

'ARE YOU A GREEN GUIDE'? CONSERVATION, ENVIRONMENTALISM, AND CITIZENSHIP IN THE BRITISH GIRL GUIDES ASSOCIATION, 1986-1992

ABSTRACT

This article explores the meaning and significance of environmentalism within the Girl Guide youth organization in the period from 1986-1992. Utilising organizational periodicals, it considers how the Girl Guide organization reconceptualized meanings of citizenship in the wake of increased public concern surrounding the world environment. In doing so, it builds upon our understanding of the organization, by exploring changing understandings of citizenship within the movement in the context of Thatcher's Britain. Specifically, the article explores the extent to which a growing awareness of environmentalism in the latter half of the twentieth century saw a move towards global understandings of duty within the organization and the construction of an idea of planetary citizenship. It argues that ideas of an international community of Guiding, which had been building since the interwar period, overtook national identity in significance, with humanitarianism and conservation at the forefront of this. However, at the same time discussions of world citizenship both reflected and reinforced Thatcherite discourses, with the organization encouraging members to think globally but act within the individualized contexts of the everyday. However, while notions of green citizenship, in some ways, empowered members to see themselves as agents of change, the green citizen was also an implicitly gendered concept, framed by the understanding of girls as both young green consumers and future green homemakers.

KEYWORDS: GIRL GUIDES, ENVIRONMENTALISM, CITIZENSHIP, CONSUMPTION.

In 1989, *Today's Guide*, a monthly magazine aimed at members of the popular youth movement, the British Girl Guides Association (GGA) printed a quiz which asked readers to consider: 'Are you a green guide?'. The quiz, which had become a popular format for the magazine, declared to readers:

Are you so 'un-green' that you think the greenhouse effect is the new single by the Hothouse Flowers? Are you helping the hole in the ozone layer to grow that little bit bigger? Now's your chance to find out how much you are doing to make this world a green and pleasant land ...¹

The author Justine Chatting, a regular contributor to the publication, then went on to include questions on the use of plastics, solar power, and recycling, emphasizing the importance of the individual in making meaningful lifestyle changes that would positively impact the environment. In doing so, Chatting linked a knowledge and understanding of environmental issues, and individual

environmental actions, with notions of good citizenship for members. This was not new; the movement had, for many years, explicitly presented conservation of the rural as a route to becoming a good citizen.² However, the late 1980s saw a shift in the way the natural world was framed within conceptualizations of citizenship in the movement, with a move away from ruralism to a focus on global environmental issues. This was a trend that continued into the 1990s, when the magazine published the quiz 'How Green are You?', which encouraged readers to 'put the planet first' and included suggestions for everyday lifestyle changes, making it clear that individual choices and actions mattered. The quiz, which was an excerpt from Debbie Silver and Bernadette Valley's *The Young Person's Guide to Saving the Planet* (1990) ended by exclaiming to readers: 'What you do *does* count!'³. Both examples are reflective of a shift in notions of citizenship within the organization at the end of the 1980s when nationalistic understandings of civic duty, were, under the banner of the environmentally conscious citizen, reconfigured around global notions of citizenship.

Scholars interested in the history of citizenship education have charted how twentieth-century youth organizations curated distinctive understandings of the role of the citizen in society, framed by both the interests of specific movements and wider contemporary concerns. The GGA, formed in 1910 to prepare girls for their role as mothers of the British Empire, was one such organization. Utilizing a programme of educational activities, outdoor recreation, and achievement badges the movement constructed an ideal of citizenship that focused on morality, civic duty and preparedness, which in the words of Sarah Mills 'codified' good and bad behaviour and reinforced 'ideological behaviours, bodies and environments.'⁴ The natural world, and particularly rural spaces, were at the centre of such moral geographies of citizenship, as the GGA, along with other movements, drew upon nationalistic and romanticized ideas of the rural to frame their citizenship training.⁵ Subsequently, the countryside was a symbolic space on which changing understandings of citizenship in the mid-twentieth century were worked through and developed. Indeed, while initially the conservation of the countryside was framed by an understanding of duty and service, increasingly discussions about the right to roam and access to the land within the organization reflected the growing emphasis on 'social citizenship', which was a product of welfare reform and the changing relationship between the citizen and the state, particularly after the Second World War.⁶ However, although there has been significant work on the early citizenship training of the movement, particularly before the Second World War, little work has been done to explore how the movement responded to changing conceptualizations of citizenship at the end of the twentieth century.⁷

This article builds upon our existing understanding of the citizenship training provided by the British GGA through an analysis of the place of environmentalism in the informal education of movement

from 1986-1992, a period in which the organization maintained significant membership (with 715,000 uniformed members in 1987).⁸ Through an exploration of the information and guidance on environmental issues that was disseminated to members through the primary organizational magazines *Today's Guide* (later renamed *Guide Patrol* in 1992) and *Guiding*, it charts the development of environmentalism in the organization and considers how meanings of citizenship within the movements shifted to reflect changing social mores and attitudes in the 1980s.

In 1979, Stuart Hall argued that the success of Margaret Thatcher lay in her ability to 'remake' society along ideological lines, which, in the words of Lenon Campos Maschette, encompassed a 'moral enterprise intended to recreate British citizenship, invigorate civil society and reformulate the state.'⁹ At this time, Thatcherism's rejection of post-war discourses of social citizenship, which had been framed around social rights, saw an emphasis on active citizenship, which was focused on individual responsibility and participation in the community.¹⁰ In the context of Thatcher's emphasis on 'Victorian values', such ideas of citizenship were also gendered, as the traditional family unit, and the importance of the mother within it was reinforced as a central lynchpin of British society.¹¹

This article builds upon recent revisions of our understanding of the 1980s, which has attempted to explore the 'multiple trajectories'¹² of the period 'beyond the cast of Margaret Thatcher's long shadow'¹³ to consider how these political shifts were lived out and sometimes contested in the experiences of the British people. At the heart of this premise is an understanding that politics is not just experienced in formal spheres but is located in the everyday, in the ways that 'ordinary people' respond to social, political, economic and cultural changes. Indeed, historians including Chris Moores and Florence Sutcliffe Braithwaite, have revealed how neoliberal ideas about individualism and citizenship were embedded in the daily lives of the British people.¹⁴ Yet everyday spaces, as Sarah Kenny has argued, were also oppositional sites in which political discourses were negotiated, challenged and resisted.¹⁵ In particular, historians have identified how social-democratic movements and ideas, which challenged the Thatcherite emphasis on the individual by placing personal politics and community at the forefront, continued to exist in British society in the 1980s.¹⁶ These included campaigns for gay rights, the anti-nuclear movement and environmentalism.¹⁷ However, while the popularity of the 'new green' movement and the 'institutionalization' of environmentalism in 1980s Britain has been explored by environmental historians, few have considered the way such interests were reflected in the citizenship training of youth movements at this time.¹⁸

This article addresses this gap by exploring how Thatcherite discourses around citizenship, consumerism and gender framed and shaped the environmental educational content of GGA magazines throughout the period from 1986-1992. Anabela Carvalho argued that political

understandings of environmental change have been 'historically produced, contested, and transformed by discursive practices'.¹⁹ For this reason, these magazines provide us with a unique lens through which to understand the environmental education within the organization, as well as how the focus, aims, and agenda of the movement shifted to reflect social changes that were occurring in this period. *Guiding*, which was aimed at young adult and adult members of the organization, and specifically leaders, would often include articles on activities and events, organizational conferences, and issues of the day. Meanwhile, in *Today's Guide*, a magazine designed for members of the organization aged around 10-16 - the group that Chief Commissioner June Paterson-Brown (1985-1990) referred to as 'our girls'²⁰ - content might include informative articles, stories and cartoons, letters to the editor page and advertisements. Additionally, the magazine took on the format of popular girls' magazines, with the inclusion of fashion pages, entertainment reviews, celebrity information and features on personal issues, including explicit conversations about contemporary issues such as alcohol abuse, drug-taking, teenage pregnancy, and homelessness.²¹ The magazine was thus written in an edutainment style, as it was expected that members would independently purchase the magazine as a leisure activity or buy a copy to share with their Patrol (a small group of usually around six to eight girls).

Of course, the content in these magazines (which by the end of the period had a low circulation) only provides us with a select view on the movement, as *Guiding* was, and still is, a very localized activity, with experiences being shaped by the locale and personalities within individual *Guiding* groups. Despite this, the magazines do provide space for the voices of members and leaders (through letters pages and local articles), which gives us insight into how individuals responded to the content and suggested activities, and reveals how members were 'active participants' in shaping discussions about the environment.²² Such letters further support the idea that *Guiding* itself was often a fragmented experience, with debates raging in *Guiding* magazine over several issues including co-education, sex education, the role of religion within the movement and class membership, which reveals the deep questioning that was occurring within the movement at the end of the twentieth century. The magazines thus provide historians with a useful lens to analyze the discourses within which the movement framed girls' education but also how this was shaped from within, albeit limited by the dominant adult voice and editorship of the magazine.²³

This article is split into three main sections and argues that constructions of citizenship within the movement during the long 1980s, drew upon longer traditions of civic duty and internationalism within the GGA, but also reflected shifting understandings of citizenship in the 1980s. The first section explores how the place of the natural world within meanings of good citizenship shifted in the 1980s reflecting the increased prominence and institutionalization of the green movement

within British society at this time. Guides were encouraged to see themselves as agents of environmental change and given the knowledge and tools to 'save the planet'. This emphasis on 'going green' reflected the increased prominence of internationalism in the movement, as the GGA moved away from nationalistic discussions of the environment and emphasized Guiding as a global sisterhood. The second section explores the way that discussions of 'green citizenship' built upon traditional ideas of moral and civic duty, that reemerged in the 1980s in response to Thatcherism. Members were thus encouraged to see themselves as agents for change within their local communities and more widely, reflecting the dominance of active forms of citizenship in British society at this time. The final section explores the emphasis on everyday acts of consumption in discussions of green citizenship. Indeed, while members were urged to think about global environmental issues, they were expected to act locally and in the everyday, reflecting the way that Thatcherite discourses of individual responsibility and consumerism shaped discussions of the green citizen at this time.²⁴ In particular, gendered expectations of emotional labour and domestic work remained embedded within understandings of citizenship within the organization, reflecting the gendered models of citizenship that were reinforced in Thatcher's Britain. An analysis of the movement's environmental education at this time thus reveals the complex ways that the youth organization responded to shifting conceptualizations of citizenship at the end of the twentieth century.

'GOING GREEN': CONSERVATION, ENVIRONMENTALISM AND THE GOOD CITIZEN

In January 1990, an article in *Today's Guide* declared that 'Man has polluted the earth's three vital elements – air, land and water, and it's making our world seriously ill. But there is hope'²⁵.

Meanwhile, a later piece in the June of that year addressed concerned readers: 'The earth is dangerously polluted, acres of rain forest are being destroyed and many species are threatened. It's not all doom and gloom though.'²⁶ These are examples of how both magazines frequently identified the drastic nature of environmental change that was presented as being an urgent and pressing issue by the end of the twentieth century. Perceived to be a product of modern times and of the 'search for a more comfortable way of life'²⁷, environmental problems such as pollution, animal extinction and deforestation, were represented as being a distinctly modern and unprecedented global concern. This was an idea that was also reflected in the contribution of members to the magazines. When interviewed 1990 about the 'mess that the world is in' one member of the 3rd Windsor Guide Company told the magazine that:

I think it's really horrible that people are killing animals off and polluting everything. If we carry on everything will become extinct and children won't be able to see all these things. Life will become pretty boring.²⁸

Her statement reflects the apocalyptic attitude of many popular discussions of environmental concerns at this time in both the magazines and in wider culture.²⁹

The mid-1980s in Britain saw the revival of 'New Green' environmentalism, notable for encompassing a range of social issues and being framed more by an ecocentric understanding of the earth and its relationship to humanity.³⁰ At this time, influenced by attention grabbing environmental disasters, particularly Chernobyl in 1986, the growing presence of environmental issues on the agenda of the European Union and the rising popularity of the Green party, the British public became increasingly environmentally aware.³¹ This awareness led to a rise in membership of various environmental Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), such as UK branches of Friends of the Earth (formed in 1971) and Greenpeace (formed in 1977), which Alwyn Turner argues is evidence of 'a growing cultural groundswell that was, by the end of the decade, hard to ignore.'³² Together these trends led to, what Christopher Rootes and others have termed, the 'institutionalization' of environmentalism in Britain by 1990, which was followed by growth of environmental protests in the early part of the decade and the increased engagement of the younger generation with environmental issues, exemplified by cult figures such as the young environmentalist 'Swampy'.³³ Moreover, while social background could often determine engagement with green issues and particularly green activism, discussions of environmental issues were increasingly popularized through television and news media.³⁴ For example, children's television programmes including popular BBC shows *Blue Peter* and *Newsround*, informed viewers about environmental issues, which reflected the perception that children were interested in learning about such topics and also demonstrated the perceived importance of green issues to 'would-be' green citizens.³⁵ The notion of 'green citizenship' was, and still is, a complex and nebulous concept, which could embody both liberal traditions, particularly an emphasis on rights, alongside more conservative conceptualizations, focused on obligation and duty.³⁶ Emerging from several shifts, including changing understandings of ownership of the environment through debates such as the right to roam, a growing awareness of the universality of human rights and the increasing ecological concerns, the concept became prominent in discussions of citizenship at the end of the twentieth century.³⁷

This emphasis on green citizenship was prevalent within the GGA; as one Guide from Cheshire, who contributed quite frequently to the letters page of *Today's Guide*, wrote: 'I am very worried about

our world. It is dying rapidly and will not heal itself quickly unless we do something about it.³⁸ Once again echoing the urgent tone of the magazine and other contributors, this member also stressed the importance of individual responsibility, with the use of 'our world' and 'we' emphasising the role of young people in improving the situation.³⁹ This contribution thus reflects a self-awareness of the place of the organization and its members in an increasingly environmentally conscious world. In 1990, *Guiding* declared that 'Animal rights, conservation and a healthy lifestyle have become key issues in the caring 1990s.'⁴⁰ Meanwhile, a *Today's Guide* article of that same year noted that 'Although the Girl Guides Association had always been conservation minded, it has recently become very trendy to be seen recycling and conserving'.⁴¹ Here the magazine emphasised the Girl Guides as forerunners in an environmental movement, with members represented as providing hope for the future of the planet. The significant presence of green topics in the magazine in this year suggests that, by 1990, an awareness of and concern about global environmental issues had been established within the organization.

However, while magazine contributor Marina Brown commented in 1991 that 'going green' was a recent 'fad', it is important to note that an emphasis on conserving the environment within the organization was not new in 1990.⁴² Throughout the 1980s, the movement had continued its emphasis on the conservation of Britain and particularly rural spaces, which had been a prominent concern in the organization in the mid-twentieth century. Members were consistently taught to protect and conserve their local landscape through regular advice and guidance in the magazines and were expected to do so through competitions, challenges and projects. In the early years of the 1980s, the organization advertised their 'Adopt and Cherish Project', which encouraged members to take an active role in restoring an area of their community. An advert for the scheme in 1983 declared:

There are 8 hundred thousand of you and 8 hundred million untidy corners of Britain waiting for your broom, shovel, pick or hoe. All you have to do is 'adopt' a piece of your local environment and 'cherish' it, this year and preferably for the next few years.⁴³

Such projects did not have to be directly about the countryside – one group of Brownies (younger members usually aged 7-10) converted a car park into a beauty spot, while a group of Rangers (members aged 14-18) restored a watercress pond. The aim was simply to make a more 'Beautiful Britain' in their words: 'large or small – a telephone box or a village green.'⁴⁴ Two years later, readers were set an outdoors challenge related to 'Caring for the out-of-doors', which included keeping the local community free of litter for 4 weeks and contacting a local conservation society.⁴⁵ In

September 1989, *Guiding* encouraged the movements' leaders to get involved in Richard Branson's 'Pondwatch' scheme, a nationwide project which asked volunteers to 'adopt a pond or stretch of canal with the aim of protecting the plant and animal life.'⁴⁶ Giving, in the words of the magazine, 'the whole community the chance to improve its own environment.'⁴⁷

Such actions were understood as a productive and important use of members' leisure time as acts of local conservation were directly linked to the Guide Law, which stipulated that 'A Guide is kind to animals and respects all living things' and that 'A Guide is helpful'. Therefore, a concern for the environment was central to what it meant to *be* a good Guide and ultimately good citizen. This was solidified through conservation competitions and challenges, run both within the organization and by external stakeholders, through which members were often publicly rewarded or celebrated for their conservation efforts. In 1988, for example, an environmental competition asked competitors to improve one square mile of their neighbourhood and attracted over 2,000 entries. It was won by six Girl Guides from Writtle village near Chelmsford, who were rewarded with a trip to Australia and a visit to the set of the popular television soap *Neighbours*. The Guides, who had undertaken litter picking, tree planting, and cleaned the local village hall and war memorial, were celebrated by the Assistant Chief Constable for Suffolk, as doing work that was 'an important social and environmental investment for the future'⁴⁸.

However, while there remained an emphasis on local conservation, particularly of the countryside, discussions of the natural world within the organization shifted in the mid-1980s, as global conceptualizations of citizenship became increasingly dominant within the movement. This is not to suggest that there were no ongoing debates about conservation and the use of the countryside in British society. As Andrew Hill and Keith Halfacree have shown subcultural use of the countryside by Acid House and New Age Travellers led to much concern about the abuse of the land in the 1980s.⁴⁹ However, within the Guide magazines, while members continued to be encouraged to act locally, it was often suggested that they should think globally about the environment as part of their role in a worldwide sisterhood. This was part of a much broader celebration of internationalism within the organization, with international content being one of the most prominent and reoccurring themes within *Guiding* magazines throughout the 1980s and early 1990s. Members were regularly given information on *Guiding* around the world. For example, through the regular feature of *Today's Guide* in 1980 'Guides Overseas, Far and Wide' explored the different experiences of members across the globe in monthly updates, while the late 1980s feature 'Window on the World' introduced readers to the cultures and environments of different countries. While in more entertaining formats Guides were taught about other countries through cookery, such as the early 1980s a regular comic book style-cooking feature 'Souperkook', which introduced members to foreign delicacies such as

Brazilian caramelized banana and Liberian rice bread. Meanwhile, other features suggested activities which included group exploration of global fashion.⁵⁰ This internationalism was not a new development. Since its inception, as Kristine Alexander has shown, the Guide movement had fostered an ideal of 'international sisterhood' and cooperation, through world education, pen pal schemes and international camps.⁵¹ However, while in the early twentieth century this often been underpinned by imperial discourses, by the 1980s, the idea of an international sisterhood had largely been removed from such imperial imaginaries and was framed by an emphasis on global citizenship, with a focus on common worldwide issues, including gender equality and environmental concerns.

The natural world became increasingly important to this understanding of the global citizen within the organization, as notions of green citizenship crossed 'geographical and temporal boundaries'⁵², particularly in response to growing concerns about a variety of issues, including the ozone layer and the greenhouse effect, deforestation, acid rain and the extinction of animals. Thus, what had once been an organization primarily focused on creating a 'Beautiful Britain' was now encouraging members to work toward a better world. This 'green agenda' was varied, covering a range of issues and concerns and reflected the broad and diverse nature of the green movement in the later years of the twentieth century.

The trend towards 'going green' was primarily achieved through the inclusion of numerous articles on a range of environmental topics, including recycling, the greenhouse effect, save the whales, acid rain and various natural disasters. Such articles became prominent from the mid-1980s onwards, reflecting the growing interest in climate change in the popular press at this time, which rose significantly after Margaret Thatcher's 1988 speech to the Royal Society, when, according to Anabela Carvalho, she transformed climate change from a 'scientific matter into a political issue'.⁵³ The magazine articles gave detailed information about the science behind environmental change, as they were deemed to be important reads for those Guides aiming for their Conservation achievement badge. In 1988, *Today's Guide* published an article that introduced and explained the key terms that were essential to the badge, these included the meaning of 'ecology', and 'conservation', which readers were informed they would be tested on.⁵⁴ Readers were also regularly given a level of scientific information with regards to environmental issues. In December 1988, *Today's Guide* discussed the topic of Acid Rain in its regular feature on nature 'Walk on the Wildside'. The article explained the role of traffic pollution in creating Nitrous Oxide, the main cause of acid rain.⁵⁵

Meanwhile, in October 1987, readers were given a 'balanced view' on animal experimentation.⁵⁶ These articles, along with many others, also regularly introduced members to environmental NCOs including Greenpeace, Friends of the Earth, the Vegetarian Society and the Recycling Association. This reflected the institutionalization of environmentalism at this time when organizations came to

play an important role in the 'production and dissemination of knowledge' concerning environmental issues.⁵⁷ For example, in the 1988 feature on Acid Rain, it was suggested that readers purchase the Friends of the Earth *Tree Health Guide* or acid drop 'kits' from the youth environmental group Wildlife WATCH.⁵⁸ Such suggestions were frequent and reflected the way that the magazines presented their content as being one step on a longer educational path for their members. Therefore, while Julian Matthews identified that coverage of environmental issues on children's television could be simplified, the content of the magazines suggests that youth movements tackled environmental issues in more detailed ways.⁵⁹

Despite this, articles on environmental issues also included alarmist language to emphasize the urgency of the issues being discussed. For example, in 1989 Nick Skinner, a contributor to *Today's Guide* informed readers that 'Pollution from cars, power stations, the use of aerosols and smoke from the burning of rain forests are resulting in a rise in the world's temperature. Within our lifetimes, the world could become a very different place.'⁶⁰ He continued that the 'heat trap' caused by such changes 'would make it impossible for life as we know it to exist'⁶¹. While based on scientific facts, the phrasing of the article stressed the dire situation and bleak future that faced readers, if they did not act now. Later in that same year, the magazine warned readers of the impact of cars which 'scar the countryside and plough through our towns' leading to 'traffic jams that choke our cities.'⁶² Through emotive language such as this, various articles and advertisements depicted the environment and wildlife as being the victims of human action. In 1989, for example, an advertisement for a 'Whale competition' referred to 'man's brutal treatment of the gentle whale'⁶³. Meanwhile, contributor Alison Matthews informed readers of *Today's Guide* in 1989 that Dolphins were 'friendly, lovable creatures ... in very serious danger – from man.'⁶⁴ A similar tone was struck by regular contributor Justine Channing in October 1991, when the author stated that 'While you're reading this article, animals are being drowned, burnt, starved and shot by man all over the world. ... If things are allowed to carry on like this, one third of all living things will be wiped out by the year 2050.'⁶⁵ Together these articles, and many others, painted a bleak picture of the future where humans had destroyed the natural world and reflected how notions of green citizenship can, as Teena Gabrielson identified, 'entrench or privilege particular constructions of the natural world and human relations to it.'⁶⁶

This emotive language and urgency were a central element of calls to action within the movement. In 1989 contributor Nick Skinner declared to readers of *Today's Guide* that: 'The big issues involved in the greenhouse effect can only be solved if all the governments in the world get together to stop pollution. But that doesn't mean that you can't do your bit to help.'⁶⁷ While a year later, *Today's Guide* asserted 'It's time we all got down to the serious business of Saving the Planet.'⁶⁸ A knowledge

of green issues thus became central to understandings of citizenship within the organization as readers were encouraged to become 'friends of the planet'⁶⁹ by working towards the Conservation badge and learning about the key issues through the magazines and an engagement with local environmental organizations. In doing so, the movement was both responding to and helping to mainstream environmental concerns at the end of the twentieth century. Yet knowledge was not enough, members were also urged to take action and play a role in disseminating green knowledge, raising funds for key causes and campaigning for recognition for green issues. The organization thus empowered members to become agents of environmental change by acting locally but thinking globally and in doing so played a role in popularizing environmentalism and green issues at the end of the twentieth century.

BECOMING AN AGENT FOR ENVIRONMENTAL CHANGE

In July 1988, as part of its regular page 'Live Issues', *Guiding* magazine contributor Pat Herbert introduced readers to the Global Co-operation for a Better World International project, which aimed to encourage individuals to contribute to discussions about the future of the planet. In covering the topic, the magazine suggested that Guiders might like to get their company or packs involved in discussing 'What kind of world do you want?'⁷⁰ As a starting activity, it was suggested that Guiders start with a minute silence to 'think and imagine themselves in a future world' or could alternatively 'try a short meditation to a background of John Lennon's *Imagine*' before asking Guides their own ideas of what would make a 'better world'.⁷¹ While it is difficult to know how far this suggested activity was used by Guiders, its inclusion in the magazine is revealing as it exemplifies how some in the organization hoped to empower members to see themselves as architects of the future. Indeed, when advertising the 'Kodak Conservation Awards' for the World Wildlife Fund in 1987, the magazine celebrated how young people were being empowered to get involved in conservation and decide 'how they want it to be; young people organizing themselves to achieve their aims.'⁷² It thus seems that while children and youth were at the heart of concerns about the future of the planet, they were also positioned as being agents of change.

One of the main ways that members were encouraged to support environmental issues and make a change was through fundraising. Historically, fundraising had long played a role in the organization, which as a charity relied on donations and subscriptions to maintain its activities. The 1980s, however, saw the significant presence of discussion of fundraising initiatives within the magazines. Members were regularly reminded to contribute to the Girl Guide Friendship Fund (GGFF), a donation scheme set up in 1964 intending to support Guiding around the world, particularly in countries that were deemed to be 'disadvantaged'. The fund financially supported Guides from a

range of countries facing a variety of issues, which included the impact of natural disasters.

Contributions to the fund were represented as being an important part of supporting the worldwide 'sisterhood of Guiding' and a 'token of love and friendship which exists between Guides throughout the world.'⁷³ In July 1989, *Guiding* issued a 'call for help' for the Disasters Fund and asked readers to get their Guides interested in fundraising for the cause: 'Floods, fires, earthquakes ... disasters like these can strike any country, at any time. ... We can't prevent disasters from taking place, but we can make sure that when they do, we've got the funds to help victims.'⁷⁴

Yet, the fund was not the only cause members were encouraged to fundraise for. Reflecting the growth of 'common-sense humanitarianism' of the 1980s, the magazines continuously suggested that members had a moral obligation to help fundraise for those in need.⁷⁵ In 1985, members of the Brownies (a younger section of the movement) were challenged to 'Turn a cup of tea into a meal for a hungry child' by organizing a charity tea party to raise funds for 'hungry children in Africa'⁷⁶ with Save the Children; while in 1989 *Today's Guide* advertised World Visions '24 hour famine', which challenged members to go without food for a day to raise money for the same cause. Children were often at the heart of these fundraisers with significant emphasis being placed on improving the lives of those who were 'less fortunate'. The frequency and prominence of such fundraising adverts and articles within the magazines reflected how fundraising was, in the words of *Today's Guide*, 'part of being a Guide'⁷⁷ and therefore directly linked to ideas of good citizenship within the organization. The frequency of these moral appeals reveals how understandings of citizenship within the movement drew upon nineteenth-century models of respectable citizenship, philanthropy, and charity, to call members to action. This can be seen as a direct response to Thatcherite welfare policy, which saw the growth of charities and public relief campaigns, for both domestic and international causes. Yet, as Lucy Robinson has argued, must also be understood within Thatcherite discourses of active citizenship, in which individuals were responsible for community welfare, and had an obligation to contribute to addressing societal ills.⁷⁸

However, discussions of fundraising related to environmental issues also went beyond a discourse of moral obligation. Indeed, fundraising was also part of how the movement encouraged its members to see themselves as change-makers, particularly for world environmental issues such as whaling, deforestation and global warming. In 1987, it was suggested to readers of *Guiding* to support the World Wildlife Fund (WWF) by doing a sponsored 'Walk for Wildlife'.⁷⁹ While in 1988, *Today's Guide* also told readers to take part: 'If you're mad on wildlife and would like to do your bit to protect Britain's vanishing species, why not take part in the Heinz [food processing company] Walk for Wildlife'⁸⁰. Additionally, in that same year, *Guiding* encouraged readers to learn more about and perhaps contribute to, the Animal Welfare Foundation, which was researching animal pain.⁸¹ These

initiatives reflect the way that environmentalism had been both institutionalized and commercialized by the end of the 1980s, as fundraising was often implemented by key environmental organizations or sponsored retail companies. Yet, readers of the magazine were also expected to design and implement their fundraising activities. In 1990, a *Today's Guide* article by Justine Chatting introduced readers to the range of options for raising funds and encouraged them to be inventive with their activities. Suggested fundraising activities included: sponsored ironing - 'to give your mum a rest' - bathing in baked beans (although this idea was criticized in a later article), or a sponsored smile.⁸² It was also suggested that members should merge environmentally friendly actions, such as recycling or litter picking, with fundraising. Chatting told readers that:

Sponsored walks can be a bit dull when you're doing one for the twentieth time!
Try something like a sponsored dog walk or a litter pick (sponsored per bag of rubbish you collect) - while you're walking you can give a pet some exercise or clean up the environment at the same time!⁸³

Meanwhile, members were frequently given information on recycling drives, which could help raise money for, and awareness of, environmental issues and conservation groups, or for those 'keen to be green'⁸⁴ could be a useful way of raising funds for the GGA.

Evidence suggests that members responded to calls for fundraising. A study of Guiding activities in 1989 revealed that within a thirty-six-week period members would raise money for their Guiding unit an average of seven times and for charity four times.⁸⁵ The successes of such fundraising was also celebrated regularly in the magazines, as the activity was considered to be the embodiment of Guiding principles, particularly service to others. Girls were often proud of their fundraising efforts and wrote to the magazine to report their successes. In 1990, a Guide from the 1st Romsey Company in Hampshire told readers of her patrol's charity work: 'For our Patrol's Christmas Good Turn we organized a Greenpeace evening. It included a sale of homemade tree decorations, a talk, live music and a sale of sweets, biscuits and drinks. We got our Patrol Entertainment pennant and raised £25.52 for Greenpeace.'⁸⁶ The letter thus evidences the way that fundraising activities for environmental issues were undertaken, as members felt empowered as a community to 'do their bit' for the environment. Moreover, it is, once again, evidence of the way NCOs were embedded within discussions of 'green issues' in the magazine, with members engaging with a range of groups in a variety of ways.⁸⁷

Moreover, alongside an engagement with environmental organizations, members were also encouraged to actively campaign for change. Reflecting the way that the magazines empowered girls to see themselves as agents for change in their local communities. For example, when in 1989, a

Today's Guide quiz asked readers to consider how much paper was appropriate to use for a local church fete, members were told to write to the local authorities for more information on paper-saving schemes.⁸⁸ Similarly, in 1990, when members were informed that a good starting point to saving the earth was to work towards their Conservation achievement badge, they were informed to contact their local Town council or Member of Parliament, to make them aware of environmental concerns that were impacting the local area.⁸⁹ Later that year, it was suggested that readers write to their local council about the provision of bottle banks and other recycling facilities in their town.⁹⁰ At the heart of this was the expectation that members would think about and monitor the impact of global environmental issues on their locality and consider the role in improving their local environment. In 1991, for example, Marina Brown highlighted that 'going green' was about thinking globally, such as campaigning to save the rainforests through fundraising, while at the same time acting locally. For example, the problem of litter was one that Brown suggested all Guides could address; firstly, by organizing litter picking activities and secondly, by contacting the local council to ensure the provision of extra litter bins.⁹¹ Moreover, occasionally articles quite explicitly urged members to get involved with environmental protests in defence of the world environment. In 1991, when *Today's Guide* asked readers to consider 'How Green Are You?' they suggested to members through the article that those who 'put the planet first ... might be a member of an environmental organization and you've probably started petitions to protest against a company's abuse of the environment. You have written letters to organizations and maybe even the government.'⁹² This is significant as it suggests that, as Stephen Brooke has noted with regards to lived experience at this time, citizenship was understood 'across a wide spatial register, from the local to the national to the global.'⁹³ Guides were thus encouraged to use their voice to raise environmental concerns at a range of levels and to see themselves as agents of environmental change.

Members were also actively told to share their ideas about conservation and the environment within the magazines, shaping organizational discussions on the issue. In January 1990, *Today's Guide* asked readers 'Does pollution make your blood boil? What are you doing to help clean up your area? Don't keep it to yourself – write to Write NOW [the letters page] and tell the world!'⁹⁴ While two months later the magazine questioned: 'What do you think about Green issues ...? Why not write and let us know?'.⁹⁵ Letters, as we have seen, detailed the passion and enthusiasm that many readers had for 'going green' and detailed the efforts of individual girls and their families to save the planet, particularly in the early 1990s. Yet they also reveal the way that girls' felt empowered to demand change both from the organization itself and from wider society. In December 1990, for example, a member from Cheshire, who had contributed to the magazine on numerous occasions, questioned why the GGFF had chosen a children's charity for its Christmas fundraiser rather than an

environmental cause. She wrote that: 'I think the money should have been put to help save the world. After all, if there was no world, then there would be no world, then there would be no children? Am I right?'⁹⁶ Additionally, the magazine also received criticism for its use of non-recycled paper. In the June of 1990, a member of the Robin Patrol of the 84th Bristol (St Peter's) Company demanded action from *Today's Guide* on this issue. The member wrote passionately that:

After a Patrol debate about the environment we came to the conclusion that everything nowadays seems to be damaging the ozone layer. ... We would like to know if you use recycled paper to print *TODAY'S GUIDE*. ... We really enjoy your magazine and it would be comforting to know that you are doing everything possible to save our planet.⁹⁷

These letters demonstrate the way that some members felt authoritative on environmental issues and took calls for action seriously. Although they are lone voices, this particular letter suggests that members were collectively having discussions about green issues and, perhaps most importantly, demanding change. This is not to say that their letters had an impact, nonetheless, they are evidence of the way that the magazine gave members a voice on such issues and demonstrates that the girls themselves believed they had a role to play in 'saving the planet', reflecting the way that active forms of green citizenship were embedded into discussions of green issues in the 1980s and 1990s.⁹⁸ This is significant. While historically, the education of the GGA had emphasized traditional gender roles, particularly motherhood and domesticity, the emphasis on social action reflects how at the end of the twentieth century the movement also constructed members as active and sometimes political citizens. Such findings, therefore, support the numerous historians who have identified how the GGA allowed spaces for girls to negotiate traditional ideas and encouraged a more complex idea of modern femininity, balancing adult concerns for the future with girls' own desire to define their own experiences.⁹⁹ However, this is not to suggest that gendered expectations had disappeared. Importantly, while the green citizen had a responsibility to undertake public action in the form of fundraising and campaigning, the movement also emphasized the importance of changing everyday behaviour and particularly consumption habits. As a result, discussions of good environmental citizenship for girls emphasized the importance of girls as citizen-consumers and was often framed by expectations of members' domestic role, with girls encouraged to become 'green consumers' in both personal and household consumption.

BEING A GREEN CONSUMER

In August 1991, *Today's Guide* ran a fashion feature that advertised 'Caring Cosmetics' which highlighted cruelty-free makeup. Members were told that all products were made without animal testing: 'So you can look good, as well as feel good, when you wear them.'¹⁰⁰ This advert and many similar features like it was a reflection of the way that individual consumption choices became central to understandings of green citizenship within the GGA and within the green movement more generally at this time.¹⁰¹ As Marina Brown told readers of *Today's Guide* in 1991, 'Choosing the goods you buy can influence the planet's future.'¹⁰² Such statements are evidence of the way that, through an emphasis on ethical green consumerism, the organization was reflecting broader constructions of green citizenship at this time. As Ruth Oldenziel and Heike Weber have shown, mitigating the impact that humans have on the environment via the production and consumption of goods, in the form of actions such as recycling have a long history but were consolidated in the 1970s as gradually became a central part of becoming an ethical consumer.¹⁰³ Indeed, as Matthew Hilton has identified, building on post-war models of consumer citizenship, the 1980s saw green consumerism 'come of age', with numerous consumer boycotts and the growth of ethical consumption as a 'lifestyle', encouraged by targeted advertising.¹⁰⁴ However, an emphasis on responsible consumerism at this time also reflected Thatcherite discourses of citizenship, in which 'Citizens were being reconfigured as consumers'¹⁰⁵ and consumer choice was presented as a fundamental right of a free market economy.¹⁰⁶ Indeed, Thatcher herself explicitly emphasized the importance of shopping green, suggesting that it was one of the principal ways that the British public could help improve the planet. In a 1989 TV interview for Channel Four, for example, she reminded viewers that: 'public opinion is very powerful. If you shop in supermarkets, you know you will deliberately go for aerosols, for example, that are ozone-friendly.'¹⁰⁷ This rhetoric was echoed in the magazines; as Marina Brown told readers of *Today's Guide* in 1991, 'Choosing the goods you buy can influence the planet's future.'¹⁰⁸

The importance of consumer choice to becoming a green citizen was twofold. Firstly, readers could buy fundraising items, such as specially marked cans of Pedigree Chums or Whiskas to support World Animal Day in 1991 or Hedgehog's Revenge, a 1989 board game sold to raise funds for the Royal Society for Nature Conservation.¹⁰⁹ Once again, reflecting the way that a variety of green issues were being addressed by mainstream commercial companies. Secondly, the magazine emphasized the importance of consumer choices as a political statement, which would lead to real change. Marina Brown told readers of *Today's Guide* in 1991 that: 'If you buy environmentally friendly products, more will be made and the manufacturers of non-biodegradable ones will eventually go out of business or be forced to change.'¹¹⁰ Subsequently, readers were urged to express their concern about a range of issues (including, the ozone layer and animal welfare)

through their purchasing decisions. In 1989, *Today's Guide* advertised a Clairol Ozone Friendly Hairspray, in which members are encouraged to: 'do their bit for the environment', by cutting down on the aerosols they use. The advert reminded readers that:

Experts say that conventional aerosol sprays have helped create a hole in the ozone layer over Antarctica the size of the USA. So next time you buy a hair product check the small print – and make sure it's not damaging the ozone layer.¹¹¹

Similarly, consumer choice was also at the heart of the quiz with which this article began, which included questions on topics ranging from supermarket carrier bags, the choice of milk, gardening and gift-giving. The quiz questioned readers:

It's your mate's birthday and you want to get her a really nice, 'green' present. What would you buy her? ... The problem with fancy chocs is that they usually use far too much paper and plastic in their wrapping. None of the Body Shop products are tested on animals and you can take the containers back to get a refill which saves a lot of waste.¹¹²

Individual consumption was thus positioned at the centre of the discourse surrounding green issues. The magazines emphasized that global warming would have an impact on the personal lives and health of members and that it was the duty of each member to change their behaviour to prevent further damage. Accordingly, everyday acts such as driving, preparing food or disposing of waste, were configured as important elements of being a good global citizen. In a 1989 article on recycling, for example, readers were reminded by contributor Nick Skinner that 'before you throw the rubbish in the bin, think about the planet.'¹¹³ The magazine also stressed the personal repercussions of global warming. While Justine Chatting denied that deodorants could give you cancer, she did inform readers in 1989 that members might want to 'cut back' on the use of deodorant because the chlorofluorocarbons in aerosols decrease the ozone layer, and thus could ultimately give you skin cancer.¹¹⁴ Furthermore, in the early 1990s, the magazines increasingly acknowledged the environmental and health benefits of Vegetarianism and suggested members revise their eating habits to become more environmentally friendly. In 1990, when members were asked 'How Green Are you?' the quiz informed readers that if you gained a high score, it was likely that 'you take environmental issues very seriously and try to live in a way that doesn't damage our planet. You are probably a vegetarian or vegan and you've certainly tasted organic food.'¹¹⁵ We can thus see the way the figure of the consumer citizen was being constructed, as members were encouraged to make ethical, globally conscious decisions as consumers in an effort to 'go green'. This reflects, as Andrew

Jones has identified, the way British society was 'reshaped' during the 1980s with the emergence of 'individualised and market-driven forms of action articulated through the realms of consumption'.¹¹⁶

However, the emphasis on green consumption within the organization was also a reflection of the centrality of consumerism to constructions of girlhood at this time. The teenage consumer, which had emerged as a dominant economic force earlier in the century, had been increasingly targeted through magazines and advertising throughout the post-war period.¹¹⁷ This was increasingly acknowledged by the organization which, throughout the 1980s and 1990s, frequently acknowledged the consumer power of members by including advertisements and product reviews within its pages. In 1989, *Today's Guide* included the 'Test Run' page, in which members reviewed all manner of consumer items, including sleeping bags and personal stereos.¹¹⁸ Fashion items and music articles were also included, in which readers were encouraged to learn about and participate in the latest trends. This was partly about attracting members, with the magazines attempting to gain and hold the attention of the teenage audience, and partly a reflection of the way that modern girlhood was understood through the prism of consumerism. Thus, while Jim Gledhill has argued that the organization in the 1960s found it 'uneasy' successfully balance the needs of the modern girl with the agenda of the organization (and the parents), it could be argued that in long 1980s the magazine acted as a gateway between the educational aims of the organization and a self-consciously 'modern' agenda.¹¹⁹ This was particularly true after the rebranding of both magazines in the late 1980s and early 1990s, which was deemed particularly successful by some members. According to one member of the 18th Woodford (All Saints) Company in London writing to the magazine in 1990, the new look had 'the ingredients of a successful teenage magazine' and had 'given the image of the Girl Guides a much-needed face lift, and will go some way to killing the fuddy-duddy reputation of our Association'.¹²⁰ The emphasis on consumer choice, particularly with regards to dietary habits or beauty regimes, within the magazines can thus be understood as part of how the organization was attempting to address the needs and wants of the 'modern' girl, which was once part of a much deeper period of questioning and change within the movement at the end of the twentieth century.

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Yet, while the construction of the green consumer within the magazines reflects an attempt to address the changing lives of adolescent girls at this time, the emphasis on environmental issues also reveals how articulations of green citizenship, to some extent, were built on traditional notions of gender roles in contemporary Britain. Indeed, while the organizations' brother movement, the Boy Scouts Association, had begun accepting older female members (15-20) in 1976 and became fully mixed by 1991, an understanding of the distinctive needs and experiences of girls continued to

underpin the activities of the GGA.¹²² Subsequently, discussions of green consumption within the magazines frequently included the expectations of the domestic role that girls' would fulfil.

Members were encouraged to influence the consumption within the domestic sphere, by stewarding and shaping the consumption of family members. In 1990, *Today's Guide* asked readers to assess 'How environmentally friendly are you at home?' and make themselves aware of aerosol cans, washing powder, washing-up liquid, cleaning materials and bleach that were in their household.¹²³ Meanwhile, Marina Brown told readers in 1991 that a 'green' Guide should guarantee their household was energy efficient, for example by ensuring electrical appliances were always turned off and even went as far as to suggest that Guides should investigate their loft for insulation, as this would keep the house warm and cutting down on the need to use energy.¹²⁴ In making these suggestions, the authors were often reflecting the gendered nature of work within the home, which at this time remained largely intact. Indeed, the expectation that girls would help their mother with the housework was evident from a 1990 article on 'How to ... have a Veggie Christmas' in which it was suggested that members should give their mum 'a break' by volunteering to cook the Christmas dinner.¹²⁵ Similarly, the nature of the questions in the 'Are you a green Guide' quiz from 1990, also written by Chatting, reveals the continued expectation that girls were 'helping out' around the house. The quiz posed scenarios asking readers what they would do: such as 'Your mum asks you to nip down to shops to get her a few bits and pieces'¹²⁶ and 'Your mum's fed up with the milkman because he doesn't deliver on time. She asks you to pop out and get a couple of pints.'¹²⁷ Therefore, despite the significant modernization of the movement at the end of the twentieth century, we can see how gendered expectations remained. Reflecting the reassertion of normative gender roles in Thatcher's Britain, girls were understood as being able to influence household consumption due to the expectation of their role within the domestic sphere.

This gendering of green citizenship was also reflected in the language and tone of the magazine, as underpinning discussions of environmental issues within the magazines was often an expectation regarding girls' emotional investment in the environment. For example, the emphasis on caring was central to the 'Adopt and Cherish' competition early in the decade, with the word 'cherish' emphasizing the expected attention and commitment that Guides would need to give to their chosen area. Moreover, this emphasis on the practice of caring for the environment and wildlife could also be more explicit with regard to emotions. Contributor for *Today's Guide*, Heather Gorst, warned readers in 1986 that when visiting the countryside they should be 'caring and responsible enough to take any litter back home with you, for as far you know a cow may swallow a plastic bag with fatal results or a fox can cut a paw on some broken glass.'¹²⁸ Warning readers not to pick flowers or disturb baby animals she concluded that: 'do remember at all times that wild animals and

birds are nervous and sensitive creatures, so respect them as such. Use patience, understanding and love, and all will be well.¹²⁹ The discussion of conservation thus reflected the gendered discourse that framed discussions of environmental action, as well as the way that emotional labour had been and remained enshrined within Guiding.¹³⁰

Moreover, the importance of protecting the environment was regularly around the impact that environmental destruction would have on the health and wellbeing of the future generation. In an article on cars in 1989, readers of *Today's Guide* were informed that acid rain could 'damage children's brains'.¹³¹ Meanwhile, when in 1990 the movement provided a 'Holiday for Chernobyl's Children', a participant in the scheme commented that: 'When they arrived they were pale-skinned and tired-looking, but to see them now, rosy cheeked and laughing, is wonderful!'¹³², highlighting the impact that the nuclear disaster had had upon the health and well-being of the children. This rhetoric reflected the language of Thatcher herself who, on World Environment Day in 1989 declared to the country: 'I invite everyone to re-dedicate themselves on this World Environment Day to secure "Our Common Future". We must resolve today to pass on this future intact to our children and our grandchildren.'¹³³ Significantly this concern was echoed by members themselves, who often referred to children in their correspondence with the magazines. In 1986, a leader from the Royton District Ranger Unit in Lancashire informed *Guiding* that the use of nuclear fuels risked 'our children and our children's children contracting leukaemia, or any of the genetic disorders connected with radioactive discharge. Our children's health is too high a price to pay for the nuclear industry.'¹³⁴ Similarly, in 1991, commenting on illegal rubbish tips in *Today's Guide* one member informed the magazine that 'I think that this type of uncaring behaviour should be stopped and the tips cleared up. As well as being an eyesore, many innocent young children and animals could be hurt on such illegal dumps as these.'¹³⁵ Clearly then, the alarmist rhetoric of magazines filtered into the opinions and concerns of the readers, with gendered discourses around the environment reflected in readers' letters.¹³⁶ This emphasis, along with the focus on household consumption and the emotional labour of girls, reflected how Thatcherite discourses of gender were reflected within the movement's environmental education. The green citizen was thus an implicitly gendered concept, framed by the understanding of girls as both young green consumers and future green homemakers.

CONCLUSION

In August 2021, the GirlGuiding (previously the GGA) website informed visitors to the site that one of the key roles for members of the organization in the twenty-first century is as 'Planet Protectors'¹³⁷ and, as part of this role, members are encouraged to work toward the Conscious Consumer badge, informing that it will teach them to 'Be conscious about what you buy, and make a real difference to

people and the planet.¹³⁸ In recent years, with the growth of youth environmental activism centred on the issue of climate change, there has been an increasing interest in the role of children and youth in the defence of the planet. Yet, in declaring their members as 'Planet Protectors' GirlGuiding is building on a long history of notions of environmental citizenship within the organization. This discourse of planetary citizenship and consumer influence, as this article has demonstrated, can be charted back to the 1980s, when Guide magazines published an increased number of articles, quizzes, comment pieces and letters on the issue of environmentalism, urging readers to learn more about the green movement and to engage with a range of environmental issues. This marked an important shift in the movement, which previously had emphasized the conservation of rural spaces framed by a romanticized ruralism. By the end of the period, the place of the natural world within the organization had shifted, as this ruralism was subsumed by much grander concerns regarding the destruction of the planet, with rural conservation becoming one of many environmental issues that members were encouraged to address. Subsequently, environmentalism became central to the construction of global citizenship within the movement, as the organization increasingly emphasized internationalism amongst its members. A study of the GGA, therefore, reveals the ways that environmentalism became mainstream at the end of the 1980s, as members increasingly had access to information about a range of environmental issues and organizations.

Importantly, it was through this educational content that members were empowered to become active agents of environmental change, through the encouragement to undertake activities such as fundraising and campaigning, suggesting that environmentalism became a vehicle through which members were taught their duty as politically aware citizens, thus reflecting how political discussions were being had in a multitude of spaces in this period. Such calls to action were framed within a discourse of moral civil duty, reflecting how nineteenth-century ideals of citizenship saw a revival in the 1980s in response to changes to the relationship between the state and the individual under Thatcherism.

However, understandings of green citizenship within the movement also built upon neoliberal ideas regarding the role of the individual in society. Indeed, while Guides were encouraged to have a voice on green issues, it was in their everyday consumer choices that members could make a difference, with an emphasis on the green consumer reflecting the centrality of individualism and consumerism within British society in the 1980s. As a result, constructions of the green citizen within the movement drew on an interplay between the individual, the local and the global, as members were told to act locally and in the everyday while thinking internationally.

However, while GGA members were empowered to make a difference, a study of the environmental content of the magazines reveals the ways in which, to some extent, gendered discourses remained within the movement. Indeed, discussions of 'going green' were implicitly gendered, with expectations of girls' domestic responsibility and girls' emotional labour underpinning the magazines' discussions of members' role in creating environmental change and 'saving the planet'. This reflects the way in which environmentalism became a lens through which wider conceptualizations of citizenship within the organization were expressed.

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¹ *Today's Guide*, October 1989, 35.

² Edwards, *Youth Movements; Matless, Landscape and Englishness*.

³ *Today's Guide*, April 1990, 30-31.

⁴ Mills, "An instruction in good citizenship", 127.

⁵ Edwards, *Youth Movements; Matless, Landscape and Englishness*; Roberts, 'Cultivating an "earthy paradise"'; Lorimer, "Happy hostelling in the Highlands". See also the forthcoming work: Mills, *Mapping the Moral Geographies of Education*, Chapter 5. For a discussion of how conservation education became a vehicle for nationalism and patriotism in Britain (and elsewhere) in the early twentieth century see: Marsden, "Conservation education".

⁶ For a discussion of social rights within the GGA and Britain generally see: Edwards, *Youth Movements*, 15-20 & 251; Matthew Grant, 'Historicizing Citizenship in Post-War Britain', 1191-1192.

⁷ For the most recent and significant work on this topic see: Alexander, *Guiding Modern Girls*. Notable exceptions to this pre-Second World War focus includes: Proctor, *Scouting for Girls*; Jim Gledhill, 'White Heat, Guide Blue & Edwards, *Youth Movements*. There has also been significant work in the field of Human Geography and sociology, see: Kraftl & Mills (eds.) *Informal Education*.

⁸ This included 241,411 Guides and 16,991 Ranger Guides. Figures are taken from the Guide Census. *Guiding*, January 1988, 27.

⁹ Hall, 'The Great Moving Right Show'; Lenon Campos Maschette, 'Revisiting the concept of citizenship', 2.

¹⁰ Matthew Grant, 'Historicizing Citizenship in Post-War Britain', 1203.

¹¹ For further discussion of gender and the family in Thatcher's Britain see: Susan Reinhold, 'Through the Parliamentary Looking Glass'; Purvis, 'What was Margaret Thatcher's Legacy' for Women?'; Anderson, 'Empire's Fetish' & Laura Beers, 'Thatcher and the Women's Vote'.

¹² *Ibid*, 21.

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- ¹³ Brooke, 'Living in "New Times"', 21.
- ¹⁴ Moores, 'Thatcher's troops?'; Sutcliffe-Braithwaite, 'Discourses of 'Class''.
- ¹⁵ Kenny, 'A "Radical Project"', 559.
- ¹⁶ Brooke, 'Living in "New Times"', 27.
- ¹⁷ Payling, 612. See also; Payling, 'City limits'.
- ¹⁸ The term 'New Green' is used by Pippa Norris. Norris, 'Are we all Green now?', 329; Rootes, 'Britain', 20.
- ¹⁹ Carvalho, 'Representing the politics', 1.
- ²⁰ *Guiding*, March 1989, 1.
- ²¹ Although it is important to note that publication within the magazine did not mean that the movement endorsed the ideas or topics being discussed.
- ²² Catherine Sloan, "'Periodicals of an objectionable character'", 769.
- ²³ Kristine Alexander has discussed the importance of reading adult sources such as these 'against the grain'. Alexander, 'Can the Girl Guide Speak?', 142.
- ²⁴ Although it is important to note that Thatcher herself was rarely mentioned in the magazines.
- ²⁵ *Today's Guide*, January 1990, 16.
- ²⁶ *Today's Guide*, June 1990, 18.
- ²⁷ *Today's Guide*, June 1990, 18.
- ²⁸ *Today's Guide*, January 1990, 17.
- ²⁹ Turner, *Rejoice! Rejoice!*, 325.
- ³⁰ Norris, 'Are we all Green now?', 329. Jodi Burkett has discussed the shift from anthropocentric to ecocentric views on the environment in her work on the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. Burkett, 'The Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament', 625.
- ³¹ Turner, *Rejoice! Rejoice!*, 325-326 & 328.
- ³² *Ibid*, 326.
- ³³ Rootes, 'Britain', 20 & Paterson, 'Swampy Fever', 151-152.
- ³⁴ Norris, 'Are we all Green now?', 320 & 338 & Hilton, 'Politics is Ordinary', 235.
- ³⁵ Matthews, "'Making It Our Own'", 561. See also: Hawley, 'Children's television'. Popular children's cartoons and television also disseminated green ideas on an international scale. See: Kujundžić & Mišić, 'Powering up the Technodrome' & King, 'Captain Planet and the Planetears'.
- ³⁶ Horton, 'Demonstrating Environmental Citizenship?', 127-128. 'Green citizenship' is an umbrella term that includes 'environmental citizenship', 'ecological citizenship' and 'sustainable citizenship'. Machin, 'Decisions, disagreement and responsibility', 848.
- ³⁷ Dean, 'Green Citizenship', 491.
- ³⁸ *Today's Guide*, May 1991, 15.
- ³⁹ Julian Matthews has noted the use of this language in Children's television coverage of environmental issues to 'engender a sense of belonging'. Matthews, "'Making It Our Own'", 558.
- ⁴⁰ *Guiding*, November 1990, 32.
- ⁴¹ *Guiding*, October 1990, 38.
- ⁴² *Today's Guide* April 1991, 21.
- ⁴³ *Today's Guide*, February 1983, 30-31.
- ⁴⁴ *Today's Guide*, February 1983, 30-31.
- ⁴⁵ *Today's Guide*, January 1985, 18-19.
- ⁴⁶ *Guiding*, September 1989, 12
- ⁴⁷ *Guiding*, September 1989, 12
- ⁴⁸ *Guiding*, August 1989, p.7
- ⁴⁹ Hill, 'Acid House and Thatcherism' & Halfacree, 'Out of Place in the Country'. For a longer history of debates around conservation in this period see: Howkins, *The Death of Rural England*, chapter 10.
- ⁵⁰ *Today's Guide*, February 1988, 14-15.
- ⁵¹ For discussions of internationalism within the GGA before the 1980s see: Alexander, 'The Girl Guide Movement and Imperial Internationalism', 44. See also: Edwards, *Youth Movements and Citizenship*, 230-240.
- ⁵² Lister, 'New Conceptions of Citizenship', 52.
- ⁵³ Carvalho, 'Representing the politics', 4.
- ⁵⁴ *Today's Guide*, June 1990, 18.
- ⁵⁵ *Today's Guide*, December 1988, 12-13.
- ⁵⁶ *Today's Guide*, October 1987, 25.

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- ⁵⁷ Rootes, 'The Transformation of Environmental Activism', 4.
- ⁵⁸ *Today's Guide*, December 1988, 12-13.
- ⁵⁹ Matthews, "'Making It Our Own'", 559.
- ⁶⁰ *Today's Guide*, July 1989, 10-11
- ⁶¹ *Today's Guide*, July 1989, 10-11
- ⁶² *Today's Guide*, October 1989, 10-11.
- ⁶³ *Today's Guide*, December 1989, 29.
- ⁶⁴ *Today's Guide*, November 1989, 40-41.
- ⁶⁵ *Today's Guide*, October 1991, 8-9.
- ⁶⁶ Matthews, "'Making It Our Own'", 558; Gabrielson, 'Green citizenship', 441.
- ⁶⁷ *Today's Guide*, July 1989, 10-11.
- ⁶⁸ *Today's Guide*, April 1990, 30-31.
- ⁶⁹ *Guiding*, December 1990, 38.
- ⁷⁰ *Guiding*, July 1988, 10-11.
- ⁷¹ *Guiding*, July 1988, 10-11.
- ⁷² *Guiding*, January 1987, 6.
- ⁷³ *Today's Guide*, May 1980, 48.
- ⁷⁴ *Guiding*, July 1989, 48.
- ⁷⁵ Jones, 'Band Aid revisited', 199.
- ⁷⁶ *Guiding*, July 1985, 13.
- ⁷⁷ *Today's Guide*, June 1991, 21.
- ⁷⁸ Robinson, 'Putting the Charity Back', 410-411.
- ⁷⁹ *Guiding*, June 1987, 11.
- ⁸⁰ *Today's Guide*, October 1988, 9.
- ⁸¹ *Guiding*, August 1988, 12-13.
- ⁸² *Today's Guide*, May 1990, 46.
- ⁸³ *Today's Guide*, May 1990, 46.
- ⁸⁴ *Today's Guide*, March 1991, 33.
- ⁸⁵ *Guiding*, August 1989, 22-24.
- ⁸⁶ *Today's Guide*, May 1990, 15,
- ⁸⁷ Rootes, 'Environmental NGOs'.
- ⁸⁸ *Today's Guide*, October 1989, 35.
- ⁸⁹ *Today's Guide*, June 1990, 18.
- ⁹⁰ *Today's Guide*, July 1990, 26.
- ⁹¹ *Today's Guide*, March 1991, 30.
- ⁹² *Today's Guide*, April 1990, 30-31.
- ⁹³ Brooke, 'Living in "New Times"', 28.
- ⁹⁴ *Today's Guide*, January 1990, 17.
- ⁹⁵ *Today's Guide*, March 1990, 6.
- ⁹⁶ *Today's Guide*, December 1990, 15.
- ⁹⁷ *Today's Guide*, June 1990, 15.
- ⁹⁸ *Today's Guide*, July 1991, 18.
- ⁹⁹ See Warren, "Mothers for Empire"; Smith, "Be(ing) Prepared"; Edwards, "'Doing nature' and being a Guide"; Alexander, *Guiding Modern Girls*; Proctor, "(Uni)forming Youth"; Proctor, 'Gender, Generation'; Magyarody, 'Odd Woman, Odd Girls'.
- ¹⁰⁰ *Today's Guide*, August 1991, 4.
- ¹⁰¹ McCormick, *British Politics and the Environment*, chapter 6.
- ¹⁰² *Today's Guide*, April 1991, 21.
- ¹⁰³ Oldenziel & Weber, 'Introduction: Reconsidering Recycling', 347-348.
- ¹⁰⁴ Hilton, *Consumerism in 20th Century Britain*, 313 & 317. For a longer history of the relationship between consumption and citizenship see: Trentmann, 'Bread, Milk and Democracy'.
- ¹⁰⁵ Alex Mold, 'Making the Patient-Consumer', 510.
- ¹⁰⁶ Edwards, 'Financial Consumerism', 213.
- ¹⁰⁷ Margaret Thatcher, TV Interview for Channel 4 (London Ozone Conference), 7 March 1989. <https://www.margaretthatcher.org/document/107597>, Accessed 1 July 2021. For further discussion of Thatcher's approach to the Environment see: McCormick, *British Politics and the Environment*, chapter 6.
- ³⁰ *Today's Guide*, April 1991, 21.

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- ¹⁰⁹ *Today's Guide*, October 1991, 9 & *Today's Guide*, March 1989, 7.
- ¹¹⁰ *Today's Guide*, April 1991, 21.
- ¹¹¹ *Today's Guide*, January 1989, 21.
- ¹¹² *Today's Guide*, October 1989, 35 & 39.
- ¹¹³ *Today's Guide*, January 1989, 16.
- ¹¹⁴ *Today's Guide*, June 1989, 11.
- ¹¹⁵ *Today's Guide*, April 1991, 21.
- ¹¹⁶ Jones, 'Band Aid revisited'
- ¹¹⁷ Tinkler, 'Are You Really Living?; McRobbie, *Feminism and Youth Culture*; O'Neill, 'People Loves Player's'.
- ¹¹⁸ *Today's Guide*, January 1989, 28-29 & *Today's Guide*, <https://www.scouts.org.uk/volunteers/inclusion-and-diversity/including-everyone/girls-and-women-in-scouts/ril> 1989, 27
- ¹¹⁹ Jim Gledhill, 'White Heat, Guide Blue', 78.
- ¹²⁰ *Today's Guide*, June 1990, 15.
- ¹²¹ Changes include the revision of Guiding uniforms (1981 and 1990), the introduction of a new Guide handbook (1992), and changes to the wording of the Guide Promise (1993) and Guide Law (1996).
- ¹²² The Scout Association, 'Girls and Women in the Scouts', <https://www.scouts.org.uk/volunteers/inclusion-and-diversity/including-everyone/girls-and-women-in-scouts/>, accessed 15 August 2021.
- ¹²³ *Today's Guide*, June 1990, 18-19.
- ¹²⁴ *Today's Guide*, April 1991, 21.
- ¹²⁵ *Today's Guide*, December 1990, 16.
- ¹²⁶ *Today's Guide*, October 1989, 35.
- ¹²⁷ *Today's Guide*, October 1989, 35.
- ¹²⁸ *Today's Guide*, May 1986, 11.
- ¹²⁹ *Today's Guide*, May 1986, 11.
- ¹³⁰ Alexander, *Guiding Modern Girls*, 201.
- ¹³¹ *Today's Guide*, October 1989, 10-11.
- ¹³² *Guiding*, December 1990, 49.
- ¹³³ Margaret Thatcher, 'Our Common Future' World Environment Day message, 3 June 1989. <https://www.margareththatcher.org/document/107678> Accessed, 1 July 2021.
- ¹³⁴ *Guiding*, December 1986, 50.
- ¹³⁵ *Today's Guide*, February 1991, 14.
- ¹³⁶ Gendered discourses around the future of the earth were also present in anti-nuclear campaigns in Britain throughout the post-war period, including at the 1980s anti-nuclear protests at Greenham Common. See Jodi Burkett, 'Gender and the Campaign' and Jill Liddington, *Feminism and Anti-Militarism since 1820*.
- ¹³⁷ GirlGuiding, 'Planet Protectors', <https://www.girlguiding.org.uk/girls-making-change/future-girl/planet-protectors>, accessed 30 August 2021.
- ¹³⁸ GirlGuiding, 'Conscious Consumer', <https://www.girlguiding.org.uk/what-we-do/our-badges-and-activities/badge-finder/conscious-consumer>, accessed 30 August 2021.