12.

"I Know About My Own Body … They Lied"

Race, Knowledge, and Environmental Sexism in Institute, WV and Old Bhopal, India

REENA SHADAAN

I had come back from my [in-law's] house that day. My daughter was eight days old…. [M]y eyes were tearing, and my daughter was coughing. I thought somebody was burning chillies…. [E]verybody was coughing and vomiting…. My daughter died about two and a half years after the disaster.
—Noorjahan, Old Bhopal, India (Personal communication, Jan. 2012)

They lied about that emission…. I don't care how long it takes. We're going to know one day that they lied to us…. I know about my own body…. They lied to us…. They come out smelling like a rose, while the community goes on with this stench.
—Sue Davis, Institute, West Virginia (Personal communication, Apr. 23, 2015)

For the sense of smell, almost more than any other, has the power to recall memories and it's a pity we use it so little.
—Rachel Carson (*Silent Spring* 83)

In 1962, RACHEL CARSON PUBLISHED her ground-breaking work, *Silent Spring*. With that, Carson introduced the American public to the harmful ecological and health impact of pesticide-use, and particularly DDT.[1] She noted, "Residues of these chemicals linger in soil…. They have entered and lodged in the bodies of fish, birds, reptiles, and domestic and wild animals…. [They] are now stored in the bodies of the vast majority of human beings…" (Carson, *Silent Spring* 15-16). As a result of *Silent Spring*, Carson faced a barrage of industry-led attacks, questioning her knowledge claims. Notably, much of Carson's

critiques were rooted in her gender identity. Specifically, she was touted as a "hysterical" and "uninformed woman" (Hess). Decades later, little has changed. Women-activists in environmental justice struggles are similarly belittled by "experts" in industry, the state, and the scientific community. In reference to her work with white working-class women-activists in the U.S. environmental justice movement, Celene Krauss observed, "Male officials … exacerbated [the] intimidation by ignoring the women, by criticizing them for being overemotional, and by delegitimizing their authority by labelling them 'hysterical housewives'" (139-140).

Early scholarship often highlighted the central role of women in the environmental justice movement, but also noted the dismissal of their knowledge and lived experiences. As Phil Brown and Faith Ferguson aptly summarized,

> The women activists transform their everyday experiences, most typically their own and their neighbors' children's illness, into knowledge that they can use in the struggle against toxic waste, and they insist on its validity as knowledge. Such validity is contested by scientific experts and professionals, whose cultural beliefs about women and science lead them to refuse to accept the women activists' claims about the consequences of toxic exposure. (151-152)

Recent environmental justice scholarship calls for a renewed feminist lens—one which highlights multiple layers of oppression and broader systems of exploitation that produce disproportionate environmental harms (Malin and Ryder; Pellow; Scott). This chapter addresses this call, but also demonstrates the continued dismissal of toxic-impacted women's knowledge, which was first identified in early scholarship. Specifically, the chapter will consider the dismissal of women's health-related knowledge and lived experiences within the context of two different but historically connected environmental justice struggles. The first is located in Institute, West Virginia, within the wider region of Kanawha Valley—known as "Chemical Valley." The second is in Old Bhopal, India, an area severely impacted by the 1984 Bhopal Gas Disaster—known as the "world's worst industrial disaster" (Hanna, Morehouse and Sarangi). In both areas, women discuss the dismissal of their health experiences, and specifically doctors' refusal to draw connections between their health struggles and their exposure to industrial pollution—which many identify as the root cause of their

illnesses. Diverse factors, such as the absence of comprehensive health studies and industry-touted misinformation contribute to this denial. Consider Institute resident, Donna Willis's observation: "So, when we heard that [the chemical company] maintained that they contained [the chemical release] into the fence area, you either have to be an idiot or a stone-cold fool to think that the chemical didn't get outside that chain-linked fence that's got big holes in it. They actually could con our legislatures into believing that crap" (Personal communication, Apr. 23, 2015). This kind misinformation contests residents' claims of toxic exposure and subsequent illness. Or consider that following the Bhopal disaster, Union Carbide's Bhopal-based medical officer informed hospital staff that methyl isocyanate (MIC) is non-poisonous and that applying a wet towel on the eyes is a sufficient remedy (Agarwal, Merrifild and Tandon). While these issues contribute to the denial of toxic-impacted women's health experiences, the dismissal is further linked to race and class oppression, which influences these women's particular experiences of environmental sexism. Traci Brynne Voyles defines environmental sexism as,

> …when women's roles as caretakers compound the burden of environmental problems in their lives: it is women who take up the labor of care when family members become sick; it is women who often assume doubled financial responsibilities when their husbands or partners die and women who undertake a large amount of the labour of family care; and it is women who are at the front lines of the reproductive havoc that many modern toxins … wreak on human bodies, including increased risks of miscarriage, stillbirth, and birth defects. Moreover women, particularly women of color, are often the most economically vulnerable and politically powerless members of a community, making them less likely to have been consulted when toxic industries move into their communities. (142)

This paper extends this definition to include the dismissal of racialized women's health-related experiences in relation to toxic exposure.

INSTITUTE, WEST VIRGINIA IN "CHEMICAL VALLEY"

Institute is located within the region of Kanawha Valley (West Virginia). Kanawha Valley has been site to a number of major chemical facilities, which have wreaked havoc on workers and residents. According to Maya

Nye, former spokesperson of the Institute-based environmental justice group, People Concerned About Chemical Safety (People Concerned),[2] "Institute is primarily an African American community… Other surrounding communities … are mostly poor or working class white. The entire area is Appalachian … a marginalized culture stereotyped as being ignorant and poor" (Personal communication, Sept. 27, 2013).

Institute is a mixed-income African American community that has historically faced much of the brunt of "Chemical Valley." The community was profiled in Robert Bullard's *Dumping in Dixie: Race, Class, and Environmental Quality*, which is a foundation text in the framing of environmental racism. Pam Nixon—spokesperson for People Concerned and former Environmental Advocate at the Department of Environmental Protection—notes, "[O]ther than the ammonia tank up at the DuPont plant [in Belle] … the Institute area had the most dangerous chemicals. They had 1,3 butadiene, they had the phosgene, they had … MIC [methyl isocyanate]" (Personal communication, Apr. 21, 2015). That environmental racism is killing Institute's predominantly Black residents led People Concerned member, Donna Willis to reflect, "We'll hold up our hands and say Black Lives Matter" (Personal communication, Apr. 23, 2015).

Parts of Kanawha Valley are known for high cancer rates. This became apparent when driving through Institute with Donna Willis and another life-long Institute resident and member of People Concerned, Sue Davis. The following excerpt aptly described our two-hour drive in and around Institute: "Mr. Pruitt over there, he had cancer…. Billy had cancer…. Jerome James, he died of cancer. He lived right there … [and] his widow died of cancer…. Diane Carter was raised right here…. She died of cancer" (Donna Willis, Personal communication, Apr. 23, 2015). However, cancer is just one of many health issues plaguing residents. In 1987, People Concerned, with support from allies at several U.S. universities, carried out a comprehensive health survey of Institute[3]—the only one to date. When compared to national statistics, Institute residents have "significantly higher" rates of bronchitis, cataracts, hay fever, itching skin, tinnitus, indigestion, psoriasis, constipation, goiter/thyroid issues, bladder problems, hearing impairments, ulcers, and tachycardia (Hall and Wagner). Interestingly and as if anticipating mistrust, the study notes: "The respondent-assessed health status is generally in line with national estimates. Respondents also reported less experience of stress in their lives than is the case nationally…. [This] would tend to indicate … that *respondents in this survey were not overemphasizing their health problems*" [emphasis added] (Hall and Wagner 6).

"THE WORLD'S WORST INDUSTRIAL DISASTER" – BHOPAL, INDIA

Bhopal, India is the site of the 1984 Bhopal Gas Disaster—the "world's worst industrial disaster" (Hanna et al.). In 1969, the American-owned Union Carbide Corporation (UCC) sited a facility in Old Bhopal, the poorest subsection of the city of Bhopal. According to Satinath Sarangi of the Bhopal Group for Information and Action (BGIA),[4]

> [O]ld Bhopal is [largely] composed of … immigrants, driven out of their [villages] … as a result of … mechanized agriculture … and other "development" projects. Over 75% … earned their livelihood through daily wage labor and petty business…. [T]he Muslim poor … formed over 35% of the population…. ("The Movement" 101)

Utilizing untested technology and amidst a myriad of safety hazards, the UCC-Bhopal plant formulated and later manufactured pesticides to be used in India's Green Revolution (Hanna et al.).

On December 3, 1984, 40 tonnes of methyl isocyanate (MIC) leaked, killing workers and residents of the predominantly poor communities that surrounded the plant. Within three days, up to 10,000 were killed (Amnesty International *30 Years Too Long* …) and to date, approximately 25,000 have died (Sarangi "Compensation"). Additionally, 150,000 people face a myriad of chronic health issues, including respiratory illnesses, eye diseases, immune system impairments, neurological damage, neuromuscular damage, endocrine system disruption, reproductive health issues, gynecological disorders, mental health issues (Amnesty International *Clouds of Injustice*), as well as cancers (Sarangi, Personal communication, Jun. 28, 2014). Notably, many of the illnesses experienced by the gas-affected population are dismissed, as will be discussed further in greater detail. In fact, an early health study felt it necessary to clarify, "Each symptom was described in such graphic detail that it was obviously based on the patient's own experience and *could not be malingering or wild imaginations as some are apt to allege*" [emphasis added] (MFC 6).

THE HISTORIC CONNECTION BETWEEN INSTITUTE AND BHOPAL

While the Bhopal Gas Disaster is an important reference point for the U.S. environmental justice movement (see Pariyadath and Shadaan), it has particular significance in Institute. Union Carbide's Institute facility

also produced MIC. UCC claimed that the facility was safe; however, the company's records indicated that the plant had leaked MIC 28 times between 1979 and 1984. UCC later admitted to 62 MIC leaks (Agarwal, Merrifield and Tandon).

The Bhopal disaster, coupled with decades of toxic emissions and industrial pollution, led to the emergence of People Concerned, which has been at the forefront of environmental justice in Kanawha Valley. Sue Davis expressed the deep connection between Institute residents and Bhopal gas survivors. She notes, "I share their grief. I share their heartache and heartbreak. When it happened to them, it happened to me" (Personal communication, Apr. 23, 2015). Davis also discussed her brother, Warne Ferguson's pivotal role in forming People Concerned:

> *He got very upset after the Bhopal incident… He virtually founded [People Concerned], even though you had a lot of people who worked on that original committee... He went to Don Wilson, this young man that lives in West Dunbar... and said, "Don, we've got to do something." They, in turn, went to Ed Hoffman who was at [West Virginia State University]... So, that's when it started....* (Ibid)

In effect, while Institute and Old Bhopal are distinct sites of environmental racism, they are also sites of an intertwining history, and shared struggle. This deep connection is aptly summarized in the following statement by People Concerned in 1985:

> We are residents, professors, and college students[5] who oppose MIC production in our community. We do so not only because a disaster similar to Bhopal could happen here, but also out of respect for the victims and survivors in your city.… We see Union Carbide's haste to make profits again from methyl isocyanate as an indication of little concern for what happened to the Indian people, and little concern for the predominantly black community that lives just downwind from the Institute plant. The lesson of the Bhopal disaster for us is that Union Carbide cannot be trusted to insure our safety.… We hold our hands in brotherhood to you. May our common concern for safety and health bond your community and ours for many years to come. (Agarwal, Merrifield and Tandon 31)

The ongoing relationship of solidarity is further indicated in the

statement released by the International Campaign for Justice in Bhopal (ICJB) following the 2014 Elk River spill:

> [ICJB] … expresses solidarity with the communities of West Virginia that are facing a toxic nightmare.… The contamination of our water … is a heinous crime. Like you, Bhopalis have faced widespread groundwater contamination.… Toxic facilities are routinely situated in areas populated by the poor, working-class and/or racial minorities and, left to self-regulate, chemical industries will continue to pose a threat to the lives and environments of such communities. ("The West Virginia Chemical Spill")

Old Bhopal and Institute are connected by history and their fight against environmental racism. They converge to (informally) form a transnational environmental justice struggle that contests the disproportionate burden of industrial pollution and the resultant health impacts.

METHODOLOGY

A feminist and phenomenological methodology underlies this study. Qualitative methodologies are "flexible, fluid and better suited to understand the meanings, interpretations and subjective experiences of those groups who may be marginalized, 'hard to reach' or remain silenced" (Bhopal 189). Feminist methodologies, in particular, aim to "capture women's lived experiences in a respectful manner that legitimates women's voices as a source of knowledge" (Campbell and Wasco 783). This is pertinent, as environmental justice women-activists are routinely excluded from knowledge production (being viewed as hysterical, ignorant, and suspicious) largely due to the intersections of environmental racism, environmental sexism, and class oppression. Moreover, a phenomenological approach "argue[s] … that the patient's self-understanding and experience of illness … offers a legitimate source of relevant medical knowledge," making this framework particularly apt (Goldenberg 2628).

As an observer of the struggle for justice in Bhopal, as well as a participant in the International Campaign for Justice in Bhopal, North America (ICJB-NA), I draw on historical data, as well as narratives gained from my various interactions with women-activists impacted by the ongoing Bhopal gas disaster.[6]

It is in the capacity of ICJB-NA that I learned about and connected with People Concerned. In April 2015, I travelled to Institute in order to meet and learn from the women who are part of the core of People Concerned. While I had initially planned to explore issues surrounding women's motivations for activism in People Concerned, health and healthcare emerged as prime issues in each of my interactions with members of People Concerned. A similar trend was apparent in my interactions with Bhopali women-activists. The struggle for environmental justice is, after all, also a struggle for health.

MAKING THE CONNECTION

In both Old Bhopal and Institute, women find their knowledge and experiences of illness (particularly the causation) dismissed by medical professionals. As Phil Brown and Edwin J. Mikkelsen note, "Science is … limited in its conceptualization of what problems are legitimate and how they should be addressed.… [P]hysicians are largely untrained in environmental and occupational health matters, and even when they observe environmentally caused disease, they are unlikely to blame the disease on the environment" (132). In the context of Institute, and in relation to an autoimmune disorder she developed after a chemical emission, Pam Nixon notes,

> *[The doctor] didn't want to… give a causation of it.… None of the doctors here in the Valley … would ever say what was causing your problem.… I know [the chemical release] affected me.… [T]he reason I say that is [because] every time I would almost go into remission, and they would have a release at a particular unit … I'd have symptoms again.… I knew it was coming from the plant, but I couldn't get a doctor to say it was coming from the plant.* (Personal communication, Apr. 21, 2015)

Although not in Institute, Stephanie Tyree, a Board Member of People Concerned and a long-time environmental justice advocate in West Virginia, relates a similar experience. Following the 2014 Elk River spill in the region,

> *What they told you to do was turn on your hot water at full force, and just flush all the water out. The chemical that was spilled, when it was heated up, it turned into … a neurotoxin.…*

> *When we were doing this … [the] whole apartment filled up with gas. You could smell it. It was really intense.… I got a really bad migraine from it that lasted for like a week.… [E]ventually I went to … a MedExpress Center.… I told them that I got it because of the [contaminated] water, and the doctor didn't believe me.… He was like, "I don't think that's what it's about… I think you just have a bad headache.…" I was like, I think I know what it's about.… (*Personal communication, Apr. 24, 2015)

Maya Nye concurs. "A lot of stories that I heard after the Elk River chemical spill was that doctors were refusing to make any sort of connection between their symptoms and the exposure to the MCHM [crude 4-methylcyclohexane methanol]." However, "[A]fter the Elk River chemical spill … I'll bet doctors were more likely to make the connection versus a one-off release … because more people were impacted [and] … people of affluence were also affected … white folks, not … people of colour" (Personal communication, Jun. 8, 2015).

The experiences of Nixon and Tyree are consistent with those of women in Old Bhopal. Shortly after the Bhopal disaster, a journalist observed,

> There are shocking tales of mothers who have lost their offspring or who are bringing up deformed infants, the shocking accounts given by the junior staff of the hospitals, midwives and nurses who insist they have never seen any birth-and-death cycle of this kind before.… Against this we have the official version of bureaucrats and senior doctors who are under instruction not to talk. An attempt is being made to cover up the deformities and abnormalities being recorded.… Nobody knows if the trauma will end with this generation, or the next. (Sarin)[7]

While Sarin's account points to the silencing of reproductive health concerns, the notion that infants' bodies are damaged via "deformities and abnormalities" reproduces problematic notions of normative bodies (Clare; Di Chiro).

A 2004 study re-iterates the hesitancy to relate illnesses to MIC exposure. Following visits to various hospitals, it was noted, "Doctors were refusing to admit to the fact that MIC … had affected major organs" (We for Bhopal 37). Further, "The doctors were not willing to admit that the high incidence of cancer can be related to the affect of the gas. There

was simply not enough research to back up any such theory…" (We for Bhopal 56). Here, it is imperative to ask: Why are there so few studies on the health impacts of toxic exposure in Old Bhopal and Institute? Consider that over three decades after the Bhopal disaster, survivors' organizations continue to have to ask for, "[T]reatment protocols specific to exposure related health problems and … medical research that benefits the gas victims and those exposed to contaminated ground water" (ICJB 2014a). Or that when travelling though Institute, Donna Willis noted, "I just had an aunt die of cancer. I just had a girlfriend who … was raised with me that just died of cancer. Her mother died of cancer," to which Sue Davis responded, "It's unbelievable, and we can't get a study" (Personal communication, Apr. 23, 2015). Maya Nye provides a useful response in the context of Institute, but with lessons that can be applied in Old Bhopal and elsewhere:

> *[T]here have been [more] studies done on the Elk River chemical spill, [than] any of the spills that happen … in Institute or in Belle, [which is] more of an economically depressed area.…* [M]ore affluent people were impacted [which] is the reason why more studies happen. [emphasis added] (Personal communication, Jun. 8, 2015)

RACE, CLASS, AND ENVIRONMENTAL SEXISM

The denial of illness is influenced by gender, race, and class oppression. Prior to delving into the particular context of Institute and Old Bhopal, it is imperative to note the knowledge/power hierarchy that can underlie the relationship between medical professionals and lay persons. Martha Balshem provides a useful summary from her in-depth case study of a working-class community in Philadelphia. She notes the strained relationship between the medical establishment and residents, who attribute their illnesses to industrial pollution—an assertion that the medical community is less willing to make.

> For many lay people, contact with the medical-care system has at some point involved the felt experience of a loss of personal authority. These experiences are often dramatic and terrifying.… Medical social scientists have described in elaborate detail the physician's power to confer or deny legitimacy to particular interpretations of patient sign, symptom, and behaviour; charged that through the distinction between scientific knowledge and

> folk knowledge, lay interpretations are cast as illegitimate and inconvenient counterpoints to real medical knowledge.… (6-7)

Likewise, C. Sathyamala, who has worked with Bhopal gas survivors, notes, "In the doctor-patient relationship, generally the patient is considered a malingerer unless clinical and laboratory tests prove that she/he show some changes.… This is exaggerated when the complainant belongs to an "inferior category"… either in terms of class or sex" ("The Medical Profession" 40). The role of gender has warranted scholarly attention. As Marci R. Culley and Holly L. Angelique have summarized, "Science ('rational/masculine') has typically rejected women's 'ways of knowing' in antitoxic efforts ('informal,' 'experience based,' 'housewife surveys') as unscientific, unobjective, and irrational" (447). This analysis is pertinent in the context of Old Bhopal where "[t]he belief that women are emotional and hysterical creatures, led researchers to conclude that the effect on pregnancies was due to the enormous stress these women underwent.… Stress, of course, may have taken its toll, but the tendency was to put the entire blame on the emotional state of the women" (Sathyamala, "Condition" 130). This is also pertinent in the context of Institute. Sue Davis notes,

> [*They] say, "Oh, she suffers from paranoia. She's paranoid regarding the chemical plant".… Both hospitals said it.… [T]hen you look at their descriptions, and … you see where they created all this stuff that they lied about.… They were so rude, and so … non-caring, and they don't know what we go through.… [T]hey said, "She has fears".… Who am I gonna fear? Who am I gonna fear? I don't fear them. I don't fear their chemicals. I live so that if I die tomorrow, I know where I'm going.* (Personal communication, Apr. 23, 2015)

Allegations of "paranoia" and "hysteria" are not limited to women. In the context of a working-class community in Southern West Virginia, Stephanie Tyree shared,

> *They were having [coal slurry] through their water systems, and having a lot of health impacts from that, and cancer clusters.… [T]hey [both men and women] really struggled to get doctors to recognize the health impacts*.… A lot of doctors telling them that they were imagining things.… They were hysterical.…" [emphasis added] (Personal communication, Apr. 24, 2015)

Donna Willis shared the particular ways in which Black women's knowledges, lived experiences, and resistance is discounted:

> *Black women aren't afraid of speaking out against injustice.… Society is quick to place a label on anyone who isn't snowed in by their hypocrisy.… There are elements in our environment that are killing us… If a Black women returns an insult in kind, then up pops the race card. She's loud, trying to intimidate us, threatening*.… (Personal communication, Feb. 17, 2016)

Andrea Simpson writes that Black women are routinely denied credibility. She refers to the environmental justice work of Doris Bradshaw in Memphis, Tennessee, and notes that not only are Black women silenced when advocating for themselves and their communities; they are vilified for it, as their concerns are misrepresented in media and otherwise as self-interested.

In effect, reducing the discussion to gender serves to ignore other other facets of oppression that deny legitimacy. In the context of Old Bhopal, race, gender, and class oppression serve to deny legitimacy, in particular, to gas-affected women. To illustrate, a gynecological health study conducted in 1985 found a correlation between MIC exposure and gynecological illnesses. The findings were widely contested by Bhopal's medical establishment in a manner that indicates gender-based discrimination, as well as anti-poor and anti-Muslim sentiments. Gynecologists affiliated with India's leading, state-sponsored medical body, the Indian Council of Medical Research (ICMR), said, "Oh, these poor women live in such filthy conditions. All of them have pelvic infection. It is very frequent amongst Muslim women" (Kishwar 38). Moreover, three Bhopal-based gynecologists, and one Bhopal-based obstetrics and gynecology professor identified "…gynaecological symptoms as 'usual,' 'psychological,' or 'fake' and the gynaecological diseases … as 'usual,' 'tuberculour,' or 'due to poverty and poor hygiene'" (Sathyamala, "Medical" 50).

The perception that gynecological illnesses are "fake" warrants further discussion. It is rooted in the oft-touted allegations of "compensation neurosis" (feigning illness in order to gain larger sums of compensation), which is linked to anti-poor attitudes. Sathyamala observes, "The gas victims were poor and a larger proportion were women … and it was easy for the medical community to dismiss their complaints out of their … suspicion of such people" ("Medical" 40). These perceptions persist. In a 2004 interview with the then Director of the Bhopal Gas Tragedy

Relief and Rehabilitation Department, Bhopal's Chief Medical Officer, and several high-ranking Bhopal-based hospital officials, it was noted, "Look don't be taken in by what people tell you.… It is all gimmicks.… When the question of giving them compensation money came up they all lined up.… The fact of the matter is that 95% of these people are not gas victims" (We for Bhopal 57). Notably, the suspicion of poor, working-class, and racialized communities is pertinent in the context of Kanawha Valley as well. Maya Nye notes,

> *I would say that there's … a stereotype of "working the system," the healthcare system.… "Working the system" … would probably be someone who is low-income, on disability potentially, who has MedicAid.… Those are people who are considered people who "work the system," people who are living off the system.… I would say that, with the class issue, you're less likely to be taken seriously if you're on disability, or if you have some sort of public assistance with healthcare.… You're less likely to have quality healthcare, I would say, or to be taken seriously.… [A]s far as race goes, I would say that there are probably similar barriers.… I would say that the barriers are the same regardless of [income] when it comes to race.…* (Personal communication, Jun. 8, 2015)

In effect, in both Institute and Old Bhopal, toxic-impacted communities have been labelled by some of the medical community as "paranoid," "hysterical," "ignorant," and "fake."

However, both communities have led a relentless struggle for health and justice. Aware of Union Carbide's attempt to silence the health impacts of MIC exposure, Bhopali survivors and solidarity activists opened the People's Health Centre in 1985, noting:

> For the past six months, politicians have hidden the problems of gas victims; withheld effective cures and blindly pumped people full of random drugs, playing havoc with their lives. We have fundamental human rights to health and proper medical care.… This clinic was made for the people by the people, it is for the benefit of gas victims. We intend to make it a model for public struggle against the merchants of death… Down with the murderer Union Carbide! The fight for medical care is a fight for our rights! (Bhopal Medical Appeal and Bhopal Group for Information & Action 27)

Although the People's Health Centre was raided by police, and shut down after twenty days, it is an early and notable example of the struggle for healthcare in Bhopal that addresses the needs of residents impacted by MIC exposure. Today, the Sambhavna Trust Clinic carries on the tradition of the People's Health Centre. Established in 1995, and staffed primarily by survivors, this clinic provides free ayurvedic and allopathic care to those impacted by the Bhopal gas disaster. In addition, medical research and public health education is carried out to the benefit of survivors, their children, and those living in the communities impacted by groundwater contamination.

These efforts are in addition to the ongoing work of the International Campaign for Justice in Bhopal—led by survivors' groups and a grassroots support group. Under the guiding framework of the precautionary principle, the polluter pays principle, right-to-know, international liability, and environmental justice, ICJB focuses on the short-term goals of relief and rehabilitation and the long-term goals of justice and accountability. This includes adequate medical care and research on the long-term impacts of MIC exposure, social and economic rehabilitation, environmental remediation, adequate compensation, and justice and accountability within the Indian and U.S. legal system. The Bhopal campaign's over three decades of work has led to a number of significant victories, although the struggle for justice is ongoing.[8]

In Institute, the only comprehensive health study to have taken place was sponsored by People Concerned (Hall and Wagner). The study aimed to identify recurring health issues, develop a community health profile, demonstrate the need for improvements in healthcare responses, and demonstrate the need for epidemiological studies (Holt). A group newsletter during the time noted, "Was it deliberate oversight or mere negligence that led to little effort to obtain systematic information about the health status of communities living in close proximity to chemical plants?" (Holt 1).

Like ICJB in Bhopal, People Concerned has been at the forefront of both prevention and remediation efforts in West Virginia for more than three decades. This includes the development of a Pollution Prevention Program in the 1990s. A notable part of this initiative was an "Odor Patrol" in which community members would monitor, identify, and report odors stemming from the chemical facilities. In addition, a community air-monitoring program was put into place, following the 2008 explosion at Institute's Bayer CropScience facility. Finally, People Concerned has advocated for effective emergency response plans, third-

party safety audits, greater transparency, and has been a key voice in calling for chemical safety and environmental legislation in West Virginia (Maya Nye, Personal communication, Jul. 30, 2016).[9]

CONCLUSION

Race, class, and gender oppression confer to produce racialized women's unique experiences of environmental sexism. In both Institute and Old Bhopal, residents find their knowledge claims dismissed as they are perceived as "hysterical," "paranoid," "fake," and "suspicious." This is significant as it means that medical professionals do not link the myriad of health issues to toxic exposure—a refusal that is at odds with residents' claims, which, in turn, impacts residents' ability to gain recourse.

However, these communities possess a knowledge that is integral to understanding environmental harm. Underlying their knowledge claims is a historical awareness, an understanding of the larger framework (Brown), as well as sensory perceptions. As Phil Brown and Edwin J. Mikkelsen have noted,

> [P]eople often have access to data about themselves and their environment that are inaccessible to scientists. In fact, public knowledge of community toxic hazards in the last two decades has largely stemmed from the observations of ordinary people.… Even before observable health problems crop up, lay observations may bring to light a wealth of important data.… Yellow Creek, Kentucky residents were the first to notice fish kills, disappearances of small animals.…" (127)

Consider the importance of smell in Pam Nixon's narrative, "[W]here I grew up … we were downstream from the Belle [DuPont] plant.… [W]hen they would have releases into the water, there'd be large fish kills, and of course the fish would float down river … and so the smell of the dead fish would come up into [our home]" (Personal communication, Apr. 21, 2015). Or the significance of sound for Savannah Evans, following the 1985 leak of methylene chloride and the aldicarb oxide in Institute. At a town hall meeting, Evans noted, "The birds stopped singing Sunday morning, and they came back Wednesday" (qtd. in Pickering and Lewis). It is largely through the senses that these communities *know* the impacts of toxic exposure on their bodies and environments. It is this community-based, expert knowledge that must underlie and

drive the comprehensive health studies that are so desperately needed in both Old Bhopal and Institute.

ENDNOTES

[1]It is crucial to note the foundational work of labour which was at the forefront of promoting industrial health and safety long before Carson's work brought these issues to mainstream attention.

[2]People Concerned About Chemical Safety was formerly called People Concerned About MIC. To avoid confusion, I refer to the organization as People Concerned.

[3]The study includes Institute, Pinewood and West Dunbar, which collectively make up the community of Institute.

[4]BGIA is one of five Bhopal-based groups that make up the leadership of the International Campaign for Justice in Bhopal (ICJB).

[5]Institute is the site of West Virginia State University, a historically Black college.

[6]ICJB-NA is the North American solidarity tier of the International Campaign for Justice in Bhopal. I have been involved in ICJB-NA peripherally since 2006, and more centrally since 2013.

[7]Here, it is worth noting the power dynamics (gendered, and otherwise) *within* healthcare institutions. In Sarin's observation, it is the "junior staff of the hospital, midwives and nurses" that note the prevalence of reproductive health issues, while the "bureaucrats and senior doctors" choose to silence this narrative.

[8]For more information and to support the ongoing work of the Sambhavna Trust Clinic and ICJB visit: bhopal.org (Sambhavna Trust Clinic) and bhopal.net (International Campaign for Justice in Bhopal).

[9]For more information and to support the work of People Concerned, visit: peopleconcernedaboutmic.com.

REFERENCES

Agarwal, A., J. Merrifield, and R. Tandon. *No Place To Run: Local Realities and Global Issues of the Bhopal Disaster*. New Market, TN: Highlander Center and New Delhi: Society for Participatory Research in Asia, 1985.

Amnesty International. *Clouds of Injustice: Bhopal Disaster 20 Years On*. Oxford: Alden Press, 2004.

Amnesty International. *30 Years Too Long … To Get Justice*. London: Amnesty International, 2014.

Balshem, M. *Cancer in the Community: Class and Medical Authority.* Wash-ington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1993.
Bhopal, K. "Gender, Identity and Experience: Researching Marginalized Groups." *Women's Studies International Forum* 33 (2010): 188-195.
Bhopal Medical Appeal and Bhopal Group for Information & Action. *The Bhopal Marathon.* Brighton: BMA/BGIA, 2012.
Brown, P. "Popular Epidemiology and Toxic Waste Contamination: Lay and Professional Ways of Knowing." *Journal of Health and Social Behaviour* 33 (1992): 267-281.
Brown, P. and F. Ferguson. "'Making a Big Stink' Women's Work, Women's Relationships, and Toxic Waste Activism." *Gender & Society* 9.2 (1995): 145-172.
Brown, P. and E. Mikkelsen. *No Safe Place: Toxic Waste, Leukemia, and Community Action*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990.
Bullard, R. D. *Dumping in Dixie: Race, Class, and Environmental Quality.* Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1990.
Campbell, R. and S. Wasco. (2000): "Feminist Approaches to Social Sciences: Epistemological and Methodological Tenets." *American Journal of Community Psychology,* 28.6 (2000): 773-791.
Carson, R. *The Sense of Wonder.* New York: Harper & Row, 1956.
Carson, R. *Silent Spring*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1962.
Clare, E. *Brilliant Imperfection: Grappling with Cure*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2017.
Culley, M. and H. Angelique. "Women's Gendered Experiences as Long-term Three Mile Island Activists." *Gender & Society* 17.3 (2003): 445-461.
Di Chiro, G. "Polluted Politics? Confronting Toxic Discourse, Sex Panic, and Eco-Normativity." *Queer Ecologies: Sex, Nature, Politics, Desire*. Eds. C. Mortimer Sandilands and B. Erickson. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2010. 199-230.
Goldenberg, M. J. "On Evidence and Evidence-based Medicine: Lessons from the Philosophy of Science." *Social Science & Medicine* 62 (2006): 2621-2632.
Hall, B. and G. Wagner. *Report on the Health Survey of Institute, Pinewood Park and West Dunbar.* People Concerned About MIC, 1988.
Hanna, B., W. Morehouse, and S. Sarangi. *The Bhopal Reader*. New York: The Apex Press, 2005.
Hess, A. "50 Years After *Silent Spring*: Sexism Persists in Science." *Slate* Sep. 28 2012. Web.
Holt, M. "Community Health Survey: An Historical Kanawha Valley

Event." *Downwind News* 7 Jun. 1988: 1-8.
International Campaign for Justice in Bhopal (ICJB). "Our Demands." 2014. Web.
International Campaign for Justice in Bhopal (ICJB). "The West Virginia Chemical Spill: Solidarity from the International Campaign for Justice in Bhopal." 2014. Web.
Kishwar, M. "People's Right to Know: The Struggle in Bhopal." *Manushi* 29 (1985): 38-40.
Krauss, C. "Challenging Power: Toxic Waste Protests and the Po-liticization of White, Working-Class Women." *Community Acti-vism and Feminist Politics*. Ed. N. Naples. New York: Routledge, 1998. 129-150.
Malin, S. A. and S. S. Ryder. "Developing Deeply Intersectional Environmental Justice Scholarship." *Environmental Sociology* 4.1 (2018): 1-7.
Medico Friend Circle (MFC). *The Bhopal Disaster Aftermath: An Epidemiological and Socio-medical Survey. A Summary of the Report*. 1985.
Pariyadath, R. and R. Shadaan. "Solidarity after Bhopal: Building a Transnational Environmental Justice Movement." *Environmental Justice* 7.5 (2014): 1-5.
Pellow, D. N. *What Is Critical Environmental Justice?* Cambridge: Polity Press, 2018.
Pickering, M. and A. Lewis. *Chemical Valley*. Dir. Mimi Pickering and Anne Lewis. Whitesburg, KY: Appalshop Films, 1991.
Rajagopal, A. "And the Poor Get Gassed." *The Bhopal Reader*. Eds. B. Hanna, W. Morehouse, and S. Sarangi. New York: The Apex Press, 1987. 24-27.
Sarangi, S. "The Movement in Bhopal and its Lessons." *Social Justice* 23.4 (1996): 100-109.
Sarangi, S. "Compensation to Bhopal Gas Victims: Will Justice Ever Be One?" *Indian Journal of Medical Ethics* 9.2 (2012): 118-120.
Sarin, R. "The Babies of Bhopal." *Sunday Magazine*. July 1985.
Sathyamala, C. "The Medical Profession and the Bhopal Tragedy." *Lokayan Bulletin* 6.1/2 (1988): 39-41.
Sathyamala, C. "The Condition of Bhopal's Women." *Bhopal: The Inside Story – Carbide Workers Speak Out on the World's Worst Industrial Disaster*. Ed. T. R. Chouhan. New York: The Apex Press, 1994. 130-131.
Scott, D. N. *Our Chemical Selves: Gender, Toxics, and Environmental Health*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2015.

Simpson, A. "Who Hears Their Cry? African American Women and the Fight for Environmental Justice in Memphis, Tennessee." *The Environmental Justice Reader: Politics, Poetics and Pedagogy.* Eds. J. Adamson, M. Evans, and R. Stein. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2002. 82-104.

Voyles, T. B. *Wastelanding: Legacies of Uranium Mining in Navajo Country.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2015.

We for Bhopal (2004). *Closer to Reality: Reporting Bhopal Twenty Three Years After the Gas Tragedy.* 2004.

13.

"Water is Worth More Than Gold"

Ecofeminism and Gold Mining in the Dominican Republic

KLAIRE GAIN

"WATER IS WORTH MORE THAN GOLD," eight-year-old Juan[1] chanted along with members of his community in Las Piñitas, Dominican Republic (personal interview, 2013). He was born and raised here, neighbouring the largest foreign direct investment project the country has ever seen, the Pueblo Viejo gold mine. Pueblo Viejo, owned by Canadian companies Barrick Gold Corporation (BGC) (sixty percent) and Goldcorp Inc. (forty percent), began commercial production in 2014. Since then, community members of Las Piñitas, Las Lagunas, El Naranjo, and La Cerca have expressed great concern regarding environmental devastation, which they believe has directly impacted their health and livelihoods.

Unfortunately, the case of the Pueblo Viejo gold mine is not unique and Virginia Rodriguez notes that over sixty percent of all mining companies



View of Pueblo Viejo from a community members' home in Las Piñitas, 2015. Photo: Klaire Gain.

operating abroad are Canadian. Therefore Canada is increasingly viewed internationally as the face of the mining industry. According to Todd Gordon and Jeffrey Webber, Latin America and the Caribbean (LAC) is home to twenty-five percent of the world's forests and forty percent of its biodiversity and due to its mineral rich environment is a prime destination for Canadian mining projects to explore, exploit and export non-renewable resources.

Throughout this article, open-pit gold mining within the Dominican Republic will be discussed with the purpose of portraying the intersections between gender and mining. First, I will present an ecofeminist analysis on the oppression of women and nature. It will be followed by a discussion of the impacts of open-pit mining and the complicity of Canadian foreign policy in the human and environmental exploitation within the mining industry. Next, a case study of the Pueblo Viejo gold mine in the Dominican Republic will present narratives from communities impacted by open-pit mining including personal findings gathered from 2014 to 2018. Finally, stories of historical and current resistance movements at the Pueblo Viejo gold mine are discussed, focusing on women-led community strength and resistance.

ECOFEMINISM: OPPRESSING WOMEN AND NATURE

Ecofeminism is considered a convergence of feminism and ecology and emphasizes the notion that both women and nature are oppressed and exploited. Through an ecofeminist lens, women and nature are interconnected, leading to mutual patriarchal domination. Ariel Salleh contends that an ecofeminist political analysis links the current day ecological crisis with a "Eurocentric capitalist patriarchal culture built on the domination of nature and the domination of women as nature" (13). Silvia Federici's book, *Caliban and the Witch* connects the rise of capitalism to a war on women, explaining, "women's power had to be destroyed for capitalism to be developed" (17). Federici relates the beginning of capitalism and women/nature oppression with the enclosures of the commons. She contends that women are disproportionately impacted by the enclosures since,

> as soon as land was privatized and monetary relations began to dominate economic life, they found it more difficult than men to support themselves, being increasingly confined to reproductive labor at the very time when this work was being

> completely devalued. This phenomenon … had accompanied the shift from a subsistence to a money-economy in every phase of capitalist development. (*Caliban* 74)

Silvia Federici explains that through the creation of capitalism, primitive accumulation and the enclosures, women became for men "the substitute for the land lost to the enclosures, their most basic means of reproduction, and a communal good anyone could appropriate and use at will" (*Caliban* 97). She links the exploitation of this "communal good" and the environment by explaining, "women's labour began to appear as a natural resource, available to all, no less than the air we breathe and the water we drink" (*Caliban* 97). Through this, women, like the environment are oppressed and marginalized within a capitalist system based on exploitation and perpetual growth. Federici ("Feminism") also notes the importance of traditional lands for community well being noting that "the commons too were for women the centre of social life, the place where they convened, exchanged news, took advice and where a women's viewpoint on communal events, autonomous from that of men, could form" ("Feminism" 72). Therefore, the enclosure of the commons and exploitation of the environment leads to a decline in the health and well being of women and communities.

The enclosure of the commons is a necessity in the creation of open-pit mining and a study conducted by the Labrador West Status of Women Council, in collaboration with Mining Watch Canada noted, "mining affects health of women at various levels, through environmental contamination of air, water and soil, through noise pollution, and through disasters and pit closures" (12). Mining also leads to "indirect" impacts for women including increased mental health concerns, community breakdown and physical, emotional and sexual violence. Within mining impacted communities, women are "drawing connections between the building of large-scale mines and the corresponding deterioration of social, cultural, economic and physical well being of local populations" and recognizing that the vast impacts of open-pit mining disproportionately affect women (International Women and Mining Network 4). An ecofeminist perspective provides evidence of the impacts of mining on both ecology and women and the following discussion of Canadian open-pit mining describes the sectors stance on Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) and the government's complicity in environmental and human rights violations throughout LAC.

CANADIAN MINING INDUSTRY AND HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS

According to Barrick Gold Corporation, their company stives to "respect human rights … and recognize the equality and dignity of the people we interact with everyday." However, Canadian mining corporations have a well-known history of environmental destruction and human rights violations. Gordon and Webber note, "mining investment in most instances simply cannot proceed without a community—often Indigenous—being dispossessed of their land, natural resources and livelihoods" (67). Katy Jenkins notes that this dispossession often comes from forced evictions, pollution of water sources, decrease in agriculture production, death of livestock and an array of negative health implications due to the toxic waste produced by open-pit mining. Despite the attack on communities, the Canadian government provides significant support for Canadian mining companies.

The failure of proposed Bill C-300, "Corporate Accountability for the Activities of Mining, Oil or Gas Corporations in Developing Countries" was a prime example of the Canadian government's complicity in human and environmental injustice committed by Canadian companies. Yves Engler explains, "under Bill C-300, companies that failed to adhere to, relatively lenient, standards of social responsibility would lose the support of Canadian embassy officials and taxpayer funded agencies" (45). However, an aggressive lobbying campaign was launched and BGC Gold stated that Bill C-300 would "risk the competitive position of Canadian companies, result in the reputational damage to Canadian companies and ignore existing regulatory frameworks for CSR" ("Barrick Gold Sets Out Position"). Furthermore, the Prospectors and Development Association of Canada (PDAC) director, Tony Andrews, stated "the development of a CSR framework specifically targeted at Canadian Mining Companies could disturb the "level playing field" and place them at a competitive disadvantage…. The voluntary nature of social responsibility must be maintained" (Keenan 4). Due to the fear that Bill C-300 passing would lead to strict regulations and therefore loss of profit, Canadian mining companies hired over 300 lobbyists to persuade parliament members and the Bill failed by a mere 6 votes (Labrador West Status of Women Council). This ruling told the world that the Canadian government is not only allowing mining companies to operate without regulations abroad, but will continue funding corporations even if they are found guilty of environmental or human rights violations.

With the growth of an extractive economy backed by government, the dangers of mining have drastically increased; Ana Isla explains, "open-pit mining… now uses the extremely toxic cyanide lixiviation technique" which poses huge risks to both the environment and community members (147). Gordon and Webber maintain that cyanide is an incredibly dangerous chemical compound and a rice size grain could kill a human being within five minutes. Rodriguez argues that cyanide residue left from the gold extraction process is often held in insecure, human-made tailings ponds where changes of pH levels frequently lead to toxic gas emissions. Furthermore, tailings ponds are historically known for overflow and cracks, allowing the poisonous substance to leak into local water sources. EU Issue Tracker ("Ban on Cyanide") has shown the devastating impact of cyanide in a spillage in Romania in 2000 where a tailing pond leaked cyanide contaminated water and heavy metals into local river systems. This one spill caused extensive pollution throughout Romania, Hungary, Serbia, Bulgaria and the Black Sea.

Although Glevy's Rondon explains that most mines have a life span of ten to thirty years, the environmental impacts often last decades after mining activities have ceased, causing problems for generations to come. To depict these findings, I will next present a case study of the Pueblo Viejo gold mine in the Dominican Republic.

THE PUEBLO VIEJO GOLD MINE

According to Barrick Gold Corporation (BGC), the Pueblo Viejo mine is its largest project with plans to extract "8,087,000 ounces of proven and probable gold reserves" throughout the mine's lifetime The Pueblo Viejo Gold mine is shared with Canadian company Goldcorp Inc. (forty percent) and it is located in the province of Cotui, Dominican Republic. Pueblo Viejo was acquired by BGC in 2008 and began open-pit commercial production in 2013, with a mine life of 25+ years (Tomayo) The zone in which Pueblo Viejo now sits was historically a small, state-run mining site, which operated from 1975 until 1999 by company Rosario Dominicana (RD) (Cardenas, Miranda and Krutzelmann). When BGC acquired the mining sitethe scope of the project increased and BGC now has more than "3.7 Billion dollars in mine construction capital" (Tomayo).

Virginia Rodriguez informs that BGC currently has twenty-six open-pit gold mining projects operating predominately in Latin America. She maintains that the open pit mining conducted at Pueblo Viejo

is the most dangerous type of extraction with each ounce of gold producing an average of 79 tons of waste (11). Due to this, Rodriguez argues that both community members and researchers contend that the operations of the former Rosario Dominicana created environmental, social and financial harms. In 1999, the operation was shutdown due to mismanagement and lack of financial resources, however RD's operations exposed enough sulfide ore to initiate acid mine drainage which left a community water source, the Margarita river in an acidic state. However, Barrick's enlargement involved an enormous expansion of the mining site, which required land to be taken from local communities. She also sustains that although communities generally receive minimal compensation for their land, they are often misinformed and deceived into believing mining will provide positive changes for their families and communities.

Local newspaper, *Maimon Punto De Encuentro* noted, "the traditional perception was that the operation of a mine will create a booming economy. Logically then, the announcement of the mine created expectations of economic development, but not of pollution and sickness" ("El peligro"). Rodriguez argues that in order to gain control over communities and the local political economy, government officials are often bribed, given false promises of employment and poverty reduction, intimidated and threatened at the hands of BGC (31). For example, she writes that within the communities surrounding Pueblo Viejo, the mayor was a past adversary of BGC and was elected on the grounds that he would resist the mine. However, after his election, Barrick provided a large sum of money to the community and in exchange the city hall allowed the expansion of Pueblo Viejo open-pit mining to begin. He later admitted that he was threatened by BGC and "the whole issue had been a strategy for Barrick to get better control of the town" (Rodriguez 25).

The political and economic gains that BGC's has acquired through Pueblo Viejo have not come without controversy. Rodriguez notes that in 2005, the Dominican government consented to the mining under the agreement that they would receive twenty-five percent plus taxes on all gold exported. Yet Rodriguez explains that during a short visit to the Dominican Republic, former Canadian Prime Minister, Stephen Harper, quietly passed an amendment stating the Dominican Republic would only receive this after BGC recuperated the $3.5 billion they invested and were making a ten percent return on investment (23). Therefore, despite the Pueblo Viejo gold mine being the largest foreign direct investment project that the country has ever seen, the presence of BGC has not been

of significant benefit to the Dominican economy nor its citizens. Instead, community members have experienced fear and uncertainty while living beneath BGCs "El Llegal" tailings pond.

The 2001 Romania tailings pond spill shown by EU issue tracker ("Ban on Cyanide") is also a frightening reality for communities surrounding the Pueblo Viejo gold mine. The threat of this is critical as the Dominican Republic is small enough to fit into Romania six times, making the danger of a tailings pond spill not only detrimental for surrounding communities, but the entire island. Furthermore, Rodriguez notes that there were four occasions in 2011 where "dozens of families of surrounding communities and thousands of Pueblo Viejo workers had to be temporarily relocated due to the risk of the tailing pools collapsing because of the record amount of sudden rain being registered in the area" (27).

The risks are not only for community members, but also for those working at the mine and Rodriguez explains in 2011, close to 1,000 workers at Pueblo Viejo fell ill to what the company defined as "food poisoning." However, workers claimed it was due to exposure to a chemical explosion and after an investigation conducted by the Dominican Academy of Science, it was concluded that the intoxication had a chemical origin (24). Furthermore, Pueblo Viejo security forces were reported to be "accompanying the employees to the health centers and trying to avoid any contact with them from the public" (24). Although BGC states "Barrick believes that transparency—whether through disclosing payments to governments, reporting on our energy and water use, voluntarily opening ourselves to third-party scrutiny, or otherwise- is integral to being an honest partner" ("Barrick Gold Sets Out Position"), this case portrays that the opposite may be true and creates scrutiny of Barrick's transparency, accountability and safety measurements when utilizing dangerous substances.

While Barrick Gold has signed the international code of practice for the handling of cyanide at their Pueblo Viejo mine and claims that they conduct community viewable tests on water and air, community leaders state the contrary and explain that the company has refused to provide results of these tests to the people ("Mining in the Dominican Republic"). Due to this, community leaders contacted the Ministry of the Environment, who found that the water in the Margarita River, located downstream from the mine was highly acidic. They also revealed that the river contained cyanide residue, sulphides, copper and mercury, all of which cause severe lesions, sicknesses and death, specifically for women, within the surrounding communities ("Mining

in the Dominican Republic"). In the next segment, I present my findings and pictures regarding to effects of the Pueblo Viejo mine on the bodies of ecology and women.

IMPACTS OF MINING ON COMMUNITY MEMBERS SURROUNDING PUEBLO VIEJO

Many community members note that they did not initially recognize the threats that an open-pit mine would bring to their community. Escarlin from Las Piñitas notes, "Barrick Gold caught us sleeping. It tricked us and the state tricked us" (personal interview, 2014). While BGC relocated a small number of families throughout the expansion of the mine, local newspaper *Maimon Punto De Encuentro* explains, "the construction of the neighborhood, where some of the evicted are relocated, has failed to comply with the contract" (El peligro") as the infrastructure is poor, the land is coarse and the water service is precarious, leaving families without access to subsistence living. Pablo, who was relocated by BGC, explains, "while I may have four sturdy walls I have nothing else and I still have to live with the sounds, smells and pollution from the mine" (personal interview, 2018). Juan expands upon the misconceptions of what communities were told, versus reality and states, "when Barrick first arrived they promised employment with more than eighty percent of workers being from our communities, but it has been the exact opposite" (personal interview, 2018).

In addition to a lack of economic gains, communities assert that their suffering has not ceased, but rather increased with the expansion from Rosario Dominicana to Pueblo Viejo (personal interview, 2014), despite the companies claim of using "state of the art technology" (Barrick "Barrick Gold Sets Out Position"). In an interview, carried out in 2015, community member Julia from Las Piñitas explains, "Barrick Gold says that the environmental impact that exists were left by the former Rosario Dominicana. But with Rosario Dominicana, at least we had water." These concerns are echoed by community members who believe that although BGC claims corporate social responsibility and strong community connections, the devastation communities experience is related to BGC's methods of operation within their Pueblo Viejo gold mine.

While the general rhetoric of mining corporations involves community collaboration and positive change, Omar, an environmentalist within the area, contradicts such claims, explaining, "A lot of the communities are still unreachable. Roads still haven't been built besides those going



The wall of BGC's El Llegal tailings pond behind homes in La Naranja, 2018. Photo: Klaire Gain

to the mine. Infrastructure is completely lacking. So, where is this CSR [Corporate Social Responsibility]?" (personal interview, 2014). Also in 2014, community member Natalia living beside the mine furthered this notion; "They say that we are living well in this community yet they spend all of their money on publicity to tell those lies." Local ecologist Jorge notes that when BGC acquired the mining site in 2006 it updated the extraction method to a process called pressure oxidation using the four largest autoclaves in the world, which allows them to extract gold from low-grade ore that Rosario Dominicana could not (personal interview, 2014). This process is ideal for BGC as it is quick and inexpensive, making it economically viable for a capital driven company. Despite the economic gains, this new extraction procedure is extremely resource intensive and uses industrial quantities of cyanide, a hazardous chemical compound that creates lasting impacts on communities surrounding the mine (Jorge, personal interview, 2014).

Community members experienced another close call in October 2016 when they claim that BGC's El Llegal tailings pond rose to a dangerous level during a time of high rainfall. According to Juan, although there was a "red alert" sounding and mine employees were evacuating, BGC did not communicate with community members surrounding the mine, leading to fear, confusion and complete mistrust of the company (personal interview, 2016). Community members surrounding the mine believe that there is no positive outcome with the presence of BGC's El Llegal tailings pond above their communities. In a 2018 interview, Juan explained, "We are at the point of death, if they don't drain the tailings



Barrick Gold's El Llegal Tailings Pond, 2017. Photo: Jamie Foxton

pond it will overflow and we will die, but if they do drain the pond it will go into our river source and we will die."

While the community members fear overflow and collapse of the tailings pond, they believe that the sole presence of the mine is detrimental to their health. In an interview in 2014, community member Maria stated, "Barrick Gold could be compared to a cancer for the people. A cancer that grows bit by bit, destroying each one of their organs until it takes their life." Furthermore, community members argue that the Pueblo Viejo mining site disproportionately impacts women. Since Pueblo Viejo began operation, over one hundred members of the community, largely women and children, have rashes and lesions on their bodies (personal interviews, 2018). Additionally, in 2018, Maria explained that the presence of vaginal infections has drastically increased since the arrival of BGC. Community members believe that these lesions and infections are linked to environmental pollution as they state most appeared after having direct contact with local water sources while bathing (personal interview, 2014).

Community member Juan believes that the lesions are consistent with skin damage caused from cyanide exposure (personal interview, 2018).

Due to this, five members of surrounding communities who had fallen ill underwent blood testing in an attempt to portray the toxic impact of the mining process. When results were returned, all five shared that they tested positive for cyanide traces above safe levels (personal interview, 2014). Furthermore, community member Rubin alleges, "there have been twenty-three people in the community who had zinc, lead, and chromium in their blood. This was an analysis done by a doctor [name not noted] in Santo Domingo. But Barrick would never admit this" (personal interview, 2014). According to community members, seventeen out of twenty-three diagnosed were women, and communities identify that it is the women who most drastically experience the vast range of impacts caused by Pueblo Viejo (Escarlin, personal interview, 2014).



Images of lesions and rashes on the bodies of community members allegedly caused by mine pollution, 2016. Photos: Klaire Gain

Women in the surrounding communities note that they are more likely to be exposed to dangerous chemicals from the mine due to their matriarchal care roles within their families. Community member Marisella explains, "the women have to work with water many times a day, and it is not the men, but the women who are feeling the major decline in the community" (personal interview, 2014). The struggle for

clean water has been ongoing since BGC began operation and after years of community complaints to both the company and the ministry of the environment regarding inadequate water sources, BGC began providing each family in the area with eight bottles of water per week. Community members share that this was in response to a so-called "drought" within the area and was part of its community development initiatives. The water service continued for a year, and although it was not sufficient or sustainable, community members shared that it was better than nothing at all. However, communities claim that on February 14, 2015, after creating community dependency, BGC suddenly ended the program, leaving families with no safe drinking water (personal interview, 2015). Community member Juanita stated that she believes that, "[Barrick] found that this public service was too expensive and they were damaging their reputation in the media…. When you went to the Internet and the first thing that came up was that they were giving out large supplies of water, it meant that they had accepted that the water was damaged. So they regretted it and they took the bottled water from us" (personal interview, 2015). Geologist Domingo Abreu noted the interconnections between water, health and poverty and states that since community members are no longer able to utilize their local water sources, "they are obligated to receive or buy water in bottles for all uses. They use bottled water to bathe, wash dishes, cook, clean … for everything. This affects the economics of the families because before Barrick the families had free clean water, they would simply search for their water in the rivers. Now they are using money that they could use for food to buy water" (personal interview, 2015). Echoing Abreu's words, community members also express concern over food insecurity allegedly caused by the mining industry.

Since BGC began constructing the Pueblo Viejo mine community members shared that they have experienced drastic decreases in their agricultural production. In a 2014 interview, community member Carmen notes, "in the fields, we had good production and lived well and peaceful lives with our families. But now Barrick, like a curse, has come." With the creation of the Pueblo Viejo gold mine, community members claim that they have lost over 80 percent of the cacao production in the area (Marianna, personal interview, 2014). When questioned about the potential reasoning for this, Marianna from Las Piñitas, stated that she believes the rain is so polluted that it does not provide nourishment for crops to grow. She furthered, "rain used to be something we embraced, praised and cherished. It grew our crops, flourished our communities and nourished our children.

Now it is killing us" (personal communication, 2014). Additionally, local newspaper notes, "2000 livestock have died since the opening of Pueblo Viejo" ("Campesinos desalojados"). This does not only create food insecurity, but also impacts the livelihoods of the families as communities state that due to the severity of the situation, many of them no longer even bother to plant crops (Jorge, personal communication, 2018).



A mango from the community of Las Lagunas, 2014. Photo: Klaire Gain

Community member Marisella alleges that, "the mangoes used to be everywhere and our children would play and take them from the trees to eat, but now, they are dangerous" (personal interview, 2014). Communities explain that before the mine, the mangoes grew healthy and plentiful and claim that the black spots on the mangoes are caused by the rain and air pollution from the mining site (personal interview, 2014). The women in the community worry about the health of their families, particularly their children as they continue to consume the mangoes without a thorough understanding of the risks. Furthermore, community leader Eugenia explains "we, the mothers of these communities, are very worried for the future of our children, because here, there is no tomorrow" (personal interview, 2014). Rosalie further explains that within the past year, four women in the community have

had miscarriages which they claim is a drastic increase from previous years. Luis notes that "the women are no longer fighting for them, but for their children and grandchildren, because without the fight they will have no future" (personal interview, 2018).

Community members surrounding the Pueblo Viejo gold mine claim the impacts run deeper than agricultural decline and water pollution, with sounds and odours from the mine creating poor living environments for their families. They allege that machinery at the mine operates twenty-four hours a day and children often wake up in the night in fear from loud bangs and rock explosions (personal interview, 2014). The odours that emit from the mine cause physical illness with youth. Daniella from Las Piñitas explains, "when we are at school and the odour arrives we vomit, we have nausea, we have headaches, we are dizzy … everything. The teachers have to send us home and we can't even learn" (personal interview, 2014). Juan echoed this comment and noted that on February 28, 2018, an unbearable odour was emitted from the mining site which lasted the entire day and caused headaches, blurred vision, and vomiting. He continued, "everyday that passes becomes more difficult. There is more and more contamination everyday" (personal interview, 2018).

Women are also concerned about the fabrics of their families due to the dangers that have become part of their daily lives. In reference to the El Llegal tailings pond, a woman in the community notes, "every time it rains hard we live in fear that it will overflow" (Daniella, personal interview, 2014). Due to this fear, women state that they have created a system in which two members of the community stay awake each night to monitor the activity at the mine and the levels of the tailings ponds. Since they do not trust the company, this system allows them time to evacuate their communities if a disaster occurs (Marianna, personal interview, 2017). Communities explained that it is the men who have taken on this task, but shared that this has consequently intensified the roles of the women within the families since their husbands do not have sufficient energy or time to contribute after being "on watch" all night. In a 2014 interview, Eugenia furthered, "because of the mine women now have many roles, not just more around the household, but we have to worry about getting food, water and keeping everyone healthy." Despite the hardships that women face, their strength is evident and women are leading resistance movements for community justice within the Dominican Republic. Marianna from Las Piñitas explains, "we live day to day fighting for ourselves and our children just to survive" (personal communication, 2018).

WOMEN IN RESISTANCE

Community members throughout El Naranjo, Las Lagunas, La Cerca and Las Piñitas recognize the importance of mobilization in resistance against BGC. Local activist Carolina notes "As many gold companies as there are exploiting [in Latin America] there are groups resisting" (personal interview, 2018). This notion is depicted throughout Latin America and the Caribbean with women often at the front lines of organizing and resisting Canadian mining companies. This comes in many forms and often involves protesting, petitioning governments and organizing community movements. The strength of the resistance at Pueblo Viejo in the Dominican Republic is evident as community member Maria notes, "if we have to die of thirst, of hunger or of cancer we prefer to die with a bullet in our head defending our land" (personal interview, 2014). While resistance has been strong since the mine began construction, recent mobilization is calling for BGC to adhere to community demands.

On November 6, 2017 community members decided to take direct action in resistance to BGC's Pueblo Viejo mine. After years of silence from BGC, communities began occupying space outside of the mines



Community members spray-paint "NO MINE HERE" on the road leading to the Pueblo Viejo gold mine, 2014. Photo: Klaire Gain



Signs reading: "Welcome to the valley of death. Danger, area is contaminated by Barrick" posted on electricity poles leading to the mining site, 2017. Photo: Klaire Gain

headquarters, chaining themselves to chairs and demanding relocation for the 600+ families surrounding the mine. Relocation has been an ongoing struggle since the opening of the mine and local newspaper notes, "the area has become a cemetery to people who must live in the pollution prevailing in the area due to the mining operation" ("Campesinos desalojados" 1). The current protest is gaining national attention and a sign at the protest explains that community members will not be moved until BGC agrees to "a dignified and immediate relocation of the endangered communities, payment for all the properties of the affected, investment in the environment, agriculture and livestock production and investment in the community" (personal interview, 2018).

This is not the first time that impacted communities have taken to the street. In February of 2015, when BGC suspended water supply to neighbouring communities, the communities were strong in their opposition. A local newspaper notes that community leaders organized a march to the community relations office of mining with over 300



Community members chained outside of BGCs Pueblo Viejo mine, 2018. Photo: Klaire Gain

participants carrying empty bottles and chanting, "we want water, without water there is no life" (Jorge, personal interview, 2015). After receiving little response from BGC, they later created a community road blockade beginning at 5:30 am prohibiting the mining vehicles from passing. Unfortunately, they shared that they were met with violent repression from BGC armed security and had to stand down. This militarization around the mining site is not uncommon and a community member claims, "even when we gather to go to church security guards come and ask us what we are doing" (Juan, personal interview, 2014).

Despite the constant repression, community members continue to mobilize in protection of their environment, identities and livelihoods. As Marisella explains, "the only good thing that Barrick Gold has brought to this community is that it has taught us to resist" (personal interview, 2014). Community relations have grown strong throughout the years of resistance against BGC and they are committed to continuing the struggle for reclamation of their health, land and lives. In a 2015 interview, Carolina from Las Piñitas passionately declared, "there is no secret that where there is a mining area there is pollution. Wherever there is an area of mining there is horrible poverty, because they take the riches, while we are left with holes… The people have to get up with one voice before they [BGC] damage the whole country. What will they leave us with? The dead to be buried? ...Barrick Gold, leave the country!"

CONCLUSION

An ecofeminist analysis of Canadian mining within the Dominican Republic demonstrates the impacts of the Pueblo Viejo mining project on the bodies of ecology and women within the communities of La Cerca, El Naranjo, Las Piñitas and Las Lagunas. My findings suggest that despite claims of corporate social responsibility within the mining sector, community narratives portray the realities of extraction and exploitation within predominately impoverished campesino communities. However, with strength and resilience, community members are resisting for their right to live their lives in health and peace. Both Canadian and international solidarity must accompany this direct community action to hold mining companies accountable and work towards justice for mining impacted communities on a global scale.

ENDNOTES

[1]All names have been changed to protect the identities of community members.

REFERENCES

"Ban on Cyanide in Gold Mines?" EU Issue Tracker, 2010 Web.

"Barrick Gold – Sustainability – Transparency Hub." Barrick.com (n.d.). Web. November 26, 2017.

"Barrick Gold Sets Out Position on Bill C-300 and Provides Facts." Press Release. (n.d.). Web. 28 October 2017.

"Barrick Gold Operations – Pueblo Viejo." Barrick.com, 2016. Web.

Cardenas, Rosmery, Hugo Miranda and Hogel Krutzelmann. (2018, March 19). *Technical Report on the Pueblo Viejo Mine, Sanchez Ramirez Province, Dominican Republic* (Rep. No. NI 43-101). Roscoe Postle Associates Inc. 19 March 2018. Web. 01 March 2019.

Bhanumathi, K. "The Status of Women Affected by Mining in India." *Tunnel Vision: Women, Mining and Communities*. Eds. Ingrid Macdonald and Claire Rowland. Victoria, Australia: Oxfam Community Aid Abroad, 2002. 20–24.

Engler, Yves. *The Ugly Canadian: Stephen Harpers Foreign Policy.* Vancouver: RED, 2012.

Labrador West Status of Women Council, in collaboration with Mining Watch and the Steelworkers Humanity Fund. *Effects of Mining on Women's health in Labrador West. Final Report*. Labrador City, NL, 7 Nov. 2004. Web.

"El peligro del uso del cianuro y la Mega Minería en Rep. Dom." *Maimon Punto De Encuentro* 20 June 2012. Web.

Federici, Silvia. *Caliban and the Witch*. Brooklyn: Autonomedia, 2004.

Federici, Silvia. "Feminism and the Politics of the Commons." *Uses of a WorldWind, Movement, Movements, and Contemporary Radical Currents in the United States*. Ed. Team Colors Collective. Oakland: AK Press, 2010.

Fordham, Maureen. "Gender, Disaster and Development: The Necessity for Integration." *Natural Disasters and Development in a Globalizing World*. Ed. Mark Pelling. London: Routledge, 2003. 73-90.

Gordon, Todd and Jeffrey R. "Webber. Imperialism and Resistance: Canadian Mining Companies in Latin America." *Third World Quarterly* 29.1(2008): 63-87.

Happel, Ellie. "Water is More Valuable than Gold." NACLA, 25 April 2016. Web. 03 December 2017.

International Women and Mining Network/Red Internacional Mujeres y Mineria (RIMM). *Women From Mining Impacted Communities Speak Out: Defending Land, Life & Dignity.* Ed. Tanya Roberts-Davis. Andhra Pradesh, India: International Women and Mining Network, 2010.

Isla, Ana. "A Struggle for Clean Canadian Mining in Costa Rica." *Canadian Women Studies/les cahiers de la femme* 21/22.4,1 (2002): 158-164.

Jenkins, Katy. "Women, Mining and Development: An Emerging Research Agenda." *The Extractive Industries and Society* 1.2 (2014): 329-339.

Keenan, Karyn. "Canadian Mining: Still Unaccountable." *NACLA Report on the Americas* 43.3 (2010): 29-34.

Macleod, Morna. "Development or Devastation? Epistemologies of Mayan Women's Resistance to an Open-Pit Goldmine in Guatemala." *AlterNative: An International Journal of Indigenous Peoples* 12.1 (2016): 86-100.

"Mining in the Dominican Republic, Sickness and Wealth." *The Economist* 21 Sept. 2013. Web. 01 November 2017.

Rodriguez, Virginia. "Natural Resource Exploitation in the Caribbean: From Colonialism to Neoliberalism: Case Study of Pueblo Viejo Gold Mine in Dominican Republic." Masters Thesis, Environment, Development and Policy, University of Sussex, 2011.

Rondon, Glevy. "Canadian Mining in Latin America: Corporate Social Responsibility and Women's Testimonies. *Canadian Woman Studies/*

les cahiers de la femme 27.1 (2009): 89-96.
Salleh, Ariel. "An Ecofeminism Bio-Ethic and What Post-Humanism Really Means." *New Left Review* 217.1 (1996): 138-147.
Tamayo, Carlos. "Dramatic Improvements at Margajita River at Pueblo Viejo Gold Mine." Barrick.com (n.d.). Web. March 01, 2019.
United Nations Office for Disaster Risk Reduction. *Disaster and Gender Statistics,* 2009. Web. January 20, 2018.

14.
Indigenous Andoas Uprising

Defending Territorial Integrity and Autonomy in Peru

ANA ISLA

THIS CHAPTER ADDRESSES THE SOCIAL and ecological catastrophes caused by fossil fuels extraction activities by examining a 2009 court case that was part of the aftermath of a 2008 uprising in Andoas town of three Indigenous groups living adjacent to three river basins: (a) the Achuar in Corrientes River; (b) the Quichua in Pastaza River; (c) the Urarina in Tigre River. Andoas is located in Loreto, Datem del Marañon province, Peru. This chapter continues the analysis presented in an earlier article in *Capitalism Nature Socialism* (Isla "Eco-Class-Race") that examined land privatization and regional Indigenous responses to it. It focused on the defence of the commons by the Awajun-Wampis Indigenous people in Bagua Province, Peru, and the bloody attack of President Alan Garcia's administration against Indigenous commoners. The 2009 article established a context of regional civil disobedience within which Indigenous populations from the rainforest rose up against oil production by Pluspetrol Norte S.A. (Pluspetrol) operations as they began to experience life-threatening conditions in their ecosystem and subsistence economies. This confrontation marks a significant moment in the battle for livelihood and the dispute over the Commons.

In this chapter, I argue that Indigenous labour, resources, and territories in the rainforest are the new sources of accumulation within the global state and "green" capitalism re-launched in the face of ecological crisis. I look at the role of the neoliberal extractivist Peruvian state, working under the banner of sustainable development, as a political instrument associated with violence. In particular, this instrument has involved the process of dispossessing Indigenous peoples from Corrientes, Pastaza, Tigre, and Maranon rivers of their homes and their hunting grounds, and destroying the livelihoods of the communities living near petroleum concessions known as Blocks

1AB and 8, as their territory and economy go unrecognized or invisibilized. I use the concept of territory (water, forest, traditions, cosmovision, etc.) as a place of dispute, which is linked to use value or livelihood provisions for Indigenous communities and to exchange value or profit for oil corporations. I argue that Indigenous people's existential requirements for subsistence and needs for reproducing their provisions has been the source of their empowerment and of their resistance. I also look at the ecological crisis introduced by oil production on the Indigenous peoples' territories, first by Occidental Petroleum Corporation, and later by Pluspetrol Norte S.A. Based on these interactions, I use the concept of ecocidal (in)action of the Peruvian state to include the violation of human and Earth rights of the land of marginal populations.

Through a detailed review of these gridlock situations, first I present ecofeminist critiques of capitalism. Critics have underlined "enclosure" (Federici) and "housewifization" (Mies) as part of the working of patriarchal capitalism, which is a system that maintains relationships of domination and subordination in general and men's domination of women in particular. I then apply these insights to analyze the Indigenous Amazonian human condition before oil production and the role of the neoliberal extractivist Peruvian state. Here I highlight the preparation of Peru as a member of the global state, after the Earth Summit in1992, and the use of the law as an instrument of dispossession. I document a war against subsistence, understood as a livable economy, by examining: (1)how oil fields have gone hand in hand with encroachment on Indigenous people's land, water, and health; (2) how subsistence confiscation resulted in the incorporation of Indigenous people into discriminatory and poorly paid jobs; (3) how a protest against poor wages placed Indigenous people into the Judicial Court in Loreto in 2009; and (4) how the Court Verdict recognized Indigenous people's collective rights in opposition to state criminalization. I conclude with an ecofeminist view of the court case, and provide grounds to characterize the ecocidal (in) action of the Peruvian state.

ECOFEMINIST CRITICS TO CAPITALISM AND SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

I have chosen the ecofeminist subsistence perspective because this perspective argues that it has been possible to sustain the illusion that economic growth is a positive and benign process because the costs

have been borne primarily by what has been devalued: the bodies of women, peasants, Indigenous people, the so-called underdeveloped world, and nature.

Silvia Federici, in *Caliban and the Witch,* argues that capitalism produced a new sexual division of labour, in which women's position in society as providers was redefined in relation to men, to become wives, daughters, mothers, and widows, all of which "hid their status of workers, while giving men free access to women's bodies, their labour, and the bodies and labour of their children" (79). With the advent of capitalism, women's reproductive labour was placed at the service of an international system of accumulation, women's wombs became public property, and they were forced to function as an instrument for the reproduction of labour and the expansion of the workforce, the common territory of men and the state. In this sexual division of labour, women and those bodies that are feminized were forced into a state of reproductive labour—used as a resource, devalued, dependent, and deviant.

Maria Mies, in *Patriarchy and Accumulation on a World Scale,* argues that when women, peasants, and Indigenous people are described as "closer to nature," they are made exploitable—their bodies and labour power are free for the taking. Mies uses the term "housewifization" to capture the process whereby hitherto productive (life sustaining) work is captured, confined, devalued, and put to use in support of "real" (monetized) production, in effect as a free subsidy. The division of labour into reproductive (subsistence, supplemental, housewife) labour and productive (income-earning, breadwinning) labour is necessary for capitalism to function (102). Mies presents a detailed case for understanding this division as existing on a world scale via colonialism, in much the same way that it exists in families and households. The labour and bodies of racialized peasants and Indigenous people in the Global South are appropriated and objectified by white industrialists by means of violence and forced dependency.

Maria Mies and Vandana Shiva, in *Ecofeminism* argue that the "good life" and freedom are possible when people and nature are not separated, since it is the inhabitants' subsistence know-how that helps to conserve the *conditions* of life by valuing sufficiency and autonomy while recognizing the necessity of life being in harmony with the natural world: "It is this kind of materialism, this kind of immanence rooted in the everyday subsistence production of most of the world's women (and Indigenous people) which is the basis of our ecofeminist position" (19).

THE INDIGENOUS AMAZONIAN HUMAN CONDITION AND THE ROLE OF SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

Before 1971, the authority of the Peruvian State in the rainforest was minimal, and for the Indigenous people and *bosquecinos* almost inexistent. Jorge Gasche and Napoleon Vela, researchers from Instituto de Investigaciones de la Amazonia Peruana (IIAP), produced a concept of *sociedad bosquecina* (bush people) for those living in the Amazon rainforest where society and nature are still considered one sociological unit. They argue that labour for *bosquecinos* (women and men) is a multitask activity that relied upon learning several techniques of fishing, hunting, gathering and transformation according to the seasonal rhythm of the climate (i.e., winter versus summer), hydrology (e.g., widening waters in the rainy season versus narrowing in the dry season), and biology (e.g., seasons of fruition, fattened animals, fish spawning, and fish schools). This labour is characterized by enjoyment and community cooperation, as *bosquecinos* are free to organize their activities as they please: as an exercise of solidarity according to social rights and obligations; as activity founded on reciprocity with family members, friends, and other community members; and that was grounded in the appreciation of a respected community authority who was believed to be able to influence the forces of nature through "visions," "conversations," and "healing." In this chapter, I use the terms Indigenous people and *bosquecinos* interchangeably as both of them live in the forest and from the forest.

The rainforest sociological unit of society and nature, described by Gasche and Vela, started to change in 1971,when fossil fuel extractive corporations backed by the military government of Juan Velazco Alvarado (1968-1976) granted permission for oil exploration on large tracks of Indigenous territories. However these changes accelerated under the extractivist model when states were given responsibility for sustainable development, understood as economic growth, by the United Nations Earth Summit in 1992 (Isla, *The "Greening"*).

Guided by globalized institutions, such as the World Bank, Alberto Fujimori's administration (1990-2001) came up with a number of laws and policies to enclose and privatize Indigenous land that violated the Peruvian Constitution. Fujimori's Constitution of 1993 eliminated the inalienable character of Indigenous communal land; removed the imprescriptibly character of perpetual right; and seized the land, arguing abandonment. At the same time, Indigenous women became victims of Fujimori's Reproductive Health and Family Planning

Program (Lizarzaburu). As part of the global states, the agenda of "democracy" centred on the voting process was incorporated into the Constitution. In 1993, Fujimori's administration also ratified the ILO Convention 169. The Convention requires that Indigenous peoples be consulted about activities that may take place in their territories and either approve or reject them. In 1995, the Convention become law and obtained constitutional status; however, it was never incorporated into national legislation. Furthermore, criminalization of the poor by the Peruvian state is recorded in *The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of 2003*.

The Johannesburg Earth Summit of 2002 transferred responsibility for sustainable development to corporations and their shareholders. As a result, in Peru, Alejandro Toledo's administration (2002-2006) ignored Convention 169 and furthered Indigenous land privatization to accommodate corporations, particularly Odebrecht ("Diez grandes proyectos"). By 2004, under The Initiative for the Integration of the Regional Infrastructure of South America (IIRSA), his administration created conditions for infrastructure investments to facilitate the transport of Brazil's merchandise en route to the world market. Along the "imaginary" railway lines, Toledo imposed the system of forest concessions to change the use of the land for developing monoculture and cattle ranching in the rainforest. This decision has made *bosquecinos*' logging activities illegal by requiring them to buy a permit, which they cannot afford. Thus, *bosquecinos* who do not have access to forest concessions or live far away from them have been criminalized (Alvarez).

Allan Garcia's two separate terms of office advanced land privatization and the criminalization of protest. His first administration (1982-1986) executed 300 inmates accused of "terrorism" while his second (2006-2011) exacerbated conflicts on Indigenous land such as the one in 2008, in Andoas (the case examined in this chapter), and in 2009 in Bagua (Isla, "Eco-Class-Race" 22). In an attempt to justify Indigenous land privatization required by Peru Trade Promotion Agreement (PTPA), on October 28, 2007, President Garcia wrote an article titled "El Perro del Hortelano" ["The Syndrome of the Gardener's Dog"]. Here he likened Indigenous people (and *bosquecinos*) to mad dogs who have resources they neither exploit nor allow anyone else to exploit. By 2008, Garcia nullified the consultation process in communal lands in order to sign oil and mining contracts. Further, he expanded the system of concessions and changed the use of land, from forest to agricultural projects to support the ethanol production of Dionisio Romero's corporation. But, forced by international concern for Indigenous peoples' rights, in May

2010, his administration approved the Law of Prior Consultation (LPC) of Convention 169.

Ollanta Humala's administration (20011-2016) signed and approved the regulations for LPC in 2011. The Regulations were going to clarify how the consultation with Indigenous peoples should take place, to what extent the result bound the state, and who were considered Indigenous peoples. However, these concerns have never been implemented. Instead, the regulation only defines who were not Indigenous people (Ruiz). Furthermore, his administration created Law No. 30230, which modifies the expropriation law, sets tax measures, and simplifies procedures and permissions for the promotion and encouragement of capital investment. Title III of this Law establishes the ownership of domain in favour of business interests, above the ancestral rights of Indigenous peoples (Tovar et al.). In addition, as Humala is a retired military officer, his government has produced new political instruments of repression, exclusion, and domination, such as Law 30151[1] that grants impunity to military and police personnel in cases of violation of human rights, and Law 1095[2] that authorizes the Armed Forces to intervene in conflicts without the declaration of a state of emergency.

Since 1990, the extractivist economic model of Sustainable Development, based on the exploitation of oil, minerals, and crops for biofuel production, has led to increased environmental conflicts in Peru. Table 1 shows the high percentage of active socio-environmental conflicts since 2009. The Ombudsman Office for the Prevention of Conflict and Governance argued that economic growth linked to resource extraction/exploitation that takes place near or within community common land has led to such conflicts. It indicated that the majority of the country's conflicts were related to socio-environmental factors (Mendoza).

Table 1. ***Active Socio-environmental Conflicts in Peru***

	Total conflicts	**Active socio-environmental conflicts**
2009	284 (November)	129 (46%)
2012	227 (December)	164 (72%)
2014	212 (November)	138 (65.1%)
2015	210 (June)	141 (67.1%)

Source: Defensoría del Pueblo (2009, 2012, 2014, 2016).[3]

Resistance comes from the Indigenous time-tested "art of the good life," which is grounded in an understanding that humans depend on

functioning ecosystems to sustain themselves, and that fragile ecosystems require large territories and healthy forests in order to reproduce and maintain healthy populations of millions of mammals, reptiles, birds, fish and insects. Indigenous people know that a sick forest (fragmented and deforested) or a contaminated river, means hunger and misery for humans as well as for all animals and plants.

INDIGENOUS ACHUAR UPRISING: THE BACKSTORY TO THE *DORISSA ACT*

In 1971, Peru's state oil corporation, Petro-Peru, together with the Occidental Petroleum Corporation of the United States operating in Peru (Oxy), signed the exploration concession in Block 1AB, in Achuar territory. By 1972, Oxy had drilled Blocks 1AB and 8. By the end of the 1970s, the North-Peruvian Oil Pipeline connected the Achuar territory with the Bayovar Refinery on the Pacific coast. Between 1999 and 2001, Blocks 1AB and 8 were sold to Pluspetrol Corporation S.A. (Martinez et al.), then sold to Pluspetrol Norte S.A., owned in partnership with the Korea National Oil Corporation, Daewoo International Corporation, and SK Energy.

The petroleum concessions granted in Blocks 1AB and 8 and the subsequent activities exploiting them affected four Indigenous ethnic groups. Table 2 presents these ethnic groups (Achuar, Quichua, Urarina, and Cocama) and the contaminated river basins they have occupied for hundreds of years (Corrientes, Pastaza, Tigre, and Marañon Rivers). However in this chapter, Block 8, Indigenous Cocama from Rio

Table 2. ***Ethnic Groups and Rivers where Pluspetrol Norte S.A. Blocks 1AB and 8 are located***

Ethnic Group	**Rivers**	**Population**	**Percentage**
Block 1AB Achuar	Rio Corrientes	10,919	23.6
Quichua	Rio Pastaza	19,118	41.3
Urarina	Rio Tigre	4.854	10.5
Block 8 Cocama	Rio Maranon	11,307	24.4
Total		**46,198**	**100**

Source: Instituto Nacional de Estadistica e Informatica (2009)

Marañon, is only marginally included as the main actors in Andoas uprising were those in Block 1AB.

In 2003, the Achuar community in Rio Corrientes rose up against Pluspetrol after such heavy metals as lead and cadmium were found by the regional Ministry of Health in the drinking water, rivers, ecosystems and in the blood of the people. Contamination in Block 1AB was documented by Martinez et al. (5). Despite the fact that official documents had identified petroleum activities as the source of the contaminations, neither the governments nor the corporation took any action. As a result, in 2006 for two weeks, Indigenous Achuar stopped production of 40,000 barrels of oil per day. This uprising, led by Federación de Comunidades Nativas de Corrientes (FECONACO) [Federation of Native Communities of Corrientes River], pressured the central government to reach an agreement—the so-called *Dorissa Act*[4]—between FECONACO, the Ministry of Energy and Mines, the Ministry of Health, the Regional Government of Loreto, Pluspetrol, and the Ombudsman. In the *Dorissa Act,* one of the points approved was to initiate a process of remediation (involving the cleaning up of the exposed pools where waste oil and extremely toxic drilling mud were deposited) and reforestation.[5] This is the telling case examined in this chapter .

SUBSISTENCE CONFISCATION: INDIGENOUS PEOPLE IN POORLY PAID JOBS

Background

To fulfill the process of soil remediation and reforestation in oil-contaminated areas, Pluspetrol contracted the services of Graña & Montero (G&M), a Peruvian corporation. By 2007, 24 Indigenous communities living around the contaminated rivers were incorporated into discriminatory and exploitative salary work in soil remediation. Here is how it happens: Every month G&M employed between four and five young men from each of the twenty-four communities. They received less than USD$100.00 per month; and as G&M hired each community member for only one month, each worker and their family had 100 dollars to live for the entire year.

In March 2008, Indigenous workers, who used to live by hunting, fishing, gathering and slash/burn agriculture, stood up for their rights to live as temporary paid workers. The following account is based on my notes from an interview at the local jail in Iquitos with John Vega, Clever Cruz, and Marco Polo Ramirez (Isla "Eco-Class-Race"

37). They claimed that Indigenous workers complained about their situation to the 24 "Apus" or community leaders who, according to Indigenous custom, are consulted before any activity is carried out in the community's territory. After listening to the workers' complaints, the Apus set up an agenda to negotiate with the management of Graña & Montero (G&M) with the objective of securing better wages for their members. The Apus decided on the meeting location, and sent a request to meet with G&M administration.

At the first meeting, set in Titayacu-Andoas village, the G&M authorities did not show up. Instead, the area was policed as the government intervened to prevent the meeting. At the second meeting, this time in Nueva Jerusalen-Andoas village, three negotiators from G&M attended. The Apus proposed that the $100 paid to the Indigenous workers was not enough to live on and requested that each Indigenous worker should earn at least USD$800 as they have to live for an entire year without any other income. The company representatives rejected the proposal. At the third meeting, no G&M negotiators arrived. As these "meetings," initiatives for better wages failed, the workers, with the support of their communities, planned an occupation of the Pluspetrol Norte installations. The day of the occupation was decided and each community from the three river basins—Pastaza, Corrientes, and Tigre—planned the takeover of the Pluspetrol Norte installation in their respective jurisdictions.

THE EVENT

The following information is drawn from my notes from the proceedings of Court Iquitos, Peru, *Sentencia de* la Sala II, de la Corte de Iquitos, which I attended during my sabbatical year in 2009. The trial took seven months and two days, beginning in February and concluding in November (with breaks in the court proceedings).

Here is what happened: On March 20, 2008, more than 1,000 workers, community members, women (including the wives of the protesting workers) and children, and Apus congregated at an abandoned airport in Andoas town. They hoped to discuss their issues with any invited institution interested in helping to resolve the problem, such as Graña & Montero or Pluspetrol, the government, or the ombudsperson. Women and men participated together in the occupation, as all were upset by their deteriorating living conditions resulting from the oil economy. With oil spills and water contamination, they had lost their traditional economy based on common grounds. Several of their young

children were dying from contamination while their teen-aged children were forced to sell their bodies to oil workers as prostitutes. Women's active participation was concentrated on organizing food and sleeping arrangements to meet survival needs, as they prepared themselves for a long occupation.

In Table 3, the first column provides the town name and the second column is the name of the Pluspetrol's installation occupied by the protestors.

Table 3. ***Pluspetrol installations occupied on March 20, 2008***

Towns	Installations
Jerusalen	Pluspetrol Dorissa
Antioquia and Sauqui	Pluspetrol Jibarito
12 de Octubre	San Jacinto encampment
Andoas	Titayacu, and Los Jardines,
El Porvenir	Airport
Huararay	Airport

In addition, from Capihuari Sur, one of several Pluspetrol installations, the rebels demanded from the regular, full-time Pluspetrol oil workers the use of three pickup trucks. These trucks were used to transport community members from their towns to the abandoned airport that the Indigenous people and their families had occupied.

On March 21, 2008, the police arrested 20 men driving and riding in the three Pluspetrol pickups. Many of these riders were not directly involved in the protest but rather were hunting in the forest with single-shot weapons and ammunition. In the rainforest, single-shot weapons are viewed as instruments essential for the survival of hunter/gatherer peoples and therefore do not require legal permits. These individuals caught rides in the back of the pickups as they returned from hunting. The 20 arrested men were taken to Pluspetrol installations where a standard-sized metal shipping container was used as a detention center. In total, 53 men were arrested in different circumstances including an eleven-year-old boy and a priest, Jose Noa. They were held in the closed, airless and severely hot metal shipping container for three days. Some were beaten during this three-day ordeal.

At about 12:30 p.m. on March 22, 2008, armed police violently attacked the airport occupiers in Andoas town. In this encounter,

Indigenous men resisted, resulting in three protestors injured, one killed, and three "disappeared." There is no report on what happened to the Indigenous women and children. During the police raid and rampage, one police officer was also killed. On March 23, at about ten a.m., a police unit stepped into the home of Saulo Sanchez Rodriguez, later suspected of being responsible for the death of the police officer, and conducted him to a Pluspetrol shipping container. Afterwards, Pluspetrol "prisoners" were taken by air to jail in Iquitos (362 kilometres away) where local people and the Catholic Church intervened to rescue them or bail them out. Of the 53 people arrested, four young Indigenous men were accused of police assassination and terrorism and kept in jail.

Following the events described above, the state decided in 2009 to take 26 Indigenous people to Court in Iquitos on the charges described below. The state ignored the fact that the Indigenous defendants, living on subsistence or as temporary salaried labourers, were not familiar with money and cities. Further it ignored their travel and living arrangements in the city. As a result, the Indigenous defendants lived in grim conditions.

THE 2009 ANDOAS COURT CASE: SOCIAL CRIME OF THE STATE

Beginning in 1990, the Fujimori administration, in organizing the global neo-liberal Peruvian state, formulated a policy of criminalization of social protest, meaning that civil rights guaranteed in Article 1 and 2 (e) of the Political Constitution (wherein "Every person has the right to be presumed innocent until proved guilty") have been suspended, and security forces have responded to protestors more violently. Furthermore, during Garcia's administration, in 2007, the Congress approved Legislative Decree 982, where Article 20 declares the Armed Forces and the National Police as exempt from criminal liability during the carrying out of their duties and the use of their weapons in standard procedures causes injury or death.[6] It is a legally binding international instrument that deals specifically with the rights of Indigenous and tribal peoples (ILO). As a result, there is an open conflict between the central government and Indigenous communities.

This antagonism was expressed in the Andoas court case. In February 2009, Indigenous men were charged by the Prosecutor's office, representing the Public Ministry. Some of the defendants were the hunters who happened to catch a ride with the protestors. Others were active participants in the strike. Table 4 presents the seven charges against the defendants.

Table 4. ***Defendants accused of seven violations of the law***

1	Disturbance against Pluspetrol
2	Violence
3	Aggravated robbery against Pluspetrol and Graña& Montero
4	Illegal arms possession against the Peruvian state
5	Resistance to authority
6	Aggravated assault
7	Aggravated homicide against Jaime Reyna Ruiz

At the beginning of the case, the Prosecutor's office affirmed that "the uprising was organized by four young men (John Vega, Jose Fachin, Clever Cruz, and Marco Polo Ramirez), who were born and raised in Iquitos city, and only 'pretending' to be native, while forwarding their own interests in the name of the native community." The prosecutor also accused "Saulo Sanchez, of killing a police officer on 22 March." The prosecutor requested between eight-and twenty-year jail sentences for the hunters and other participants for firearm possession, civil reparations of USD$1,736 each, and a 25-year jail sentence for Saulo Sanchez with civil reparations of USD$ 8,680.

Four lawyers, hired by *Organización de Pueblos Indigenas del Oriente* (ORPIO), defended the twenty-six accused. They argued that due to the criminalization of the protest, the prosecutor was unable to see that the goal of the occupation was to find solutions to the discriminatory wages imposed by the enterprise Graña & Montero (G&M), and to find grounds for an agreement with Pluspetrol, similar to the *Dorissa Act* in Rio Corrientes.

Defence lawyer Jorge Tacuri pointed out that the protest had followed normal procedures before his clients occupied the abandoned airport; that the occupation was organized, with a formal request to the enterprise G&M, Pluspetrol, and the Ombudsman; that the occupation was known by all community members and was not a chaotic action, as Pluspetrol's lawyer argued. He also argued that the Prosecutor could not prove the accusations, since four individuals could not persuade more than a thousand people from three different river basins to go to an abandoned airport. Further, lawyer Walter Cambero, defending the hunters, argued that according to the videos presented by the police—*Dirección de Operaciones Especiales* (DINOES)—none of the accused resisted the police authority; consequently, he requested the handing back of the firearms to the hunters, who urgently needed these tools in order

to feed their families. Lawyer Victor Alva also called for Saulo Sanchez to be declared not guilty of killing the police via the application of the principle *indubio pro reo* (innocent until proven guilty), because there was no evidence to convict him for committing the crime. In summary, these advocates requested that the case be dismissed because there was no evidence to convict the defendants of any of the seven charges.

As the court case continued, all of the defendants described the daily activities of their lives, and linked their responses to the destruction of their provisions (fish, meat, fruits) and their subsistence economy due to oil contamination. During the proceedings, the lawyers from the defense requested an assessment by Iquitos-based anthropologist, Jorge Gasche of IIAP, on the motives of the accused rebels. The court accepted the request and here, I present portions of an unpublished transcript of the anthropological assessment provided to me by Jorge Gasch on December 15, 2009:

> Daniel Dahua Mayna was born in Titayacu, Pastaza River, a Quichua community. He does not speak Spanish, never left his territory, and never went to school. Close to Titayacu, the Northwest oil canal was built within 300metres of his house. He protested against oil contamination as his closest family members died with stomach pain and bloody diarrhea. Further, he was a hunter, fisherman, and agriculturalist, but his hunting products had a bad taste, were rotten, and poisonous. In order to hunt and fish he has been walking for days to the border with Ecuador.
>
> Jose Fachin Ruiz was born in Vista Alegre, Quebrada Santa Barbara, Tigre River. He lives in Andoas and speaks Quichua and Spanish, and went to high school in Iquitos. He wrote a Quichua dictionary and produced a video on oil contamination for the NGO *Red Ambiental*. He worked for Graña & Montero once, but decided not to work there anymore due to a hostile environment where Peruvian mestizos and foreigners humiliate local workers. He recognized his participation in the uprising and described the protest as a way to show their fatigue with abuse. He used to hunt, fish with a hook, and make canoes to sell to community members, but these activities have become difficult due to oil waste from around thirty abandoned and shutdown wells. Water has a bad odour, and it cannot be consumed. He stated: "Our watersheds [San Antonio, Montano

and Yanayacu] have been contaminated as well as our wildlife. Many children have died vomiting and with diarrhea. Despite this tragedy, there is no water available to the community. There is only one artisan well, which is not enough for all community members; therefore people are forced to drink from contaminated rivers."

Martin Rober Cubas recognized that he went to the airport and had driven one of the pickups to distribute food among the demonstrators. He was aware that the occupation was due to inadequate and discriminatory wages and oil contamination. However, he said, he was not armed as the police indicated. Instead he pointed out that the police forced him and other "prisoners," as they were being held in Pluspetrol's container, to hold or carry their hunting rifles in order that the police could take pictures of the prisoners. These pictures were distributed to the media and used to accuse the Indigenous protestors of being terrorists. Martin recalled that after the pictures were taken, he was beaten.

Miguel Zuniga, 68, did not participate in the strike. He maintained that he did not know about the strike. He asserted that on March 20, 2008, he went hunting. At dawn on March 21, upon arrival from the jungle, he found two young men driving a pickup truck, and they offered him a ride to town. He jumped into the vehicle, without having any bad feeling because in the past the enterprise's drivers had invited him to ride with them. He said, "Nobody told me that the vehicle had been used for other reasons. I learned about the strike only when the police intercepted the vehicle, arrested the occupants, and conducted the car occupants to Pluspetrol installations. Once there, I and other community members were pictured carrying hunting rifles. But let me say," he added, "I was not assaulted physically by the police. However, after three days of detention, the police forced me to sign an incrimination letter in Spanish, despite the fact that I told them that I am illiterate."

Following the anthropological assessment, the court invited all regional organizations to show evidence of contamination by Pluspetrol. For instance, NGO *Red Ambiental* presented a video with serious

evidence of oil contamination of the people and of the land. The court also invited Jose Noa, a Catholic priest who was jailed and tortured in a Pluspetrol container, to present his testimony.

The final remarks in the court proceedings started with Pluspetrol's lawyer who expressed disagreement with the anthropological assessment that identified habitat destruction as central in the uprising. He argued that the anthropologist did not explain how Indigenous traditions excused the event. Further, he maintained that, "the accused used Pluspetrol contamination in their favor, even though this was not the cause of the uprising." He recognized, however, that it was true that several denouncements of the contamination had been filed at the Prosecutor's office; but no one, he remarked, had been able to prove that Pluspetrol polluted, thus there was reasonable doubt with respect to the contamination. In addition, he challenged the audience, even if this were the truth, that those arguments were not justifications for the uprising.

Dr. Walter Cambero, defending the hunters, argued that the Prosecutor's Office violated the Peruvian Constitution, where people are declared innocent if there is no evidence of judicial responsibility; that on March 20, the hunters did not participate in the uprising; that they did not participate in taking the three pickups; and that the same police detained the hunters on the same day, in the same place, and at the same time. "Why," he asked, "would they steal a pickup since they do not know how to drive? In addition, where can a pickup go in Andoas? Nowhere, because there are no roads." Then he remarked, "They could not have participated in this protest organized on March 22, 2008 because they were imprisoned inside a Pluspetrol container. Treaties on international human rights recognize that corporations have a legal obligation to prevent harm to the fundamental right to life, and that governments have the legal obligations to defend its citizens' rights."

The final remarks of the defendants are also presented. Here I cite three statements from those who were included in the anthropological assessment:

> *Now, the enterprise Pluspetrol wants to condemn us to jail time, but 40 years ago oil production had already sentenced us to death. We cannot confront oil destruction by ourselves. This is a call for all people of the planet to maintain our Amazon as the lungs of the world.*
> —Defendant Martin Rober Cubas, November 27, 2009

If I am condemned to jail, I will be proud because it was as a result of defending my territory. But, I also demand sanction for the enterprise, and for the Fiscal [prosecutor's office], which has been used as an instrument of the enterprise.
—Defendant Daniel Dahua Mayna, November 27, 2009

The fact that I do not dress up as an Indigenous man, does not obliterate my indigenous identity. I am the son of a native woman and man from Andoas who sent me to Iquitos to get an education and a profession to avoid living from scraps, as my people are living now.
—Defendant Jose Fachin Ruiz, November 27, 2009

COURT VERDICT: RECOGNITION OF INDIGENOUS PEOPLE'S COLLECTIVE RIGHTS AND CRITIQUES OF THE STATE BY THE JUDICIAL SYSTEM

On November 27, 2009, Judge Carlos del Pielago, in association with Judges Rosa Peláez and Roxana Carrión, charged the State prosecutor with incompetence. The judges' statement reads, "the State is not paying attention to the claim of the Indigenous people and *ribereños* (those living on river banks). Consequently it ignores their rights to land use and occupation where they have been living for hundreds of years, and disregards Indigenous peoples' rights to be heard, as mandated by the Constitution and international treaties. Moreover, the State Attorney and the local Prosecutor acted inadequately in reporting on what happened. During the oral examination the prosecutors released modifications to their complaint.[7] Therefore, *indubio pro reo* [when in doubt, decide in favour of the accused] is the reason to absolve the accused of the seven supposed crimes."

In delivering their verdict, the judges showed thoughtfulness and sensitivity. Judge Carlos Del Pielago, the Chair of the Court, offered an exemplary public process on how to proceed in cases where Indigenous people are involved in social conflicts. Consequently, the judges:

> 1. Relied in their deliberations on international agreements, such as, the International Labour Organization (ILO) Convention 169, Article 9, which states that on penal issues, authorities and tribunals must take into consideration the tradition of the communities, and Article 10, which maintains that a sanction must take into consideration the social, economic, and cultural characteristics of the communities involved. And it accepted the defence's proposal that Indigenous people must be judged in their own languages.
>
> 2. Accepted the report produced by the Loreto Ombudsperson, which showed that Amazonia's Indigenous communities are judicially in a vulnerable position, and in need of protection of their fundamental human rights as well as their territorial rights. The report said "there is a need to defend one of the most fundamental rights, the right to land, in which indigenous people develop their livelihood, hunt, fish, and produce agriculture. All of these rights are based on relations of reciprocity, and linked essentially to conservation and development of their cultural identity." The Ombudsperson's report linked community and ecology as the reasons that underpinned the struggle.
>
> 3. Valued the Amazon Catholic Church's pronouncements during the strike, which stated that: "The Church values Indigenous peoples' respect of nature and love for mother earth as source of food, commons, and humanity."
>
> 4. Signaled globalization as causing the devastation of the forest and its biodiversity through depredation and greed that put in danger the livelihood and the habitat of millions who have been forcefully evicted onto useless land or to live in miserable conditions in big cities. Further, the decision indicated that it is public knowledge that rivers are contaminated with lead, heavy metals and toxic substances as a result of mining (formal and informal), and irresponsible oil extraction. Globalization has brought not just exploitation and oppression, but a new social exclusion of those living in the rainforest.

The verdict concluded:

> We (three Judges) take on the view of our judicial authority, who said regarding the criminalization of the social protest that we draw attention to what we witness daily—the incapacity of the State to give solution to the claims formulated by low or no income social sectors and groups. That instead of solving the exclusion problems, the State has responded with criminalization and persecution of social activists, involving

> the Judicial System in issues outside of its competence—social conflicts. We do not accept becoming instruments of persecution of the poor. We are judges with sensibilities who evaluate the impact on the victim, the prosecuted, and society. We remark that social conflict forces us to be cautious in order to avoid the criminalization of poverty, and the protest of Indigenous communities and their membership. We must be careful to avoid trimming down rights that need the maximum protection.

Following the verdict, Pluspetrol's lawyer decided to bring an action for annulment of the verdict by the Supreme Court. In 2011, the Supreme Court upheld the judgment of Sala II, Iquitos Court.[8]

MY ASSESSMENT OF THE COURT CASE USING AN ECOFEMINIST PERSPECTIVE

From the ecofeminist perspective, Petro-Peru, the government oil corporation, and Pluspetrol, a private corporation, have enclosed for oil production, the territories of Achuar, Quichua, Urarina, and Cocama. Meanwhile, Graña & Montero's corporation has treated Indigenous people as housewives, as if there is no real value attached to their labour, so they do not have to be equitably remunerated, or remunerated at all. Consequently, the State prosectuor criminalized the Indigenous people.

First, the prosecutor overstated the case and generated a false hypothesis to dichotomize the relationship among the defendants, by separating Indigenous people who were born and raised in Iquitos and spoke Spanish from those who were born and raised in the town of Andoas. From this dichotomy, the prosecutor intended to legally dispossess the Indigenous identity of the four defendants, and requested them to be bound by Peruvian law; while, the "real Indians," who live in the jungle, should be bound by cultural tradition. By generating this false hypothesis, the prosecutor gave four individuals, schooled in the city, the role of key instigators and terrorists, to explain the labour uprising on March 20, 2008.

Second, the prosecutor separated the act of rebellion, as a result of the devaluation of their labour from the enclosure and destruction of their habitat. However, the prosecutor ignored the high cost to nature and society by the degradation of the ecosystem, the fact that oil contamination had been altering land use, and that extractivism had interfered with Indigenous people's survival by destroying their subsistence economy. Pluspetrol oil production has freely appropriated

nature, diminished natural zones through contaminated soils, devoured forest, and increased emission of carbon dioxide. All of this was done at the expense of Indigenous people living in Corrientes, Pastaza, and Tigre. In addition, oil production begat oil spills along rivers, streams, lakes, wetlands, degraded pristine land and flooded healthy forests, and transformed the land into a massive, hellish oilfield with more than 150 wells, over 1,000 kilometres of road, and a pipeline network threatening the local communities. Moreover, the prosecutor discounted the fact that oil spills and so-called "down well water" laced with toxins had already sparked several rebellions in Rio Corrientes among the Achuar community, which resulted in the 2006 *Dorissa Act* discussed above. Further, the prosecutor disregarded the fact that toxic chemical pollution had already killed several Indigenous people and their children and that at the time of the uprising, bereaved communities were in mourning.

Third, the prosecutor replicated historic colonial cultural stigmatization by stating that the Indigenous people were manipulated, that they lacked understanding of what they had done. This ideology of the ignorant native being led into mayhem failed utterly to acknowledge that Pluspetrol's destructive oil production methods were central to the uprising, and a key contributor to the violation of the rights of present and future generations of Indigenous peoples, as well as countless non-human residents of the river basins. Moreover, the prosecutor ignored the fact that Pluspetrol participated directly in the violation of Indigenous human rights when it provided the container with no lavatories, no food, and no water, where the police of *Dirección de Operaciones Especiales* (DINOES) beat and tortured some of the prisoners during three days of illegal internment. Further, the prosecutor ignored Article 46 of the Peruvian Political Constitution, which states that, "No one owes obedience to a usurper government or to anyone who assumes public office in violation of the Constitution and the law. The civil population has the right to insurrection in defense of the constitutional order. Acts of those who usurp public office are null and void."

Fourth, the prosecutor claimed compensation from the defendants, whose self-sustaining and autonomous economy was destroyed, and whose work, like that of the housewife, was not seen as legitimate labour. Absurdly, the prosecutor tried to penalize Indigenous community members when requesting money as reparation, knowing that these community members earned USD$100 annually. By proposing monetary reparation, the prosecutor effectively passed a death sentence on the culture of Indigenous people living in a quasi-non-monetized economy.

Indigenous communities were never going to have the ability to raise money to pay reparations.

ECOCIDAL (IN)ACTION OF THE PERUVIAN STATE

Despite of enclosure and territorial destruction substantiated during the legal proceedings, violence against Indigenous territory continues. The ecocidal (in) action of the state results from many elements of the extractive industry and the absence of sanctions against corporate crimes. A Peruvian NGO, Convoca, documented more than 1,000 environmental reports shelved during the four administrations discussed here. It revealed hidden reports of systematic oil contamination in soils and open areas, inadequate management of organic and solid waste, and lack of environmental management permits obtained by oil corporations. In Loreto from 1999 to 2011, for example, Blocks 1AB and 8 operated by Pluspetrol Norte S.A. and Pluspetrol Peru Corporation S.A. have incurred nineteen instances of oil contaminations that governments overlooked. Most of the archived reports, 686 out of 832, occurred during the government of Allan Garcia.

In September 2011, as the area experienced a water emergency and as incidents of oil contamination continued to pile up, a letter was sent to President Humala by the four Indigenous groups living in the area where Pluspetrol operates. The letter states that for four decades, the Pastaza, Tigre and Corrientes Rivers have been polluted by toxic water from oil production while the Marañon River was contaminated by a series of oil accidents. It also stated, a deficient and decaying pipeline had created havoc among those communities. As Pluspetrol's contract was ending in August 2015, the Humala's government accepted the Indigenous people's request for "the establishment of a parliamentary commission to investigate the environmental and social impacts in the affected rivers due to oil activities in North Amazonia" (Congreso de la República 6).

A Parliamentary Commission (PC) of four members was nominated. The PC was accompanied by a member of *Organismo de Evaluación y FiscalizaciónAmbiental* (OEFA) [Organism on Environmental Evaluation and Fiscalizatio], and a journalist from *La Republica* newspaper, Jonathan Castro. In July 2013, the commission reported that in Andoas, Rio Pastaza, there were several water bodies destroyed by oil contamination, specifically:

1. Shanshococha, a lake, was abandoned and left in 1995 by the U.S. based Occidental Petroleum Corporation (OPC). Supposedly, Pluspetrol, which bought the assets and liabilities of OPC between 1999 and 2001, was to clean up such toxic lakes but never complied with the required remediation. As this problem became public in 2015, *The Guardian* reported that, "Members of the Indigenous Achuar tribe from [Corrientes River] the Peruvian Amazon have won an undisclosed sum from Occidental Petroleum in an out-of-court settlement after a long-running legal battle in the U.S. courts" (Collyuns).
2. Ushpayacu, a lake, apparently badly "remediated" by Pluspetrol. The oil spill originated from layered barrels that were stacked and overflowed close to swamps and lakes.
3. San Jacinto town, Rio Tigre, experienced another oil spill due to corroded barrels and pipelines.
4. Marsella, a lake, an oil-spill site badly covered with soil, leaves, and declared remediated by the State, despite an inadequate clean-up.

The Commission concluded that the impact of hydrocarbon activities in Amazonia not only degrades biomass and biodiversity, but as the territory is an integral part of the universe of Indigenous peoples, it delivers a body blow to culture, social organization and spirituality, thus precipitating multidimensional negative effects that threatens their existence (Congreso de la República 12-13).

On July 4, 2012, journalist Jonathan Castro summarized his examination as follows:

1. Corrientes River oil contamination continues in Choroyacu, where an oil carrier sank and is now covered with leaves and fallen trees. Part of this oil spill was recovered and then abandoned in 50 corrosive barrels, only covered with plastic. The rain washes the oil spill toward river basins and becomes a permanent cause of contamination; and
2. Marañon River had "bad faith reparations" (blocked out the impacted area, and/or use of toxic dispersants designed to sink the crude oil below the surface of the river) where five thousand five hundred (5,500) barrels of crude oil spilled in 2000, while in 2010 another 500 barrels was added. There is not an account of spills before 2007.

Humala's government disregarded the Parliamentary Commission's

Final Report. Instead it advanced the cause of the extractive industries by eliminating the requirement that oil companies conduct and publish detailed Environmental Impact Studies (EIS) of the seismic exploration in oil and gas concessions, and introduced the possibility that companies could submit a more expeditious EIS. The new procedure takes approximately 35 days for approval instead of 150 days. As a result, this new regulation regime allows corporations to submit a less rigorous study of protected areas, fragile ecosystems, Indigenous reserves and conservation areas (Garcia 2). In addition the "fast-track" approval process eliminates even a faint possibility of meaningful consultation with affected communities, amongst which Indigenous peoples are most represented.

To add insult to injury, Pluspetrol Norte S.A. was hoping to get a contract renewal in August 2015, giving the corporation access, yet again, to its expired concession. Strong Indigenous opposition against Pluspetrol's contract renewal was expressed. They called the renewal illegal, outrageous, and an infringement of their rights ("The misleading art"; "Piden no renovar"). They also insisted that before any oil contract restoration occurred, prior consultation with the entire community must take place because these areas have been declared in states of emergency due to oil contamination. In 2015, despite all Indigenous opposition to oil extraction, Block 192 (the former Block 1AB) was granted to Pacific Stratus Energy, a subsidiary company of Canadian Pacific Exploration & Production Corporation. In 2016, there were ten oil spills from PetroPeru's pipelines (Pipeline NorPeruano) which directly affected the people of the departments of Loreto and Amazonas who ended up drowning their cultural wealth in a sea of impotence, frustration and resignation. As a result, the Peruvian indigenous communities and bosquecinos were left without water, fishing, agriculture, cassava, banana, cacao, maize, land or dreams. Furthermore, these communities were left with bronchitis, diarrhea, warts, headaches, vomiting, crying, hunger and a great deal of hopelessness (Fermin).

CONCLUSION

This chapter argued that capital accumulation comes not only from waged labour but from the bodies of the un-waged and from nature. It has shown that the Peruvian states' articulation with the global state, led by the United Nations Earth Summits, has exacerbated the political practice of exclusion and domination of the rainforest Indigenous communities in Peru. Here I have shown how the state has the land

and hunting grounds, and deprived of self-sufficiency and autonomy the Achuar, Quichua, Urarina and Cocama Indigenous people living near Blocks 1AB (now 192) and Block 8. As a result, they were obliged to sell their labour for almost nothing in service of hydrocarbon spill soil remediation on Pluspetrol oil field production sites organized by Graña & Montero Corporation. Indigenous people's labour on these projects has been "housewifized," meaning indentured servitude, near enough to slavery. However, in 2008, these communities actively resisted the exploitation of their labour and nature and unveiled the state's crimes in the Judicial Court in 2009.

Indigenous people in the rainforest of Peru are at the forefront of preserving the health of the forest in order to continue a centuries-old subsistence economy that depends on a healthy ecosystem (forest, rivers, watershed, and air) that maintains basic nature (flora, fauna, and fishery). Their struggle to protect their own forest-based economies against the extractivism of sustainable development with all its intense destruction is a critical element of the global fight against climate change and for the elaboration of post-oil economies. Ecofeminists have long argued for wider recognition of the unwaged work of women household workers, peasants, Indigenous people and nature itself. This invisible "housewifized" labour is essential to the process of capital accumulation and thus has enormous power to simultaneously interrupt the destructive path of industrialization and re-route humanity towards an alternative civilization, one based on the Commons.

Update: Currently, the Peruvian ex-presidents named in this chapter—Alejandro Toledo (2001-2006), Alan Garcia (2006-2011) and Ollanta Humala (2011-2016)—are under investigation for money laundering, as Odebrecht, a construction corporation from Brazil, paid them bribes in offshore accounts. Meanwhile, Alberto Fujimori was sentenced to jail for twenty-five years for crimes committed during his mandate.

Note: The methods used to research this chapter were a literature review, information from an article published by Isla ("Eco-Class-Race") in Capitalism Nature Socialism, *interviews, and observation of courtroom proceedings in 2009. The study's limitation is a lack of physical inspection of the Indigenous territory in Blocks 1AB and 8.*

ENDNOTES

[1]Decreto Legislativo 30151: Establishes the use of weapons by the

police and army (online).

[2]Decreto Legislativo 1095: Sets rules for employment and use of force by the armed forces in the national territory (online).

[3]Defensoría del Pueblo, Reporte de Conflictos Sociales N° 69, 2009; Reporte de Conflictos Sociales N°106, 2012; Reporte de Conflictos Sociales N°129, 2014; Reporte de Conflictos Sociales No. 171, 2016. Lima, Peru (online).

[4]*Dorissa Act*, 2006. Acta que complementa y precisa los acuerdos subscritos entre las comunidades indígenas del Rio Corrientes–FECONACO, el Ministerio de Energia y Minas, el Ministerio de Salud, el Gobierno Regional de Loreto, la Empresa Pluspetrol Norte S.A., y la Defensoria del Pueblo. Signed at Dorissa, Loreto, Peru (online, accessed October 2009).

[5]For more information on reforestation, see Congreso della República, *Informe Final*.

[6]Decreto Legislativo 982: Amends the Criminal Code approved by Legislative Decree No. 635 (online).

[7]Dr. Victor Alva, lawyer for the man accused of aggravated homicide, asserted:

•The police officer that supposedly recognized Saulo, as someone who shot the police, had contradicted himself. The police was unable to explain the colour of Saulo's pants, as well as unable to bring forth any witness.

•Ballistics did not find remains of blood or any organic element of the victim in the clothing of the accused. The atomic absorption spectroscopy proved that Saulo had lead in his clothing, but not *antimony and barium*, two elements needed to prove that he was the shooter.

•Another man apprehended at the same time as Saulo said that they were held around 10:00 a.m. (and the crime occurred at 12:30 p.m.) but the police registered their arrest at 1:00 p.m., without reason.

•During the investigation, ten new suspects surfaced as possible shooters.

•The Act of Reconstruction or review of evidence from the crime scene, involving three prosecutors and a colonel, confirmed that the now dead police officer was wounded in the backyard of Maria Dahua Betuna's house and not at the abandoned airport as the police stated.

[8]"Sentencia del Tribunal Constitutional," 2011. EXP. No. 0022-2009-PI/TC (online, accessed July 2012).

REFERENCES

Alvarez, Jose. "Perú: Comunidades, territorio y concesiones forestales." Servindi.org, 23 September 2011. Web.

Castro, Jonathan. "Pasivos de explotación petrolera en Rios Tigre and Pastaza aun no se solucionan." *La República* 3 July 2012. Web.

Collyns, Don. "Indigenous Peruvians win Amazon pollution payout from U.S. oil giant." *The Guardian* 5 March 2015. Web.

Congreso de la República de Peru. *Informe Final sobre la Situación Indígena de la Cuencas de los ríos Tigre, Pastaza, Corrientes y Marañón*. Comisión de Pueblos Andinos, Amazónicos y Afroperuanos, Ambiente y Ecología. Grupo de Trabajo, 2013. Web.

Constitution of Peru, 1993. Lima: Congress of Peru. Web,

Convoca. "Mapa de Informes Encarpetados. Lima, Peru." Archivos Ocultos Convoca, 2016. Web. 29 April 2016.

"Diez grandes proyectos que tiene Oodebrecht en el Perú." *El Comercio*, 08 March 2016. Web.

Federici, Silvia. *Caliban and the Witch*: *Women, the Body and Primitive Accumuation*. New York: Autonomedia, 2009.

Fermin, Carlos. "Los 10 ecocidios del 2016 en Latinoamérica." Servindi.org, 27 Dec. 2016. Web.

García, Francesca D. "Reglamento flexibiliza medidas ambientales para favorecer inversión." *La República* 20 Dec. 2014: 2. Web.

Gasche, J. "Anthropological assessment of Andoas defendants." Unpublished report presented to the court during the legal proceedingsin the Andoas court case, 2009.

Gasche, J. and N. Vela. *Sociedad bosquecina*. Tomo 1. Loreto, Peru: Instituto de Investigaciones de la Amazonia Peruana, 2011.

International Labour Organization (ILO). *C169–Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Conention, 1989*. Geneva, Switzerland: ILO, 27 June 1989. Web.

Instituto Nacional de Estadistica e Informatica, 2009. Web.

Isla, Ana. "The Eco-Class-Race struggles in the Peruvian Amazon Basin: An Ecofeminist Perspective." *Capitalism Nature Socialism* 20.3 (2009): 21-51.

Isla, Ana. *The "Greening" of Costa Rica: Women, Peasants, Indigenous People and the Remaking of Nature*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2015.

Lizarzaburu, Javier. "Forced sterilization haunts Peruvian women decades on." *BBC Online News,* 2 December 2015. Web.

Martinez, Martí Orta, Dora A. Napolitano, Gregor J. MacLennan, Cristina O'Callaghan, Sylvia Ciborowski, and Xavier Fabregas. "Impacts of Petroleum Activities for the Achuar People of the Peruvian Amazon: Summary of Existing Evidence and Research

Gaps." *Envionmental Research Letters* 2.4 (2007): (n.p.). Web.
Mendoza, Raúl. 2009, July 12. "Cazador de conflictos." *La República*. 12 July 2009. Web.
Mies, Maria. *Patriarchy and Accumulation on a World Scale: Women in the International Division of Labour.* London: Zed Books, 1999.
Mies, Maria and Vandana Shiva. *Ecofeminism* . London: Zed Books, 1993.
"Piden no renovar concesion del lote 192 a Pluspetrol." *La República* 5 March 2014. Web.
Ruiz, J. C. "Ministerio de Cultura bloquea la consulta previa de las concesiones mineras e invisibiliza a los PPII (Pueblos Indigenas) en Espinar." Servindi.org, 22 April 2015. Web. July 2015.
"The misleading art of commercial deception; or how to transform a major polluter into an environmentally sustainable and socially responsible company." Blog post, Alianza Arkana, 9 Dec. 2013. Web.
Tovar, J. G., I. Monterroso, C. Mora, S. Baldovino, I. Calle, P. Peña and J. L. Capella. "Ley 30230: Efectospara la institucionalidadambiental y la tenencia de la tierra en Perú." Center for International Forestry Research (CIFOR) Brief no. 102, 2014. Web. July 2015.
Truth and Reconciliation Commission. *Final Report, Peru,* 2003. Web.

On Sustainable Development

15.

The "Greening" of Costa Rica

A War Against Subsistence

ANA ISA

THE 1987 BRUNDTLAND REPORT, *Our Common Future,* was instrumental in forging links between development and the environment through the concept of sustainable development (World Commission). In this chapter, I evaluate sustainable development as discussed at the 1992 Rio Earth Summit, and extend the assessment to the "green economy" as developed in Costa Rica, the first green neoliberal project. In the "green economy," goods and services provided by nature depend on the stock exchange. A key concept in this latest iteration of sustainable development is "natural capital," which is used to refer to the goods and services that the planet's stock of water, land, air, and renewable and non-renewable resources provides (Fenech et al.). As a result of nature being defined as natural capital, new areas of global intervention were opened up and nature entered the domain of neoliberal politics. The argument is that sustainable development is good and desirable for the entire world, including and most particularly for the so-called underdeveloped world. Costa Rica has been an important "laboratory" for experimentation in innovative environmental governance mechanisms using debt-for-nature exchanges. I have called this political ecology "greening" to indicate how the ecosystems of an indebted country are increasingly becoming destabilized.

In this chapter I draw on an ecofeminist perspective to cast doubt on the overarching message that sustainable development creates social and gender equality, reduces poverty, confronts ecological destruction and combats climate change, and to show the need for a new approach grounded in critical feminism. In the first part, I present ecofeminist critiques of capitalism and sustainable development. Critics have underlined "enclosure" (Federici) and "housewifization" (Mies) as part of the working of patriarchal capitalism, which is a system that maintains relationships of domination and subordination in general

and men's domination of women in particular. I then apply these insights to analyze a case study of the debt-for-nature exchanges between Canada and Costa Rica that took place from 1995 to 1999 by two environmental non-government organizations (ENGOs) operating in the Arenal-Tilaran Conservation Area (ACA-Tilaran), now Arenal Tempisque Conservation Area. I document a war against subsistence, understood as livable economy, by examining the triple crises brought about by the solutions provided by sustainable development using debt-for-nature exchanges: crises with extremely harmful effects on the lives of women and children, peasants and Indigenous peoples and nature itself. I conclude by introducing "green" capitalism as another phase of capital accumulation and arguing that its real war is not against poverty and unsustainability but against subsistence.

METHODOLOGY

Data was collected from 1997 to 2009 in a number of sites in the Arenal-Tilaran Conservation Area (now the Arenal-Tempisque Conservation Area) located in northwest Costa Rica where I interviewed seventy community members. In Tilaran, I collected information on the structure and functioning of the conservation area and interviewed several officials from the Costa Rican Ministry of Natural Resources, Energy and Mining (MINAE). In San Jose, I interviewed one official from the World Wildlife Fund-Canada and two officials from INBio.

ECOFEMINIST CRITIQUES OF CAPITALISM AND SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

I have chosen the ecofeminist subsistence perspective to discuss Costa Rica's experimentation in innovative environmental governance because this perspective is critical of sustainable development within the framework of economic growth. It argues that it has been possible to sustain the illusion that economic growth is a positive and benign process because the costs have been borne primarily by what has been devalued: women, peasants, Indigenous people, the so-called underdeveloped world, and nature. Ecofeminist theorists in particular have contributed to the analysis of domination of nature. This has a special significance for women because, in patriarchal thought, women are believed to be closer to nature than men. Ariel Salleh maintains that, "By introducing the nature-woman-labour nexus as a fundamental contradiction, ecofeminism affirms the primacy of an exploitative,

gender-based division of labour, and simultaneously shifts the analysis of all oppressions toward an ecological problematic" (110).

Programs associated with economic growth tend to result in enclosure and housewifization. The enclosure movement began in England in the sixteenth century and entailed both the closing off of common land and appropriation of the common wealth of workers through the elimination of customary rights (Hobsbawm). Silvia Federici (notes that primitive accumulation was not just a precondition for, but is an essential and lasting quality of capitalism. She observes that the privatization of the commons happened in the same historical period as the European witch trials that led to the devaluation of women. This produced a new gendered division of labour, in which women's position in society as providers was redefined in relation to men, to become wives, daughters, mothers, and widows, all of which "hid their status as workers, while giving men free access to women's bodies, their labour, and the bodies and labour of their children" (97). Federici draws a long historical line from the enclosure of the commons movement and the witch trials to modern day prostitution and the monetization of nature in her theorizing of the systematic subjugation and appropriation of women and nature, bodies and labour, under patriarchal capitalism. She revalorizes the work of reproduction and reconnects our relation with nature, with others, and with our bodies to regain a sense of wholeness in our lives.

Maria Mies is critical of the Eurocentric assumption that women's work has no value and that all unpaid work has no value. She locates the origin of women's oppression in the interconnected systems of patriarchy, capitalism and colonialism. She argues that when women, peasants, and Indigenous people are described as 'closer to nature', they are made exploitable. Mies uses the term "housewifization" (106) to capture the process whereby hitherto life-sustaining work is captured, confined, devalued, and put to use in support of monetized production. This division of labour into reproductive labour (housewife, subsistence) and productive labour (breadwinning, salaried) is necessary for capitalism to function. Housewifization is a devaluation of women's work but it also applies to those who are not biologically women. Similar to families and households, this division exists on a worldwide scale through colonialism. These feminized, socially marginal and externalized economic sectors and actors are Indigenous people, peasants, and the peoples of the so-called underdeveloped world in the North and the South when their land and products are taken from them through structural violence with little or no compensation.

Ecofeminists propose a subsistence perspective to transform the nature of our economy and to create social and political frontiers before capitalist accumulation reaches the last ecological limit. Some ecofeminist scholars see subsistence economies as an alternative model of social, economic, gender, and environmental justice. For example, Veronika Bennholdt-Thomsen and Maria Mies propose what they call "the subsistence perspective," which is based on production that includes all work that is expended in the creation and maintenance of immediate life and which has no other purpose. For these authors, there is no insatiable appetite to devour nature, "subsistence production … stands in contrast to commodity and surplus value production for profit" (20). They present it as form of resistance to the effects of global capitalism and colonialism by acknowledging that "life comes from women and food comes from the land" (80). Subsistence producers all over the world—the majority of whom are women and/or feminized—should be seen as experts who can lead the way to recovering autonomous ways of living, starting from territorial and bodily autonomy, food security in small farms and energy efficiency.

In this chapter, I link Federici's "enclosure" by witch hunts and Mies' "housefization" by enclosure to explore the gendered character of the so-called green economy, in which nature is selective monetized and turned into goods and services, devalued and traded in global financial markets.

THE "GREEN" ECONOMY OF NEOLIBERALISM: THE WAR AGAINST SUBSISTENCE

In this section, I describe the "green" economy of neoliberalism and argue that the market-based solution for ecological and social crises is the real war against subsistence, as it has advanced a new capital accumulation strategy that shifts the burden onto the indebted periphery and its inhabitants. To support my argument, I present the war against subsistence that has been waged by USAID and ENGOs in Costa Rica.

At the 1992 Rio Earth Summit, participating governments negotiated Agenda 21, which officially linked development and environment within the concept of sustainable development. Neoliberal economists of the World Bank articulated a set of prescriptions designed to manage global capital. Sustainable development thereby became equated with economic growth that would rescue poor countries from poverty (Pearce and Warford). Within this frame, the ecosystem must be embedded in the economic system through the price system to ensure a steady supply

to capital. In other words, the environment requires a fully monetized world in order to be protected. This means that ecological commons, such as the atmosphere, oceans, seas, land, forests, mountains, biological diversity, ecosystems, fresh water and so on, need to be priced as natural capital (Hamilton), thus legitimizing the privatization of the ecological commons.

The prescriptions formulated by the World Bank in Agenda 21 were first applied in Costa Rica, due to its foreign debt that was used by the United States to impose USAID as a direct agent to take control of Costa Rica's economy (Petch). This was in large part due to the fact that the government of Costa Rica sold its political and military location in conflicted Central America to USAID that became a parallel government and pumped a great deal of money in development aid to soften the blow of privatization while simultaneously funding the war against Nicaragua (Petch). During USAID's tenure the neoliberal political ecology of Costa Rica was put together by the World Wildlife Fund United States (WWF-US) at the Estrategia de Conservación para el Desarrollo Sostenible (ECODES) conference in 1988 (Quesada). Biologist Christopher Vaughan, head of the WWF-US, emphasized the role of human population growth and peasants in hastening environmental degradation (Vaughan). He defended the case that the local biodiversity would be seriously threatened if the ecological and social landscapes were not transformed into conservation areas. Participants of ECODES recognized that the pursuit of development as economic growth, capital accumulation, and technological innovation applied to agriculture, was the cause of the debt crisis, poverty, dispossession, and deforestation in Costa Rica. Consequently, a new form of economic growth was promoted as a form of sustainable development (Quesada). At ECODES the ideology was promoted that debt-for-nature exchange was an instrument to develop a model of environmental management in conservation areas that could be applied to all indebted countries in the world. Participants also agreed that, "an effective way to achieve national unification and consolidation of existing protected areas is the creation of The National System of Conservation Areas (SINAC) under the supervision of MINAE. SINAC divided the country into eleven conservation areas and was designated to manage the country's wildlife and biodiversity for sustainable development. Meanwhile, MINAE w was set up to manage the conservation areas through regional offices and to set policies for the use of energy, natural resources, mines, and water. One of these areas is the Arenal Conservation Area (ACA-Tilaran), now the Arenal-Tempisque Conservation Area. ACA-Tilaran

is a telling case that highlights several key aspects of 'greening' in Costa Rica. As Agenda 21 established that sustainable development was a government responsibility, in 1992, Costa Rica received an award for being an example of sustainable development in the periphery. In 1999, more than ten years after ECODES, I interviewed its former president Carlos Quesada, then director of the Sustainable Development Research Centre based in San Jose. He criticized ECODES' framework and said "This discourse [sustainable development] was formulated outside of Costa Rica with the goal of reducing the state's capacity to organize itself as a country" (Quesada, personal communication, August 1999).

This section has shown the global participants in Costa Rica's articulation of the concept of conservation areas using debt-for-nature exchanges as a way to newly connect nature and labour into the international power relations of creditors. In the next section, I discuss the case of the Canada-Costa Rica debt-for-nature exchange, because it is an example of the core mechanism used within the sustainable development framework that aims to develop a model of environmental management "to reduce poverty and environmental degradation." My analysis uncovers what is behind the structural changes in the nature of land governance and gendered class formations to facilitate conditions for capital accumulation. Debt-for-nature opens new areas for environmental management and is one way of "getting the price right" where the bulk of the resources come from people's commons.

THE CANADA-COSTA RICA DEBT-FOR-NATURE EXCHANGE: GENDER AND NATURE IN THE WAR AGAINST SUBSISTENCE

To reshape nature as a means of turning local commons into globally-significant conservation areas, several debt-for-nature swaps were signed (Sheikh 2007, 2010). Among them is the Canada-Costa Rica debt-for-nature exchange which was a bilateral initiative that implemented so-called sustainable development programs in ACA-Tilaran. This exchange is the result of Costa Rica using the Official Development Aid Loan Agreement with Canada for three lines of credit to purchase fertilizers between 1983 and 1985. Costa Rican economic development during the 1980s debt crisis focused on increasing revenue from agriculture and cattle ranching. This agreement, signed in 1995, forgave half of Costa Rica's outstanding debt to the Canadian government (CAD$11.36 million), while the other half of the funds were donated. As part of international rules created by the creditors, the Canadian and Costa Rican governments

were not allowed to receive debt titles directly—these they gave to the World Wild Life Fund Canada (WWF-C), which co-directed the Arenal-Tilaran Conservation Area with MINAE and the Instituto Nacional de Biodiversidad (INBio), and at the same time, became the government's creditors (Government of Canada and Government of Costa Rica 1995). The aim of this debt-for-nature swap, according to WWF-C, was to protect the area from further environmental degradation, to help stabilize land use by strengthening natural resource management capacities, and to improve the quality of life of the Costa Rican people (Tremblay and Malefant 9,10, 11).

In ACA-Tilaran, the Ministry of Natural Resources, Energy and Mining (MINAE), the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) and the WWF-C developed the Plan General de Uso de la Tierra (or Land Plan) (MINAE *Plan General*). The Land Plan allowed managers to strategically remove the right to land from small-and-medium-sized farms, and to place the farmland into the hands of NGOs and MINAE. It disassembled the natural commons and enclosed 250,000 hectares of land on which people depended for their livelihood. In the ACA-Tilaran conservation area, I discuss three of several types of enclosures: the enclosure of biodiversity to promote competition for inventory and prospecting of the local folkloric knowledge of plants and animals; scenery for ecotourism; and use of medicinal plants through microenterprise. I will discuss each type of enclosure before explaining how these have resulted in a war against nature, peasants, Indigenous people, and women in Costa Rica.

i) Enclosure of Biodiversity for Biotechnology

The Convention on Biological Diversity of the 1992 Earth Summit opened Costa Rica's gene resources, turning nature and community knowledge into areas of secrecy and paranoia. In 1998, Costa Rica created Biodiversity Law No. 7788, in which Article 6 determines that biochemical and genetic properties of wildlife and domestic biodiversity are in the public domain; therefore, the state authorizes exploration, investigation, bioprospecting, and use of biodiversity elements (Costa Rica Biodiversity Law 7788). The government also created Comision Nacional para la Gestion de la Biodiversidad (CONAGEBIO), to develop and coordinate policies on biodiversity. It established four types of permits, one of which was for bioprospecting, which CONAGEBIO placed at the centre of its activities (Organization for Tropical Studies). The collection of highly selective genes from plants and animals was initiated in the conservation areas by parataxonomists working for

international NGOs, and further developed through experiments by the pharmaceutical, medical, and agricultural industries of the developed world (Mateo).

The protection of natural resources through central management is very costly. To obtain international money, environmental NGOs managed international donations and were central to most commercial debt-swap transactions (Hitz) that have been opened up for private investors to construct a multi-billion dollar extraction machine. For instance, in 2009, the Costa Rica Forever Association (CRFA), organized by the Nature Conservancy, the Linden Trust for Conservation, the Gordon and Betty Moore Foundation, and the Walton Family Foundation, set up a debt-for-nature fund. In 2010, SINAC and CRFA signed a five-year cooperation agreement to facilitate delivery to CRFA of the intellectual property rights on research and other studies to be carried out in the protected wild areas. By 2010, the growing foreign debt had become the best way to entrap forested countries into debt-for-nature transactions under a new name—the *Tropical Forest Conservation Act* (Sheikh 2010:14). "Best known for enabling "debt-for-nature" swaps, the *Tropical Forest Conservation Act* (TFCA) of 1998 offer eligible developing countries options to relieve certain official debt owed the U.S. Government while at the same time generating funds in local currency to support tropical forest conservation activities" (USAID).

Bioprospecting often becomes biopiracy. Biopiracy amounts to the appropriation of the traditional knowledge and biogenetic resources of Indigenous peoples and peasants to feed the knowledge systems of colonialist corporations.

ii) Enclosure of Scenery for Ecotourism

By the early 1990s, under pressure from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank, indebted Costa Rica had become the most important ecotourism destination in Latin America, adopting travel and ecotourism as a strategy of sustainable development and as an employment priority in the hope that it would bring foreign exchange and investment to repay its foreign debt (Honey).

In 1996, President Jose Maria Figueres signed Forestry Law No. 7575 and put into effect Article No.2, on land expropriation affecting small-and-medium sized landholders, in most cases without compensation to the owners (Vizcaino). New areas of intervention for ENGOs became "wild areas," which they proposed to "sell" to mostly Northern consumers for recreation. Ecotourism is promoted as an activity

that contributes toward economic growth and generates income for local communities while purportedly protecting the environment. Ecotourism promoters promise aesthetic and recreational benefits that will restore a visitor's physical, emotional and spiritual health—a world of leisure, freedom and good taste, risk-free for those with money to spend. Simultaneously it is supposed to be politically-empowering and economically advantageous for some of the most disadvantaged groups of society, namely poor peasants, rural women, and Indigenous peoples (Honey; Stronza and Durham).

iii) Enclosure of medicinal plants through microenterprise

Since the 1992 Earth Summit, in Costa Rica every project of international cooperation has included both sustainable development and women in development (WID) components to ensure gender equity. But in Costa Rica, women's programs have very little government support, as a result of which NGOs have used debt-for-nature swaps as a credit source to initiate income-generating activities.

In the microenterprise model, credit is given to a group, which manages the money and within which individuals can borrow and repay small amounts that they use to set up a small business or microenterprise. Under neoliberalism, microenterprises firstly strengthen NGOs with access to international donors, and secondly, the preference of northern consumers for organically produced plants and vegetables is considered a growing market expected to benefit rural areas economically (Rodriguez).

SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT'S TRIPLE CRISIS

From an ecofeminist perspective, the past practices of colonialism and the current day practices of economic development and sustainable development projects have been tools used by patriarchal capitalism to commit violence against feminized bodies and nature. If nature is violated for capitalist gain, then peasant and Indigenous women and men, who have been feminized and defined as closer to nature than others, can be equally violated. In this section, I explain how the three types of enclosure that have come with the "greening" agenda of sustainable development have resulted in a war against nature, peasants, Indigenous people, and women in Costa Rica. I thereby paint a stark picture of sustainable development's triple crisis.

i) The "Greening" of Biodiversity for Biotechnology and Intellectual Property Rights

Several anti-democratic characteristics exemplify the weakness of Public-Private Partnerships of the Conservation Areas. Here I will highlight only one: a privileged relationship to state power played a central role in controlling large segments of public assets, particularly nature. These assets freely passed into the private domain of NGOs, securing their tremendous economic power.

The WWF-C established itself in the Arenal-Tilaran Conservation Area (ACA-Tilaran), considered one of the richest biodiversity areas in Costa Rica (MINAE, *Plan General*). The PROACA project of WWF-C in partnership with the Monteverde Conservation Association collects material and researches flora and fauna in national parks, biologic reserves, protected zones, the national wildlife sanctuaries and forestry reserves (Asociacion Conservacionista Monteverde and WWF-C). The project consisted of two research components, each of them limited to five years. The first phase aimed to "help regenerate the tropical forest" and to carry out an inventory of flora. In the second phase, the production of commodities from products originating in the areas of biodiversity was to be attempted.

The National Biodiversity Institute (INBio) was established in 1991 by fifteen shareholders, most of them high-level functionaries in the Costa Rican government. INBio's main objective was to provide the country with research and development in the areas of biotechnology and chemistry of the rainforest by prospecting for industrial products of high value (Mateo). Under the neoliberal framework, these functionaries were able to transfer to INBio the right to sell the biological resources that belonged to the nation and to the local communities. In 1994, it established a partnership with MINAE to collect samples of plants and animals from the conservation areas for interested industries. To manage biodiversity, it created four divisions where the Biodiversity Prospecting Division received the Canada/Costa Rica debt-for-nature funds. This division did systematic research on new sources of chemical compounds, genes, and proteins produced by plants, insects and micro-organisms that may be of use to pharmaceutical, medical, and agricultural industries, worldwide (Mateo).

The new management transformed zoning in ACA-Tilaran; for instance, the Arenal Volcano category of "Forestry Reserve" with five protected hectares was changed to Arenal Volcano National Park with 12,010 hectares, which subsequently became the centre for bioprospecting (or biopiracy) (MINAE, "Area de Conservación"). Once research centres were organized, these areas became off-limits to rural communities. Local community members' intimate knowledge of and connections

with the land were broken, unless they agreed to become part of the taxonomic research program. This transformation of nature into a commodity robbed communities of their livelihood. Living organisms became raw material and living knowledge is eliminated. Communities' work over centuries as the keepers of nature has no value, while scientific labour was perceived as adding value to the "free" resources of nature.

The newly declared nucleus area became private land controlled by park rangers organized into a Police Control Unit, trained and designed to counter land invasions. When park rangers find community members in designated areas without permission or without paying the necessary fee, they confiscate any fish or game these individuals might have obtained and whatever tools they used to do so. They then report the offence to the Office of Public Prosecutor.

As the eco-laboratory model developed in Costa Rica disassembled the natural commons on which rural people depended for their livelihoods, hunters initiated a campaign against national symbols. For instance, in Guanacaste, on May 9, 2001, "illegal hunters" as the Costa Rican government calls them, allegedly burned La Casona de Santa Rosa. This attack on a symbolic building revealed the existence of these traditional local hunters and their status as a marginal segment within society. Then head of MINAE, Elizabeth Odio, acknowledged that the hunters were acting in retaliation to being harassed by park guards when hunting deer and other species (Loaiza and Zeledon). MINAE also reported that in 2014, 699 hectares were burned; and in 2015, 2999 hectares were torched, including close to 1500 hectares in Diriá National Park in Guanacaste (cited in Arguedas). Luis Diego Roman, from MINAE, said that those who originated these fires were presumed to be deer hunters (qtd. in Arguedas).

In sum, the Land Plan undermined the rights of local communities to use their surrounding environment because conservation areas are used as collection centres of single samples for potential profits by interested industries.

ii) The "Greening" of Women and Children

Ecotourism creates waged employment, often at the expense of subsistence activity. For peasant women and men, the disappearance of forests is an issue of survival, forcing many to migrate to the large cities in the hope of earning an income for themselves and their dispossessed families. Many women migrate to ecotourism areas in search of jobs. In ACA-Tilaran, for example, the building of hotels, cabins, bed and breakfasts, and eco-tourist lodges has meant that not only have

volcanoes, mountains, rivers, and forests been marketed and sold as recreation products, but the resident community has also been turned into a branded product for sale to customers (tourists) in a variety of forms.

Women and children are affected in an especially acute way by the processes of enclosure that come with "greening." When forest dwellers are evicted from their lands and move to urban areas, dispossessed women and children are usually the most vulnerable, becoming victims of predatory industries and individuals. Hidden beneath the veneer of ecotourism, sex tourism offers women and children's feminized bodies as commodities that are pure, exotic, and erotic.

As Costa Rica slid into a subordinated position internationally, the country became a paradise for sexual trafficking, paedophilia, and child pornography. In this way, just as nature has been commodified, the bodies of women and children are turned into another form of human capital so they can to contribute to the global tourism industry, to the wealth of businesses, and to state coffers to pay its debt. This image of Costa Rica entangles two aspects of capitalist patriarchal economics: the domination of creditors (core countries) over debtors (the periphery); and the domination of men over women. The two are related: as Costa Rica is increasingly impoverished by foreign debt and the enclosure of the commons, the mark of international gender power relations is stamped on the bodies of Costa Rican women and children.

Jacobo Schifter estimates that there are between 10,000 and 20,000 sex workers in Costa Rica, and between 25,000 and 50,000 sex tourists. He calls them "whoremongers," meaning regular clients who visit each year. The vast majority—eighty percent—are U.S. citizens (43). Tim Rogers reports that the U.S. has become Costa Rica's pimp, as crack cocaine and sex with prostitutes helps male tourists and old retirees affirm their masculinity and "escape reality" from their dissatisfied financial and social decline back home.

Since 2001, international human rights groups have put the Costa Rican government under intense scrutiny for lack of action against sexual abusers of children, most of them tourists. In 2001, the ex-president of Costa Rica, Miguel Angel Rodriguez, said on ABC's *20/20* news program that there were only "twenty or thirty" children being sexually exploited in Costa Rica, even though the U.S. Department of State had estimated three thousand children to be victims of commercial sexual exploitation in Costa Rica ("Costa Rica policeman").

Most of the pimps who profit from the organization of sex tourism are men from countries of the Global North, such as the U.S., Canada,

Spain, Germany, and Italy. At *Tico Times*, an English language weekly newspaper in Costa Rica, agencies advertise various types of prostitution, such as mail order brides, and dating and escort agencies, aimed specifically to tourists and U.S. migrants. On the internet there are hundreds of websites selling Costa Rican women and children.

These problems affecting women and children in Costa Rica are also the concern of foreign NGOs. Since 2004, World Vision has been launching campaigns in Costa Rica to deter potential child-sex tourists. In 2006, the NGO AYUDA, of the Inter-American Development Bank and the Ricky Martin Foundation, established an anti-trafficking campaign, entitled "Llama y Vive" ("Ricky Martin Fights"). The United Nations Population Fund/Costa Rica revealed that every ninety minutes a baby is born whose mother is between twelve and seventeen years old. Its project *Iniciativa Mesoamerica* intends to reduce the number of pregnant children; however, in 2016, due to poverty and economic inequality, the phenomenon of fathers "renting" their daughters as child prostitutes that was still occurring throughout the country, particularly in Limon Province (Mata).

iii) The "Greening" of Women's Knowledge

Until the end of the 1980s, medicinal plants had no market value, but they were used by rural populations whose heath depended on the ecosystems where they lived. Through centuries of growing medicinal plants, women in rural areas acquired the necessary skills and the knowledge of seeds, soil preparation, and optimum growing seasons. They also have the know-how to make combinations of plants used in healing practices. This knowledge was central in developing organic medicinal plant microenterprises.

In microenterprise development, medicinal plants become commodities, thus belonging to the market place. There, medicinal plants lose their cultural, and even their biological power, because the removal from their natural surroundings and different exposure to sunlight change their chemical properties (Biologist Celso Alvarado, personal communication, August 1999). Consequently, the women who grow them become commodity producers. As such, exploitation and surplus value are located in the bioproductive aspect of this knowledge—that is, in the privatization and monopolization of the results.

The results showed that although they had experienced some increased status and sense of agency in the community, the Abanico Project members had suffered serious negative effects. Since the 1990s, neoliberal policies have dictated that credits must be sustainable, that

is, credits to microenterprises must cover operational costs. As a result, women became indebted to NGOs. For instance, each stage of the Abanico project was built on loans from NGOs acting as banks. Funding from FUNDACA provided loans at an annual interest rate of 20 percent, while ANDAR lent the money at an annual interest rate of 33 percent.

The women's working time thus expanded, decreasing the time they could spend on activities important to the community and their families. Their work was time-intensive and labour-intensive as they use machetes to cultivate and natural pesticides to reduce pests. Despite working nine hours in the medicinal plant plots, the women also worked many more hours at home, engaged in cleaning, cooking, washing, ironing, caring for their elders and rearing children, and doing community work.

To develop a microenterprise, families had to convert a substantial part of their land from food production to the production of medicinal plants. Yet the financial return to the women was not sufficient to buy food for the family's subsistence needs, because they no longer owned plots of land for personal use. In this way, women's autonomous subsistence work was eliminated in favour of poorly paid work that exploited their labour and Indigenous knowledge. In the face of daily inflation and devaluation imposed by the IMF's and the World Bank's, stabilization and structural adjustment policies, wages were inadequate. Working for less than the minimum wage and exhausted by a never-ending competitive spiral of reduced real wages, women's labour power was housewifized.

In a conversation regarding the market value of medicinal plants, one woman explained that most members were not talking to each other:

> [D]eciding how many kilos each member could sell has produced a crisis in the group. Many of us are not talking to each other, although we are sharing the same misfortune, because we have in common the need to improve the economic situation of our families, we need to find support. We accepted the Consejo Nacional de Producción (CNP) initiative to discuss our problems with a psychologist. Our betterment will help our children and our community. (Yerbabuena, personal communication, August 2001)

In a word of one CNP official, "The group was not tough enough to survive the globalization project." The message was that the women needed to alter their psyches to be able to participate in and profit from the globalized market. Compelling women into visits with a

psychologist displayed the tendency to see women as pathologized, instead of recognizing that the women's lagging economic performance resulted from the reality of their working conditions and global market mechanisms.

When the conversation turned to the use value of medicinal plants, it became clear that the plants embodied relationships. Naming the benefits that medicinal plants brought to their lives connected the women, generating a lively exchange and great communication. It brought memories of family members, grandmothers and mothers, times of sickness and happiness, scents and pleasures. The women recognized how their individual lives had been enriched because of their regular use of the plants and their ever-increasing knowledge. Speaking about the medicinal plant knowledge of their mothers and elders, they realized that they possessed an entire knowledge system that had been made invisible and undesirable by a world-view that sees as backward rural women's work to protect and conserve nature, work that sustains human life and ensures self-provision.

CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I have showed how sustainable development discourse, developed by the neoliberal "green" economy in Costa Rica, enforced the ideology that environmental commons are international, part of the global economic rationale, which means that individual states lost their decision-making power over use of their own territories in order to serve a global market machine. I have exposed processes by which mountains of debt and interest on loans undermined sustainable and livable economies, and inaugurated "greening" as a new phase of capital accumulation that entails four aspects. First, it entails the expansion of credit instruments, such as debt-for-nature exchanges by financial capital to create economic growth. In this frame, the debtor's obligation is to allocate domestic resources for financing ecological projects in exchange for extinguishing a limited portion of the country's foreign debt. Countries must be considered close to default to sell foreign debts at a fraction of their value in the secondary markets where one investor purchases a debt title from another investor rather than from the issuer country.

Second, it involves the World Bank licensing big ENGOs to broker the indebted countries' resources with large corporations involved in economic restructuring and globalization. The role of ENGOs is to establish the monetary values of the "'global commons" of the indebted

periphery, such as biodiversity, forest, scenery, and mountains, and to export these values through stock exchanges. I gave the example of the Canada-Costa Rica debt-for-nature agreement that channelled funds to WWF-Canada and the Costa Rican INBio. These new experts, most of them biologists grouped in ENGOs, have emerged as new models of modernization and environmental protection by using the discourse of "protecting" the global commons in ecologically sensitive areas.

Third, new types of markets were organized—biodiversity for biotechnology and Intellectual Property Rights, forests for carbon credits, scenery for ecotourism, mountains for open-pit mining—in conservation areas. Fourth, the "greening" process results in peasants and Indigenous people acquiring new roles as service providers in new industries such as ecotourism. These roles are gendered in that they reproduce existing gender roles: men work as tour guides while women work in hotels and resorts as maids or as prostitutes. Viewed through the lens of ecofeminism, "greening," enclosure, and "housewifization" come together to wage war on subsistence.

Based on this analysis, my conclusion is that UN sustainable development promotes unsustainability and poverty. In Costa Rica, assigning monetary value to the commons required the devaluing of other forms of social existence, such as transforming agriculture skills into deficiencies; commons into resources; knowledge of biodiversity into ignorance; peasants and Indigenous peoples' autonomy into dependency; and self-sufficiency of men and women into loss of dignity for women's and children's bodies.

This chapter is excerpted from my book, The "Greening" of Costa Rica: Women, Peasants, Indigenous People, and the Remaking of Nature.

REFERENCES

Arguedas, Carlos. "Mano criminal provoca cuatro incendios en Parque Diriá." *La Nación* 21 April 2015. Web.

Asociacion Conservacionista de Monteverde and World Wildlife Fund-Canada (WWF-C). *Programa de Investigación para el uso racional de la biodiversidad en el Area de Conservación Arenal: Proposal Presented to MINAE,* 1996.

Bennholdt-Thomsen, Veronika and Maria Mies. *The Subsistence Perspective: Beyond the Globalized Economy*. London: Zed Books, 1999.

Boserup, Ester. *Women's Role in Economic Development*. London: Allen & Unwin, 1970.

Costa Rica Biodiversity Law 7788. WIPO (n.d.). Web.

"Costa Rica policeman convicted for helping child pimp escape." Online forum post, Casa Alianza. 31 January 2001. Web.

"Costa Rica–Unemployment. Unemployment, Youth Female (% of female labour force) (national estimate)." Index mundi (n.d.) Web. Online. 15 October 2015.

Federici, Silvia. *Caliban and the Witch: Women, the Body and Primitive Accumulation*. New York: Autonomedia, 2004.

Fenech, A., R. Hansell, A. Isla, and S. Thompson, eds. *Report of an April 23, 1999 Workshop on Natural Capital: Views from Many Perspectives*. Toronto: University of Toronto, Institute for Environmental Studies, 1999.

Government of Canada and Government of Costa Rica. *Memorandum of Understanding between the Government of Canada and the Government of the Republic of Costa Rica concerning the Canadian Debt Conversion Initiative for the Environment*, 1995.

Hamilton, K. "Genuine Savings, Population Growth and Sustaining Economic Welfare." Paper presented at the Conference on Natural Capital, Poverty, and Development, Toronto, Ontario, Canada, September 2001.

Hitz, W. "The 'Debt for Nature Swap': Meeting Costa Rica's Conservation Needs?" Master's thesis. University of California, Los Angeles, California, 1989.

Hobsbawm, Eric J. *The Age of Revolution, 1789-1848*. New York: Vintage Books, 1996.

Honey, Martha. *Ecotourism and Sustainable Development: Who Owns Paradise?* Washington, DC: Island Press, 1998.

Loaiza V. and I. Zeledon. "Golpe a la Historia: Ardío la Casona." *La Nación* 10 May 2001. Web.

Mata, Esteban. "Niñas son 'alquiladas' con fines sexuales por sus padres." *La Nación* 26 July 2016. Web.

Mateo, N. "Wild Biodiversity: The Last Frontier? The Case of Costa Rica." *Globalization of Science: The Place of Agriculture Research*. Eds. C. Bonte-Friedheim and K. Sheridan The Hague, Netherlands: International Service for National Agricultural Research, 1997. 113-122.

Mies, Mies. *Patriarchy and Accumulation on a World Scale: Women in the International Division of Labour*. London: Zed Books, 1986.

Ministry of Natural Resources, Energy and Mining (MINAE). *Plan General de Uso de la Tierra*. Vols. I-IV. San José: MINAE, Agencia

Canadiense de Desarrollo Internacional, and Fondo Mundial para la Naturaleza de Canadá, 1993.
Ministry of Natural Resources, Energy and Mining (MINAE). "Area de Conservación Arenal." ACA-Tilaran Nucleos Areas, 1997.
Organization for Tropical Studies. Web.
Pearce, David W. and Jeremy J. Warford. *World Without End: Economics, Environment and Sustainable Development*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1993.
Programa Estado de la Nación (PEN). *Estado de la Nación en Desarrollo Humano Sostenible*. San Jose, Costa Rica, 1996.
Programa Estado de la Nación (PEN). *Estado de la Nación en Desarrollo Humano Sostenible*. San Jose, Costa Rica, 2010.
Petch, T. "Costa Rica." *The Dance of the Millions: Latin America and the Debt Crisis*. Ed. J. Roddick. London: Latin America Bureau, 1988. 191-215.
Quesada, C. *Estrategia de Conservación para el Desarrollo Sostenible de Costa Rica*. [San José, Costa Rica]: Ministerio de Recursos Naturales, Energía y Minas, República de Costa Rica, 1990.
"Ricky Martin Fights Human Trafficking." Dalje.com, 30 April 2008. Web.
Rodriguez. S. "Los determinismos mercantiles y tecnocraticos en el 'modelo' de funcionamiento del INBio." *Ambien-Tico* 32 (1995): 11-16.
Rogers, Tim. *Costa Rica's Sex-Tourism Is Growing*. *Tico Times* 16 October 2009. Web. 15 October 2015.
Salleh, Ariel. "Nature, Woman, Labor, Capital: Living the Deepest Contradiction." *Is Capitalism Sustainable? Political Economy and the Politics of Ecology*. Ed. M. O'Connor. New York, London: The Guilford Press, 1994. 106-124.
Schifter, Jacobo. *Viejos Verdes en el Paraiso: Turismo Sexual en Costa Rica*. San José, Costa Rica: Editorial Universidad Estatal a Distancia, 2007.
Sheikh, Pervavez A. *Debt-for-Nature Initiatives and the Tropical Forest Conservation Act: Status and implementation (CRS report for Congress RL31286)*. Washington, DC: Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress, 11 October 2006. Web.
Sheikh, Pervavez A. *Debt-for-Nature Initiatives and the Tropical Forest Conservation Act: Status and Implementation*. Research Gate, April 2010. Web. 15 October 2015.
Shiva, Vandana. *Staying Alive: Women, Ecology and Development*. London: Zed Books, 1989.

Stronza, Amanda and William H. Durham, eds. *Ecotourism and Conservation in the Americas*. Ecotourism Series No. 7. Cambridge, MA: CABI, 2008.
The Costa Rica Forever Association. Web.
Tremblay, C. and D. Malenfant. "Estrategias locales para favorecer la sostenibilidad de acciones de desarrollo El Caso del Proyecto de Conservacion y Desarrollo Arenal, Costa Rica." Paper presented at Congreso Mundial para la Conservacion. Montreal, Quebec, 1996.
Ulloa, C. *Diagnostico socioambiental de la unidad territorial priorizada*. La Fortuna, San Carlos: Proyecto de Conservación y Desarrollo Arenal, Tilaran, Costa Rica, 1996.
United Nations Environment Programme. *What is the Green Economy?* (n.d.). Web. 15 October 2015.
USAID. "Financing Forest Conservation: An Overview of the *Tropical Forest Conservation Act*." (n.d.). Web. 30 March 2018.
Vaughan, C. "Ponencia Sectorial: Biodiversidad." Paper presented at the Memoria-Primer Congreso Estrategia de Conservacion para el Desarrollo Sostenible (ECODES). San Jose, Costa Rica, October 1988.
Vizcaino. I. "Deuda millonaria por las expropiaciones." *La Nación* 29 August 1999. Web.
Waring, Marilyn. *If Women Counted: A New Feminist Economics*. San Francisco, CA: Harper and Row, 1988.
World Commission on Environment and Development, ed. *Our Common Future*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1987.
World Vision. "World Vision's work to prevent child sex tourism." 2006. Web.

16.

Earth Love

Finding Our Way Back Home

RONNIE JOY LEAH

HOW DO WE FIND OUR WAY BACK HOME to the ancient Goddess cultures that embrace the sacredness of all life? How do we move beyond the centuries long disconnection of humans from nature fostered by patriarchal cultures and religions? How do we remember our kinship with the Earth community?

These are questions posed to students in "Goddess Mythology, Women's Spirituality and Ecofeminism" the course I teach at Athabasca University. Earth Love, a concept introduced to me by June Watts, my teacher of sacred circle dance, expresses this paradigm shift. Earth Love celebrates the power and beauty of the Earth, indeed of all life. It carries us forward to wholeness, balance, and reconnection in today's fractured world. Earth Love reminds us: *"The Earth is our Mother, we must take care of her"* (chant by Libana).

This tribute to Earth Love expresses my own journey with Goddess. I am dancing with the Goddess, embodying Her timeless stories, sharing the teachings of ancient cultures which honour the sacredness of women and the Earth.

This new / ancient paradigm of ecological awareness is being carried forward by a growing river of understanding. It is fed by many streams: Goddess spirituality, ecofeminism, deep ecology, earth-based spirituality, Indigenous wisdom, and engaged Buddhism. They speak to us and we listen…. The Earth is sacred. She is alive. She is our Mother.

> We have a beautiful / Mother
> Her green lap / Immense
> Her brown embrace / eternal
> Her blue body / everything / we know.
> (Walker, cited in Bolen 39-40)

Hearing these words of African American writer Alice Walker inspires me to take better care of this planet I love as my Mother, this planet I love as myself.

What is this paradigm shift, the shift in consciousness that brings us closer to Earth Love? It is "awareness of Earth as a living system… we belong like the cells in a living body" (*Joanna Macy and The Great Turning*). We are embedded in the sacred Earthbody (Spretnak). "The world is a being, a part of our own body" (Seed 6). We are nature, nature is us, and we are all sacred manifestations of the Goddess (Wells and Leah 123).

PARADIGM SHIFT: THE SACRED EARTH

Cultural ecofeminism, "the hands and feet of the Goddess in today's world," draws much of its inspiration from goddess mythology (Wells and Leah 113). Unlike the transcendent god of patriarchal religions who is separate from creation, the goddess is immanent in creation; she *is* creation. She is the source of life, death and regeneration. Ecofeminism, which links the domination of Earth and the exploitation of women, presents a vision of life free from all forms of oppression, including "naturism," the oppression of nature by humans (Wells and Leah 114). Ecofeminism, the union of feminism with deep ecology, looks to transform the destructive relations of humans and nature to a life-affirming culture that respects the web of life (Reuther 13). Deep ecologist Joanna Macy calls on us to move from "the industrial growth society to a life affirming society" (*Joanna Macy and the Great Turning*).

Feminist ecological responses reconnect spirituality with the material world, challenging patriarchy's false separation of spirit and matter. The subsistence ecofeminist perspective acknowledges the material "connection and continuity between the human and the natural" and recognizes the sacredness of the living Earth (Mies and Shiva 20; Shiva 4). Nature, "the complex web of processes and relationships that provide the conditions for life," is not separate from or external to our being (Shiva 8). Spirit is the life-force in everything: "we ourselves with our bodies cannot separate the material from the spiritual" (Mies and Shiva 17).

As an activist for the world's rainforests, deep ecologist John Seed calls on us to embody these understandings. He recalls a moment of "intense, profound realization" while defending the trees: "I knew then that I was no longer acting on behalf of myself or my human ideas, but on behalf of the Earth… on behalf of my larger self, that I

was literally part of the rainforest defending herself" (Seed 5).

Feminist-pacifist writer Barbara Deming beckons us to remember this "Spirit of Love" which connects us with the earth.

> We are earth of this earth, and we are bone of its bone.
> This is a prayer I sing, for we have forgotten this and so
> The earth is perishing.
> (Deming, reprinted in Seed i)

PRACTICES FOR SACRED ECOLOGY: COUNCIL OF ALL BEINGS

How do we open to these understandings? How do we come to "hear within ourselves the sound of the Earth crying?" This phrase borrowed from Buddhist teacher Thich Nhat Hanh underlies "The Council of All Beings," a practice developed by Joanna Macy and John Seed in 1985, which "opens us to experiencing our fundamental interconnectedness with all life" (Seed 5). I was fortunate to train with Joanna Macy in 2009, as a facilitator for the Council and "The Work That Reconnects." My recent experience facilitating "Peace with the Earth," a sacred ecology workshop in Calgary, has convinced me that, at a visceral level, we are indeed learning how to listen….

> I played a heartbeat on my hand drum as we walked ceremonially out into the garden. We gathered in a semi-circle under the branches of a large tree. I spoke as the Guide:
>
> *This Council is called to order, on behalf of the future generations.*
>
> One by one, the beings introduced themselves through us…
>
> *I am a mama grizzly bear protecting her cubs. I am the krill in the ocean. I am the dirt under your feet. I am a tree dying from pollution…*
>
> After each being spoke, the circle answered:
>
> *We hear you.*
>
> As I guided this exercise, I no longer spoke in my human voice: I was the grizzly bear protecting her cubs. I spoke in her voice

> … and I was angry with the humans! Other beings spoke:
>
> *Hear us, humans. This is our world too. Our days are numbered because of what you are doing. Listen to us.*
>
> We took turns listening as humans:
>
> *We hear you.*
>
> When all the beings had a chance to address the humans and call them to account, I spoke again as the Guide / Grizzly:
>
> *The humans are now frightened. Our life is in their hands. If they can awaken to their place in the web of life they will change their ways. What wisdom do you have to offer to the humans?*
>
> The beings offered us their insights, their powers, to stop the destruction of the world. We listened and we accepted these gifts with thanks, on behalf of all humans. I picked up my drum again to announce the closing of the Council, as I shifted back into human form.

The Council of All Beings was a transformative experience, a journey into the imaginal realm. It was a communal ritual experience, where we allowed the Earth and other life forms to speak through us. We expanded our human identities into our larger ecological selves. We spoke on behalf of the earth; this is an important step in experiencing the shift in consciousness that Joanna Macy describes in her film (*Joanna Macy and The Great Turning*). Buddhist teacher Thich Nhat Hanh reminds us: "Only when we recognize our connectedness to the earth, can real change begin."

The "Law of Dependent Co-Arising" expresses the fundamental Buddhist concept of "interbeing": our nonseparateness from a world where "all events and beings are interdependent and interrelated" (Kaza 57; "Joanna Macy").

We are seeing a convergence of three streams of thought and practice: deep ecology, Buddhism and ecofeminism. Most of all, we are remembering our Earth Love.

> When we can truly see and understand the earth, love is born in

> our hearts. We feel connected. That is the meaning of love: to be at one. Only when we've fallen back in love with the earth will our actions spring from reverence and the insight of our interconnectedness. (Thich Nhat Hanh)
>
> This is the revolution, the shift in consciousness that needs to happen: "We need to wake up and fall in love with the earth" (Thich Nhat Hanh).

CREATIVE AND SPIRITUAL PRACTICES TO EMBODY EARTH LOVE

The creative arts play a crucial role in this expression of Earth Love. "Ecofeminst arts… [are] essential catalysts of change" that (re)connect us with nature and spirit (Orenstein 279). In my own journey with the Goddess, it is through sacred circle dancing that I feel most connected to the earth and all life. Dancing creates a shift in consciousness, it provides a way to embody the peace, wholeness and unity I envision for the world (Leah 74). Our circle dances in Calgary often incorporate rituals to honour the sacred earth and the turning of the year. Ritual practices help to awaken and deepen our spiritual connections with the earth and her continuing cycles of birth, growth, decay, death and regeneration (Starhawk; Spretnak). Rituals help us to remember, to recognize and celebrate the sacredness of everyday life, to show gratitude and respect for our larger family, our nonhuman relations (Sanchez 222). We are all children of the Goddess. "In ritual we can feel our interconnections with all levels of being" (Starhawk 184). Rituals help to restore these sacred relations, allowing the Goddess to come alive in our bodies, minds and spirits.

Themes of interconnectedness with the living earth echo the ancient earth wisdom of First Nations. "The land, and all it has to teach, to give, and all it demands, is what it means to be Indigenous" (Alfred 10). Many Aboriginal cultures express values similar to the ancient goddess cultures. "All females are the human manifestations of the Earth Mother, who is the first and ultimate giver of life. Our instructions are "*Minobimaatisiiwin*—we are to care for her" (Williams and Johnson 252). Nishnaabeg women speak out about their sacred relationship with water, their responsibilities as caretakers of the land and keepers of the water:

> We call the Earth "our real Mother," the land as our "Mother's lap" and water the blood of this Mother the Earth … the

> Nishnaabeg people view the land, water, plants, animals and sky world as one unified and interdependent living system that works to sustain us all. (Bedard 96)

Through movements such as Idle No More (which began in December 2012), Indigenous women in Canada have taken the lead in protecting the sacred earth and waters of our land. In an interview with Naomi Klein, Anishinaabeg writer and academic Leanne Simpson articulates a clear alternative vision to destruction of the environment: "Our systems are designed to promote more life … (through) resisting, renewing and regeneration." The concept of *mino bimaadiziwin*—continuous rebirth—is a guiding cultural principle of Anishinaabeg society: it's about the fertility of ideas, bringing forward and acting on your dreams and visions, it's the principle of regeneration (Klein and Simpson 5). Leanne Simpson describes the Round Dances which became a feature of Idle No More events. The dances reflect the joy of building "authentic relationships with the land and the people around you…. Let's make this fun. It was the women who brought that joy" (Klein and Simpson 9).

I was fortunate to be involved in Round Dances organized by Idle No More activists in Calgary in 2013 and 2014. These were expressions of community celebration and renewal, rooted in Indigenous traditions and spirituality, drawing in the youth and elders, native and non-native participants. Simpson goes on to describe how the dances embodied joyful transformation: "Watching the transformative nature of those acts (the Round Dances), made me realize that it's the embodiment, we have to embody the transformation." What were the emotions generated by the dances? Simpson affirms that it was love, on an emotional, physical and spiritual level. "Like the love I have for my children or the love that I have for the land…. It was a grounded love" (Klein and Simpson 11).

EARTH LOVE: DANCING THE WORLD INTO BEING

In the words of Naomi Klein and Leanne Simpson, we are "dancing the world into being." This is the world of Earth Love: the paradigm shift to a life affirming culture; reconnected with our ecological selves, we are one with the sacred earth. Through ritual and dance we are remembering who we are. This is embodied transformation. "We dance to know ourselves and our place in the great scheme of things" (June Watts). "No longer separate from the web of life, *we are Gaia*" (Leah, "Foreword" iii). We have found our way back home.

REFERENCES

Adams, Carol J. *Ecofeminism and the Sacred*. New York: Continuum, 1995. Print.

Alfred, Taiaiake. Opening Words. *Lighting the Eighth Fire*. Ed. Leanne Simpson. Winnipeg: Arbeiter Ring, 2008: 9-12. Print.

Bedard, Renee Elizabeth Mzinegiizhigo-kwe. "Keepers of the Water." *Lighting the Eighth Fire*. Ed. Leanne Simpson. Winnipeg: Arbeiter Ring, 2008: 89-110. Print.

Berry, Thomas. *The Dream of the Earth*. San Francisco: Sierra Club Books, 1988. Print.

Berry, Thomas. *The Great Work: Our Way into the Future*. New York: Three Rivers Press, 1999. Print.

Bolen, Jean Shinoda. *Urgent Message from Mother: Gather the Women, Save the World*. Boston: Conari Presds, 2005. Print.

Deming, Barbara. "Spirit of Love." *Thinking Like a Mountain*. Gabriola, BC: New Society Publishers, 1988: 1. Print.

Joanna Macy and the Great Turning. Film by Christopher Landry. Video Project, 2015.

Kaza, Stephanie. "Acting with Compassion." *Ecofeminism and the Sacred*. Ed. Carol Adams. New York: Continuum, 1995. 50-69. Print.

Klein, Naomi and Leanne Simpson. "Dancing the World into Being: A Conversation with Idle No More's Leanne Simpson." *Yes Magazine*. Web. March 05, 2013.

Leah, Ronnie Joy. "Foreword to the Revised Edition." *Study Guide: Women's and Gender Studies 333*." Rosalie Wells and Ronnie Joy Leah. Athabasca University, Rev. 2010. iii-iv. Print.

Leah, Ronnie Joy. "Dancing for Peace and Healing: Spirituality in Action." *Canadian Woman Studies/les cahiers de la femme* 29.1,2 (2011): 72-76. Print.

Libana, "The Earth is Our Mother." *A Circle is Cast*. Chant.

Macy, Joanna and Molly Young Brown. *Coming Back to Life: Practices to Reconnect Our Lives, Our World*. Gabriola, BC: New Society Publishers, 1998. Print.

Macy, Joanna and Chris Johnstone, *Active Hope*. Novato, CA: New World Library, 2012. Print.

Nicholson, Shirley. Ed. *The Goddess Re-Awakening*. Wheaton, IL: Theosophical Publishing House, 1989. Print.

Macy, Joanna. "Dependent Co-Arising." Web. 2012.

Mies, Maria and Vandana Shiva. *Ecofeminism*. Halifax: Fernwood, 1993. Print.

"Peace with the Earth: A Sacred Ecology Workshop." Ronnie Joy Leah and Karen Huggins. Calgary: Project Ploughshares, April 18-19, 2015. Web.

Orenstein, G. F. "Artists as Healers: Envisioning Life Giving Culture." *Reweaving the World: The Emergence of Ecofeminism*. Eds. Diamond and Orenstein. San Francisco: Sierra Club, 1990: 279-309. Print.

Pollack, Rachel. "The Body Alive" (chapter 9). *The Body of the Goddess*. London: Vega, 2003. 223-238. Print.

Reuther, Rosemary. "Ecofeminism: Symbolic and Social Connections of the Oppression of Women and the Domination of Nature." *Ecofeminism and the Sacred*. Ed. Carol Adams. New York: Continuum, 1995. 13-23. Print.

Sanchez, Carol Lee, "Animal, Vegetable, and Mineral: The Sacred Connection." *Ecofeminism and the Sacred*. Ed. Carol Adams. New York: Continuum, 1995. 207-228. Print.

Seed, John. "Introduction." *Thinking Like a Mountain*. Gabriola, BC: New Society Publishers, 1988: 5-18. Print.

Shiva, Vandana. "Introduction: Women, Ecology and Health: Rebuilding Connections." *Close to Home*. Ed. Vandana Shiva. Gabriola Island, BC: New Society, 1994: 1-9. Print.

Simpson, Leanne, ed. *Lighting the Eighth Fire*. Winnipeg: Arbeiter Ring, 2008.Print.

Spretnak, Charlene. "Earthbody and Personal Body as Sacred." *Ecofeminism and the Sacred*. Ed. Carol Adams. New York: Continuum, 1995: 261-280.Print.

Starhawk. "Feminist, Earth-based Spirituality and Ecofeminism." *Healing the Wounds*. Ed. Judith Plant. Toronto: Between the Lines, 1989. 174-185. Print.

"The Work That Reconnects." Web.

Thich Nhat Hanh. "Wake Up to the Revolution." Web. April 8, 2015.

Watts, June. "Earth Love" *Sacred Circle Dance Workshop*. Calgary, August, 2015.

Wells, Rosalie and Ronnie Joy Leah. *Study Guide: Women's and Gender Studies 333:* "Goddess Mythology, Women's Spirituality and Ecofeminism." Athabasca University, Rev. 2010. Print.

Williams, Marjorie Johnson and Nadjiwon Johnson. "*Minobimaatisiiwin* – We Are to Care for Her." *Sweeping the Earth: Women Taking Action for a Healthy Planet*. Ed. Miriam Wyman. Charlottetown: Gynergy Books, 1999. 251-257.

Contributor Notes

Dorothy Attakora-Gyan studies mainstream feminist solidarity as an assemblage. She is interested in the role of shame and fear as it pertains to feminist solidarity, how not understanding and devaluing these multiplicities leads to a weaponization of them, thus, posing a threat to solidarity.

Jennifer Bonato is a feminist educator in the Sociology and Women's and Gender Studies programs at Brock University, Canada. Her activist work has involved positions as the Board President of YWCA Niagara Region, and community and national advocate for women and girls. Jennifer recently co-founded a small business that aims to embody many of her eco-feminist values.

Leigh Brownhill teaches Sociology and Communication Studies at Athabasca University in Alberta, Canada, with a focus on environment, social movements, food sovereignty and eco-feminism. She is an editor of the journal *Capitalism Nature Socialism,* as well as an artist, activist, and water protector. She is the author of the 2009 book, *Land, Food, Freedom: Struggles for the Gendered Commons in Kenya, 1870-2007*, and lead editor of the 2016 book, *Food Security, Gender and Resilience: Improving Smallholder and Subsistence Farming*.

Born in Saskatchewan, **Margaret Kress,** a woman of Métis, French, English, and German ancestry, is guided by the words of Elders in her quest of a transformative education and a conscious society. As teacher, advisor, and learner, Margaret works to explore and present discourses encompassing inclusivity, gentleness, traditional land-based knowledges, and justice frameworks to help others see in new ways. She has worked closely with Elders and knowledge keepers

throughout Canada in the area of Indigenous wellness, matriculture, and environmental justice. Currently, she supports students and faculty at the University of New Brunswick in teaching, research, and critical issues associated with Aboriginal education, Indigenous research methodologies, environmentalism, storywork, and decolonizing and self-determining practices.

Veronika Bennholdt-Thomsen, professor, ethnologist and sociologist, has lived and researched in Mexico for many years. Her topics include feminist research and rural and regional economy in Latin America and Europe. She has lectured and researched at universities in Germany (Bielefeld, Berlin), The Netherlands (The Hague) and Austria (Vienna, Klagenfurt). She currently works in the Institute for Theory and Practice of Subsistence (Institut für Theorie und Praxis der Subsistenz, ITPS e. V.) in Bielefeld, Germany, and teaches "The Culture of Subsistence" at the University of Natural Resources.

Irene Friesen Wolfstone holds an MA in Integrated Studies from Athabasca University (2016) and is currently engaged in doctoral studies at the University of Alberta where she studies Indigenous matricultures and Indigenous food sovereignty as models for cultural continuity needed for climate change adaptation. She lives on sacred land in Pinawa, Manitoba, located in Treaty 1 territory. Living in a round home is a catalyst for thinking outside the box.

Klaire Gain is settler-ally on Turtle Island and is an academic and activist dedicated to working in solidarity with mining impacted communities. Klaire completed her Masters at Brock University in Social Justice and Equity studies and is pursuing a PhD in Health and Rehabilitation Sciences at Western University. Klaire is passionate about ecofeminism and currently works at a feminist agency for women impacted by violence. Klaire believes in using her voice of privilege to share the narratives of women impacted by mining and utilizes scholarship as a platform to do so.

Ana Isla is a professor at the Department of Sociology and the Centre for Women's and Gender Studies at Brock University. She has taught Environmental Justice in the Sociology Department for several years. In 2000, Ana's doctoral thesis was nominated for the Governor General Gold Medal Award, and in 2001, it was selected as one of three best theses at the 25th Annual World-System Conference, Virginia

Polytechnic Institute and State University. In 2002, she was awarded the Rockefeller Fellowship at the University of Kentucky. She is the author of *The "Greening" of Costa Rica: Women, Peasants, Indigenous People and the Remaking of Nature* (2015).

Wahu M. Kaara is a global social justice activist from Kenya. She has been deeply involved in political and ecofeminist activism in her own country as well as through leadership participation in the World Social Forum and the Africa Social Forum, among other eminent organizations.

Ronnie Joy Leah is an educator, dancer, and feminist activist. She has a Ph.D. in Education (OISE/University of Toronto, 1986) and is a Certified Expressive Arts Practitioner (2009). She teaches Women's and Gender Studies at Athabasca University and is instructor/co-author for the online course "Goddess Mythology, Women's Spirituality, and Ecofeminism." She is currently writing a book about the life-affirming teachings of matriarchal goddess cultures. She trained with deep ecologist Joanna Macy in "The Work That Reconnects" and she facilitates sacred ecology workshops. She leads Sacred Circle Dances and is being mentored in the Dances of Universal Peace. She realized her vision of "Dancing for Earth Love" with a workshop at the Parliament of the World's Religions (2018, Toronto, Ontario). Ronnie Joy is a mother and grandmother living in Treaty 7 land in Mohkinstsis (the Blackfoot name for Calgary, Alberta) where she co-creates community dances and rituals for peace and healing.

Rachel O'Donnell is an Assistant Professor in the Writing, Speaking, and Argument Program at the University of Rochester and also teaches in Gender, Sexuality and Women's Studies. Her ongoing work is on feminist critiques of science, colonialism, and biotechnology. She has lived and worked in Latin America, and has previously published on Sor Juana de La Cruz, revolutionary movements, and migration.

Patricia E. (Ellie) Perkins is an ecofeminist Professor in the Faculty of Environmental Studies, York University, Toronto, where she teaches ecological economics, community economic development, and critical interdisciplinary research design. Her research and community projects with civil society and university partners address environmental and climate injustice, economic inequities, and the transition to sustainable provisioning.

Reena Shadaan is a PhD Candidate in the Faculty of Environmental Studies at York University. Currently, Shadaan is a member of the International Campaign for Justice in Bhopal-North America's (ICJB-NA) Coordinating Committee, which, under the leadership of survivors and grassroots activists in Bhopal, seeks justice for survivors of the 1984 Bhopal gas disaster. In addition, Shadaan is part of the Endocrine Disruptors Action Group, which is concerned with the widespread prevalence of endocrine disrupting chemicals in Canada.

Teresa E. Turner is an independent scholar working mainly on petroleum issues. She is a Marxist feminist who has taught at the University of Guelph, the University of Massachusetts, Rutgers University and elsewhere. She is the author of *Arise Ye Mighty People! Gender, Class and Race in Popular Struggles* (1994) among many other publications. She is also a member of the ecofeminist editorial collective of the journal *Capitalism Nature Socialism* and founding member of the International Oil Working Group, an NGO registered at the United Nations Department of Public Information.



Photo: Mario Rossini

Ana Isla is a professor at the Department of Sociology and the Centre for Women's and Gender Studies at Brock University. She has taught Environmental Justice in the Sociology Department for several years. She is the author of *The "Greening" of Costa Rica: Women, Peasants, Indigenous People and the Remaking of Nature* (2015).