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The Wiley Blackwell Encyclopedia of Gender and Sexuality Studies

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E

Earner–Carer Model

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The earner–carer model is a welfare state approach based on the ideological, gender-egalitarian premise that men and women are equally involved in both paid labor and unpaid care work (Korpi, Ferrarini, and Englund 2013). The model is sometimes expressed differently, i.e., as the dual earner/dual carer model. Different welfare state policy structures divide into those that support either women's paid work within the labor market or the traditional division of male breadwinner/female homemaker. Hence, policy measures produce different incentives for families to divide up paid work and unpaid care work.

During the 1990s, many feminists studying welfare state issues criticized the overlooking of gendered aspects; as Grönlund and Öun (2010, 182) summarize it, "the unpaid work that is carried out in the family is part of the welfare production in society and [...] for women, the important welfare state policies are not only those providing de-commodification, but also policies such as childcare and parental leave that contribute to women's integration into the labour market; that is, to their commodification." The critiques of feminist scholars have thus had an impact on welfare state theory and, in addition to the inclusion of care work, there also seems to be a growing consensus to include all socially constructed categories in the analysis, such as gender, class, ethnicity, and race (Korpi 2000).

Throughout the twentieth century, the traditional male breadwinner/female full-time homemaker ideal of family life was dominant in the Western welfare states, but during the second half of the century it became less pronounced, along with women's increased participation in the labor market. The model obliges men to earn enough for all members of the family; by the late twentieth century this ideal was no longer tenable even for middle-class families, and it has never been a reality for the working class (Fraser 1994). One example is the Swedish case, where both men and women were expected to do agricultural work and the ideal was that women should work all the time (Nyberg 1989, 2010). Women did not spend a lot of time caring for their children; looking after siblings was a task for older brothers and sisters.

An empirical study from the early twenty-first century shows the significance of the welfare state to family life. Korpi (2000; see also Esping-Andersen 1999) measures

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three welfare state policy models from the 18 OECD countries that were examined: dual-earner support, traditional family support, and market-oriented policies. The third model allows market forces to shape gender relations and leaves private solutions for individuals and their families. The study used a two-dimensional classification of institutions, enabling either dual-earner families or traditional female homemaker families. The dual-earner index measures public day-care services for children aged 0–2 years, full-time day care for children 3 years and older, and the extent to which earning-related parental insurance is provided. The traditional family index measures cash child allowances to minor children, family tax benefits to minor children for families with only one economic provider, and finally part-time public day-care services for children of 3 years up to school age. In this empirical study, countries with high scores on the first dimension and low scores on the second are classified as dual-earner countries (Denmark, Finland, Sweden, and Norway) and countries with high scores on the second dimension and low on the first are labeled as traditional countries (Austria, Belgium, France, Germany, and the Netherlands). Finally, if they show low scores on both dimensions the countries are classified as market oriented, because mainly markets and families provide childcare (Ireland, Switzerland, and the United Kingdom). Hence, this empirical study shows how different welfare state models affect work and family arrangements. Additional research explores their impact on work–family conflicts (for further reading see Öun 2012).

If scholars such as Esping-Andersen (1999) and Korpi (2000) are frontrunners with their empirical studies based on models that include the dual-earner and female homemaker/male breadwinner families, feminists' critique has eventually had an influence, hence the inclusion of care work, and a dual-carer classification has been developed. This is shown in another empirical investigation in which the welfare state policy for dual-carer support is included in the theoretical framework (Korpi, Ferrarini, and Englund 2013, 28). The results indicate that "In most countries women with tertiary education have very high labour force participation rates irrespective of family policies: women most likely to have individual resources enabling them to make real choices thus tend to choose paid work." For those countries where women to a large extent lack university-level education, the effects of family policies are most visible. Earner–carer policies seem to have significantly higher impact on the number of employed women with low and medium levels of formal education in comparison with welfare state policies that are market oriented or those that support a traditional family model.

In scholarly debates, the Nordic countries are often considered to be frontrunners in their policy support for the earner–carer model. The policy orientation during the 1970s led to expansions in areas that affected unpaid care work such as parental leave, public day care, and the individualization of income taxation. This increased men's involvement in household work and childcare, and provided women with greater employment opportunities and career possibilities. The earner–carer policies developed in the Nordic countries have also had an impact on class equality simultaneously with gender egalitarianism (see Korpi, Ferrarini, and Englund 2013). Despite these efforts, men still take less substantial parts of the parental leave, and fewer men than women work part-time to take care of children (Statistics Sweden 2012). This asymmetry contributes to upholding the gender imbalance in certain higher-paying professions. Overall, this historical sketch shows the

importance of feminist scholarly analysis for theory development, welfare state policy measures, and, in the long run, gender egalitarianism, here by means of families' division of paid work and unpaid care work.

SEE ALSO: Family Wage; Feminist Theories of the Welfare State; Gender Wage Gap; Parental Leave in Comparative Perspective; Work–Family Balance

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Eating Disorders and Disordered Eating

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Although the direct etiology of eating disorders is not entirely clear, it can be confirmed that gender role stereotypes do influence the problem, as is supported by the fact that 90 percent of eating disorder

cases are found in women (Morris 1985). Martz-Ludwig (1995) found that women who identify with feminine gender roles are at a significantly higher risk for acquiring disordered eating habits and body image problems. This study also supports the evidence that women who strive to achieve the cultural ideals of feminine beauty are more susceptible to developing an eating disorder.

Women are bombarded with pressures from media to adhere to an unrealistic standard of beauty in which thinness is revered. Bonnie Morris (1985), a prominent second-wave feminist, offers an explanation of social status for the women who experience body dissatisfaction and eating disorders. In her article, she postulates that adhering to a strict eating regimen often escalates to the development of full-blown eating disorders because "that behavior pattern is regarded as an achievement, not only by the anorexic but by her peer group" (Morris 1985, 90). By associating a woman's status, character, and, ultimately, her worth, with low weight, the emaciated physique is set as an ideal and prompts unhealthy expectations for women (Morris 1985).

Some empirical studies look through a feminist lens at the origins of eating disorders. Snyder and Hasbrouk (1996) found that disordered eating habits were more widespread among college-aged women who identified with traditional sexist roles. Conversely, women who were connected to feminist tenets were less likely to develop eating disorders and body image issues. This finding supports the feminist assertion that sexist gender roles in patriarchal society contribute to many women's low self-esteem, distorted body issues, and disordered eating.

The media and fashion industry dictate the cultural ideal of the thin body with images of emaciated models displayed across the spectrum of media avenues. The fitness and diet industries generate millions of dollars annually by marketing the concept of the ideal body to women. There has been recent criticism of the media for portraying digitally enhanced images of unrealistically thin women as reasonable and achievable standards against which women should measure themselves (Grogan 2008). Critiques from feminists have suggested that a wide array of body types and sizes needs to be accepted.

Women in Western society are under great social pressure to be deemed "beautiful" by being thin (Grogan 2008). However, such beauty standards are often unrealistic for women to achieve (Tiggemann 2002). Furthermore, women's experiences of such pressure to attain the ideal body is correlated to dissatisfaction with their body and with eating disorders. It is, however, unclear why only some women who are exposed to these pressures and ideals develop eating disorders, while others do not. Given that women are particularly vulnerable to negative body image, comprehensive social change will be required to shift the relationship between a woman's inherent value and her physical appearance and weight (Paquette and Raine 2004).

According to objectification theory repetitive experiences of sexual objectification socialize women to treat themselves as objects to be seen and evaluated by outside critiques; in viewing their bodies as objects for others, they then adopt the objectification as valid (de Beauvoir 1949; Bartky, Diamond, and Quinby 1988). Self-objectification is cultivated in a culture where women experience persistent body surveillance. These chronic negative experiences lead to the sequelae of symptoms such as depression, low self-esteem, and disordered eating.

It is well documented that heterosexual women experience unhealthy body image and disordered eating due to high levels of social pressures to be thin. Moradi and colleagues' (2005) data posits that more than half

of college women skip meals (59%); approximately one third restricted caloric consumption (37%), eliminated carbohydrates and fats (27% and 30%); and about one fourth fasted for more than 24 hours at a time (26%) in order to manipulate their body weight. There has been a paucity of research in examining the experience of non-heterosexual women in terms of body satisfaction and social pressures. However, some recent studies (Huxley 2010; Koff et al. 2010) have suggested that the pressure to be thin is ubiquitous, regardless of sexual orientation.

In one recent study, Koff and colleagues (2010) found that heterosexual and non-heterosexual women evidenced similar perceptions of their own bodies as well as that of the cultural ideal of the thin, feminine body. They also were found to have similar rates of body dissatisfaction, waist-to-hip ratio, breast size, and overall body fat. These results indicate that all women, regardless of sexual orientation and identity, are at risk of experiencing poor body image. While women are far more likely than men to develop eating disorders, due to the factors described above, men are not immune. Studies have found that gay and bisexual men in particular are prone to developing eating disorders as a result of the emphasis on physical attractiveness in gay male subcultures (Siever 1994).

In addition, athletes seem to be more susceptible to eating disorders than the general public (see Picard 1999). One study found that male athletes had higher rates of disordered eating than the general population, while female athletes experienced rates similar to those of general college populations (Stoutjesdyk and Jevne 1993). Stoutjesdyk and Jevne (1993) also found differences among different types of athletic groups, but only among females, with women in weight-restricted sports such as rowing, judo, diving, and gymnastics more likely to suffer eating disorders than other female athletes. Picard (1999) found that, in general, athletes at higher levels of competition are more susceptible to eating disorders than lower-level athletes, and athletes in "lean sports" such as distance running were more prone to eating disorders than those in non-lean sports such as basketball and hockey. Differences between racial and ethnic groups have also been found, with Caucasian and Latina female high school athletes being at greater risk of developing eating disorders than their African American peers (Pernick et al. 2006).

Review of the literature on mass media, developmental psychology, and eating disorders suggests a profound need for additional etiological research based on an amalgamation of developmental social learning theory, social comparison theory, and vulnerability-stressor models of disordered eating (Grogan 2008). Further empirical testing needs to be done to explore possible ways to change the cultural ideal of the thin body and to minimize the stress related to binary gender role stereotypes.

SEE ALSO: Appearance Psychology; Athletics and Gender; Dieting; Gender Stereotypes; Images of Gender and Sexuality in Advertising; Psychology of Objectification; Self-Esteem; Sexual Objectification

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Ecofeminism

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Feminism has a wide-ranging remit and ecofeminism has broadened what many feminists thought of as feminism to include not only women's bodies, discrimination at work, and sexual violence but also the violence against the earth, peace, war, technology, international relations, as well as the spiritual dimension. The term was first used by Françoise d'Eaubonne (1974) in her book *Le féminisme ou la mort*.

Ecofeminism, from the beginning, recognized the connection between the treatment of women and of the earth. It was indeed the activism of women that gave us the most important early analyses of ecology – among them Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring* (Carson 1986/1962) and Judith Wright's *The Coral Battleground* (Wright 2014/1977). Anti-nuclear activist Helen Caldicott convinced the Australian government to sue France over atmospheric nuclear testing in 1971 and 1972. These battles continued with creative approaches to political protest: in 1980, women protesting at the Pentagon wove a web representing the interconnectedness of everything; at Greenham Common in 1983, women danced on the missile silos; 100 women arrested at the

protest against Pine Gap in Central Australia all gave their names as Karen Silkwood; the Chipko women in India are remembered for protesting deforestation by hugging trees.

These actions have been accompanied by a burgeoning literature on militarism, environmental destruction, economics, globalization, colonization, and biodiversity as well as theoretical discussions on the nature of science, reductionism, the role of spirituality, the killing of the "goddess," women-centered knowledge, farming practices, seed saving, the relationship with land and water – just to name a few of the central themes of ecofeminism.

In *Feminism and Ecology* Mary Mellor (1997) acknowledges that while ecofeminism draws on both feminist and ecological philosophical traditions, it also challenges both strands. Indeed, Maria Mies and Vandana Shiva (1993) in *Ecofeminism* challenge the assumptions made by Marxists and scientists, thereby challenging major strands of male left and right ideologies. Furthermore, the connectedness between theory and practice reflects the radical feminist dictum that the personal is political. Ynestra King (1981) puts it this way:

> We are a woman-identified movement and we believe we have special work to do in these imperiled times. We see the devastation of the earth and her beings by the corporate warriors, and the threat of nuclear annihilation by the military warriors, as feminist concerns. It is the masculinist mentality which would deny us our right to our own bodies and our own sexuality, and which depends on multiple systems of dominance and state power to have its way.

These ideas are not new. Indigenous women and traditional farmers around the world have based their daily practice on such a philosophical stance. Australian Murri woman Lilla Watson said, "The future extends as far forward as the past, which means a 40,000 year plan" (Watson 1984). Such thinking goes well beyond the political conceptions of governments but is an idea that resonates for ecofeminists. Rokheya Hossain's 1905 science fiction novel *Sultana's Dream* concerns a country ruled by the Sultana which is organized around the principle of "horticulture" (Hossain 1988/1905). The term ecology was not yet invented but a social order arranged around ecological principles in a non-Western, mostly Muslim society, was.

The branches of ecofeminism spread around the world with activism by women from indigenous and traditional societies. Winona LaDuke documents the environmental destruction in the Attawapiskat First Nation in northern Ontario, Canada, where a process of "under-developing" is occurring. What she means is that formerly viable and sustainable communities are being mined, their social and environmental infrastructure destabilized with contaminated water and pollution, followed by stealing the wealth generated by the mines (LaDuke 2015, 221). The people of Kalimantan, Indonesia, suffer a similar fate. The forest peoples' impoverishment is an intentional part of government policy (Hawthorne 2002, 252–253).

In Germany (Gura 2015) and Bangladesh (Akhter 2015), seed savers are resisting governments and corporations by saving a wide variety of seeds that are generally not available. Seed savers have been prosecuted, while in Bangladesh Nayakrishi Andolon (New Agricultural Movement) small farmers have been saving seeds for many years, and Navdanya in India has pursued the same activities (Shiva 2015a). In Kenya, women farmers resisted the power of multinational corporations by growing beans (a crop important to women for nutritional and ritual reasons) between coffee trees (the cash crop planted by men). The intercropping practice improved soil fertility and reduced use of pesticides. Eventually, the women pulled out

the cash crop coffee trees and burnt them. This resistance to export orientation allowed the women to re-establish locally controlled collective work practices. In the Pacific (and also in the Caribbean and other island nation tourist destinations) tourism, including ecotourism, has been criticized for destroying social cohesion and for making people landless in order to build hotels for tourists (Chailang Palacios, in dé Ishtar 1994, 85). In South America, the same process occurs, summarized nicely by Eduardo Galeano as the rich free trade purveyors who "turn everything they touch … into gold for themselves and rubbish for others" (Galeano 1973, 101).

Activists have also mounted legal resistance to destructive corporate behavior. Vandana Shiva and two co-respondents sued W. R. Grace in 2000 over the claim that the company held a patent on the neem plant. But such a course is not open to people whose knowledge is passed down orally, in contrast to the 2000-year-old written Sanskrit sources that Shiva was able to draw on. Marie-Monique Robin has investigated in a series of films and books the criminal activity of Monsanto. Scientists such as Mae-Wan Ho (1998, 2015), Floriane Koechlin (2015), and Maria Grazia Mammucini (2015) (in Shiva 2015b), among others, have pointed to the scientific flaws in so much of today's food production, while feminist economists such as Sabine O'Hara (1996), Marilyn Waring (1988), Maria Mies and Veronika Bennholdt-Thomsen (1999), and a host of others have challenged the underlying assumptions of neoclassical profit-driven economics.

Susan Griffin's *Woman and Nature* (Griffin 1978) and Mary Daly's *Gyn/Ecology* (Daly 1978) had a huge impact on ideas around ecofeminism. Both writers put radical feminist and ecological ideas at their center. Both played with language and with form and challenged the ways in which theoretical ideas can be presented. For Daly, the playfulness came through her use of neologisms and also creating new meanings for old words; Griffin used two contrasting voices: one was poetic and spare whereas the other cited the evidence factually.

Radical feminism has had a substantial influence on ecofeminist thinking, and not only the above writers but also others in books such as *Rape of the Wild* (Collard and Contrucci 1983) and *The Age of Sex Crime* (Caputi 1987), and *Wild Politics* (Hawthorne 2002) draw connections between violence against women and violence against the earth in a multiplicity of ways. Crossing cultural boundaries, books such as Diane Bell's hugely influential *Daughters of the Dreaming* (Bell 2002/1983) and Zohl dé Ishtar's *Holding Yawulyu* (dé Ishtar 2005) have enlarged the understanding of other knowledge systems, other ways of knowing about the world. A philosophy that is critical of the fundamental knowledge claims of patriarchy also needs alternative world views, that might support new approaches to living in the world. While horticulture enabled Rokheya Hossain (1988/1905) to imagine another world, radical feminists have creatively developed new systems of belief or built upon older systems. In a similar vein, the idea of *The Subsistence Perspective* as outlined by Maria Mies and Veronika Bennholdt-Thomsen (1999) builds on the idea of subsistence – low-consumption, highly productive ways of living – as an ecological and feminist practice. They also argue that it challenges the market-centric view of productivity. Marilyn Waring's analysis of the UN System of National Accounts in her book *Counting for Nothing* (Waring 1988) follows a similar thread, challenging the idea that domestic labor is unproductive or likewise that a living forest (as opposed to a clear-felled forest) has no value. These challenges to economics and militaristic thinking are important philosophical milestones for ecofeminism.

In *The Death of Nature*, Carolyn Merchant (1980) examines the way in which a scientific world view was generated during the enlightenment period. She argues that an increasing separation between nature and civilized "man" has led to objectification of nature as a "thing" to be used. She also argues that women too were objectified in comparable ways. This utilitarian view of the world enables technology, including destructive and out-of-control technologies. This is the grounding of critiques such as those in the anthology *Test Tube Women* (Arditti et al. 1984) around the new reproductive technologies or Rosalie Bertell's work on radioactivity (Bertell 1985) and the consequences of militarism (Bertell 2000). Maud Barlow's unpacking of the increasingly privatized ownership of water around the world continues the critique of market driven environmental destruction (Barlow 2007). The peak of this critique is that of the corporate seed giant, Monsanto, as seen in Marie-Monique Robin's book and film, *The World According to Monsanto* (Robin 2010). Robin accuses the corporation not just of uncontrolled pollution but also of willful criminality, documenting the connection between the military defoliant Agent Orange and the so-called "cure for world hunger," Genetically Modified Organisms.

Val Plumwood's *Feminism and the Mastery of Nature* (Plumwood 1993) takes the critique of knowledge further back to Plato, to his view of man as a master which has implications for women, enslaved peoples, domesticated animals, and plants which are made to serve humanity. She argues that rather than being the origins of civilization, it marks the point at which uncivil behavior toward women and nature became the norm. Vandana Shiva, in her classic book *Staying Alive* (Shiva 1989), picks up on Merchant's critique of science and takes it further, accusing scientists (Shiva trained as a physicist) of using violent reductionist thinking in an organic world. She argues that the natural and the supernatural should not be divided. Drawing on her Hindu tradition, she points out that Prakriti, associated with women, is both "activity and diversity" (Shiva 1989, 39); it is the source, the seed, the matrix. Shiva manages to breach the Western divide between science and spirit.

The anthology *Reweaving the World* (Diamond and Orenstein 1990) is a fine example of crossing this divide with contributions from well-known goddess scholars such as Starhawk (2003) and Charlene Spretnak (1991), Native American scholar Paula Gunn Allen (1986), and animal activist Mart Kheel (2007), as well as Shiva, Merchant, and King mentioned above. The links between the two, although not obvious to an outsider, become so when examining the history of patriarchy, the demise of women-centered religions, the persecution of witches, and the increasing separation of humanity from nature. Here too, ideas developed by groups such as the Chipko Women in their protests against the cutting of forests in India and the spiritual come together. It is what Vandana Shiva refers to as "the feminine principle." She also refers to the concept of *terra mater*, contrasting this with the colonizing concept of *terra nullius* used against indigenous peoples in Australia and Sub-Saharan Africa. A similar idea emerges from the worldview of the Ngarrindjeri people of South Australia, where the root forms of the words "land," *ruwi*, and "body," *ruwar*, are related (Bell 2014/1998, 622).

The analysis of colonization – of women and of the colonized peoples of the world – is something that Robin Morgan noticed in 1977 when she wrote (Morgan 1977, 161):

> Women are a colonized people. Our history, values and (cross-cultural) culture have been taken from us – a gynocidal attempt to manifest most arrestingly in the patriarchal seizure of our basic and precious "land": our bodies.

Maria Mies's *Patriarchy and Accumulation on a World Scale* (Mies 1999/1986) might seem a long way from this spiritual take on ecofeminism, as it is a critique of Marxist theory and the way that women were eliminated from that analysis. She argues that abandoning violence is the first step in abandoning exploitation and she ties the exploitation of the earth to the exploitation of the poor including women and poverty-stricken workers (and there is a large overlap in these two groups). She argues for a reduction in export economies and an increase in self-sufficiency. Mies's analysis indicates that the interweaving forces of patriarchy and capitalism have the most impact on women and that structural change is required if women are to gain some semblance of equality. In this way, Mies directly connects the colonization of women and the earth. In turn, she is critical of the way in which nature is turned into an enemy and that "development" is something that poor countries need to "catch up" on. All this leads Mies in the end to turn to those who have maintained the traditions: the farmers of Bangladesh and Germany, including rituals around keeping the earth fruitful. Sinith Sittirak (1998) movingly shows the way in which development affects the real lives of people. Using her mother as an example, a woman who has never applied for a job but who is resourceful and skilled in many areas, shows her self-sufficiency within the Thai economy.

Ecological sufficiency is the focus of Ariel Salleh's anthology *Eco-sufficiency and Global Justice* (Salleh 2009). Contributors from every continent cover issues such as what counts as work, economics, sovereignty, complexity and relationship, and the material universes of fishing, nuclear testing, and water policies; there are particular essays on how the Kyoto Protocol is condemning women and children to destitution in Costa Rica. Ana Isla sums up the situation (Isla 2009, 213):

> Ironically, Costa Rica as a country stands in much the same situation as its prostitutes – kept in financial debt by pimps, in this case, the World Bank and IMF, mining firms and environmental NGOs. But neither the nation nor its women can earn enough to pay off debts and regain autonomy.

Prostitution, debt, war, and farming make strange bedfellows, but the links are clear. Vandana Shiva, in her latest book *Seed Sovereignty, Food Security* (2015a), makes the point in her introduction that the industrial agricultural paradigm is no longer focused on life and food because its roots lie in war and militarism: explosives are re-purposed as fertilizers and chemicals used in war are now used to go to war against insects and plants. Killing, she says, has become more important than growing food (Shiva 2015a, 1–2).

Feminists from very different backgrounds, theoretical positions, and commitments for political change can be found united on ecofeminist issues. The reason for this is to be found in massive misuses of power by the military industrial complex, which includes government-sponsored war-mongering as well as corporate excesses resulting in pollution, environmental damage, and illness. Ecofeminism and the anti-globalization movement brought together many who were irate about these misuses. It drew in traditionally left-wing socialist Marxist feminists alongside those who were anti-war, against the nuclear industry, and peace activists of all hues; it brought in ecological economists alongside those who have spent years researching and uncovering pre-patriarchal civilizations and their accompanying goddesses; it brought in feminists from very different cultural backgrounds around the world because they recognized a possible precolonial knowledge system at its center; it brought in radical feminists with their holistic and complexity-based analysis of patriarchal violence and the various ways

in which this is manifested; it brought in some liberal feminists and post-modern feminists because they believe in the need for change and the decisions we make affecting that change. This combination of feminist insight has made ecofeminism rich and complex.

SEE ALSO: Deep Ecology; Feminism, Multiracial; Feminisms, Marxist and Socialist; Indigenous Knowledges and Gender; Patriarchy; Pacifism, Peace Activism, and Gender

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