rights over resources and knowledge systems. This NGO has facilitated amazing transformation against the backdrop of climate change in India. It has inspired women to become local leaders in climate –related issues and advocates for more sustainable organic farming.²¹ The practice adopted in Nainital to promote gender equality needs to be taken up in other states also. The Panchayati Raj System established under the Constitution (73rd Amendment) 1992 can be actively made use of to strengthen women's participation in environmental decision making in other states.

EARLY WARNING SYSTEM AND HAZARD MANAGEMENT

Case studies related to gender and natural disasters show that women make an important contribution to disaster reduction, usually informally through participation in disaster management and action as agents of social change. During a natural disaster, for example, women have a key role in protecting, managing, and recovering lost house hold resources, and

²⁰ EIGE Review of the Implementation in the EU of Article 10 of the Beijing Platform for Action: Women and Empowerment, Gender Equality and Climate Change.

²¹ Georgina Abound, Transformative , Participatory Approaches to Gender, Climate Change and Sustainable livelihoods in India in Gender and Climate Change in IN BRIEF Gender and Development Bridge Bulletin Issue 22 November 2011.

often develop innovative strategies to address climate change.²² Women's networks and resilience are particularly important in house hold and community recovery. After the 1999 Orissa cyclone, most of the relief efforts were targeted at or through women, giving them control over resources. Women received relief kits, including house building grants and loans, resulting in improved self – esteem and social status.

INDIA'S NATIONAL ACTION PLAN ON CLIMATE CHANGE – A CRITIQUE

On June 30, 2008, Prime Minister Manmohan Singh released India's first National Action Plan on Climate Change outlining the existing and future policies and programs addressing climate change mitigation and adaptation.

Gender issues have not been considered in wider climate change discourses and initiatives. The international response to the implications of climate change has largely focused on mitigation initiatives and has directed less attention to adaptation strategies. Predominant approaches and policy response have focused on scientific and technological measures to tackle climate change problems. They have displayed a scant regard for the social implications of climate change outcomes and threats these pose for poor men and women, or for the ways in which people's political and economic environments influence their ability to respond to the challenges of climate change.²³ The impact of climate change on gender relations has been neglected due to the gender –blindness still afflicting much development policy-making and the slow response by development agencies to the development challenges presented by climate change.²⁴ Solutions to the problem might instead be found by focusing resources on understanding how climate change will affect women and men differently, and what measures are necessary to ensure adaptation. Combating climate change problem has become a multi-billion dollar business, with funds for all

²² Anthony Castello, Mustafa Abbas, Adriana Allen, Sarah Bel, Richard Bellamy, Sharan Friel, Anne Johnson, Maria Kett, Maria Lee, Caren Levy, Mark Maslin, David McGuire, Hugh Montgomery, David Napier, Christiana Pagel, Jinesh Patel, Jose Antonio, Puppim de Oliveria, Nanneke Reddift, Hannah Raes, Daniel Rogger, Joanne Scott, Judith Stephenson, John Twigg, Jonathan Wolf, Graig Patterson, Managing the Health Effects of Climate Change, Lancett and University College London institute for Global Health Commission
< [http://environmentalportal.in/files/Manging the health effects of climate change .pdf](http://environmentalportal.in/files/Manging%20the%20health%20effects%20of%20climate%20change.pdf) > at 28June 2012

²³ Rachel Masika, Gender, Development, and Climate Change at Editorial p.3.

²⁴ Valerie Nelson, Kate Meadows, Terry Cnnon, John Morton, and Adrienne Martin, Uncertain Predictions, Invisible Impacts, and the Need to Mainstream Gender in Climate Change Adaptations Gender and Development 2002 52 10 (2) July 2002

kinds of projects in the private and public sectors. The question here is, whether women are likely to be able to take an equal share in this, and what needs to be done to ensure that they do. A better understanding of the connections between gender and poverty, the way in which they increase vulnerability to climate hazards, and their implications for the impact of climate change on livelihood and survival strategies, is essential. Informal Institutional reforms, whereby individuals at the community level become agents of change, seems to be a good option for increasing the ability of the poor to adapt to climate changes. Certainly, better environmental management at the community level, is seen by many experts as essential to efforts aimed at minimizing climate change impacts.

Policy decisions with respect to the environment should take into account all stake holders, not just the developed nations. Also, policies should be implemented in such a way that women are not disadvantaged. Clean Development Mechanisms, which evolved out of the Kyoto Protocol, needs to be strictly adhered to. The highly technical terms used by the decision makers reflect the extent to which complex issues are glossed over and simplified within global responses to climate change. Moreover, women need to be placed at the heart of sustainable development, because of their intrinsic knowledge and proximity to nature. In India, although legislations like the Environment Protection Act [1986] and National Environment Act [2010] are in place, often these laws get blatantly violated. Hence stringent monitoring and implementation of laws is a must, in moving towards a sustainable development programme. The Supreme Court rulings in the Ganga Pollution Act and the Taj Mahal case, are noteworthy in this respect. Environmental management, as of now, is highly gendered. But there is enough evidence to show that women are at the centre of sustainable development and that, ensuring greater gender equality in all sectors would mean that society as a whole will benefit.

National and local governments should :

- Develop strategies to improve and guarantee women's access to and control over natural resources
- Create opportunities for education and training in climate change
- Provide capacity –building and technology-transfer measures

- Women should have equitable access to the benefits of market-based approaches to curb climate change (Clean Development Mechanism). CDM should fund projects that can make renewable energy technologies more accessible to women and can fulfill their household needs.²⁵
- Promote a rights-based approach to climate change and ensure that future climate change policies and processes draw on human rights frameworks such as the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women CEDAW.²⁶

CONCLUSION

Women are already paying huge prices because of globalization, economic depression and environmental degradation. Climate change can only worsen their already fragile situation and leave them even more vulnerable. Trekking long distances for water and firewood could place them under immense stress. Managing health, sanitation and basic requirements on a daily basis would turn out to be a Herculean task for women. Environmental degradation and resultant climate change is a bomb ticking at the underbelly of developing countries, which if not approached with utmost urgency, could turn out to be an irrevocable catastrophe.

²⁵ Lorena Aguilar, Ariana Araujo and Andrea Quesada- Aguilar, Gender and Climate Change IUCN, The World Conservation Union < [http:// www.generoyambiente.org/arcangel2/documentos/489.pdf](http://www.generoyambiente.org/arcangel2/documentos/489.pdf) > at 29 June 2012.

²⁶ Emmeline Skinner and Alyson Brody, Gender and Climate Change : an Overview in Gender and Development Bridge Bulletin Issue 22 November 2011

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