

## **Environmental Movements and Gender Politics\***

by Patcharin Lapanun\*\*

---

With the growing destruction of the environment and privatization of common property resources, local people have not only been struggling, but they have also been demanding the right to access to and to manage natural resources of their communities upon which they depend for their living. The mass-based movements organized by peasants and the poor whose livelihoods have been affected by changes of the environment are apparent in Thai society, especially in the past two decades. It was documented in 1994 that there were as many as 275 protests and demonstrations organized as a result of conflicts between local people and the state with regard to natural resource and environmental management. These protests included the conflicts over the use of land and water resources, impacts from large-scale development projects, and pollution as a consequence of industrial and urban development. In 1995 the number of protests were even higher, growing to 334. The same study noted that in 1994 about one-third of the conflicts were in the northeast region. In 1995 demonstrations occurring in the northeast, the north, and the south were almost equal and accounted for about 80 percent of all protests in the whole country (Prapas 1998: 39-40).

This article, which is derived from larger studies; uses a number of qualitative data sources, including life histories, personal interviews, focus group discussions, and various secondary sources of information. This paper includes six sections. The first section takes a cursory glance at conceptual issues. The second part describes the struggle of local people as a result of environmental degradation. The third and fourth parts explain women's contribution to environmental movements and management of natural resources of their communities. In the fifth part, I discuss gender as a category for contribution and exclusion. The last section addresses gender politics as a source of power relations that determines the contribution of women and men in the environment movement process. It is important to note that in this paper the term "movement" is given a rather broad meaning. It refers not only to such activities as mass protests and demonstrations, as well as campaigns which aim to publicize the situations and problems faced by the actors and demands redress that responds to the actors' needs and problems, but also to follow-up activities, especially in relation to a management that aims to maintain natural resources and the environment of communities.

### **Conceptualizing Gender in Environmental Movements**

Numerous studies, conducted in Thailand as well as in other countries, have established the contribution made not only by men, but also by women in the movements to defend the environment and natural resources (Sisiporn 2002; Sinit 1998; Patcharin 1996; Mies and

---

\* This paper was presented at the RCSD Conference, "Politics of the Commons: Articulating Development and Strengthening Local Politics," July 11-14, 2003, in Chiang Mai, Thailand.

\*\* A researcher at the Research and Development Institute (RDI), Khon Kaen University, Khon Kaen, Thailand

Shiva 1993; Shiva 1992; Sontheimer 1991). Some of these studies, Sontheimer's work (1991) for example, suggests that women's involvement in these activities has added a gender factor that has challenged not only political systems and capitalism which degrade their environment, but also social and cultural systems in which relations of power are exercised. Feminist scholars have examined the experiences of movement participants and argued that difference experiences of actors in the movement are determined by gender, class, and race (Robnett 1996; McAdam 1992; West and Blumberg 1990). West and Blumberg (1990: 3-35) further discuss that the differences in regard to gender are related to experiences of women and men in the domestic, community, and societal contexts. In addition, these scholars also suggest that involvement in movements has allowed women to enter into the public sphere. However, women's participation in this arena is confined to certain levels and activities and their contribution is rather temporary.

Following this line of analysis. I argue in this paper that gender, as social/cultural categories, has often channeled women away from leadership positions which, in turn, has limit them from participating in decision making processes and hence reproduces unequal power relations. However, there are also women who, because of their potent abilities to lead, might contribute extraordinarily to the environmental movement and to the process of decision making. In addition, I indicate that while the movements have created the contexts in which women are allowed to exercise in the public arena, their participation is limited to certain activities within specific contexts. Negotiation of gender roles within this sphere may be flexible and it may also be dynamic according to the changing of its context. To illustrate this argument, I discuss two examples from the northeast of Thailand. The first case is the movement against the government's policies and approaches regarding forest management at Dong Mafai forest, Yasothon province and the second case is the movement against Pak Moon dam at Ubon Ratchathani province.

### **Struggle for Livelihood**

The livelihood of local people living in communities along the Moon rive, as well as those living in Dong Mafai forest, relates and is dependent on their surrounding natural resources and environment, both for household subsistence and income. According to villagers living in Dong Mafai, in the past, normally women collected various kinds of wild vegetables, mushrooms, bamboo shots, and insects form the forests, while men usually get firewood, herbal plants, and wood for making household items. These products were sources of food and other basis needs of families. Moreover, households also earned income from selling the surplus of these products. Villagers' accounts indicate that in the past, because of the abundance found in the environment, the sharing of food collected from nature among villagers living in the same community was quite commonplace. This way of life has somehow tied members of the communities together. However, after several government-supported attempts to bring about "development" such as the selling of timber concessions, promotion of cash crops, and the maintaining and improvement of degraded forest by promotion of eucalyptus plantations and expansion of conserved forests, villagers have faced a serious struggle. These activities have not only limit villagers' access to and traditional ways of taking care of their local environment, but they have forced villagers to relocate, imposing enormous social and cultural costs and affected the subsistence economy and survival of local people.

In the case of Pak Moon, a 62-year-old man describes the livelihood of villagers in the period prior to the dam's construction: "*we cultivated rice on the backs of the fish.*" This expression indicates fundamental relations concerning their way of life and the environment, especially in relation to the Moon river and fish. Growing rice, the major staple food, is a way of life of people living in rural *Isaan* communities.<sup>1</sup> Most households, regardless of whether rich or poor, cultivate rice. Having rice in the barns ensures food security. Surplus of rice yield is a source of household income. In the communities along the Moon river, however, most of villagers do not grow rice, but they catch fish to trade for rice or sell fish to earn money for buying rice as well as other household necessities. According to villagers, while both women and men of different ages in their communities had been involved in fishing, the selling and processing of fish were left to women. Some women in the communities developed into fish traders who bought fish from other villagers and sold them in the market. Fishing and trading fish were major source of household income. But as a result of the dam's construction, the ecological system of the Moon river has been destroyed and many of the fish was killed in the process. Therefore, villagers have hardly been able to fish. This limitation has affected the security of households both for food and income. Among a number of serious impacts, including the loss of houses and agricultural land and displacement of people and the communities, the villagers have faced as consequence of the dam, the loss of fishing as a livelihood has been the major concern of the affected villagers. In their view, fishing is not only the major source of household cash income, it is also their way of life (Patcharin et al. 2001:106-111).

In order to provide background information for discussion on how women and men contribute to movements and how gender politics are exercised in specific contexts, I describe a brief history of the movements of the two example cases.

In Dong Mafai villagers have experienced deforestation and displacement as a result of development policies. This experience is in fact shared by most of villagers across the northeast whose communities are located in areas identified as reserved forests. According to the accounts of their village history, timber extraction is the initial stage of deforestation. There were a timber concession sold to the private sector by the government in Dong Mafai in the early 1950s. After the concession, Dong Mafai became a degraded forest. Then, cash crops promotion, especially cassava and kenef, was introduced into Dong Mafai around 1960. Villagers started to occupy degraded forest areas in order to grow cash crop production. Because of the destruction, an area of 3,400 *rai*<sup>2</sup> in Dong Mafai was declared as a reserved forests in 1965. However, villagers still occupied the forest to earn their living. Changes took place, again, in the early of 1980s when the government announced the policy to make Isaan green by promoting eucalyptus plantations in degraded forests including the land where villagers had earned their livelihood for generations. According to Mae Khem, villagers neither agreed on nor were informed about the policy.<sup>3</sup> In the first two years of the project's implementation, villagers were allowed to grow cassava between eucalyptus trees in the

---

<sup>1</sup> "Isaan" is a local word referring to the northeast region of Thailand.

<sup>2</sup> "Rai" is a Thai measurement unit. One rai equals 1,600 square meters.

<sup>3</sup> A 60-year-old woman who has fought against the eucalyptus promotion project since the beginning, interviewed on November 13, 2002

plantation field. In addition, a number of villagers were hired to work in the field. Later on, they were laid off while growing cassava became infeasible because the eucalyptus trees covered all the field area.<sup>4</sup> Under this situation, villagers came to realize the effects of the projects on their livelihoods. They then organized themselves and mounted protests to stop the project. The project was ended in 1987 although the area where eucalyptus trees were was maintained.

In 1992, villagers of Dong Mafai joined the protest against *Khor Jor Kor* program that aimed to resettle local dwellers in Isaan who lived in reserved forests.<sup>5</sup> Because of the movement, *Khor Jor Kor* program was suspended. Later on, the villagers of Dong Mafai joined the movement under the name of “Assembly of the Poor” and demanded removal of eucalyptus trees from the forest. They reported that this tree destroyed diversity in the forest upon which they depend for a living.<sup>6</sup> In 1997 Dong Mafai dwellers participated in the “99-day Assembly of the Poor Demonstration” in Bangkok and demanded the right to earn their livelihood in the forest where their ancestors had lived for generations. As a consequence of the movement, the villagers have been able to obtain land certificates (Sor Por Kor 4-01) and the area of 2,044 rai of Dong Mafai forest is now identified as a community forest and villagers are allowed to manage it.

In the case of Pak Moon, the movement against the dam started in April 1989 when the Cabinet approved the project. A group of anti-dam villagers organized demonstrations and campaigns to demand that the government reconsider the project. They also submitted a petition to a Bangkok representative of the World Bank which had supported the project. Despite the opposition, construction of the dam began. In 1991, construction and blasting the rapids were begun. Villagers who were affected by construction protested to demand compensation for damage caused by the dam. They also called for an end to the blasting of the rapids which not only destroyed the ecological system of the river where fish live and breed, but also killed many fish and disrupted the pattern of fish migration. Since the government did not respond to their demands, women who joined the movement decided to occupy the explosion site to stop the blasting.<sup>7</sup>

As consequence of the dam construction, it is noted that 238 households near the construction site were affected; 705 households were relocated because their houses were flooded; 706 families lost the agricultural land. In addition, 6,202 households were deprived of fishing

---

<sup>4</sup> Results of focus a group discussion with 17 villagers, 6 women and 11 men, on September 13, 2002.

<sup>5</sup> According to the *Khor Jor Kor* project, 250,000 families dispersed in 352 forest reserves covering 14 million rai of land in the northeast were to be resettled. Each family was to be provided with 15 rai of land for residence and farming (The Nation, April 24, 1992). This program, however, failed to provide the new land to villagers. This failure resulted in the mass-protest in 1992.

<sup>6</sup> Results of focus a group discussion in September 13, 2002

<sup>7</sup> Interview with Mae Sompong Wiengjan, a 49-year-old woman, one of the leaders of Pak Moon movement, interviewed on January 17, 2001.

income loss and provided with compensation (Chayan 2000:4).<sup>8</sup> These affected people have organized numerous mass protests and demonstrations at different times and locations to demand that the government solve the problems facing them. Some of these protests took only one or a half days while some lasted several months. For example, in 1995 villagers organized a 5-month and 9-day demonstration at the dam site to demand compensation for the lost of fisheries income. In 1997 villagers of Pak Moon also joined the “99-day Assembly of the Poor Demonstration” and demand 20 rai of land for each family to compensate the permanent loss of fishing livelihoods. The government at that time approved granting 15 rai of land to each affected family. However, a few months later a new government went back on the commitment. Therefore, not a single household has received any land so far. Then, in 1999, about 5,000 affected villagers set up the permanent demonstration village, “Moobaan Mae Moon Man Yoen,” on the site of the dam to insist on the commitment made by the previous government. However, after one year of the permanent protest, there was no response from the government. The dwellers of Mae Moon Man Yoen village decided to demonstrate beside the EGAT<sup>9</sup> power station on the dam site as well as beside the parliament in Bangkok later on. They proposed that if the government would not provide them with 15 rai of land, the dam gates should be kept open and ecological environment of Moon river should be reconstructed so that they can return to their former lives. It is clear that the history of Pak Moon and Dong Mafai movement is the history of struggle of local people for their livelihood.

### **Women in the Movement**

The movement in Dong Mafai and Pak Moon have been introduced at the level of both community and the public. At the early stage of both cases, the movement was mainly organized at the community level and by the villagers themselves. In this context, women had taken leading roles. Mae Khem, for example, reported that she employed every means to obstruct the workers from growing eucalyptus on her land. She blocked the machines, argued with the workers trying to get them to stop working and up-rooted the plants. Mae Khem expressed that:

*I cannot lose the land that I inherited from my parents. This is the only piece of land I have. Without this land I have nowhere to live my life. I must fight to protect my land.*<sup>10</sup>

Her actions against the project was noticed by other villagers and they followed her example later on. Because of her firm conviction in this regard, she had often informed and asked to negotiate with government officers and the workers whenever they started to plant the trees on land occupied by villagers. At that time, Mae Khem noted that both women and men had come out against the project. Since 1995 when the affected villagers organized and began

---

<sup>8</sup> It should be noted that villagers had an agreement with the government at that time and that the affected villagers were to be compensated for lost fishing income only during the three years of dam construction.

<sup>9</sup> EGAT stands for the Electricity Generating Authority of Thailand.

<sup>10</sup> Interviewed on November 13, 2002,

demonstrations demanding the government stop the project, the number of female participants was higher than that of males.<sup>11</sup>

In Pak Moon, according to Mae Sompong, women had taken significant roles at the beginning of the movement. It is women who started to get together and shared their anxiety with regard to the possible impacts of the dam as they learned from the experience of villagers affected by the nearby Sirinthorn Dam.<sup>12</sup> Mae Sompong said that a few women,<sup>13</sup> including herself, traveled from village to village by bicycle to inform villagers about the impacts of the dam and to ask them to organize into groups in order to demand the government provide information about the dam and its impacts. According to villagers, most of information they received was limited to explaining only the positive effects of the dam.<sup>14</sup> In 1989 a group of 500 villagers held a demonstration in front of Ubon Ratchathani Teachers Collage, protesting the dam. Mae Sumrit<sup>15</sup> explained that due to the political conditions in the country at the time when the movement began, gathering together more than five persons would be viewed as suspicious by the local authorities. Males were quite aware of the situation, thus keeping their role limited in the initial stages of the movement.

By the time the movement become more apparent to the public, women had taken more diverse roles. In the protest to stop the blasting of the rapids in 1993, women decided to occupy the blasting area. Mae Sompong said:

*There are three spots of explosions. About 30 women sat around each of them. Men brought us food and water. After three days went past, we were able to talk with the contractor and the governor of Ubon. They agreed to pay for the damages that resulted from the explosions. But, the construction keeps going on.*<sup>16</sup>

Mae Sompong noted that the NGO staff working with the villagers did not agree with the decision of women to protest at the blasting sites at all because they felt it was too dangerous. But for her, under the situation in which local people were not aware of the impacts of this activity, this was the only way to convey the effects and hardships villagers faced to the government, EGAT, and the public.

A-nong described her experience of participating in the “99-day Assembly of the Poor Demonstration” in which women were involved in many activities.<sup>17</sup> In her opinion, the contribution of women in the movement was not less than that of men. She expressed that:

---

<sup>11</sup> Results of a focus group discussion on September 13, 2002.

<sup>12</sup> Interviewed on March 5, 2000.

<sup>13</sup> She mentioned Mae Somrit, Mae Lomdaun, and Mae Sida as the pioneers of the movement.

<sup>14</sup> Results of focus group discussion with 8 villagers, 2 women and 6 men, April 4, 2001.

<sup>15</sup> A 45-year-old woman who has participated in Pak Moon movement since the beginning, interviewed on April 4, 2001.

<sup>16</sup> Interviewed on January 17, 2001.

<sup>17</sup> A 39-year-old woman, the chair of handicraft group in Dong Mafai, interviewed on February 5, 2001.

*I was a health volunteer (Aw-Sor-Mor) and I also took care of the accounting of the group's co-op shop. I had to do book keeping every evening. Sometimes, I also helped in the selling and in any task that I could help with..*

A-nong said that almost every group of villagers had their own shops/funds and it was mainly women who managed these shops. As a health volunteer, A-nong not only gave medicine and took care of the demonstrators who had health problems, she also ensured sanitary conditions for the protesters by cleaning the various places, including toilets. According to A-nong, although there were some male health volunteers, most of the volunteers were female. In addition, such activities as cooking and taking care of movement leaders were allocated exclusively to women.

In situations that may have led to violence such as marching from the demonstration site to the Government House or marching from Mae Moon Man Yoen village to the EGAT office, women were put in front. Mae Sudjai stated that women were placed around the mass not only because women might help lessen the tensions in a confrontational situation, but also because women participants outnumbered the men.<sup>18</sup> In addition, protest security guards were not exclusively men, but women also took up this job. At Mae Moon Man Yoen village, a group of women took on day-guard duties while men usually were responsible for night-guard duties. In the “99-day Assembly of the Poor Demonstration,” there were female guards as well although they were not as numerous as the male guards.

Providing information to the public has been a strategy of the movement under the “Assembly of the Poor.” In line with this strategy, campaign activities have been organized by the movement participants. Someone involved in this activity, Mae Pranee, said that she has traveled both to and around Bangkok as well as to other provinces to meet and explain the situation and problems faced by the poor as a result of the Pak Moon dam.<sup>19</sup> She said that:

*Based on my experience, I think that the government will not solve our problems. We can not rely on anyone [including the government]. We have to be on our own and we need to make the public know and understand our problems. I want society to understand that we do not want money [compensation]. But we do want back the [former] abundance of Moon river.*

According to Mae Pranee, there are more men than women involving in this task. Since it requires mobilization, this activity is considered as suitable for men. In addition to the campaign, Mae Pranee as well as some other women such as Mae Sompong, Mae Sudjai, and Mae Somrit, have often been asked to provide information regarding the movement and the impacts of the Pak Moon dam to the public and the media. They have sometimes been on the stage and have spoken for the affected people. They have also joined the negotiations processes with the government. However, it is common to find men taking on these tasks.

---

<sup>18</sup> A 42-year-old woman, one of the leaders of Pak Moon movement, interviewed on September 24, 2000.

<sup>19</sup> A 43-year-old woman who has played a significant role in Pak Moon movement, interviewed on June 12, 2000.

“Paw Krauw Yai” is a group of movement leaders including representatives of the problem-based groups, numbering all together 125 groups, organized together under the banner of the “Assembly of the Poor.” This leader group functions as a planing and decision making unit of the movement. The leader members of this group are also involved in negotiations with the government. In the Pak Moon dam movement, a few women--Mae Sompong, Mae Sudjai and Mae Charoen<sup>20</sup>--used to be or have been included as members of the “Paw Krauw Yai,” while no women from Dong Mafai have been included in this group. It is documented that currently the total number of “Paw Krauw Yai” is 268 and only about 15 percent of them are women (Prapas 1998:102-107).

### **Women and the Environment Management**

In addition to protests, demonstrations, and campaigns, the movement of Isaan villagers is also involved with the management of natural resources in order to improve and maintain the environment. In Dong Mafai, for example, after the “99-day Assembly of the Poor Demonstration” in 1997, the community forest was officially designated by the government and the villagers’ role in managing this forest was affirmed. They have implemented many activities, including marking out the community forest zone, replanting of wild and fruit trees as well as herbal plants, making fire-zones, and patrolling the forest to protect against logging. In addition, they have also set up a network of village’s organizations and community forest committees at the village level. The network and committees have worked together to revive and maintain the forest as well as to strengthen local organizations which, in turn, has enabled them to take care of natural resources of their community.

According to villagers, both women and men have contributed to the above-mentioned activities, although their involvement may have differed.<sup>21</sup> Normally, patrolling is left to men while others activities are shared. Mae Sai shared her experience about serving on the community forest committee, saying that she has been involved in every kind of activity except patrolling.<sup>22</sup> She has sometimes cooked for villagers who have joined the work. She has also mentioned that women--wives of committee members, have often attended the committee meetings and contributed to the activities that supposed to be carried out by the committee on behalf of their husbands. In addition, she has observed that the number of women participating in forest management activities is higher than that of men. Most Dong Mafai villagers agree on the dgree of women’s participation and provide different reasons.<sup>23</sup> Some explain that men have to do something else to earn money for the family and so leave these tasks to women. A-nong says that women’s participation in these activities are related to the situation of households and their survival. She said that:

---

<sup>20</sup> A 59-year-old women, one of the leaders of the against-dam villagers who has played a significant role to the movement, especially in the early stage, interviewed on July 1, 2001.

<sup>21</sup> Results of a focus group discussion on September 13, 2002

<sup>22</sup> A women member of Baan Khomhee’s community forest committee, interviewed on September 13, 2002.

<sup>23</sup> At least those who participated in a focus group discussion on September 13, 2002.



*Women realize the fact that natural resources are important to survival of the household. If we can revive the forest, we will have a source of food for both consumption and income of our families. Therefore, we give priority to and participate in forest management activities.*

The community forest committee in each village consists of 13 members. The committee is selected by villagers who are members of the network. Two out of three villages under the network have women serving on their committees; one village has 5 women and the other has 4. However, all of these committees are chaired by men. In fact, the number of women in the committee does not accurately reflect their contribution to forest management since, as previously mentioned, women often take on the job on behalf of their husbands.

In addition to forest management activities, the network has also supported savings and handicraft groups. Saving groups are organized both at the network and the village level. The way in which saving groups have been managed is similar to the forest management activities, namely, women do the tasks--collecting saving money, following up on loans, and taking care of accounting--while men make decision on who should get the loans and for how much, because men are the chairpersons of these group and most of the committee members are men. On the other hand, in the handicraft group, women have contributed to and make decisions on all kinds of group activities since its members are exclusively female.

### **Women: Contribution and Exclusion**

In both contexts of the environmental movement, women are allowed to enter into the public arena and while their contribution in this sphere is diverse, it is also limited. Most women have expanded their roles as caretakers from the domestic to the public arena. Only within a certain context, women are able to step out of their traditional roles. For example, in the critical situations where the authorities are confronted or blasting of the rapids need to be stopped, women are put in the front. Some women have also taken the role of security guards. These activities are, however, dynamic and subject to the various situations faced by the movement participants.

It is apparent that the number of women participating in the movement is not less than that of men, if not higher, and their contribution to the processes of the movement is well noted by the public and movement participants, both in the protest contexts and in the context of community resource management. However, by and large, women have only a nominal representation in leadership positions, either as "Paw Kruaw Yia" or on the community forest committees. Only a few women have been included in these groups. In the management of community forests at Dong Mafai, women have been involved in almost all activities. Some of them have contributed significantly to the management of community forests as well as in local organizations and its network. But women have usually been excluded from significant representation on committees and absolutely from serving as chair of the committees. The villagers, both women and men, provided an explanation of this phenomenon by maintaining that for leadership positions, one is sometime required to participate in activities outside the community. Solely mobilizing from the village is considered not suitable for women. Therefore, women are likely to be excluded from leadership positions.

It was not that women have been prevented from participation in important ways, rather their participation options have been limited. This situation is also evident in Pak Moon. However, it is observed that the notions of feminism and equal representation of women have been more apparent in the Pak Moon movement than in Dong Mafai. In any cases, the exclusion of women from leadership positions has, on the one hand, limited their contribution at the level of decision making. On the other hand, it has also reinforced their subordination.

### **Gender Politics, Culture and Power**

Contribution and exclusion of women in the processes of the environmental movement are related to and determined by the politics of gender that is largely made up by the interplay between culture and power. Being involved in the movements, women have challenged the notion of gender that place females and males in different locations within society--that the women's place is in the domestic sphere and men's place is within the public domain. This notion is embedded in and exercised through culture. It has also constructed identity and assigned roles to women and men. This role assignment has governed and confined women to certain activities. Entering into the public space, women have maintained their roles in the private arena while they have also articulated within the domain dominated by men and subject to power relations. When considering the issue of gender politics in the movement, one becomes aware of the efforts to encourage participation of women. But such a consideration also illuminates the political nature of culture and power relations in society.

By validating the experience of the Pak Moon and Dong Mafia movements, it is quite evident that gender politics have much to do with shifting culture codes and creating vantage points to open up the public arena to more participation in the decision making process by women.

### **References**

Chayan Vaddhanaphuti, 2000, "Social Aspects of Pak Mun Dam" in **WCD Case Studies: Pak Mun Dam**, Draft Report for Discussion at the Stakeholder Meeting on February 23, 2000.

McAdam, Doug, 1992, "Gender as a Mediator of the Activist Experience: The Case of Freedom Summer, **American Journal of Sociology**, 97:1211-1240.

Mies, Maria and Shiva, Vanada, 1993, **Ecofemenism**, London: Zed Books Ltd, and New Delhi: Kali for Women.

Patcharin Lapanun, 1996, "Natural Resource Management and Women's Coping Strategies", a paper presented at the Second Meeting of the Sub-Regional Workshop on, "The Cultural Dimension of Development and the Cultural Context of Natural Resource Management," March 12-15, 1996, Chiang Mai, Thailand.

Patcharin Lapanun et al., 2001, **Cultural Adaptation of Villagers Affected by the Government's Development Projects: The Case of Pak Moon Dam**, Research and Development Institute (RDI), Khon Kaen: Khon Kaen University, Thailand.

Prapas Pintoktaeng, 1998, **Politics on the Streets: 99-day Assembly of the Poor Demonstration, History of Marching and Protesting in Thai Society**, Bangkok: Kruek University, Thailand.

Robnett, Belinda 1996, "African-American Women in the Civil Rights Movement, 1954-1965: Gender, Leaderships, and Micromobilization" **American Journal of Sociology**, 110:1611-1693.

Shiva, Vanada, 1992, **Staying Alive: Women Ecology and Development**, London: Zed Books.

Sinit Sithiruk, 1998, **Women of the Forest: An Account of a Grass-root Woman in the Environmental Movement**, Bangkok: Thammasart University, Thailand

Siriporn Khotawinnon, 2002, **Women in the Marginal People's Movement: A Case Study of Mae Mun Man Yuen Community Two and Three**, MA. Thesis, Thammasart University, Bangkok, Thailand.

Sontheimer, Sally , ed., 1991, **Women and the Environment: A Reader, Crisis and Development in the Third World**, New York: Monthly Review Press.

The Nation Newspaper, April 24, 1992

West, Guida and Blumberg, Rhoda Lois, eds., 1990, **Women and Social Protest**, New York: Oxford University Press.