

GENDER AND CLIMATE CHANGE

IMPACTS, SCIENCE, POLICY



JOANE NAGEL

ROUTLEDGE

GENDER AND CLIMATE CHANGE

Does gender matter in global climate change? This timely and provocative book takes readers on a guided tour of basic climate science, then holds up a gender lens to find out what has been overlooked in popular discussion, research, and policy debates. We see that, around the world, more women than men die in climate-related natural disasters; the history of science and war are intimately interwoven masculine occupations and preoccupations; and conservative men and their interests drive the climate change denial machine. We also see that climate policymakers who embrace big science approaches and solutions to climate change are predominantly male with an ideology of perpetual economic growth, and an agenda that marginalizes the interests of women and developing economies. The book uses vivid case studies to highlight the sometimes surprising differential, gendered impacts of climate changes.

Joane Nagel, Distinguished Professor of Sociology at the University of Kansas, is the author of *Race, Ethnicity, and Sexuality: Intimate Intersections, Forbidden Frontiers*.

Joane Nagel focuses her keen sociological eye on the intersection of gender and climate change, and the result is an exceptionally insightful analysis of topics such as women's greater vulnerability to a warming world, male domination of climate science and resulting blindspots, and the need for women having a greater voice in climate change policy-making. Her volume provides a superb example of the value of sociological insights into climate change.

Riley E. Dunlap, *Dresser Professor and
Regents Professor of Sociology, Oklahoma State University*

We have waited a long time for a book this good—hard-hitting and analytic, amply supported empirically yet accessible to generalists, and fine-grained enough to bring these critical issues to life. What an accomplishment! Nagel deftly synthesizes a wide range of multidisciplinary research to persuasively argue that yes, gender and climate change are connected—and why gender justice and climate justice are inextricably linked.

Elaine Enarson, *Independent Scholar*

Nagel offers an original and compelling take on climate change that will attract a major popular and scholarly audience, including teachers and students in a wide range of courses. She documents intriguing and tragic disproportionate impacts of climate on women, as well as the male-dominated profile of the fossil fuel industry and climate deniers. While her findings don't obscure the universal threat to both genders, they make clear that if you care about women you must urgently work to stop climate change, and that women will help lead resistance to the economic and military forces wreaking havoc on our environment.

Charles Derber, *author of Greed to Green:
Solving Climate Change and Remaking the Economy and
The Disinherited Majority: Capital Questions—Piketty and Beyond*

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To Mike
From start to finish

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PREFACE

In 2008, I attended a conference organized by the Kansas Insurance Commissioner on the “‘what ifs’ of climate change that could impact the insurance industry.”¹ The meeting was attended by more than 50 Kansas insurance agents, managers, and small business insurance agency owners, as well as insurance industry association and government representatives. The speakers included a climate scientist, the research director of the National Association of Insurance Commissioners, and a senior vice president for Swiss Re, a major international reinsurance company headquartered in Zurich. The speakers discussed the risks expected from climate change (extreme weather, coastal and inland flooding, droughts and associated wildfires, crop failures) and the expected increased cost of insuring against these hazards. It was a fascinating sociological moment – local business meets global capital on an uneven landscape where the two parties had little common ground and even less shared vision, especially when it came to climate change.

The climate scientist spoke first, offering an overview of well-established findings and restrained predictions about the impacts of climate change globally and on the US Great Plains. The audience, who mainly represented a conservative industry in a conservative state, listened politely. Their lack of questions and disinterested demeanor indicated that they were not particularly impressed by the understated, but nonetheless ominous, scientific news. Even if these mainly Republican businesspeople were personally neutral on the topic of climate change, in their businesses they daily faced a clientele that was largely in denial and often hostile toward scientific pronouncements

about global warming and its potential impact on their lives and livelihoods.

The conference began to engage the audience when the two speakers from industry began talking money. The insurance industry research director and the executive from the reinsurance corporation informed the conferees that increasing risks from climate change were going to result in significant rate increases in short order. These were rate increases that many members of the audience would have to pass on to their conservative, skeptical customers. Unlike switching channels when a climate change science story appears on a newscast, the rising cost of insurance against the risks of climate change was bad news the conference attendees could not easily tune out, since they were about to become its messengers. As the meeting proceeded, it became clear that these insurance businesspeople were not comfortable about carrying back home to their clients the communiqué from the multinational reinsurance industry: your insurance rates will be going up because of global warming. This news was especially unwelcome since many of them (and their customers) didn't even "believe in" climate change.

One attendee at the Kansas Insurance Commission meeting was the president of the Armed Forces Insurance Exchange at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas (home of the US Army Combined Arms Center and Command and General Staff College). He represented another conservative constituency – the military. His comments, however, revealed a surprise about the US military's institutional posture toward climate change science: "It's critical we get more informed on climate change, and this is a first step toward that. Three-fifths of our exposure is in the coastal Southeast – obviously, it's high on our radar screen."

"Three-fifths of our exposure is the coastal Southeast." Why did that particular fact lead this military insurance man to report that climate change was "high on our radar screen?" The answer is the location of large US military investments (naval bases and other military installations) in coastal regions, especially in the US southeastern seaboard and Gulf Coast – areas most vulnerable to hurricanes. Climate change models project increased intensity of storms and storm surges in coastal areas around the world, particularly hurricanes and monsoons. Models

of sea level rise track the warming oceans and the melting polar ice sheets to predict that US coastlines and coastal cities face significant effects: coastal erosion, flooding of agricultural lands, residential neighborhoods, and commercial developments, and salinization of freshwater lakes, wetlands, farmlands, and drinking water supplies. The individual members of the US armed forces might hold conservative, even skeptical views of climate change since the majority are Republicans or conservative Independents.² The institutional stance of the US military, however, does not reflect these views. US armed service personnel may be climate skeptics, but the US armed services are not.

The Kansas Insurance Commission meeting provided me with a number of insights that are reflected in this book: the politics of skepticism; the role of gender and social class in climate change attitudes; the economic impacts of climate change, which can fly in the face of public beliefs; the importance of climate change to the US military; and the large gap between technical knowledge and popular understanding of scientific findings. I am grateful to my colleague, David Braaten, an atmospheric scientist in the University of Kansas Geography Department, for inviting me to accompany him to this meeting. I am indebted to David for other reasons as well. He helped design and served as my co-principal investigator (PI) on the five-year C-CHANGE (Climate Change Humans and Nature in the Global Environment) graduate training program for University of Kansas PhD students in the natural and social sciences and engineering (National Science Foundation (NSF0801522) IGERT (Integrative Graduate Education and Research Traineeship) award), and he led two groups of C-CHANGE trainees to Greenland as part of his graduate seminar on Climate Change in Greenland and the Arctic.³ David's expertise and generosity are reflected in Chapter 1; his comments and corrections were critical to the chapter, but despite his best efforts, any errors remain mine.

My gratitude extends to my three other co-PIs in the NSF C-CHANGE IGERT project: Dr. Daniel Wildcat (Haskell Indian Nations University) and Drs. Leonard (Kris) Kristalka and Andrew (Town) Peterson (KU Ecology and Evolutionary Biology), for their

work designing and directing C-CHANGE courses and activities. Town included C-CHANGE faculty and students in his extensive international scientific collaborations and led two groups to Mexico as part of his *Climates and Borders* seminar. C-CHANGE was a broadly interdisciplinary collaboration among 30 colleagues who taught or advised more than 60 graduate students who were funded and/or participated in C-CHANGE seminars and fieldwork in the US, Mexico, and Greenland. These students and colleagues were from American Studies, Anthropology, Biology, Chemical Engineering, Economics, Environmental Engineering, Environmental Studies, Geography, Geology, History, Law, Philosophy, Political Science, Psychology, Public Administration, and Sociology. This multitude of knowledges and perspectives enriched my understanding of climate change and its relationship to the natural and social world. Without the generosity of these colleagues and students, I could not have written this book.

My colleague, co-worker, and fellow traveler to almost all C-CHANGE destinations, Natalie Parker, C-CHANGE Project Coordinator, read the entire manuscript as each chapter was written. Natalie was, in many ways, my ideal intended reader: smart and educated, a non-specialist who was informed and open to argument and evidence. I benefitted from her own success and skill as an author, especially one who knows how to give supportive feedback and gentle criticism on early drafts. Natalie's influence is evident in the sections of the book marked by clarity and smoothness, but not in those places where I could not resist wading into the weeds of historical or technical detail. Our student assistant, Shaylee Vandever, worked tirelessly to locate data, construct summary tables, and track down citations. Several colleagues provided insightful responses to drafts of parts of the book. Ebenezer Obadare, Shannon O'Lear, and Kees van der Veen read sections and chapters on gender, science, and the military. Graduate students in my 2014 seminar on Gender and Global Environmental Change read the entire manuscript and offered a range of useful responses, even taking the risk of providing occasional critical feedback to their professor.

A number of colleagues patiently and thoughtfully answered my questions about data, literature, and ideas. Bob Brulle sent me several useful articles, leads, and ideas about climate change skepticism. Dora Daley offered thoughtful feedback to my questions about gender and policy, and gave me a great lead to International Monetary Fund (IMF) Director Christine Lagarde's thinking about women's added value. Jim Fleming responded with polite incredulity and a fountain of feedback when I asked him if and how the military's involvement in science matters. Ed Russell spent time talking and corresponding with me about the role of the military in the evolution of US chemistry as a discipline and profession, and helped me think through the implications of funding for shaping the agenda (and sometimes the bias) in science. Sharon Harlan shared literature and her own research on the effects of heat and heat waves on men's and women's health outcomes. Maril Hazlett spent an afternoon with me comparing notes on her research on Rachel Carson and the role of masculinity in science. Riley Dunlap provided insights from his research and readings on climate skepticism, and his colleague, Aaron McCright, answered my questions about gender and climate change denial. Jorge Soberón was an invaluable and gentle sounding board for me to test my hunches and claims about gender and science and the military-science complex. My colleague, Bob Antonio, supplied me with a steady stream of up-to-date research, reports, and articles on numerous aspects of climate change; I was immensely fortunate to know such a committed scholar who was so willing to share his vast knowledge of the political and economic implications of unfolding climate science. Two of my former students, now university faculty members, Lindsey Feitz and Monique Laney, were my research assistants when I and they first began learning about global climate change. I'm proud of, but not responsible for or surprised by, their successes, and grateful for their early and ongoing collegiality. The enthusiasm for this project by Dean Birkenkamp, President and Publisher of Paradigm Publishing, was critical to its completion when a major life loss left me reeling; Dean obtained careful, supportive, but also critical reviews of the book prospectus and the completed manuscript and offered invaluable advice along the way as he and the book moved to Routledge.

This book is dedicated to my dear late husband, Michael Joseph Penner. It was Mike who brought to my attention a posting about “gender and disasters” on one of several emergency management lists that he subscribed to. His enthusiasm for this project supported me throughout its writing. As a former firefighter, over the more than 30 years of our marriage, he generously shared with me countless invaluable insights into masculine culture. To the extent that I got it right about masculinity and militarism, it was because of Mike; where I got it wrong is my sole responsibility.

Notes

- ¹ Kansas Insurance Department. 2008. “Conference Examines Insurance Concerns about Potential Climate Change.” August 28, 2008 Press Release Topeka, Kansas. Accessed on June 25, 2014 at www.ksinsurance.org/gpa/news/2008/climate_change_release8-08.pdf.
- ² A 2009 survey of 1800 active-duty troops conducted by the *Military Times* reported that 12 percent of respondents identified themselves as Democrats, 41 percent identified themselves as Republicans, and 32 percent identified as Independents; see McGarry, Brendan. 2013. “2009 Military Times Poll: In Politics, Troops Are Increasingly Independent.” *Navy Times* (March 14). Accessed on June 25, 2014 at www.navytimes.com/apps/pbcs.dll/article?AID=2013303141172.
- ³ For details of the NSF C-CHANGE IGERT program, see www.res.ku.edu/~crgc/IGERT/ (accessed on June 25, 2014).

INTRODUCTION

Why Gender and Climate Change?

“Say what?! Gender and climate change? Doesn’t climate change affect everyone? It’s a global issue, not a gender issue.” These comments were made to me by a natural science colleague several years ago when I wondered aloud whether there were gendered dimensions to global climate change. His skepticism motivated the research for this book. When I began reading about gender and climate change in 2008, I found a limited scientific literature. Most of the work focused on women’s vulnerabilities to climate-related disasters, mainly in developing countries. By 2015, there was a large and growing body of research on women and men and climate change. This book contributes to that research by offering a sociological analysis of gender and climate change.

Not all climate change affects women and men differently. Sometimes gender matters, sometimes it doesn’t. As a point of clarification, gender refers to socially assigned roles, expectations, and positions for males and females in societies. In contrast to sex (biological and physiological differences between males and females), gender can change over time and according to social class, religion, ethnicity, region, or country. There are variations in both sex and gender in any population. While human males tend to be taller than females, some males are taller than others, and some females are taller than some males. This can be true for other physiological differences between the

sexes, such as strength, endurance, or lifespan. These sexual differences are not exclusively biological; many have social origins.

For instance, nutritional differences between males and females in different countries have resulted in cross-national variations in men's and women's average height and rate of obesity. Cultural expectations of physical fitness for women can reduce inherent sexual differences in strength. Gender differences in men's and women's economic responsibilities, family duties, political rights, education, and health can make men and women more or less or equally vulnerable to the effects of climate change. These gender variations can be seen within countries and in cross-national comparisons. Gender and sexual differences and variations in gender roles across the globe have important implications for understanding whether the impacts of climate change will be similar or dissimilar for men and women, especially when climate change outcomes involve natural disasters.¹

Gendering Natural Disasters

Most so-called "natural" disasters involve human factors, such as the collapse of inadequately designed levees that flooded parts of New Orleans during Hurricane Katrina in 2005. Whatever their causes, natural disasters affect more than 200 million people every year, and the numbers of disasters has been increasing in recent decades.² Disaster statistics indicate that there were three times as many natural disasters from 2000 to 2009 compared to the period from 1980 to 1989. Not all natural catastrophes are climate-related; some are geophysical (e.g. tsunamis or earthquakes). Researchers have attributed the increase in disasters from 1980 to 2009 mainly to a rise in the number of climate-related events (e.g. storms or droughts), which accounted "for nearly 80% of the increase, whereas numbers of geophysical events have remained stable."³ Climate models suggest the trend toward stronger storms, heavier precipitation, flooding, heatwaves, and droughts causing climate-related disasters will continue as levels of carbon dioxide (CO₂) rise in the future.⁴ In light of larger numbers of projected natural disasters from processes associated with climate change, it is important

to understand who is at risk. Of particular interest here is whether there are gendered patterns in human risks from climate-related disasters.

In a study of 4600 natural disasters in 141 countries between 1981–2002, researchers found that natural disasters lowered the life expectancy of women more than men, killed more women than men, and/or killed women at an earlier age than men.⁵ This more deadly effect of disasters on women seemed to be very much influenced by women's socioeconomic status relative to men. In many countries, women's devalued social position makes them especially vulnerable when disaster strikes. In countries where women have more equal social and economic rights, researchers found less difference in life expectancy between men and women during or after disasters. They concluded that women's equality not only improves the quality of their day-to-day lives, it can enhance their chances for survival in the face of disaster.⁶

There are several ways that gender matters in understanding global climate change. The chapters of this book will examine differences between men and women as they relate to several aspects of climate change: impacts, science, skepticism, and policy.

Gender and climate change impacts – global warming and sea level

rise: Around the world not only do more women than men die in climate- and weather-related natural disasters, the disruptions following these disasters make women and adolescent girls (and sometimes boys) especially vulnerable to exploitation:

The South Asia partnership in Barguna, Bangladesh, reported an increase in sex trafficking during times of floods, droughts and cyclones: “after cyclones Sidr and Aila, there was a lot more trafficking due to economic problems ... Indeed most of the sex workers in Dhaka, come from this part of Bangladesh.”⁷

Gender and climate change science – masculinity and militariza-

tion: Climate science is a mainly male enterprise, which, in the US, is influenced by a historically male-dominated institution: the military. The US Department of Defense's interest in the security threats associated with climate change diverts funding away from mitigation measures to slow the causes of climate change and directs funding

toward preparations to battle the perceived dangers arising from climate change:

Climate change may exacerbate water scarcity and lead to sharp increases in food costs. The pressures caused by climate change will influence resource competition while placing additional burdens on economies, societies, and governance institutions around the world. These effects are threat multipliers that will aggravate stressors abroad such as poverty, environmental degradation, political instability, and social tensions – conditions that can enable terrorist activity and other forms of violence.⁸

Gender and climate change responses – skepticism and policy: Responses to climate change are shaped almost exclusively by politically-connected and/or professional men, reflecting privileged male cultural viewpoints, values, and agendas which sometimes involve denying that climate change exists or designing policies that ignore the different effects of climate change on women, people living in poverty, or other vulnerable populations:

A recent report by the UN Food and Agriculture Organization considered the gendered effects of large-scale biofuel production, and concluded that women in particular would be adversely affected ... [by] the way in which so-called marginal land, which is often used by women for household food production, is targeted for biofuel production; loss of biodiversity resulting in reduced food security; high water consumption of biofuel crops, which compete directly with household needs and increase women's workload; replacement of solid biofuel crops needed for local households; and exploitation of female biofuel plantation workers.⁹

Each chapter will examine these and other claims about gender differences in climate change impacts, science, skepticism, and politics. We will evaluate evidence in response to the question: Does gender matter? Does it matter that more women than men are affected by climate change-related disasters? Does it matter that men dominate climate science? Does it matter that men are more likely to deny climate

change is a problem or that women are poorly represented in climate change policymaking?

Revealing the Gendered Face of Climate Change

It should not be surprising that climate change has a gendered face. Social science research has reported many ways that gender matters in societies: work and labor force participation, health behavior and outcomes, family dynamics, civil and human rights, crime and delinquency, political attitudes and power, discrimination, violence, poverty, consumer behavior, risk-taking, military participation, education, income, and environmental attitudes, to name a few.¹⁰ Sociological analyses of gender in everyday social life have implications for understanding the human dimensions of global climate change. Women's and men's relative places in society, cultural definitions of masculinity and femininity, and the moral economies that define male and female worth and proper behavior all matter in the gendered aspects of climate change. These gender differences shape women's and men's vulnerability to the impacts of climate change, ability to set the scientific climate research agenda, access to resources associated with recovery from climate-related disasters, attitudes toward risks associated with climate change, and participation in the political processes that shape mitigation and adaptation policies.

There are many variations in the relative places of women and men in countries around the world. On average, across countries, women are less educated and poorer than men, but they tend to live longer. Men are more likely to hold political office, work outside the home, and be overrepresented in professional, scientific, and technical fields. Women are more likely to volunteer in their communities, work for no pay at home or for low pay in the informal economy, and be overrepresented in teaching, health care, and the service sector. Women and men not only live their private and public lives in different places in society, they occupy different cultural spaces – even when they are in the same families and communities. Most masculine cultures around the world emphasize autonomy, strength, risk-taking, and some degree of control over the women in their families. These values constitute what researchers refer to as “hegemonic masculinity.”¹¹ While many of

these characteristics might seem like dated stereotypes about men and women, they not only are typical of gender roles in the global South, they can be seen in varying degrees in the lives of women and men in the United States and other Western countries. As we shall see, the gendered aspects of climate change are a reflection of gendered aspects of social life in general. Broadly, gender inequality contributes to more unequal impacts of climate change, often making women more vulnerable than men.

In the next chapter we will review some basic climate change terms, processes, and findings. These will give us the breadth and depth of climate change knowledge that we will need to evaluate the arguments and evidence in the rest of this book about the ways that gender matters in understanding global climate change.

Notes

- ¹ Enarson, Elaine. 2012. *Women Confronting Natural Disaster: from Vulnerability to Resilience*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publisher; Enarson, Elaine, and P.G. Dhar Chakrabarti (eds.). 2009. *Women, Gender, and Disaster: Global Issues and Initiatives*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- ² Guha-Sapir, Debarati, Philippe Hoyois, and Regina Below. 2013. "Annual Disaster Statistical Review, 2012: The Numbers and Trends." Centre for Research on the Epidemiology of Disasters, Université catholique de Louvain, Brussels, Belgium. Accessed on February 13, 2014 at http://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/ADSR_2012.pdf.
- ³ Leaning, Jennifer, and Debarati Guha-Sapir. 2013. "Natural Disasters, Armed Conflict, and Public Health." *New England Journal of Medicine*, Vol. 369, No. 19:1836–42.
- ⁴ Lau, William K.-M., H.-T. Wu, and K.-M. Kim. 2013. "A Canonical Response of Precipitation Characteristics to Global Warming from CMIP Five Models." *Geophysical Research Letters*, Vol. 40:3163–9.
- ⁵ Neumayer, Eric, and Thomas Plumper. 2007. "The Gendered Nature of Natural Disasters: the Impact of Catastrophic Events on the Gender Gap in Life Expectancy, 1981–2002." *Annals of the American Association of Geographers*, Vol. 97, No. 3:551–566; they included 12 types of disasters in their study, all but two were weather or climate related, p. 40.
- ⁶ Ibid.
- ⁷ Van der Gaag, Nikki. 2014. In *Double Jeopardy: Adolescent Girls and Disasters*. Plan International, p. 66. Accessed on March 26, 2014 at <https://plan-international.org/girls/reports-and-publications/index.php?lang=en>; Kartiki, Katha. 2011. "Climate Change and Migration: A Case Study from Rural Bangladesh." *Gender and Development*, Vol. 19, No. 1:23–38.

- ⁸ US Department of Defense. 2014. *Quadrennial Defense Review*, p. 8. Accessed on March 26, 2014 at www.defense.gov/pubs/2014_Quadrennial_Defense_Review.pdf.
- ⁹ Haigh, Christine, and Bernadette Vallely. 2010. *Gender and the Climate Change Agenda: The Impacts of Climate Change on Women and Public Policy*. Women's Environmental Network, p. 27. Accessed on March 26, 2014 at www.wen.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/Gender-and-the-climate-change-agenda-21.pdf; see also Rossi, A., and Y. Lambrou 2008. *Gender and Equity Issues in Liquid Biofuels Production, Minimizing the Risks to Maximize the Opportunities*. Rome: Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations. Accessed on March 26, 2014 at www.fao.org/docrep/010/ai503e/ai503e00.htm.
- ¹⁰ For overviews of gender matters in social science, see Anderson, Margaret, and Patricia Hill Collins. 2006. *Race, Class, and Gender: An Anthology*. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth; Marchbank, Jennifer, and Gayle Letherby. 2007. *Introduction to Gender: Social Science Perspectives*. New York: Longman; Rothenberg, Paula S. 2013. *Race, Class, and Gender in the United States: An Integrated Study*. New York: Worth Publishers.
- ¹¹ Connell, R.W. 2005. *Masculinities*. Second Edition. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

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