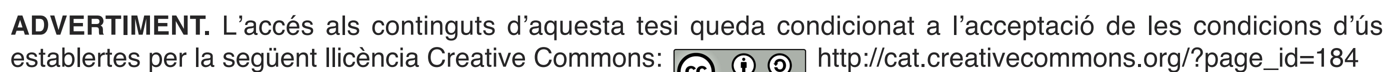
Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona

ADVERTIMENT. L'accés als continguts d'aquesta tesi queda condicionat a l'acceptació de les condicions d'ús establertes per la següent llicència Creative Commons:  http://cat.creativecommons.org/?page_id=184

ADVERTENCIA. El acceso a los contenidos de esta tesis queda condicionado a la aceptación de las condiciones de uso establecidas por la siguiente licencia Creative Commons: http://es.creativecommons.org/blog/licencias/

WARNING. The access to the contents of this doctoral thesis it is limited to the acceptance of the use conditions set by the following Creative Commons license: https://creativecommons.org/licenses/?lang=en

UAB
Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona

ICTA
Institut de Ciència i Tecnologia Ambientals
ICTA-UAB

"la Caixa" Foundation

Unnamed Woman

Uncovering links between gendered violence, murder, and environmental conflicts

Dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
Ph.D. program in Environmental Science and Technology

Dalena Le Tran

Supervisors:
Dr. Joan Martínez-Alier
Dr. Ksenija Hanaček

Tutor:
Dr. Esteve Corbera

2023

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements 3
Summary 4
Chapter 1: Introduction 5
1. Introduction 5
2. Research objectives 6
3. Theoretical background 7
3.1 Multidimensional violence 7
3.2 Feminist political ecology 7
3.3 Intersectionality 8
4. Methodology 9
4.1 Positionality 9
4.2 Using the EJAtlas for gathering data 9
4.3 Analyses of EJAtlas cases for comparative, feminist political ecology 10
4.4 Impacts of COVID-19 on sensitive research 11
5. Structure of the dissertation 11
Chapter 2: A multiple case-study analysis of murdered women environmental defenders 14
1. Introduction 14
2. Materials and methods 15
3. Findings and discussion 16
3.1 An intersectional breakdown of regional disparities 19
3.2 The role of status in WED advocacy and its diverse manifestations 20
3.3 Diverse women versus universal violence 21
4. Conclusion 22
Chapter 3: A comparative study of WEDs' antiviolent success strategies 23
1. Introduction 23
2. Theoretical framework 24
2.1 Concepts in feminist political ecology 24
2.2 Gendered understandings of violence and success 25
3. Methodology 26
4. Findings and discussion 26
4.1 Violent repression 26
4.1.2 Gendered multidimensional violence 30
4.2 Success strategies and outcomes 32
4.2.1 Overview of findings 32
4.2.2 Reinventing gendered narratives 34
5. Conclusion 38
Chapter 4: Women environmental defenders in South Africa 38
1. Introduction 38
2. Background and literature review 39
3. Theoretical framework 40
4. Materials and methods 40
5. Findings 41
5.1 The motherhood narrative and its images of desperate (Black) mothers 42
5.2 The underdog narrative and (black) women as self-sacrificing superheroes 44
6. Discussion 46
6.1 WED voices beyond the script of motherhood 46
6.2 WEDs as more than just your friendly neighborhood superhero 47
7. Conclusion 48
Chapter 5: How extractive projects perpetuate gendered violence in Southeast Asia 48
1. Introduction 48
2. Background and literature review 49
2.1 Southeast Asia as a regional case study for land-grabbing injustices 49
2.2 Concepts and contributions in gender theories 50
3. Materials and methods 51
3.1 Data gathering 51
3.2 Data analysis 51
4. Results: Description and coding of EJAtlas cases 52
4.1 Violence against women: from housewives to hustlers 55

4.2 Violence against men: from husbands to hitmen 55
4.3 Violence against everyone: beyond binaries 56
5. Discussion 57
5.1 How extractivism introduces and reinforces hegemonic gender violence 57
5.2 Environmental conflicts as opportunities to reform gender hegemonies 60
6. Conclusion 62
Chapter 6: Gendered violence martyring Filipina environmental defenders 63
1. Introduction 63
2. Background and literature review 63
2.1 Extractive violence in the Philippines 63
2.2 Gender inequality and extractive violence 64
3. Theoretical framework 64
4. Methodology 65
4.1 Data gathering 65
4.2 Data analysis 65
5. Findings: Putting martyrs on the map 66
5.1 Demographics of martyred Filipina WEDs 67
5.2 Violent patterns across conflict types 68
5.3 Circumstances behind Filipina WEDs' assassinations 71
6. Discussion 73
6.1 Filipina WEDs at the intersection of rurality, poverty, and Indigeneity 73
6.2 Mining and biomass industries' bloody legacies 74
6.3 Gendered circumstances behind Filipina WED martyrdom 74
7. Conclusion 76
Chapter 7: A global analysis of gendered violence in environmental conflicts 76
1. Introduction 76
2. Theoretical framework and literature review 77
3. Methods 77
4. Findings 79
4.1 Violence against WEDs and conflict types 80
4.2 Violence against WEDs and conflict consequences 81
4.3 Structural violence against WEDs 82
5. Discussion 83
5.1 Contextualizing violence across countries 83
5.2 Violent circumstances behind WED assassinations 85
5.3 Global impunity for WED assassinations regardless of relative equality 85
6. Conclusion 86
Chapter 8: Conclusion 86
1. Introduction 86
2. Main findings 87
2.1 A multiple case-study analysis of murdered WEDs 87
2.2 A comparative study of WEDs' antiviolent success strategies 87
2.3 Women environmental defenders in South Africa 88
2.4 How extractive projects perpetuate gendered violence in Southeast Asia 89
2.5 Gendered violence martyring Filipina environmental defenders 89
2.6 A global statistical analysis of murdered women environmental defenders 90
3. Conceptual and methodological contributions 91
3.1 Providing empirical data supporting current discussions 91
3.2 Challenging reductive stereotypes and narratives 92
4. Limitations and prospects for future research 93
4.1 Geographical and demographic unevenness 93
4.2 Voice, representation, and interpretation 94
References (for the entire dissertation) 95
List of publications and communications 110

Acknowledgements

Undertaking this Ph.D. would not have been possible without the enormous support and guidance that I received. I express my deepest appreciation to:

Dr. Joan Martínez-Alier, for welcoming me as his student and believing in me despite the extenuating circumstances from delays to my initial arrival in Spain to a chain of unfortunate personal life and health circumstances. Much appreciation as well as for his encouragement and unwavering support for everything I could have ever hoped to pursue and more. His endless wisdom, curiosity, patience, effort, and dedication went above and beyond in expanding my skillsets and worldview as well as inspiring me to grow as a person and an intellectual. For that, I express my utmost gratitude. This dissertation would not have been possible without the guidance and opportunities I received from him.

Dr. Ksenija Hanaček, for being a superstar role model and supporter throughout all aspects of my life in Spain since the day we met at her own dissertation defense. She has been a beacon of light preserving my faith in myself and in humanity through my darkest times in her implementations of justice both theoretically and in everyday life. I cannot express enough how much hope she brought to my life in supervision and beyond. Her unconditional personal and professional encouragement indeed brought us only solutions to any roadblock. This dissertation would not have been possible without all her kindness, patience, and inspirational discussions teaching me so much about what it means to be a real advocate.

Cristina Duran, Montserrat Puigdomenech Griño, and Gisela Coromines, for all the tremendous support, patience, and understanding throughout all the many troublesome uncertainties, burdens, and inquiries. Their endless work behind the scenes was a central pillar in making sure that such a wonderful education could be accessible to people like me despite all the barriers I faced as a diverse student.

I also thank my friends and colleagues May Aye Naw Thiri, Brototi Roy, and Bowen Gu for contributing to my personal and professional enrichment during my time in Spain. I will never forget their kindness and the time we spent together cultivating such beautifully blossoming friendships in our heart garden that transcends time and space. They have always fed me, body, brain, and soul. I am grateful I could have walked alongside them throughout this journey, crying and laughing all the way.

Summary

Environmental conflicts emerge as extractive industries forcefully take over marginalized communities' lands and resources for ecologically and socially damaging projects such as mining, logging, or agribusiness. While these communities are "marginalized" politically (i.e., rendered powerless) and also lack economic resources, the commodities extracted are by no means "marginal" to the world economy and are essential as fossil fuels, metals, or biomass. Moreover, resource extraction often involves overt direct violence, or physical brutality inflicted upon people's bodies. It also involves subtle, everyday slow, cultural, structural, and ecological violences. Such violence differs across gender as well as other intersectional factors such as race, class, and more. Gender violence is violence affecting certain genders disproportionately or inflicted against a person because of their gender identity. I argue that during environmental conflicts, gender violence not only influences who shoulders consequences and is more vulnerable, but also affects how environmental defenders can mobilize as well as how violence against them takes shape.

Yet such disproportionate violence is vastly underreported. Relatively little research addresses gender as a factor in extractive violence and vulnerability, and the few studies that do typically focus on one-time incidences of extreme violence. Doing so, however, fails to acknowledge how gender and other marginalizing identifiers factor into environmental defenders' precarious situations leading up to the outbursts. This dissertation thus examines gendered violence against environmental defenders, especially women, identifying forms of multidimensional violence and their hegemonic origins. The study primarily uses cases from the EJAtlas. It begins at the global level comparing case studies from around the world (Chapters 2 and 3). The dissertation then takes a look at how patterns of gendered environmental violence manifest contextually in South Africa (Chapter 4), Southeast Asia (Chapter 5), and the Philippines (Chapter 6) before circling back to statistically re-examine the assassinations of women environmental defenders on a global level (Chapter 7).

Results indicate that women environmental defenders especially face multiple marginalizations and thus multiple forms of violence at every stage of their advocacy from awareness of the issue to retaliatory extrajudicial killings, and such violence is subtly gendered (Chapter 2). Furthermore, the various gendered vulnerabilities, experiences of violence, and barriers to mobilization women environmental defenders face shapes the opportunities available to them and thus influences the distinctly anti-violent strategies they use to circumvent violent repression (Chapter 3). Moreover, as observed in cases from South Africa (Chapter 4), Southeast Asia (Chapter 5), and the Philippines (Chapter 6), extractivism runs on inequalities introduced/exacerbated by Othering, which often takes the form of violent gender hegemonies that environmental defenders confront by protesting wherein they embody new concepts of whose voice matters. These patterns of gendered extractive violence found in qualitative, locally-focused case studies are not just extreme outliers, but rather are statistically shown to occur systematically and universally worldwide (Chapter 7).

Keywords: environmental conflicts; violence; gender; women; murder; EJAtlas

Chapter 1

Introduction

1. Introduction

From April 16 to 18, 2012, police raided upon villagers in Bumbuna, Sierra Leone protesting against African Minerals Ltd.'s Tonkolili iron mine for forced eviction, lack of response to petitions, and various human rights violations. Tonkolili mine has an estimated iron ore deposit of 12.8 billion tons at grade 64%, one of the largest deposits in Africa. At the height of the tension, 50 women banding together in a "secret society" urged men to stay indoors as they marched towards the police station carrying green twigs in a traditional peace ritual intended to pacify the violence. However, police shot at the women and fired tear gas at them. As an unnamed woman in the front bent down to pick up leaves to cover her face, she was shot multiple times, her last words being, "Oh me, I'm dying for my rights"[1] . Voices like hers fade into obscurity every day as the rule rather than the exception.

Two hundred environmental defenders were killed in 2021, or an average of 4 per week (Global Witness, 2021). Those acting to protect rights to a clean and healthy environment are environmental defenders (UNEP, n.d.). Such rampant violence is the hidden consequence of extractivism, or the implementation of projects extracting natural resources for export-oriented markets (Chagnon et al., 2022). It is an inherently unequal process that often incites environmental conflicts, or confrontations headed by groups taking on burdens from extractive projects without benefits or compensation (Martinez-Alier & O'Connor, 1996). Extractivism justifies damages to vulnerable peoples through violating human rights, dehumanizing people, and denying them agency through systematically excluding them from economic, social, political, cultural and other activities (e.g., classism, racialization, gendering) (Csevár, 2021; Serafini, 2021). Assassinating environmental defenders is thus a tactic repressing opponents to extractive projects and accompanies other forms of direct and indirect violence (Dunlap & Brock, 2022; Knox, 2017).

Although approximately 90% of environmental defender assassinations were of men in 2021(Global Witness, 2021), extractive violence has gendered aspects, and brutality against women environmental defenders (henceforth WEDs) is overlooked rather than lacking (Veuthey & Gerber, 2012). Gender refers to roles ascribed to men and women. Gender identity is how people experience gender, which may not correspond with sex assigned at birth or with man/woman binaries (Naujoks & Ko, 2018). Gendered violence then reproduces hegemonies determining benefits and burdens during environmental conflicts (Fröhlich & Gioli, 2015; Sinclair, 2021). Hegemonies are a form of control over people through shaping dominant beliefs of what is normal and legitimate (Gramsci, 1971). In this dissertation, I refer to gender hegemonies as normalized ideologies ascribing certain attributes, power, and inequality to gendered social roles.

This dissertation thus concerns multidimensional forms of gendered violence against environmental defenders. I pay special attention to WEDs, who are particularly under-represented because they additionally combat misogyny restricting their autonomy and

[1] https://ejatlas.org/conflict/african-minerals-limiteds-tonkolili-iron-ore-mine-in-bumbuna-sierra-leone

punishing them for trying to enter public, political spaces. Murder is an extreme form of such violence, but all violent circumstances informing and leading up to WEDs' assassinations are difficult to document. What little reporting there is typically also does not highlight women's contributions or sometimes not even their names.

2. Research objectives

The overarching goal of this dissertation is to enhance understandings of how defenders experience violent gendered repression during environmental conflicts. This aim will be attained through fulfilling the following objectives throughout every chapter:

Firstly, all chapters of the thesis document the ways in which environmental defenders experience multiple forms of gendered violence during environmental conflicts. This objective contributes to discussions in current literature about environmental conflicts because, despite growing attention to violence against environmental defenders generally, relatively little research factors in gender. Although some studies and reports have recently started tracking gender in case study analyses of environmental assassinations (Butt et al., 2019; Global Witness, 2021), the data typically focuses on incidences of extreme violence using single events as units of analysis. Doing so, however, fails to acknowledge how gender and other marginalizing identifiers factor into environmental defenders' precarious situations leading up to the outbursts. In contrast, the thesis chapters identify layered violences, holistically illuminating recurring patterns threatening environmental defenders encompassing not only assassinations and direct violence, but also how gender influences the origins and indirect manifestations of such violence in defenders' everyday lives.

Violent repression goes hand in hand with non-violent resistance. The second objective, explored in chapters 3 and 4, thus considers the dynamic struggle between the many ways extractivism tries to repress defenders, and the many more ways they try to fight back. Women defenders must overcome gendered gatekeeping to be able to mobilize, which influences the mobilizing tactics that they can and cannot use. Moreover, academic and media reporting on women defenders typically fails to acknowledge who the women were and their contributions to environmental campaigns. Indeed, women's roles in environmental campaigns are still misunderstood and underrepresented beyond stereotypes and sordid spectacle (Gqola, 2001; Jenkins, 2017) The successes WEDs contribute to the global environmental justice movement emerge from their experiences of violence and are thus also an important complement to understanding gendered patterns of extractive violence.

The third objective is to question gendered hegemonies produced or intensified alongside extractive encroachment, as well as how environmental defenders challenge such hegemonies through their mobilizations. This aim is undertaken with qualitative methods in comparative and feminist political ecology examining local contexts and hegemonies throughout chapters 4, 5, and 6 on South Africa, Southeast Asia, and the Philippines respectively. Gender hegemonies are widespread conceptions of what it means to be a woman or a man according to feminine or masculine traits, behaviors, and social values (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). Because gender is one of the factors determining distributions of environmental benefits, burdens, and responsibilities, gender hegemonies can become violent when used to marginalize people and forcefully impose global extractivism (Manning, 2016; O'Shaughnessy & Krogman, 2011; Runyan & Peterson, 2014). Certain defenders may experience delegitimization based on race, class, gender, and

other factors. By examining how multiple marginalizations affects environmental conflict violence, this dissertation pinpoints whose narratives are most silenced.

3. Theoretical background

The following section introduces the main theoretical underpinnings found throughout all chapters of the dissertation. Concepts and theories unique to specific chapters will also be introduced as they become relevant.

3.1 Multidimensional violence

In undertaking the issue of violence against environmental defenders and the many ways in which it manifests, it is first necessary to set an operational definition of violence itself. This dissertation therefore expands Navas et al.'s (2018) literature review and systematization of multidimensional violence by considering gendered violence and providing empirical evidence. Multidimensional violence delineates violence as encompassing direct violence, structural violence, cultural violence, slow violence, and ecological violence, which combine to repress defenders. Direct violence hurts people physically. This as well as other manifestations are justified through cultural violence based on religion, ideology, language, and other cultural aspects. For instance, structural violence involves sociopolitical and economic structures disadvantaging groups through inequality and institutional failure. Common to all environmental conflicts are ecological violence, the consequences of environmental overexploitation, and slow violence, processes accumulating exponential harm such as exposure to toxic pollution (Nixon, 2011; Scheidel et al., 2020).

This dissertation thus focuses on how gender appears in forms of multidimensional violence inflicted upon environmental defenders, especially women. Structural and cultural violence sanction slow and ecological violence, often relegating people to gendered spaces and labor directly exposing them to environmental hazards in different ways (Peek, 2007). Corporations also use direct violence to suppress women’s resistance. Moreover, cultural, structural, and direct forms of violence have misogynistic manifestations justifying domestic violence; death threats against family; or fears of sexual assault limiting women’s mobility (Gqola, 2007a; Stevens, 2006). Furthermore, women as individuals have less control of the meanings constructing bodily subjectivities (Barrett, 2005). I thus use multidimensional violence to analyze both direct and indirect experiences of repression. The dissertation also contributes discussions of how women do not experience multidimensional violence evenly, as race, class, and other hierarchies construct diverse bodies as more or less marginalized.

3.2 Feminist political ecology

To add gender as a factor in multidimensional violence, this dissertation then also draws from a large body of works which have already discussed gendered impacts on environmental defenders. Briefly summarizing the state of the art, ecofeminists postulated that women are innately aligned with nature, and that the domination of women is linked with environmental destruction (Plumwood, 1991; Shiva, 1988). Ecological feminists countered these conceptualizations as essentializing women, overlooking differences. Rather, women and men experience the environment and produce knowledges according to culturally specific gender roles (Agarwal, 1992; Cuomo, 1998). Feminist political ecology built upon such ideas, examining how various power relations situate diverse gendered knowledges, experiences, and resource access within environmental struggles, shaping their experiences of privilege and oppression (Elmhirst, 2018; Rocheleau et al., 1996). Indeed, one of the central influences informing this dissertation is feminist political ecology

(henceforth FPE). Whereas political ecology often remains within colonial spaces of knowledge production, FPE aims to render visible the often-overlooked situated knowledges and struggles of especially those at the margins (Elmhirst et al., 2017). Thus, I use FPE throughout the dissertation to examine overlooked incidences of gender discrimination and marginalization in the context of various environmental conflicts around the world and contribute rare data highlighting underreported defenders accordingly.

I therefore use FPE as a framework for analyzing how extractive violence, vulnerability, and dis/empowerment can be gendered. Expected performances of masculinity and femininity restrict certain men and women to gendered forms of labor and power, leading to differences in environmental knowledge and priorities (Bradshaw et al., 2017). Moreover, even when gender is not explicitly mentioned, extractivism benefits and even relies on gender norms to support their projects because women's mobilizations are undermined through making their reproductive and social responsibilities more difficult. Hegemonic gender roles contribute to masculine domination over women in decision-making. However, women mobilizing in environmental conflicts threatens the male-imposed status quo enabling environmentally harmful projects. Accordingly, I use FPE to discuss how environmental defenders are often violently repressed for challenging gender roles.

FPE concerns broader issues of social justice, wherein gender as well as class, race, sexuality, ability, age, and more are also central axes of difference across societies (Sultana, 2020). Furthermore, it is well established in feminist political ecology that literature on environmental conflicts often overlooks gender or equates it with women's issues (Banerjee & Bell, 2007; Mayes & Pini, 2010; O'Shaughnessy & Krogman, 2011). Focusing only on women neglects marginalizations experienced by all genders (Bryant & Pini, 2009; Fröhlich & Gioli, 2015; Nightingale, 2002). Moreover, community interests are often shared regardless of gender, yet women's issues are assumed to revolve around themes such as family and public health distinct from men's presumed interests in economy (Plumwood, 1991; Willow & Keefer, 2015). Accordingly, the dissertation, although paying special attention to women, also goes beyond gender divisions to encompass men and non-gender conforming people's roles and experiences of violence.

3.3 Intersectionality

A recent shift in FPE includes intersectionality to de-privilege gender, which, while still a central axis of difference, exists in relation to complex webs of multiple identities and marginalizations (Resurrección & Elmhirst, 2020; Sultana, 2020). Intersectionality explains how positionalities of race, caste, class, gender, sexuality, disability, age, education, location, and other identifiers interact to create complex, overlapping experiences of structure, politics, and representation (Crenshaw, 2016). Such positionalities create contextual, coexisting privileges and marginalizations within interlocking systems of power and oppression. Intersectionality is important to consider because mainstream feminism often homogenizes diverse experiences (Leopeng and Langa 2020). Women of color, for instance, are subject to distinct forms of violence, silencing, and disempowerment. Being aware of how different, layered positionalities inform experiences of oppression and resistance is thus crucial to this dissertation for going beyond often-fragmented general overviews or single case study analyses of environmental defenders, especially women. To understand how intersectionality plays out in environmental conflicts and assassinations, I thus consider environmental defenders' demographics and contexts where applicable.

4. Methodology

The following section introduces positionality considerations, the main methodology found throughout all chapters of the dissertation, and how the COVID-19 pandemic affected the research. Any chapters using additional methods unique to the study will contain details explaining those methods in their own chapter-specific methodology sections.

4.1 Positionality

As feminist scholar and philosopher Gayatri Spivak famously stated in her groundbreaking essay, "Can the Subaltern Speak?" (1988), it is the responsibility of intellectuals to recognize the voices and leadership of marginalized peoples, especially in the Global South. Indeed, knowledge is a form of power, and unless we improve documentation and understanding of WEDs' sacrifices and contributions to environmental movements, women and all people facing multiple marginalizations will continue to remain unrecognized (Abramovitz, 1994). Yet another feminist consideration in conducting this research is how privileged scholars can represent the oppressed without having gone through the same repression (Biana, 2020). Although ideally, the oppressed would be able to speak up against exploitation themselves, this becomes dangerous in the wake of violent silencing. In undertaking this topic, I recognize that my own positionality may unduly influence the research process and make a point not to overstate the objectivity of this dissertation. Although I myself am not a white wealthy woman, I also have a distinctly privileged position as a well-educated academic in Europe, and the ways in which I know to seek information about extractive violence reporting are heavily influenced by this status. The dissertation thus is academic research by an academic for academics based on previous academics' works, with the hope of helping the worldwide movement for environmental justice and the role of WEDs in it. Most notably, as an outsider to the cases, I cannot claim any situated knowledge about their complicated contextual specificities.

However, as Baker and Levon (2015) suggest, those with pre-existing knowledge may also overlook certain findings. For instance, as an outsider, I did not have preconceived notions about certain news outlets and thus took every news article equally seriously, allowing me to read their contents critically yet also at face value without anticipating any particular voice these outlets might be known for. Moreover, although my contexts of origin are different, I do share some marginalizations that have added rare perspectives to this dissertation. I am a queer, less-than-able-bodied woman of color born from the Southeast Asian diaspora into a discriminated and lower socioeconomic group living near a notoriously noxious landfill, albeit in the United States as a country mostly benefitting from rather than the site of primary accumulation. It is precisely because of these intersecting positionalities that various important decisions were made for the studies, such as the emphasis on discursive violence and hegemonies in chapters 3-6 as well as the inclusion of queer theory and non-binary, anticolonial considerations of gender in chapter 5. As such, my interpretations throughout the dissertation may not be objective to what is happening on the ground, but still add valuable contributions representing new voices in academia.

4.2 Using the EJAtlas for gathering data

The studies in this dissertation use EJAtlas cases on both global and local scales to identify recurring patterns in gendered extractive violence against environmental defenders. The EJAtlas is an online database mapping environmental conflicts globally. My PhD research began by filing and updating cases featuring gendered experiences of violent repression during environmental conflicts drawing from a variety of sources such as

academic, media, and NGO reports in the Global Atlas of Environmental Justice (EJAtlas) (Temper et al., 2015, 2018), from December 2019 to November 2022. In total, I reported 145 cases and have updated and used cases written by those before me. Criteria for conflicts to be considered in the EJAtlas are that the conflicts involve "economic activity or legislation with actual or potential negative environmental and social outcomes; claims and mobilizations by environmental justice organization(s) against harm that has occurred or is likely to occur as a result of that activity; and reporting of that conflict in one or more media stories."[2] Entries contain a data sheet with a detailed description of the conflict, sources, and codified variables such as a map pinpoint, the source of conflict, project details, conflict type, perpetrators responsible, mobilizing groups, mobilization forms, impacts, and outcomes. Once submitted, cases undergo expert moderation. My focus and contributions are primarily outcome variables, where I identified "assassination" and/or forms of direct violence as a conflict outcome in addition to "women" as groups mobilizing. However, I have used other variables such as conflict type, commodities involved in such conflicts, as well as social, environmental, and health impacts to address objective 1 (Chapters 2, 3, 5, 6, 7) as well as mobilizing strategies and success to address objective 2 (Chapters 3, 5. 6).

Limitations to the EJAtlas include uneven geographical reporting owing to the situated knowledges of contributors (researchers and activists/organizations, listed on case pages) as well as the cases reflecting contributors' interpretations of reports and not always firsthand experiences of defenders on the ground. Information comes from news and academic reports, publications from defenders themselves, and other credible sources to attempt to capture histories as they happened. Although interpretations may be reflected in the cases, these subjectivities still are valuable because the Atlas highlights differentiated impacts and responses in environmental conflicts, thus documenting nuances of seeking justice and empowerment for marginalized groups. EJAtlas' previous mapping has thus already been helpful to academics and activists alike by making mobilizations more visible, providing documentation used for litigation, highlighting claims and testimonies, being useful as a teaching tool, and calling for accountability (Martinez-Alier, 2021).

4.3 Analyses of EJAtlas cases for comparative, feminist political ecology

EJAtlas is a helpful source because not only is it currently the largest and most comprehensive source of data for environmental conflicts with detailed coverage for each case, but the cases are also filed using a standardized format tracking nominal and numerical data. This makes the data useful for comparative political ecology on both smaller-scale qualitative levels for regional analyses and larger-scale quantitative levels for global analyses (Ertör, 2021; Martinez-Alier, 2021; Scheidel et al., 2020). Comparative political ecology is analyzing cases from different regions together to see how similar outcomes can be produced across the globe in a wide variety of regional contexts, revealing commonalities between diverse cases that would otherwise be difficult to see (L. Taylor & Hurley, 2016).

Empirical data for is extracted from EJAtlas cases through reading cases line by line for qualitative coding and/or using nominal and numerical data for quantitative analyses. Chapters 2, 3, 5, and 6 used similar methodological approaches qualitatively coding smaller samples of EJAtlas cases line by line to identify demographics, manifestations of violence inflicted upon environmental defenders, and their various mobilization methods. These incidents were counted to examine which manifestations were most prevalent for which kind

[2] https://ejatlas.org/about

of defender and why, as situated within each defender's unique contexts. Chapter 4 builds upon this methodology by also adding discourse analysis examining the quoted texts of media articles line by line to uncover mainstream narratives about women environmental defenders and hegemonic gender violence. Chapter 8 is a global statistical analysis of every EJAtlas case as a representative sample population (over 3,500 cases, 522 involving WEDs) adding quantitative data strengthening the arguments for patterns of gendered violence worldwide found in previous chapters of the dissertation.

4.4 Impacts of COVID-19 on sensitive research

I started this doctoral program in December 2019, arriving shortly before lockdowns. The global pandemic and violent circumstances in countries of interest (as planned for South Africa and the Philippines) meant that I had to cancel fieldwork opportunities several times despite already having set up contacts. Firstly, South Africa was one of the highest risk countries with a particular viral mutation, meaning that I would not have been allowed back into Spain as a foreigner after fieldwork. The Philippines did not allow foreign travel and visas were not available at the time. Furthermore, fieldwork possibilities became far too dangerous in South Africa, for example, in light of the severity of the pandemic on villages of interest and ensuing increases in criminal violence amid the resulting instability. WED Fikile Ntshangase, a member of an activist network I was in contact with through a professor who would be supervising my stay, was also assassinated during planning. Moreover, while arranging plans for a research stay in Manila, I learned that a young researcher from the United States collaborating with my partner NGO Kalikasan was shot for his advocacy and had to flee. Even without the pandemics of 2020-22, field work would have been short, within the three years of a doctoral fellowship. It never took place.

Online interviews also had to be deleted to protect the safety of defenders actively being threatened in ongoing conflicts. The online nature of the relationships with local collaborators, sometimes in unstable contexts with infrequent internet access, also meant that I was unable to establish long-term correspondence with most of them for fieldwork by proxy. My online informants also near-unanimously advised me to cease my investigation because there was a cybersecurity crisis in the Philippines wherein alleged terrorist groups were posing as academics and contacting journals and authors in attempts to gain access to information about civil society actors. My Gmail account was also hacked during this time, forcing me to delete everything. However, despite the data being no longer viable for this dissertation, I was able to sustain contact with a few correspondents and at their request, I have filed EJAtlas cases, written media articles, and given talks on their behalf to report cases that would benefit from international publicity to circumvent domestic censorship.

5. Structure of the dissertation

Beyond introducing the aims, theoretical background, and general methodology in chapter 1, the dissertation is structured as follows. Chapters 2 through 7 are research articles including introductions, methodology, results, discussions, conclusions, and references.

Chapter 2, co-authored with Joan Martinez-Alier, Grettel Navas, and Sara Mingorria, introduces the problem of women environmental defenders being assassinated worldwide for their activism. The study found that despite the diversity of women environmental defenders and their movements around the world, there are near-universal patterns of violence threatening their survival. Although the stories showcase a breadth of places, conflicts, and circumstances between women defenders, most cases featured multinational

extractive companies supported by governments assassinating women leaders of grassroots resistance movements with impunity, often through hitmen. This article was published in the *Journal of Political Ecology* in January 2021.

Recognizing women defenders' lives and sacrifices and going beyond gruesome exposition, solo-authored chapter 3 explores how universal violent patterns push women to circumvent repression through creative strategies to establish spaces they cannot be silenced in. The study found that mobilization is often constrained within cultural contexts limiting women to certain gendered spaces and roles. WEDs assert authority and achieve positive outcomes by emphasizing aspects of identity within such barriers, often through a politicized motherhood narrative. This article was published in *Geoforum* in November 2021.

Moving from a global to a national scale, solo-authored chapter 4 examines depictions of South African women defenders in news articles. A feminist critical discourse analysis of 98 media reports about 48 conflicts identifies two tropes depicting women defenders as desperate mothers or underdogs. The implications of such archetypes are that reporting may not only oversimplify the complexity of their experiences, but also contribute to pressures on women to be self-sacrificing and docile. This article was published in *Feminist Media Studies* in March 2022.

For a regional look at patterns of gendered violence, solo-authored chapter 5 compares violence in 25 Southeast Asian environmental conflicts. Results suggest that extractivism intensifies or introduces dynamics stratifying power unevenly across gender and other marginalities. Ensuing hegemonic gender violence is partly caused by rigid definitions of who can have a voice and whose ecological wisdoms are validated. I argue that women, men, and gender-diverse people experience differently gendered and contextual manifestations of violence, which in turn influence how they mobilize their diverse environmental knowledges. This article is under revision in *Journal of Peasant Studies*.

Solo-authored chapter 6 takes a closer look at the national level in the Philippines as the world's deadliest country for killings of environmental defenders according to Global Witness (2021). 20 cases from the EJAtlas involving 31 Filipina environmental defenders martyred for their activism were analyzed. Findings suggest that mining, logging, and agribusiness extractivism is so deadly in the Philippines because such industries use widespread military brutality under the guise of falsely accusing environmentalists of being Communist terrorists. Moreover, circumstances of their murders were subtly gendered. This article is under revision in *The Extractive Industries and Society*.

Chapter 7, co-authored with Ksenija Hanaček, brings the scale back to the global level as a follow-up to Chapter 2, supplementing previous findings with a larger-scale statistical analysis of every case in all of EJAtlas (n=3,544). Indeed, quantitative data analysis using a large, representative sample is necessary for strengthening arguments that patterns of gendered violence found in the previous qualitative chapters are not merely extreme outliers, but rather are statistically significant worldwide. Empirical data supports that violence against women defenders (n=522) is concentrated among mining, agribusiness, and industrial conflicts in countries with weak governance and gender equality. However, women defenders experience high rates of violence regardless of countries' governance and gender equality owing to impunity. This article is under revision in *Nature Sustainability.*

Chapter 8 concludes the dissertation with a general discussion and main takeaways, including limitations and prospects for future research. The thesis ends with a consolidated list of references, which itself contributes to research on violence against WEDs.

Table 1.1 Structure of the dissertation

Ch.	Shortened title	General objectives	Specific objectives	Methods	Level	Status
1	Introduction	Scientific relevance of the general reseach questions	Conceptual framework; main concepts and background; dissertation structure	Synthesis of findings in current literature	Global	-
2	A multiple case-study analysis of murdered women environmental defenders	Document multidimensional violence and WED contributions	Expose the problem of WED murders, rewrite WEDs into histories of violence and mobilizations	Qualitative coding line by line	Global	Published in *Journal of Political Ecology* (see references)
3	A comparative study of women environmental defenders' antiviolent success strategies	Document multidimensional violence and WED contributions, identify recurring gendered narratives	Document multidimensional violence WEDs faced, examine how the violence is informed by gendered narratives, reveal how WEDs challenge these narratives through mobilizing	Qualitative coding line by line	Global	Published in *Geoforum* (see references)
4	Women environmental defenders in South Africa	Document multidimensional violence and WED contributions, challenge recurring gendered narratives	Examine stereotypes in media coverage of WEDs and challenge them with empirical data about intersectional violence and diverse stories	Feminist critical discourse analysis	Regional	Published in *Feminist Media Studies* (see references)
5	Gendered violence against environmental defenders in Southeast Asia	Document multidimensional violence, challenge recurring gendered narratives	Identify and analyze gendered violence against defenders of all genders to show how extractive industries worsen gendered violence affecting everyone	Qualitative coding line by line	Regional	Under revision in Journal of Peasant Studies

6	Gendered violence martyring Filipina environmental defenders	Document and analyze multidimensional violence and WED contributions	Document cases of WED murders and contextually examine which factors contribute to widespread violence	Qualitative coding line by line	Regional	Under revision in The Extractive Industries and Society
7	A global statistical analysis of murdered women environmental defenders	Document and analyze multidimensional violence	Provide empirical data using a large representative sample to back findings concerning patterns of which circumstances are most violent for WEDs and why	Quantitative log-linear and binomial regression analyses	Global	Under revision in Nature Sustainability
8	Conclusion	Summary and significance of results, general and specific objectives	Limitations and prospects for future research	Synthesis of findings	Global	-

Chapter 2

Gendered geographies of violence: A multiple case-study analysis of murdered women environmental defenders

1. Introduction

On March 2, 2016, news of WED Berta Cáceres´s assassination shocked the world, especially resonating within Latin America. Thousands of mourners followed the bearers carrying her coffin throughout the streets, holding up signs with her image forever remembering her as the protector of the indigenous Lenca people against the Agua Zarca hydropower dam in Honduras. Silencing such a prominent activist is part of a pattern of global violent repression against defenders in environmental conflicts (Scheidel et al., 2020). The origin of such conflicts is often unequal ecological exchange (UEE), wherein some communities are less or more privileged than others in the economic system, creating inequality from plundering resources and shifting the burdens to those with less power (Hornborg & Martinez-Alier, 2016). Furthermore, such inequality often results from government-backed transnational corporations pursuing a capitalist model of economic development seeking rapid profit accumulation through large-scale over-exploitation of natural resources. Because no one willingly forfeits the land and water supporting their livelihoods, resources are often forcefully taken (Martinez-Alier et al., 2016).

Current literature on environmental conflicts is gradually bringing more attention to violence against environmental defenders (Butt et al., 2019; le Billon & Lujala, 2020; Navas et al., 2018). Yet little research addresses violence against WEDs, whose roles are still understudied and who are often simultaneously the most unnoticed and the worst impacted (Veuthey & Gerber, 2012). Furthermore, women are essential to environmental movements as protectors of sustainability and community rights; they are not merely victims but rather political subjects able to transform and resist negative aspects of contemporary industrial practices (Jenkins & Rondón, 2015; Morgan, 2017). Such invisibility and vulnerability come from how WEDs additionally combat misogyny and are often delegitimized based on their gender (Agarwal, 2001; Jenkins, 2017). Moreover, literature on violence in environmental conflicts does not usually separate data by gender (Deonandan & Bell, 2019)

Inspired by the legacies of Berta Cáceres and many other murdered WEDs, the following article presents the gruesome circumstances of assassinations of 35 WEDs around the world. The purpose of this exploratory study is not only to pay tribute to heroines often erased from history, but also to introduce and illustrate the understudied problem of violence against women environmental defenders. The argument is that the routine assassination of women environmental defenders reflects a distinctly gendered manifestation of violence in environmental conflicts. Despite WEDs' diverse positionalities, circumstances, and advocacy methods, this gendered pattern of violence remains disturbingly universal. The novel contribution of this article to comparative political ecology is using many cases from diverse contexts to illuminate the politics shaping globally recurring patterns of violence against women in environmental conflicts. Whereas political ecology often follows in-depth analyses of case studies using ethnographic methods, we instead look at a global pattern to the table in a multiple case study approach. To do so, the study addresses the following questions: 1) Under which circumstances have women defenders been killed in environmental conflicts? 2) How were their circumstances similar and different across diverse geographies and sociopolitical contexts?

2. Materials and methods

This article discusses 35 cases in which one or more WEDS were assassinated while fighting environmental injustices. The statistics of (different forms of) violence against environmental defenders are difficult to obtain, and there are no official UN statistics available. As generally acknowledged among researchers in the field, Global Witness and the EJAtlas are the best sources (Le Billon and Lujala 2020), and we rely on them for our sample of killed WEDs. The cases were first recorded in detail in the EJAtlas. To file EJAtlas cases, names of known assassinated WEDs were collected from secondary sources such as AWID´s Women´s Human Rights Defenders list, Global Witness's annual reports on assassinated HRDs, and Frontline Defender's records of violence against activists. The press often highlights isolated events that do not reflect the full extent of repression. As such, more information was then compiled from sources such as news articles, blogs, videos, legal documents, and academic papers to flesh out a comprehensive report. EJAtlas cases were then moderated by ICTA-UAB researchers for quality and accuracy. This article additionally has stricter definitions of who is a murdered women environmental defender than Global Witness, AWID, and other sources. Firstly, whereas these sources include land disputes and loosely related causes as environmental, this article only discusses environmental conflicts in which accomplishing the movement´s goals would improve environmental degradation and/or justice. Furthermore, women defenders in this study must have at least been suspected to have been killed for their activism rather than other causes.

3. Findings and discussion

The following table is an overview of 35 cases of WEDs assassinated for their advocacy. These cases are a small sample of the unknown number of all killed WEDs. Further investigation of cases already recorded in the EJAtlas and other sources on killed environmental defenders (women and men) (Scheidel et al., 2020) could increase the sample to a few hundred cases. However, our sample still showcases the diversity of these heroines indicating that there is no homogenous WED archetype because every individual and every conflict has contextual particularities. While many WED killed fit into the category of “the environmentalism of the poor and the indigenous” as will be further elaborated upon below (Martinez-Alier, 2021), others in our sample were conservationists preserving a notion of nature without people. The cases were selected for being notable, diverse examples of deadly environmental conflicts common to their respective contexts, though there are many more conflicts showing similar evidence for global patterns of violence beyond the scope of this study and current documentation in EJAtlas and other databases.

Table 2.1 Overview of WEDs

*Race left blank when the woman was of the titular, “mainstream” ethnic group of the nation she was from without racialized marginalizations or privileges. Racial information is directly from how the women are described in news articles from EJAtlas case sources.

Africa (10 WEDs)						
WED + link	Location	Conflict	Race*	Occupation	Violence	Outcomes
Dian Fossey, mobilization leader	Rwanda	Conservation	White	Researcher	Death threats, burglary, machete attack	Crime unresolved, conservation success
Fikile Ntshangase, mobilization leader	South Africa	Mining	Black	Activist	Shot by hitmen	Crime and conflict unresolved
Ilaria Alpi, independent activist	Somalia	Waste dumping	White	Journalist	Shot by hitmen	Crime and conflict unresolved
Joan Root, mobilization leader	Kenya	Overfishing	White	Filmmaker	Burglary, death threats, shot by hitmen	Crime and conflict unresolved
Kananwa Sibomana, Ila Muranda, Rachel Masika; group members	Congo (DRC)	Conservation	Black	Rangers	Attacks, killed by bandits	Crime and conflict unresolved
Musu Conteh, unnamed woman; group members	Sierra Leone	Mining	Black	Miner	Shot by police	Crime and conflict unresolved
Unnamed woman; group member	Nigeria	Oil refining	Black, indige nous	Farmer	Shot by police	Crime and conflict unresolved
Asia (10 WEDs)						
WEDs + links	Country	Conflict	Race*	Occupation	Violences	Outcomes
Aysin Büyüknohutçu	Turkey	Mining		Farmer	Shot by hitmen	Crime unresolved, project stopped

., independent activist						
Gerlie Menchie, group member	Philippines	Overfishing		Secretary	Death threats, shot by hitmen	Crime and conflict unresolved
Gloria Capitán, mobilization leader	Philippines	Coal power		Karaoke bar owner	Shot by hitmen	Crime and conflict unresolved
Karunamoyee Sardar, mobilization leader	Bangladesh	Aquaculture		Farmer	Death threats, shot by hitmen	Crime and conflict unresolved, project blocked
Montha Chukaew, Pranee Boonrat; mobilization leaders	Thailand	Agriculture		Activists	Shot by hitmen	Crime and conflict unresolved
Nasreen Pervin, group member	Bangladesh	Mining		Activist	Legal harassment, car crash	Crime unresolved, project stopped
Shehla Masood, mobilization leader	India	Mining		Activist	Death threats, legal harassment, shot by hitmen	Crime and conflict unresolved
Teresita Navacilla, mobilization leader	Philippines	Mining	Indigenous	Small business owner	Death threats, shot by hitmen	Crime and conflict unresolved
Valsa John, mobilization leader	India	Mining		Nun	Shot by hitmen	Crime and conflict unresolved
Latin America (10 WEDs)						
WEDs + links	Country	Conflict	Race*	Occupation	Violences	Outcomes
Alberta Cariño, mobilization leader	Mexico	Hydropower	Indigenous	Farmer	Legal harassment, death threats, shot by hitmen	Crime and conflict unresolved
Adelinda Gómez, mobilization leader	Colombia	Mining		Multiple part-time jobs	Death threats, shot by hitmen	Crime and conflict unresolved
Berta Cáceres, mobilization leader	Honduras	Hydropower	Indigenous	Teacher	Death threats, legal harassment, shot by hitmen	Crime unresolved, project funding revoked
Dorothy Stang,	Brazil	Logging	White	Nun	Death threats,	Hitmen jailed, conflict unresolved

mobilization leader					shot by hitmen	
Guadalupe Campanur, mobilization leader	Mexico	Logging	Indigenous	Ranger	Kidnapping, rape	Crime and conflict unresolved
Jeannette Kawas, mobilization leader	Honduras	Conservation		Accountant	Shot by hitmen	Crime and conflict unresolved
Kimberley Blackwell, independent activist	Costa Rica	Conservation	White	Artisan chocolatier	Death threats, attacks, strangling	Crime and conflict unresolved
Laura Leonor, mobilization leader; Merilyn Topacio, group member	Guatemala	Mining	Indigenous	Small business owner & high school student	Military attack, shot by hitmen, death threats, legal harassment	Crime unresolved, project stopped temporarily
Macarena Valdés, mobilization leader	Chile	Hydropower		Teacher	Legal harassment, military attack, hanging	Crime and conflict unresolved
North America & Europe (5 WEDs)						
WEDs + links	Country	Conflict	Race*	Occupation	Violences	Outcomes
Gladys del Estal, group member	Spain	Nuclear power	White	College student	Shot by police	Lenient prison sentence, project stopped, moratorium
Hilda Murrell, group member	England	Nuclear power	White	Botanist	Death threats, military surveillance, rape, stabbing	Crime and conflict unresolved
Jane Tipson, mobilization leader	Saint Lucia	Conservation	White	Restaurant owner	Shot by hitmen	Crime and conflict unresolved
Karen Silkwood, mobilization leader	United States	Nuclear power	White	Technician	Death threats, legal harassment, car crash	Crime unresolved, project stopped
Kateryna Handziuk, independent activist	Ukraine	Logging	White	Politician	Legal harassment, death threats, acid attack	Lenient prison sentence, conflict unresolved

3.1 An intersectional breakdown of regional disparities

Most notably, even when combined, North America and Europe only include five cases compared to the ten showcased for every other region. This discrepancy corresponds also to the proportions of environmental defenders (men and women) killed by continent (for instance, as recorded by Global Witness). Frequencies might also reflect the uneven burdens and silencing of women worldwide depending on not only regional context, but also intersectional power disparities between certain demographics of women.

Firstly, considering contexts, more information is available about WED killings in Latin America and Southeast Asia compared to Africa. Subsequently, there were an abundance of possible cases to select from, making the Latin American and Asian cases a more diverse and inclusive sample of possible types of cases than those for Africa, which were difficult to find and thus had less to choose from. As Global Witness (2021) explains, variance in political tolerance toward civil society organizations and journalists documenting attacks means that depending on region, not only are there fewer strong networks of contacts, but there is also less ability to speak out without brutal consequences. Rural and urban divides also mean there is weaker information exchange between existing groups, causing difficulty in obtaining evidence from many African countries. There may additionally be less murder cases to report on in North America and Europe as countries benefitting from extractivism elsewhere owing to various factors, such as a difference in governance practices as well as there being fewer environmental conflicts and resulting resource conflicts in their own countries (Butt et al., 2019; le Billon & Lujala, 2020).

Moreover, a feminist political ecology understanding of regional variance in WED death reporting reveals how their intersectionally differing circumstances were affected by uneven power relations between diverse women. White women are overrepresented among African and North American/European cases despite BIPOC (black/indigenous/people of color) shouldering more of the burden in environmental conflicts to mobilize and bear consequences, as is reflected in the listed cases. BIPOC women are perhaps excluded from public debate because their involvement in environmental protests is grounded in their experiences of racial discrimination (Bullard, 1990; Krauss, 1993). The same may also apply to those in extractivist exporter countries, whose marginality exposing them to environmental conflicts in the first place means they have little power to control and criticize the discourse. Meanwhile, white women, who typically are not victims of systemic discrimination, have an entirely different relationship with governments or formal organizations, providing them with more leverage to raise their voices (Joshi et al., 2020; Sultana, 2020). Indeed, white ecofeminists have also long been criticized for the appropriation and erasure of their nonwhite peers' knowledges and experiences, taking up much of the space for debate (Agarwal, 1992; Buckingham & Kulcur, 2009).

In contrast, violence against and murders of women of color are normalized in contexts where their lives are treated as disposable and their environmental justice contributions are undervalued (England, 2018; Gqola, 2007). Subsequently, as the listed cases reflect, murders of white WEDs often overshadow deaths of their BIPOC peers not only because they had more reputation, but also because their deaths were considered more newsworthy. This is evident among the African cases, as every white WED had documentaries made in their honor. Meanwhile, cases of lethal violence against black women were more obscure yet banal, and sometimes not even their names were recorded.

3.2 The role of status in WED advocacy and its diverse manifestations

Political ecology discourse often theorizes environmental justice advocacy as stemming from environmentalism of the poor (and the indigenous), which Martinez-Alier (2002) explains as impoverished or otherwise vulnerable people resisting governments' and corporations' extractive projects. Such projects disproportionately use resources and directly harm the land their livelihoods depend on. This counters other schools of thought positioning upper and middle-class people as more environmentally conscious owing to their "modern" efficiency and knowledge whereas the "underdeveloped," "ignorant," and "backwards" poor are responsible for environmental degradation. A feminist political ecology interpretation of WED mobilizations, however, further complicates the debate because not all the defenders could be categorized as either peasants protecting their own land or saviors stewarding better environmental practices. Their movements were diverse, and though some are similar enough to loosely group, there are always exceptions. Advocacy ranged from defending livelihoods, the environment, and wildlife from mining, fossil fuels, hydroelectric projects, nuclear power, logging, waste dumping, poaching, fishing, environmental degradation for infrastructure construction, and more. All the cases have therefore in common the "materiality" of the origins of the conflict, but they respond to different strands in the global environmental movement, namely some belong more to "conservationism," and some belong to "the environmentalism of the poor and the indigenous."

Among the listed WEDs, 20, more than half of the 35 total, were indigenous peasants or low-income women with informal or blue-collar jobs. As with the environmentalism of the poor, conflicts often occurred in their lands against transnational corporations in countries promoting extractivism. Movements against logging, mining, agribusiness, fishing, dams, and conservation often used protests or blockades as their main strategy, often also in combination with legal retaliation such as petitions or filing claims against companies violating ILO Convention 169 protecting indigenous peoples' right to informed and prior consent. Peasant WEDs such as Cariño, Conteh, Sardar, and the unnamed women especially resorted to putting their bodies on the line at protests and dying in action in a reflection of how much they struggled to have their voices heard not just as environmentalists, but as poor women of color. Some (like two killed nuns, one in Brazil and one in India) were not peasants but were ready to sacrifice themselves for poor rural peoples.

On the other hand, some killed WEDs were middle-class or well-off, ten held degrees (even multiple masters or PhDs), and some like Root were celebrities. For instance, Blackwell, Stang, Tipson, Root, Fossey, and Alpi were white defenders from the North who used their privilege to fight injustices observed in the places they relocated to, defending communities they were not born in. Those fighting against nuclear power were also white, educated women, reflecting the growing nuclear industry in wealthy countries in the 70s and 80s. The nuclear, waste dumping, and conservation cases in this study focused more on legal action or corruption exposure over protesting, though the Sizewell B movement did have protests that Murrell could not participate in before her murder and Gladys del Estal's antinuclear involvement was protesting. Tipson, Root, Fossey, and Blackwell were whites who moved to the Global South and promoted conservationism. Their relative privilege is reflected in their advocacy tactics having less of a grassroots protest movement approach. As white women, they had different tools, literacies, and voices at their disposal to navigate formal courses of action in legal, professional, and public spheres. However, they were all also critical of the "development" projects they witnessed causing injustices. Thus, Nawas in Honduras was killed while defending nature and also the local indigenous Garifuna.

One outlier to the class narrative was Handziuk, who focused on legal action and corruption exposure on behalf of her own people as a defender using her political power to incite action against corruption. Gómez and Valdés also did not fit any mold as professional and educated experts within their home countries, yet also outsiders sympathizing with indigenous groups they were not members of. An intersectional analysis thus illuminates the unpredictable nature of WED advocacies in that while many did follow environmentalism of the poor and the indigenous, women defenders do not face a homogenous, even marginalization. Their diverse positionalities and circumstances create complex interactions between the various facets of who they are and what they fought for, evident in which mobilization strategies were available to differently privileged yet alienated women.

3.3 Diverse women versus universal violence

Although the article encompasses a breadth of places, conflicts, and circumstances, there are several key similarities revealing a universal pattern of violence. Almost all WEDs founded or took part in environmental justice organizations often allied with larger networks. They struggled not only against the project they were killed for, but also other ongoing projects and exploitation. Most cases also featured conflicts against multinational companies, while in some cases, they were local but still served the global market (domestic companies and bandits exporting to the Global North). In every case, these operations are backed by governments to impose large-scale extraction for capitalist profit accumulation. The cases in this article support Glazebrook and Opoku's (2018) findings that governments often do not hold international stakeholders accountable for their environmental and human rights violations despite criminalizing defenders. "Corporate social irresponsibility" and a lack of liability are the rules rather than the exceptions. In line with patterns of unequal ecological distribution (Hornborg & Martinez-Alier, 2016), these WEDs thus struggled against the disproportionate burden shouldered for those more powerful. Whether the female leaders were poor or not themselves, their advocacy very often reflects an environmentalism of the poor (Martinez-Alier, 2002) because the communities they defended had their resources and land forcefully taken and degraded. Moreover, the killers were almost always hired assassins who went unpunished, but those convicted increased case visibility.

FPE readings of these cases also reveal gender-specific violence underlying the overall circumstances behind each conflict. As with disciplined dissent, all violent targeting, explicitly gender-specific or not, occurred within contexts marginalizing each defender and undermining her and her movement's capacity to keep fighting by deeming them terrorists, making their duties as mothers and grandmothers more difficult and riskier, obstructing justice, and many other manifestations (Deonandan and Bell 2019). It is well-documented that women are much more vulnerable and aware of environmental conflict consequences to begin with owing to gendered division of labor, unequal power distribution, as well as moral and behavioral expectations (Arora-Jonsson 2011; Peek 2007; Agarwal 1992). On top of the barriers WEDs already face as stewards for vulnerable communities, gender repression also hinders their efforts, manifesting in gendered physical violence such as rapes of Campanur and Murrell as well as discursive violence such as with Masood, alleged to be a seductress

This was particularly salient for the unnamed woman killed during protests against Chevron in Nigeria. Chevron wrought havoc on the land and livelihoods of villagers in Escravos, who did not receive economic benefits from their oil industrial activities in return. Yet a closer FPE examination reveals that the environmental conflict unevenly affected women, who were additionally devastated by the environmental degradation preventing their

subsistence activities as well as were victim to the forced prostitution, rapes, and other physically violent abuses coming with the industrial workers, and then later with the police brutality against their protests. Chevron could commit such injustices in the first place owing to “male deals” that village men made with the companies without consent from women, whose knowledge and awareness of consequences were dismissed first during consultation and again when making demands to Chevron. These distinct forms of gendered violence and silencing are thus a direct result of the complex interactions between uneven power relations, different knowledges, and more that come with gender role expectations, especially for multiply marginalized women (Elmhirst et al., 2017; Rocheleau et al., 1996; Sultana, 2020).

Though they were all subject to similar patterns of violence, WEDs did not experience marginality in the same way (Leopeng & Langa, 2020). Such diverse women and contexts had varying levels of privilege affecting how they could mobilize and how others reacted to them. For instance, this is notable among WEDs who were not always unambiguously "right," sometimes even enacting violence themselves. Examples include the Virunga rangers and "green militarism," Fossey and Blackwell’s hostility toward some humans, and Root’s Task Force worsening corruption. In each of these cases, the WEDs had a position of leverage. The Virunga rangers were employees of a paramilitary initiative infringing upon Indigenous rights while also ambiguously claiming to defend them in conservation of the land that indigenous lives depended on. Fossey, Blackwell, and Root, white wealthy conservationists, used their privilege to establish programs meant to help communities and wildlife, yet their well-intentioned actions were also their downfall as outsiders whose privilege also meant they were at times ill-advised in enacting or enabling violence themselves rather than criticizing cycles of violence altogether. Meanwhile, there were also peasant indigenous WEDs who were widely ridiculed yet also other fellow peasant indigenous women who were celebrated as underdog heroes of their people; such polarizing receptions could coexist even for the same woman. All these different manifestations of direct as well as discursive violence were still, however, ultimately drawing from the same universal patterns enabling violence against WEDs on multiple scales.

4. Conclusion

WEDs across unique contexts worldwide have mobilized in an abundant combination of strategies in collaboration with diverse networks towards implementing their own ideas of environmental justice. Our results show that violence against women environmental defenders is not always motivated by sheer necessity (as with environmentalism of the poor), but rather varies shaped by and also transcending different positionalities of class, race, and more. Yet they continue to be routinely raped, beaten, shot, strangled, crashed into with cars, and sliced to death to prevent them from exposing and shutting down collaboration between states, corporations, and criminals enabling ecological degradation. Each story points out the tenacity of women at the frontlines despite intersectionally experienced barriers. This work showcases severe forms of violence that female environmentalists suffer. For each woman killed, there are presumably many more who are wounded and many more who are displaced and frightened. Violent targeting often succeeds in dismantling WED-led movements through killing only some to frighten everyone into choking on their words. While many studies in political ecology limit their scope to one or a few cases, this article’s comparative analysis of multiple case studies across various regions is critical to current work on environmental conflicts because each of the 35 diverse stories come together to reveal a pattern of violence universal across time, space, and circumstance, embedded in geographies of land, resources, and communities.

Given that the stories in this article represent just a small sample of a vast unknown, the point is not to offer a closed typology of women defenders. Instead, this research showcases not only how diverse their movements can be, but also emphasizes how despite the range of circumstances in each case, there were still the same disturbing patterns of global capitalist and patriarchal violence unavoidable in each story. These are the systematic issues that we need to address. None of these WEDs wanted to die but were acutely aware of the need to set an example, giving up their lives for the sake of their communities and the environment. For each activist killed, how many are injured, how many frightened, how many disappear, how many go into hiding, and how many are discouraged for life? There is no need for repression where there is no activism because of fear. Just some examples of women singled out in wider campaigns of violence include Gloria Ushigua Santi or Wendy Mutegi, indigenous women in Ecuador and Kenya respectively, who have been brutally beaten for their advocacy but not defeated (Tran 2021a). Even wider is the campaign of discursive violence against women in places such as South Africa that we have studied, where WEDs struggle to have their voices heard and taken seriously beyond homogenizing, harmful stereotypes (Tran 2021b). As such, no matter how diverse these 35 cases were, the fact that each death followed the same global patterns of exploitation, extortion, and extermination mean that it is more critical than ever to question the companies we are complicit with every day and increase the visibility of those risking it all to open our eyes.

Chapter 3

A comparative study of women environmental defenders' antiviolent success strategies

1. Introduction

For decades, feminist research has acknowledged women's growing stakes and prominence in environmental justice movements worldwide. Shiva (1988), for example, argued that industrial development causes violence especially against women and nature. In response, women were at the frontlines of the 1907s Chipko movement in Uttarakhand, though their contribution "has been neglected and remains invisible" compared to men (p. 64). As Guha (1989) and Pathak (2020) describe, both women and men had roles in Chipko. Gaura Devi led a group of women hugging trees to stop logging, which was imitated elsewhere. Agarwal (1992) explained that rural women in India mobilized because they depended on natural resources and commons more than on wages, and because they knew more than men about medicinal and agricultural uses of nature. Agarwal (1992) contested Shiva, arguing that gendered relationships with nature need to be understood as rooted in their material reality and interactions with the environment rather than essentializing third world women as "embedded in nature" (p. 126). Rocheleau et al. (1996) document a "surge in women's involvement in collective struggles over natural resource and environmental issues" worldwide (p. 15). According to Arora-Jonsson (2009), women struggle to achieve recognition and legitimation even in places such as Sweden, which are assumed to have achieved gender equality. Organizing around identities as women is thus not only a result of social positioning, but also a political choice (Arora-Jonsson, 2013). Jenkins (2017) also explains that women's resistance can follow "everyday activism" in their seemingly

mundane daily actions (p. 1446). Arora-Jonsson (2009) writes that these small acts of care for the environment remain invisible to mainstream forestry (both policy and research), which instead tends to be focused on public acts and equates forests with timber and woody biomass. As these authors show, even in well-known cases, women's experiences of injustice in environmental movements are thus still poorly understood or relatively invisible.

Environmental justice discourse still has room to further explore WEDs' gendered experiences of violence and success (Deonandan & Bell, 2019; Nartey, 2020). I argue that WEDs face uniquely gendered challenges and violences that their success strategies must also tackle in addition to environmental conflicts. In doing so, WEDs open new avenues for success challenging the roots of such violences for all. A multiple case study analysis of WED's strategies is a novel contribution for understanding how different WEDs work within diverse gender schemes rather than homogenize their struggles. The goal is to investigate women defenders' relatively unknown violent experiences and discuss WED tactics for success in response to the various manifestations of repression they face. This article begins with an overview of feminist political ecology as the theoretical framework informing the study. After comes an explanation of methods, and then an analysis of 25 cases from the Environmental Justice Atlas (EJAtlas) examining violent patterns and success strategies. To conclude, although their diversely experienced marginalization means that WEDs work within contextual limits, their positionalities also give them alternative perspectives bolstering success strategies challenging systems perpetuating violence.

2. Theoretical framework

2.1 Concepts in feminist political ecology

FPE questions dominant worldviews on development and resource use leading to widespread environmental and community harm by examining the differently privileged and often gendered knowledges, rights, and practices informing environmental conflicts (Rocheleau et al., 1996). Accordingly, a recent shift in FPE now includes intersectionality to de-privilege gender, which, while still a central axis of difference, exists in relation to complex webs of multiple identities and subjectivities (Resurrección & Elmhirst, 2020; Sultana, 2020). Arora-Jonsson (2011) argues that vulnerability to environmental disasters is not homogenous, but diversely experienced depending on the contexts of people's lives. Rocheleau et al. (1996) showcase how intersecting positionalities influence environmental resource and burden distribution. For example, community struggles against a sewage plant in West Harlem, New York were not only gendered, but also racialized. This shifted ecological consequences from wealthy white neighborhoods to a low-income black one (Hallstein et al., 1996). Meanwhile, in the Himalayas, rural women faced exclusion from property rights, resources, information, and tools. Men's increasing out-migration and market involvement then made women dependent on men as well as increasingly burdened with agricultural production despite having less means to work effectively (Mehta, 1996). Awareness of the layers of WEDs' identities is thus crucial to understanding how their positionalities inform their experiences of oppression and resistance.

Women's bodies are sites through which they diversely experience and resist social relations. Embodiment refers to how many societies define female-coded bodies as deviant, inferior, vulnerable, and sexual to enforce subordination based on physiological differences from male-coded bodies (Sutton, 2010). Women's bodies become sites of multiple vulnerabilities because they are unevenly exposed to injury, violence, death, and other harms owing to their construction as not having full humanity (D. Taylor, 2018). Consequently,

violence against them is not fully harmful or worth moral and emotional responses, leading to sexual and domestic violence and vulnerability being coded as feminine. As Sutton (2010) explains, homogenizing women's bodies also renders them hyper-visible as (often sexualized and/or victimized) commodities, yet invisible as subjects with needs, desires, and capacities. Beyond gender, other intersectional factors such as race, class, age, and ability furthermore influence which bodies are nurtured or discarded, and whose bodies are prone to control, coercion, experimentation, torture, and sacrifice. Women are expected to prioritize others' bodily needs before their own and are also punished for their mobilizations.

Yet women also use their bodies as a means for resistance. As Sutton (2010) states, "activist women's presence in the streets, in protest, in defiance, and gaining strength through collective organizing with other women reveal female bodies that cannot simply be categorized as victims of violence but as courageous bodies actively striving to change their conditions" (p. 200). Bodies in protest challenge forces of oppression both individually and collectively. Diverse protest tactics bring WEDs' bodies to the forefront, making statements countering social structures such as industrialization or hegemonic cultural scripts about gender. For example, Fabricant and Postero (2013) retell how Bolivian protestors, predominantly mestizo and indigenous women, commonly use hunger strikes as an embodied performance demonstrating their visceral experiences of oppression. This rewrites history and disrupts masculinized public discourse in a context where women's diversely marginalized and subordinated bodies have been erased from sight and memory. In doing so, they challenge and redefine hegemonies regulating which bodies matter.

2.2 Gendered understandings of violence and success

This study uses concepts from FPE to expand Navas et al.'s (2018) multidimensional framing of violence to consider gender-based aspects of each manifestation of violence. Multidimensional violence encompasses direct violence, structural violence, cultural violence, slow violence, and ecological violence, combining to repress defenders. WEDs' advocacy often stems from increasing exposure and burden in gendered roles. Structural and cultural violence sanction slow and ecological violence on the bodies of women, who are often relegated to gendered spaces and tasked with domestic labor directly exposing them to environmental hazards (Peek, 2007). Corporations also use direct violence to suppress women's resistance. Moreover, cultural, structural, and direct forms of violence have misogynistic manifestations justifying domestic violence; death threats against family; or fears of sexual assault limiting women's mobility (Alternative Information and Development Centre, 2020; Gqola, 2007a; Stevens, 2006). These violent practices and attitudes are embodied because, as Tamale (2017) writes, culture, law, and religion construct women's bodies as sites of power struggles over labor roles, sexuality, and more. Furthermore, women do not experience multidimensional violence evenly, as race, age, class, sexual orientation, and other hierarchies construct diverse bodies as more or less powerful or marginalized. Women as individuals have little control of the meanings constructing bodily subjectivities (Barrett, 2005). Regardless, WEDs adapt scripts to rewrite themselves as powerful.

This study also expands upon the notion of success in environmental conflicts to consider WEDs. Environmental conflict success is subjective, understudied, and debatable (Aydin et al., 2017; Hess & Satcher, 2019). Özkaynak et al. (2015) write that the main criterion for perceived success is if contested projects stop. Scheidel et al.'s (2020)'s global statistical study of over 2800 EJAtlas cases finds that preventative mobilization, multi-pronged protesting tactics, and litigation raise the odds for project cancellation among

vulnerable (especially indigenous) groups. Failures are when the threat continues, sometimes even after initially achieving goals. Yet even without cancellation, movements can be partially successful by attaining outcomes such as building and strengthening mobilizing networks, new legislation, and perceptions of governmental and/or corporate support. Consequences may continue after project cancellation, for example, or the project itself may restart. In this study, the criteria for success are thus that the movement achieves any of the above positive outcomes, with special attention to WEDs' unique results.

Barca (2020) writes that WEDs redefine environmental issues by questioning hegemonies and including their own knowledges expressed through counterhegemonies and collective resistance. For women defenders, success is not merely stopping a threat, but also asserting agency. Tamale (2017) explains that such empowerment is embodied because protesting bodies become the means for resistance against institutions and systems. Although bodies are often subject to social control, bodies as imbued with discursive power also can make their voices heard. Using the case of women's anti-mining activism faced with police brutality in Greece, Fotaki and Daskalaki (2020) illustrate how protesting bodies making public statements with their physical presence to create spaces for solidarity across gender and other multiple identities. Moreover, protesting bodies challenge cultural expectations and stereotypes by rejecting established norms excluding female, aging/childish, foreign/indigenous, poor, and other bodies from politics. Embodied resistance subsequently expands political agency in inclusive ways (Sasson-Levy & Rapoport, 2003).

3. Methodology

This study analyzes 25 EJAtlas cases highlighting one or more WEDs who have at least partially achieved movement goals. The cases are examined using comparative political ecology, which Taylor and Hurley (2016) describe as analyzing case studies from different regions together to see how similar outcomes can be produced across the globe in a wide variety of regional contexts. Although interpretations may be reflected in the cases, these subjectivities still are valuable because the atlas highlights differentiated impacts and responses in environmental conflicts, thus documenting the nuances of seeking justice and empowerment for marginalized groups. FPE shares such interest in subjectivities for understanding gendered resource access and control (Elmhirst, 2018). My own interpretations in the EJAtlas case process are thus also helpful considering that relatively few cases acknowledge WEDs, whereas the ones I wrote and selected do.

4. Findings and discussion

4.1 Violent repression

4.1.1 Overview of findings

The following tables count incidences and types of violence each WED faced. WEDs are listed in order of the most to the least forms of violent incidences. Each category of violence comes from Navas et al.'s (2018) multidimensional framework for violence.

Table 3.1 Direct violence

Name	Repression*	Arrests	Abduction	Stalking	Death Threats	Break-in	Direct attack*	Murder/ attempt*
Ushigua Santi	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Escravos Women	X	X	X		X	X	X	X

Coalition (EWC)								
Greenham Women's Peace Camp (GWPC)	X	X		X	X	X	X	X
Kajir	X	X	X		X	X	X	X
Giordano	X	X		X	X	X	X	
Amuru women	X	X			X		X	X
Baun	X			X	X		X	X
Kaewkao	X	X			X		X	X
Mutegi	X	X	X	X	X			
Aquino, Broquil, Fajardo	X			X	X			X
Cruz	X	X		X	X			
Henning	X			X	X	X		
Lekalakala & McDaid	X				X	X	X	
Oquelí	X				X		X	X
Putla	X	X			X		X	
Wilson	X	X			X		X	
Agvaantseren	X				X			X
Mindo-Fetalvero	X	X			X			
Swearingen	X	X			X			
Foronda	X	X						
Garcia	X				X			
Lalian	X	X						
Rice	X	X						
Cannon								
Čaputová								
Total	23	16	4	8	20	7	12	10

*Repression: Police/guards/thugs forcefully evicting occupations, breaking up protests, blocking activists from getting to courts, blocking delivery of letters/petitions/data
*Direct attack: Beatings, police/military brutality, rape, domestic violence in retaliation from family/husbands
*Murder/attempt: Includes those targeting colleagues and family members of the principal activist

Table 3.2 Structural violence

Name	Institutional failure*	Inadequate legislation*	Land-grabbing/ displacement	Judicial harassment*	Court cases unresolved	Criminalization*
Kajir	X	X	X	X	X	X
Ushigua Santi	X	X	X	X	X	X
Amuru women	X	X	X		X	X
Cruz	X	X	X	X	X	
EWC	X	X	X		X	X
Foronda	X	X		X	X	X
GWPC	X	X		X	X	X
Henning	X	X		X	X	X
Oquelí	X	X		X	X	X
Rice	X	X		X	X	X
Aquino, Broquil, Fajardo	X	X	X	X		
Cannon	X	X	X		X	

Kaewkao	X	X	X			X
Lekalakala & McDaid	X	X		X	X	
Mindo-Fetalvero	X	X	X			X
Mutegi	X	X	X		X	
Swearingen	X	X		X		X
Wilson	X	X		X		X
Baun	X	X	X			
Garcia	X	X		X		
Giordano	X	X				X
Lalian	X	X	X			
Agvaantseren	X	X				
Čaputová	X	X				
Total	25	25	12	13	13	13

Table 3.3 Cultural, slow, and ecological violence

Name	Misogyny*	Persecution*	Exposure*	Deaths*	Diseases	Degradation	Pollution
Cannon	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Oquelí	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Foronda	X		X	X	X	X	X
Garcia	X		X	X	X	X	X
Kaewkao	X	X	X		X	X	X
Ushigua Santi	X	X	X	X		X	X
Wilson	X	X	X		X	X	X
Čaputová			X	X	X	X	X
Henning			X	X	X	X	X
Kajir	X	X	X			X	X
Mutegi	X	X	X			X	X
Rice			X	X	X	X	X
Swearingen	X		X	X	X		X
EWC	X	X	X			X	X
GWPC	X		X	X	X		X
Lalian	X	X	X			X	X
Baun	X	X	X			X	X
Mindo-Fetalvero	X	X	X			X	X
Agvaantseren	X					X	X
Aquino, Broquil, Fajardo	X	X					
Cruz	X	X					
Lekalakala & McDaid	X		X				X
Amuru women	X	X					
Giordano	X					X	
Total	22	14	19	10	9	19	21

*Misogyny: Repression explicitly because she is a woman, undermining her capacity to fulfill gendered social roles/expectations
*Persecution: Use of language/ideology/religion/etc. to legitimize marginalized groups' loss of livelihood; threats to cultural identity, etc.
*Risk exposure: To contamination, high likelihood of accidents, etc.
*Deaths: From illnesses, accidents, etc. rather than murders
*Natural disasters: Increased risk factor and vulnerability to events such as landslides, floods, drought, etc.

Every case featured multidimensional forms of violence including direct, structural, cultural, slow, and ecological violence (Navas et al., 2018). Each WED was subject to varying manifestations and intensities of violence according to her positionality and how it was perceived in specific contexts. The distribution of direct violence may be surprising because among these cases, WEDs subject to more marginalities did not necessarily face more brutality. For example, Ushigua Santi, a rural indigenous Sápara mobilizing against fracking in Ecuador's Amazon, was subject to nearly every type of physical aggression. Meanwhile, Cannon, a rural indigenous Iñupiat anti-fracking advocate in the Alaskan Arctic, was one of only two not to face any direct violence, though she was subjected to much slow, cultural, and ecological violence. Čaputová, who fought illegal dumps in the Slovak Republic, did not experience direct violence either, possibly owing to being a white lawyer. Meanwhile, the UK's Greenham Women's Peace Camp (GWPC) of predominantly middle-class white housewives blockading a military nuclear facility faced heavy violence. Likewise, Rice, an elderly white middle-class nun from the USA who infiltrated and vandalized an army nuclear base, also faced more violence despite having relative privilege.

Context may be a possible explanation for why the distribution of direct violence may initially seem to contradict intersectionality. Intersectional privileges and marginalities differ owing to colonial history, spatial power, or timeframes. Considering Ushigua Santi and Cannon, their positionalities as rural, poor indigenous women carried different weight in different contexts, leading to different experiences of brute force in the Amazon and in the Arctic, respectively. The United States, benefitting from extraction elsewhere, is relatively less physically brutal than Ecuador, which is one of the deadliest countries for environmental defenders owing to expanding extractivism (Global Witness, 2021). Čaputová, a lawyer-politician from the Slovak Republic fighting against illegal dumping, shared positionalities with the Greenham women and Rice as middle-class white women from the Global North. However, temporal contexts may influence intensities of violence. The latter two were part of antinuclear movements across the USA and UK in the 1970s. Rice's involvement in the movement sparked her disruptive advocacy since then, echoing the same police brutality in 2012. Whereas certain identities may be more vulnerable to direct violence in certain contexts, such positionalities may be less so in other contexts.

Structural violence as institutional and legislative inadequacy or gender discrimination as well as cultural violence in misogynistic ideology were near-universal to all cases, as these factors enable environmental conflicts and dismiss WEDs to begin with. A common thread throughout WEDs' subjugation was that their knowledges and capacities were undermined as illegitimate. Women are frequently excluded from male-dominated "scientific" or "economic" public spheres. Some also lack access to legal knowledge and other literacies, though even accredited expert WEDs struggled to attain authority. In many cases, misogynistic delegitimization was compounded by persecution when their gendered expertise was not only excluded from serious consideration in decision-making, but their advocacy was also framed as sabotaging the community by questioning economic development. For instance, the Escravos Women's Coalition (EWC), a blockade movement against Chevron's oil terminals in Nigeria, was initially ridiculed for being "backwards: and "anti-development." Men in power disregarded womens' understandings of socioeconomic and environmental consequences not only when mocking their activism, but also when excluding them from negotiations allowing Chevron to encroach to begin with.

Every case featured ecological and slow violence, which are inherent to environmental conflicts. The manifestations of these violences result from the type of damage resulting from various types of conflicts. For example, there was relatively less slow and ecological violence in the case of Giordano, an anti-poaching activist in Italy, because the small-scale hunting occurring in her community was relatively less harmful than large-scale industrial projects. Intensities of violence are also influenced by how quickly conflicts could be resolved (Scheidel et al., 2020). Campaigners Lekalakala and McDaid faced the second least slow and ecological violence because they prevented most consequences by banning a nuclear power plant in South Africa before it could be constructed. The severity of violences increased, however, the longer harmful projects kept affecting communities, such as with Cannon and the Iñupiat, who have been suffering from the consequences of environmental degradation and resulting illness for generations. Overall, varying severity and types of multidimensional violences reflect WEDs' positionalities and which privileges or vulnerabilities are attached to them in different contexts. Furthermore, each of these multidimensional violences have distinctly gendered implications.

4.1.2 Gendered multidimensional violence

4.1.2.1 Direct violence

Women environmental defenders experience gendered forms of direct violence during environmental distribution conflicts arising not only from the often-sexual nature of the attacks they experience, but also from how violence against women generally is normalized or not considered to be violence to begin with (D. Taylor, 2018). For example, soldiers raped, beat, and killed members of the EWC in attempts to control their occupation of Chevron's oil terminals. This is part of a global pattern of violence legitimized as normal and necessary to discipline dissent in ways punishing femininely gendered bodies as sexually vulnerable and "asking for it" (Deonandan & Bell, 2019; D. Taylor, 2018). However, there are also WEDs still subject to such brutality even when not the direct victims of rape and other forms of assault frequently committed against women specifically. Two of Ushigua Santi's female family members were kidnapped, raped, and killed as a threat. Jeopardizing other bodies in addition to one's own reinforces violence as not restricted to individual suffering, but rather part of women's collective experiences of violence and repression. This raises the stakes for WEDs to protect themselves and the people around them. As Taylor (2018) elaborates, neoliberal emphases on women's restricted movement for the sake of safety also deflects responsibility from perpetrators and the conditions sanctioning their actions, reflecting resignation to and even support of such violently enforced power relations. Indeed, to circumvent such barriers, Arora-Jonsson et al. (2021) and Jenkins (2017) emphasize WEDs' everyday activism through small, covert acts of resistance in the daily home tasks informing their environmental knowledges and interactions.

Intersectional factors unevenly subject WEDs to direct violence. The EWC members were rendered disposable as black indigenous peasant women in a context sensationalizing their routine suffering and deaths (Chiumbu, 2016; Gqola, 2007; Lawson, 2018). The proportions and reporting of violent incidences were uneven compared to the GWPC. Several thousand women participating in the 10-day EWC occupations faced widespread direct violence, yet disappearances and killings were anonymous, uncounted, and unnamed. Meanwhile, over decades of GWPC's occupation with over 50,000 mostly white middle-class women, violent incidences were commonplace yet less brutal as well as more widely condemned, with victims individually honored. In line with Sutton (2007) and Taylor (2018)'s writings on embodiment, compared to the GWPC, EWC bodies were not only coded

as less-than-human owing to gender, but their intersecting racialized, classed, and location-based marginalities further homogenized them as disposable victims. Beyond the devaluation of women's bodies, black bodies, even when male, are still inferior to white bodies (Crenshaw, 2016; Weiss, 2018). Seeing these stories in the light and shadow of power relations thus casts WEDs' bodily scars as more visible against white skin than black skin.

4.1.2.2 Structural and cultural violence

WEDs' uneven experiences of structural and cultural violence are also nuanced by gender. Culturally violent systems privileging male voices often justify imposing industrial projects without consent from women, who are seen as incapable of valid input (Barca, 2020; amón, 2019). Women consequently tend to be excluded from decision-making during negotiations with extractive companies, and thus unable to assert their knowledge from performing reproductive labor and managing subsequent disproportionate burdens (Ikelegbe, 2005; Rocheleau et al., 1996). Furthermore, environmental defenders' perspectives are also often pitted against economic development (Birkeland, 1993). For instance, Ushigua Santi and the Sápara's efforts to protect the Amazon Delta were ridiculed as against prosperity. Such contention justified structural violence through criminalization and smear campaigns undermining their legitimacy. Judicial harassment (such as SLAPP suits) additionally diverted time, resources, and attention in ways that cripple WEDs' abilities to manage other responsibilities, let alone sustained mobilization (Jenkins, 2017).

Such structural repression carries unfair consequences for women, who often have less training and means to be able to defend themselves in courts. This leads to additional legal threats in combination with direct violence attempting to eliminate, scare, and/or punish them in ways that restricted their movements as women trying to make their voices heard in a masculinized public sphere (Gaard, 1993; Verschuur, 2008). Legal and formal institutions and discourse construct and reinforce "normal" bodies through rules, hierarchies, and punishments. The prevalence of double standards not only between men and women, but also between corporations and communities shows how the law controls (women's) bodies as commodities (Tamale, 2017). Intersectional differences, however, gave some WEDs varying protections or vulnerabilities, such as for Mutegi, who, although indigenous, was a lawyer better positioned to navigate structural barriers in her community's struggle against logging in Kenya. Čaputová also had more relative advantage as a white lawyer defending against illegal dumping in the Slovak Republic. Nearly every WED thus experienced cultural and structural misogyny to some extent, though not all were evenly persecuted owing to other marginal identifiers that men are also subject to.

4.1.2.3 Ecological and slow violence

Almost every WED experienced ecological and slow violence through pollution and environmental (land, water, resource, biodiversity) destruction, which incite environmental conflicts to begin with. Women's experiences are also nuanced by gender. Biologically, Peek (2007) explains that women are more affected by ecological contamination because of differences in body composition. According to Krupp (2000), women's higher amounts of estrogen increase body fat cells, or adipocytes, which store toxins. With regular exposure to toxicity, adipocytes also increase, creating a cycle of toxic retention and accumulation. This affects all humans, since, for example, mercury, dioxin, and other pollutants not only harm fetuses, but can also only be expelled from women's bodies through breastfeeding (Peek, 2007). Subsequently, well over half of the WEDs experienced widespread deaths, illnesses, birth defects, and more in their communities. Moreover, women caring for the unwell are

additionally burdened and must compensate for gaps in public health, sanitation, and other services (WoMin, 2013). Garcia, whose community struggled with pollution from the Tesoro Savage oil terminal in Washington, USA causing five times as much pollution as the Keystone XL pipeline, exemplified such bodily consequences as she campaigned while increasingly encumbered with her and her children's illnesses and chemotherapy.

Women's bodily experiences of ecological and slow violence are compounded with vulnerabilities such as being black/indigenous/people of color (BIPOC) and poor. For example, Lekalakala and McDaid advocated against plans for nuclear power development in South Africa during a time when the government created an energy crisis. Despite paying the brunt of the financial and ecological costs, the majority of South Africans would never be able to see the supposed benefits of cheaper and accessible energy from the nuclear project (Bond & Ngwane, 2010). Women in underserved black neighborhoods, unable to afford the electricity, subsequently resorted to burning paraffin, trash, or wood for their cooking and heating (Peek, 2007). Because women are typically responsible for household management, they are more affected by electricity costs, not only from spending more time and facing more risks searching for fuel, but also from exposing themselves to dirty flames (Bond & Ngwane, 2010). Although multidimensional violence harms all people in affected communities, women face additional embodied burdens especially compounded by intersectional marginalities. In response, WEDs not only succeed in seeking justice for their communities, but also in addressing gendered violences.

As the cases show, gendered multidimensional violence is scalar in that each manifestation of violence carries consequences from the cellular to the planetary level (Elmhirst et al., 2017; Sultana, 2020). Many women, for instance, accumulate toxins in adipocyte cells owing to their struggles collecting and resorting to hazardous fuels in the face of energy conflicts and environmental degradation limiting their options (Krupp, 2000; Waghiyi, 2012). Those near oil terminals such as Tesoro Savage or indigenous Arctic settlements have disproportionate rates of cancer, with caretaking burdens often falling on women in underserved communities. Physical brutality and legal harassment may be perpetuated against individuals or specific groups, but the implications have far-reaching consequences to entire communities, nations, and humanity at large as culturally sanctioned violent repression polices women's mobility, agency, and even conceptions of femininity.

4.2 Success strategies and outcomes

4.2.1 Overview of findings

The table below documents narratives WEDs used to assert their authority, the ways in which they advocated for environmental rights during their respective conflicts, as well as mobilization outcomes sorted by the success status of the project they advocated against.

Table 3.4 WED Success, narratives, strategies, and outcomes

Project cancelled			
Name	Narratives	Strategies	Other successful outcomes
Agvaantseren	Expert	Legal action, educating the public, dialogue with stakeholders, creating a network, public campaign	Strengthened participation, new programs, new legislation
Baun	Indigenous, mother	Legal action, creating networks, creative/artistic actions	Strengthened participation
Čaputová	Mother, expert	Legal action, creative/artistic actions, protests	Elected office, new legislation

Garcia	Mother	Legal action, creating networks, dialogue with stakeholders, public campaign	Strengthened participation
GWPC	Mothers	Protests, creative/artistic actions, public campaign, creating a network, legal action	New legislation, strengthened participation
Kaewkao	Fisher	Legal action, creating a network, educating the public, protests, blockades, financial activism	Project for another conflict cancelled
Lalian	Indigenous, mother	Legal action, creating networks, cultural rituals, protests	Compensation, strengthened participation
Lekalakala & McDaid	Mothers, black (Lekalakala)	Legal action, educating the public, public campaign, creating a network, protests	New legislation, strengthened participation
Mindo-Fetalvero	Indigenous, mother, expert	Legal action, educating the public, protests, creating networks	New legislation
Swearingen	Mother	Legal action, educating the public, public campaign, protests, creating networks	New legislation, strengthened participation
Partial cancellation			
Name	Narratives	Strategies	Other successful outcomes
Amuru women	Indigenous, mothers	Protests, cultural rituals	Compensation
Aquino, Broquil, Fajardo	Experts	Legal action, creating a network, public campaign, creative/artistic actions	Project suspended, strengthened participation, elected office, new legislation
Cannon	Indigenous, elder	Dialogue with stakeholders, legal action, public campaign, creating a network	New legislation, strengthened participation
Cruz	Expert, indigenous	Legal action, protests, creating networks	Project suspended, strengthened participation, lawsuits won
EWC	Mothers, indigenous	Protests, cultural rituals, creating a network	Strengthened participation, new legislation, compensation
Henning	Farmer	Community research, creating a network, legal action, dialogue with stakeholders, educating the public	New legislation, strengthened participation
Oquelí	Expert	Protests, creating a network, occupation, creative/artistic actions, cultural rituals, legal action	Lawsuits won, strengthened participation, project suspended
Rice	Nun	Occupation, creative/artistic actions, educating the public, civil disobedience	Strengthened participation
Ushigua Santi	Indigenous, mother	Protests, petitions, legal action, creating a network	New legislation, strengthened participation
Problem reduced/compensation awarded			
Name	Narratives	Strategies	Other successful outcomes
Foronda	Expert	Dialogue with stakeholders, legal action, creating a network, educating the public	Elected office, new legislation, strengthened participation
Giordano	Conservationist	Creating a network, educating the public, dialogue with stakeholders	New legislation, strengthened participation
Wilson	Fisher, mother	Protests, petitions, legal action, creating a network, civil disobedience	Strengthened participation
Initial success, injustice ongoing			
Name	Narratives	Strategies	Other successful outcomes
Kajir	Indigenous, expert	Legal action, educating the public, creating a network, protesting	Some land rights, project cancelled
Mutegi	Mother, indigenous, expert	Legal action, occupation, educating the public	Some land rights, partial cancellation
Putla	Grandmother, indigenous, elder	Legal action, protests, blockades, cultural rituals, creating a network	Some land rights, strengthened participation, project cancelled

WEDs in this article may have achieved success owing to incorporating tactics correlated with positive outcomes for environmental conflicts. Project cancellation is the primary indicator for perceived success (Özkaynak et al., 2015; Scheidel et al., 2020). Although approximately half did not cancel the projects, these cases could still be considered successful owing to every case strengthening participation, a critical outcome. Women defender' capacities to earn respect and create networks contributed to maintaining unity, which strengthened movements. The GWPC, for example, was one of the longest contemporary feminist movements owing to internal cohesion ensuring a steady stream of supporters. Unanimous project rejection such with Baun and Čaputová also resisted division. Hess and Satcher (2019) similarly find that strong coalitions increase success through broader shared identities transcending social divisions, increasing leverage, and providing safety. Increased support, for example, helped anti-poacher Giordano bolster her efforts and receive protection as well as helped release anti-nuclear nun Rice from imprisonment.

The findings concur with authors such as Agarwal (2010), Arora-Jonsson (2013), Jenkins (2017), Krauss (1993), and Sinclair (2021) documenting how women foster cohesion through doing activities together as a form of subtle everyday activism. Reviving and reforming customary ways of working together not only created opportunities to reshape local social relations and power dynamics, but also mutually increased status and roles for those such as indigenous Pagu women against mining in Indonesia (Sinclair, 2021). Early mobilization also boosts outcomes (Özkaynak et al., 2015). For instance, Lekalakala and McDaid prevented damages from a nuclear plant that was never constructed because the earlier the mobilization, the less violence and pollution occurs. All cases also used more than one tactic in their mobilizations, with most incorporating legal action. WEDs with less access to legal aid, such as Rice being an elderly nun, Giordano being a teenager, and the EWC being farmers without connections to lawyers or other resources, meant that they needed to diversify their strategies. Moreover, because WEDs face gendered multidimensional violence, they also draw upon their positionalities to bolster success.

4.2.2 Reinventing gendered narratives

4.2.2.1 WEDs as women and mothers

WEDs assert authority through reimagining cultural narratives. As Unger (2008) describes, gender shapes advocacy owing to persisting political and socioeconomic conditions. Such conditions inform WEDs' activism, which is frequently sparked by their social roles and corresponding motivations for protecting families, communities, livelihoods, health, safety, and sense of place (Jenkins, 2017; Rocheleau et al., 1996). Mobilizing gendered roles legitimizes mobilizing, but also risks reinforcing unequal gender distributions of power (Morgan, 2017). This is exemplified between the two Indonesian indigenous movements wherein gendered power dynamics differed greatly despite occurring within similar contexts. In Lalian's case, she struggled to gain legitimacy and supporters when mobilizing against mining in her indigenous Usatnesi Sonaf K'bat community. This was because of more patriarchal gender relations wherein husbands did not allow subordinate wives to participate in activism, which was thought of as forsaking and endangering rather than defending familial duty. Meanwhile, Baun's anti-mining movement was spearheaded by fellow indigenous Mollo women. The more flexible gender context meant husbands took over domestic labor and childcare and recognized women as strong and forthright. Silencing or support indicate women's varying status shaping WEDs' possibilities to mobilize depending on uneven power distribution versus characterizations as altruistic (Unger, 2008). Such divisions are notable for WEDs emphasizing identities as mothers.

Motherhood narratives were the most common cross-culturally. Motherhood is prevalent in mobilization owing to women's perception of environmental consequences being situated in gendered caretaking roles (Rocheleau et al., 1996). Bell and Braun (2010) explain across demographic, the pressure many women face to prioritize caretaking means that WEDs must justify activism with concern for protecting the community as an extension of maternal duty. For some, including the Escravos women and Cannon, matriarchal status also granted authority in contexts where elder women are valued as wise decision-makers. By performing hegemonic femininity, they transform these norms to suit their mobilizations (Leguizamón, 2019). Articulating such values not only legitimized their advocacy, but also illustrated their importance to a wider global audience. Putting their maternal bodies on the line visibly challenges political gatekeeping, and furthermore spurs other bodies into action by invoking emotional responses (Fotaki & Daskalaki, 2020).

However, this trope can also be so pervasive that WEDs not focused on motherhood had the narrative prescribed to them anyway. Coverage of Mutegi's abduction emphasized her desire to protect her family despite how beyond that moment, this was not a primary motivation. Godfrey (2005) also criticizes the mothering trope as excluding those outside virtuous mother molds, such as Rice, who infiltrated a US military nuclear facility to sing and make protest art. Although her disruptive actions were more extreme than other listed WEDs, she garnered little attention. Without a commonly understood motherhood narrative, she drew upon less unifying yet still normative religious and patriotic identities. Exclusion and stereotyping thus result from having few options in cultural contexts restricting women's performance of accepted gender roles to primarily maternal ones (Kurtz, 2007).

Those in other contexts allowing more choice could instead perform other narratives in their intersectional advocacy depending on what kinds of repression they faced and what kinds of positionalities they have as diverse women who do not fit into the same generalized category. However, this is dependent on context, and there are always exceptions. Arora-Jonsson (2013) writes that motherhood is a point of departure and can have unusual value. Though similar phenomena did not occur among the listed cases, Arora-Jonsson gives the example of places like Sweden, where women mobilized motherhood as additional strength when supposedly gender-neutral rhetoric paradoxically made discrimination more difficult to challenge. Although the conflicts in this study were informed by overt gender discrimination, it is important to acknowledge different contexts beyond the scope of this study where repression is much more subtle.

4.2.2.2 Multifaceted identities and tactics

Beyond motherly themes, many WEDs draew upon other aspects of their identities. Race is a powerful axis of marginalization and difference that, though contributing to the vulnerability of their communities, WEDs also incorporate into their mobilizing narratives (Crenshaw, 2016). Lekalakala, for instance, used her identity as a poor black woman to assert fearlessness against a white patriarchal capitalistic violence she is already used to in her advocacy against a nuclear plant. Such argumentation draws empowerment from while also calling out distinct repression from that of a white woman like her co-campaigner McDaid, which is especially notable in their South African context. Meanwhile, many WEDs used their indigenous identity as a central theme in their advocacy, grounding their mobilization in the spiritual value of their land, historical trauma of colonization reflected in contemporary extractivism, and respect for female elders in the case of those such as Cannon.

WEDs' storytelling challenges white male hegemonies (Barca, 2020; Krauss, 1993; Rocheleau et al., 1996). Such tactics can unify one's own community for WEDs such as Lalian performing traditional rituals to make their voices heard in culturally targeted ways. Subsequently, she successfully unified the indigenous Usatnesi Sonaf K'bat against mining in their ancestral forest. Verchick (2004) explains the success of such cultural tactics as marginalized women seizing opportunities in spaces where they cannot be ignored and are divinely affirmed. For instance, Cannon and Ushigua both invoked indigenous imagery throughout their anti-fracking campaigns such as wearing traditional clothing, singing in their native language, and weaving cultural symbols into their discourse as historically marginalized peoples. Using clothing, slogans, and singing draws attention to their bodies as cultural "texts" and "performances" upon which they inscribe attention-grabbing symbols and messages (Sutton, 2007). Spectators then must bear witness to the scars they carry from surviving the bodily risks inherent in protesting and in suffering disproportionate consequences of environmental conflicts (Fabricant & Postero, 2013; Sutton, 2010).

WEDs' jobs and social roles beyond reproductive work also influence the narratives and corresponding strategies they draw upon in their advocacy. Women's caretaking roles frequently overshadow their roles as farmers, land managers, and providers (Rocheleau et al., 1996). Such devaluation leads to barriers such as denied access to resources. In response, farmer Henning and fisher Wilson centered their advocacy on the multigenerational relationships they have with the land when advocating against encroachment from large-scale agribusiness in Michigan and a plastics company in Texas, respectively. Echoing Morgan's (2017) findings on Indonesian women farmers mobilizing against oil palm plantations, Henning and Wilson felt in charge of the land and were unwilling to compromise decision-making to outside interests despite increased hardship. Moreover, their identities as multigenerational locals were critical to their legitimization in rural small-community contexts. Both invoked shared values as insiders, uniting their communities. Furthermore, not all women share "universal" predispositions to nurture and protect as an extension of family (Salleh, 2017). WEDs also advocate not against personally faced threats, but rather out of a sense of justice. Agvaantseren, for example, was a trusted outsider who combined her understandings of community struggles with her translation and scientific skills unify locals and conservationists when advocating against a mine in Mongolia. Rice, as a nun, aligned with religious narratives drawing upon values of justice and nurturing as a Sister rather than a mother. Indeed, Smith and Jenkins (2012) suggest activists vary widely in how much their advocacy blends into and is informed by their personal life histories.

4.2.2.3 Multidimensional antiviolence

I argue that WED mobilizations address not only environmental conflicts, but also the gendered multidimensional violences arising from them. In doing so, WEDs dismantle repressive hegemonies (Barca, 2020; Rocheleau et al., 1996). One widespread tactic they use is protesting, which is nuanced by gendered retaliation. Putting their bodies on the line exposes them to gendered forms of violence policing the spaces women can be in as well as unevenly punishing and burdening them with cultural, slow, and ecological violence (Deonandan & Bell, 2019). Yet Morgan (2017) argues that women's protesting is also mediating such gendered barriers. Indeed, Arora-Jonsson (2013) writes that women's protesting can disrupt gender imbalances when their actions cannot be slotted into allotted roles. In many of the listed cases, women were excluded from the public sphere for reasons such as being taken less seriously or compromising household duties. Protests and other mobilization strategies needing critical mass, however, also require women's participation.

The nature of protesting facilitates their presence, such as by being less time-consuming as single events or by perceived educational barriers being less relevant (Morgan, 2017). Their numbers then become a powerful force (Sutton, 2007). Moreover, as many of the listed cases illustrate, through protesting, WEDs' physical presence pushes female and multiply marginalized bodies to the forefront, resisting systems excluding diverse people from having a voice. They show others an expanded, uniting vision of what activists and those with full rights look like (Fotaki & Daskalaki, 2020). The strength of Čaputová's anti-dumping protesting, for example, came from how she was able to unite people from many walks of life. By addressing how everyone knew someone ill from waste pollution, she mobilized diverse emotions, knowledges, and skills making everybody see and be seen. Protesting succeeded in not only confronting the injustices women faced, but also those faced by all people through publicly uniting against conflict roots.

Formal advocacy such as litigation, legal rights education, and financial activism present distinct challenges and opportunities for WEDs. As Van Allen (2015) explains, criminal and civil justice systems often create contradictions and difficulties for women even when they understand formal law. Formal systems have long been used to reinforce hierarchical domination as well as normalize and perpetuate violence. In retaliation, women defenders challenge systemic injustices through collectively claiming and transforming political and narrative space with pluralist concepts of justice inclusive of shared interests of women, the poor, people of color, and other multiply marginalized groups.

Examples include Mutegi and Kaewkao, whose advocacy on behalf of the Chuka people's struggles against logging in Kenya and on behalf of fishing villages' struggles against coal power in Thailand respectively transformed perceptions of justice rooted in custom into meaningful tools for their communities and especially poor BIPOC women to gain more control over their lives. Using a combination of educating them about their rights, litigation, and in the case of Kaewkao, buying stocks to attend shareholder meetings, these WEDs enabled people to talk about their experiences of violence and engage them in political action. Thus, by challenging violent systems and perceptions of justice to be more inclusive, they also increase odds of success for all people and not just for individual women.

Most importantly, every case was nonviolent despite increasing violence against them. Such patterns support findings from previous work on success in environmental justice conflicts, especially those suggesting that nonviolent actions are particularly effective by bolstering legitimacy, making state violence less justifiable (Scheidel et al., 2020). As the Escravos women explained during their Chevron blockade, merely seeming to retaliate with violence would bring even more violence. To avoid perpetuating the same violence, WED pacifism is not merely nonviolent, but rather, antiviolent. Indeed, WEDs succeed because their experiences of systemic failure give them unique perspectives on systemic change.

Some WEDs at the intersections of being BIPOC, poor, and rural used cultural rituals to subvert repression. Such strategies give a moral edge by also incorporating local cosmologies, extending the effectiveness of their message beyond the act of disobedience itself by affecting long-term social relations. This is especially helpful when protests or lawsuits are shut down quickly and violently or are formally impeded (Abonga et al., 2020). The Escravos women, for example, performed a "naked curse" flashing genitals. Women's bodies are coded with symbolic power to produce and also take back life, effectively rendering targets as dead to society and bearing shame and ill consequences (Tamale, 2016).

Meanwhile, WEDs such as anti-mining Baun, anti-dumping Čaputová, and the anti-nuclear Greenham women also used artistic actions to create new opportunities for dissent and culturally embedded expressions of their political voices (Adams, 2002). Cultural rituals and artistic actions alike reframe environmental conflicts within local understandings of morality and relationality, giving prominence to values beyond economic development (Abonga et al., 2020; Barca, 2020). Besides civil disobedience, WED activism also includes networking, public outreach, and dialogue between stakeholders as well as the subtle, everyday resistances that WEDs often employ. Whether through provocative or mundane means, by creating and sharing inclusive counter-narratives, these actions bolster support amongst growing networks. WED strategies are thus particularly powerful because their experiences of violence put them in unique positions to see, draw attention to, and confront the hegemonic forces producing faced injustices by using antiviolent tactics.

5. Conclusion

WEDs employ culturally specific strategies and perform cultural scripts to achieve varying levels of success in violent, silencing contexts. Relying on motherhood tropes may inadvertently undermine activism among WEDs non-conforming to hegemonic femininity, but this is constrained to what little flexibility women may have to begin with. Alternative, intersectional narratives also arise through identifying with ethnic groups, professional associations (as lawyers, nuns, interpreters, etc.) and more. Most importantly, WEDs achieve success because their mobilization strategies, which are situated within their intersectionally gendered experiences of violence and injustice, transform environmental justice movements worldwide by countering violent hegemonies with inclusive, antiviolent ones. This is especially visible for bodies in protest, which openly defy structures gatekeeping diverse people from making their voices heard by rendering visible and evoking emotion in response to their visceral, embodied scars. The world's women-led movements stand on the increasingly taller shoulders of giants. Indeed, WEDs continue to rise up as more cases succeed. The included cases still show how WEDs ultimately resort to their antiviolent strategies because they face a uniform pattern of violent repression. Capitalist patriarchal structures of economic growth resist diversifying mobilizations. Recording these struggles undermines the hegemonies perpetuating injustices.

Chapter 4

Realities beyond reporting: Women environmental defenders in South Africa

1. Introduction

Although women fighting at the frontlines of environmental justice movements are receiving increasing global coverage, additional media attention paradoxically may distort rather than amplify their voices. South African feminist writer Frenkel (2008) highlights this as part of a larger problem wherein gender "progress" fails to achieve real improvements for women's lived experiences: the nation has one of the largest percentages of women in parliament worldwide yet also one of the world's highest levels of rape and violence against women. Addressing these inconsistencies is important because we can only achieve genuine gender and environmental transformation after confronting oppressive hegemonies.

The aim of this study is thus to examine recurring tropes in media representation and how they empower and silence certain women defenders. I argue that in addition to feminine stereotypes downplaying women's environmental justice contributions, black women especially experience victimization as desperate mothers or underdogs. Such research not only shows how WEDs' struggles are rendered invisible, but also offers suggestions to better promote them. The study thus addresses these questions: 1) What are the narratives about diverse women defenders common in South African news? 2) How do such depictions reflect the intersectionally gendered violence and empowerment they experience in South Africa?

2. Background and literature review

Environmental defenders protect environmental and human rights typically threatened by government-backed multinational business projects (le Billon & Lujala, 2020; Scheidel et al., 2020; Tran et al., 2020). Extractive industries' search for profits and resources leads to confrontations against corporations over disproportionate burdens and benefits from industrial activities. Studies documenting South African protest movements (Alexander, 2010; Brooks, 2019) note that a "rebellion of the poor" has increased protesting and resulting repression throughout the past decade. Moreover, Apartheid's legacy means that mobilizations may be legitimized or obscured because powerful white men often overwrite the histories of those such as women, working-class people, and non-whites (Hume, 2009).

There is a general academic consensus that women environmental defenders (WEDs) mobilize because they are typically relegated to gendered spaces and tasks exposing them to and making them aware of environmental consequences. Black women are especially affected owing to the lasting effects of Apartheid's environmentally racist state planning forcefully relocating blacks to heavily polluted townships (Scorgie et al., 2003; Scott & Oelofse, 2002). Moreover, women's responsibilities for community management and reproductive labor prevent them from being taken seriously in decision-making (Agarwal, 2001; Fick, 2000). Subsequently, women are underrepresented in global and South African mobilizations because they are subject to multiply intersecting vulnerabilities, while also being more affected by ecological degradation (Nyulaku & Ojakorotu, 2018; Peek, 2007).

A growing number of studies include feminist perspectives on media coverage of gender-based violence and silencing across Africa. This is an important topic because the media reinforces what is "normal" versus "newsworthy" (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2012; Mautner, 2008; Opoku-Mensah, 2001). As such, media has an important role in constructing images of women and normalizing violence against them. Consequently, as Nartey (2020) suggests, discursive violence sanctions gendered disparities in socioeconomic status, moral values, and more. Various authors agree that in South Africa, media representation often reproduces patriarchal discourses undermining rather than transforming women's portrayals (Buiten & Salo, 2007; Gqola, 2007a; Wasserman et al., 2018). Hobson (2008) adds that such discourses are also racialized, with blackness being coded as backwards and inferior and whiteness being coded as advanced and civilized carrying over to contemporary and digital media. For example, in South Africa, gendered and racialized stereotypes perpetuate rape myths depicting black women as hypersexualized, deserving victims and black men as primitive, violent, and out-of-control (Bonnes, 2013; Oladimeji & Osunkunle, 2020).

The media furthermore tends to use language misrepresenting African women entering traditionally "masculine" political and public spheres in hostile ways (Anderson et al., 2011; Ette, 2017). Adcock (2010), and Oladapo (2019) provide examples of how African

media overemphasizes "women" as a label, sidelining their perspectives as advocates. By often classifying women as the widows, wives, and mothers of male protagonists, reporting downplays their expertise. Media depictions of women as passive victims also obscures and hampers their environmental justice contributions. Barca (2020) warns, mainstream narratives depicting WEDs as passive victims rather than as having environmental agency furthermore hides injustices as well as contributes to the idea that they are not contributing to societal change and development. This study thus contributes to existing feminist knowledge on representational violence by examining its manifestations in coverage on South African environmental conflicts.

3. Theoretical framework

This study contributes an intersectional view of discursively reproduced violence in news reports. Women of color are especially subject to distinct forms of disempowerment. White women are often highlighted as environmentalists, excluding intersectionally marginalized peoples such as black women (Leopeng & Langa, 2020; Mayher & Mcdonald, 2007). Even among black women, not all their experiences are the same. Moreover, assumed uniform vulnerability denies WEDs agency and obscures unequal power relations producing such marginality (Arora-Jonsson, 2011). This study thus considers WEDs' identities beyond fragmented media representations in South African conflicts.

The study also considers WEDs' differently gendered and often racialized, classed strategic essentialism in media reporting. Strategic essentialism, coined by Spivak (1988), is a tactic wherein an internally diverse group is homogenized to create a simpler, more unified public image that may increase broader support. According to Sylvain's (2014) systematic review of literature on strategic essentialism in South Africa, many scholars agree that it is helpful in securing resources by staying "on-brand" and simplifying representations of their causes. Yet, as Sylvain elaborates, strategic essentialism is also widely contested. Spivak warns that such universalization may contribute to static views and deepen marginalization.

Sylvain summarizes main arguments against strategic essentialism in explaining how subaltern groups seek empowerment through increasing their political visibility, but such public recognition is incompatible with submitting to the very stereotypes oppressing them to begin with. Moreover, Suttner (2012) writes that in post-Apartheid South Africa, strategic essentialism is no longer necessary or helpful because persisting essentialism in sociocultural discourse obscures and hinders South Africa's dynamic environment wherein social orders are transforming as marginalized groups continually deconstruct racially and other identifier-based oppression. Yet, as Eide (2010) observes, even if activists do not essentialize themselves, journalists, editors, researchers, politicians, corporations, and more often impose it to forward outside agendas. Such a concern thus informs the present study and its focus on how, even if well-intentioned, strategically essentialist outsider depictions of WEDs may reduce them to various stereotypes rather than increase visibility in empowering ways.

4. Materials and methods

This study unpacks how news articles covering South African environmental conflicts depict women defenders. To collect news articles, cases of environmental conflicts were first identified through the EJAtlas. Upon using the EJAtlas to identify South African cases, only 98 media articles out of over 250 mentioned women. These 98 reports mentioned 97 different women or women-represented organizations. Included articles were any original news reports listed in the first five pages of Google regardless of news agency,

popularity, or stance. The scope excludes publications written by the involved WEDs and their organizations as the study concerns media and not self-representation. Search terms were the name of the company and the location of the conflict. A person was considered a WED if the article mentioned any involvement in a community's struggle against an industrial project. This includes interviewees, experts, and NGO representatives even if their involvement was not explicitly stated. Women were excluded if they were company representatives or from a governmental body supporting the company. Organizations with WED members were only included when a woman spoke on their behalf.

Each report was coded line by line in NVivo for the language describing WEDs. First, cases were created for each woman or group. Next, attributes were assigned with values recording demographics only for those women whom the reports explicitly described using labels for race, occupation, and so on. The racial categories considered in this study are "white," "black," "coloured," and "Indian" as defined in the national census. Although such terminology is objectionable, the terms reflect the legacy of the Apartheid regime's classification of people into hierarchical racial categories (Venter et al., 2020). Such labels continue to deeply impact South Africans' uneven lived experiences and are thus a necessary component of analyzing the effects of such subject positions on WEDs and their media representations. These demographic attributes were then run through a matrix query. The articles were then coded for types of violence and themes of motherhood, community, expertise/leadership, emotionality/irrationality, and victimization.

Data analysis follows feminist critical discourse analysis (FCDA) (Lazar, 2007, 2014). Discourse analysis examines syntax such as by scrutinizing active or passive tense or downplaying or blaming certain parties (Mayher and Mcdonald 2007). FCDA contributes feminist perspectives by interrogating discourses (re)producing ideologies constructing gendered othering. A feminist lens exposes uneven power distribution, recognizing the need to compare rather than universalize women's "complexly constructed social identities" (Lazar 2007, 149). FDCA incorporates intersectionality in uncovering oppression and privilege shaped by material, political, and social conditions. This explains women's different experiences of violence, especially in South African contexts featuring disparities in education, employment, status, resources, and more (Nartey 2020). This study applies FCDA by investigating how word choice unevenly privileges or silences WEDs.

5. Findings

Table 4.1 Matrix query of women defenders

	Black	Coloured	Indian	White
Total	46	0	4	35
Occupation	*in the 98 reports, only 58 listed job information			
Peasant farmer	7	0	0	0
Blue collar informal	5	0	0	0
Blue collar formal	7	0	0	0
White collar	9	0	2	20
Unemployed	5	0	0	0
Violence				
Murders	1	0	0	0
Attacks	14	0	0	1
Death threats	4	0	0	2
Arrests	7	0	0	1
Smear campaigns	2	0	0	4

Demographic information about the 97 women is patterned. Reports describing WEDs by race identified 46 as black, none as coloured, 4 as Indian, and 35 as white. There were racialized class divisions, as among the 58 women with information listed about their jobs, all 20 white women and 2 Indian women were white-collar professionals such as scientific, medical, and legal experts or NGO executives. In contrast, 8 of black WEDs were peasant farmers, 5 were informal workers (unlicensed miners or housekeepers), 7 were blue-collar workers (street market sellers, shop employees, licensed miners, or park rangers), 11 were white-collar workers, and 6 were unemployed. Violence was also uneven. Of the 17 attacks, only one was against a white woman. 4 black WEDs reported death threats, compared to 2 white WEDs. 7 black WEDs were arrested compared to 1 white WED However, 4 whites were smeared compared to 2 blacks. One black WED was murdered.

There is a notable lack of representation of coloured or Indian WEDs. Although it is likely that there were more of such WEDs, reports excluded this information despite finding it relevant to depict race when the WED was either black or white. Murray and Simeon (2007) suggest that such disproportionate representational emphasis may be owing to the legacy of liberation struggles against Apartheid being largely cast as a black majority seeking justice against white oppressors. Although coloured and Indian populations have also been very present in activist leadership, having limited recognition and rights created political separation between them and the majority black movement, leading to marginalization and the media's overwhelming focus on divisions between black and white to the neglect of other minorities. The focus of the findings and discussion will thus center on mainstream narratives about black and white WEDs given the lack of data available for other categories.

5.1 The motherhood narrative and its images of desperate (Black) mothers

WEDs are depicted in ways highlighting gendered supportive roles such as mothers and grandmothers, and wives (Frenkel 2008). Of the 98 media articles, 43 identified women as mothers, wives/widows, or caretakers 73 times. Women mobilize in response to increased vulnerability and burdens from environmental consequences, such as health concerns caused by coal pollution in the case of WED Mbali Mathebula. As she explains, "it affects me directly because [pollution asthma] attacks [my children] literally every night and I have no means to take them to the hospital" (Njamela, 2019). Various scholars (Barry, 2008; Bell & Braun, 2010; Ikelegbe, 2005) concur that women defenders often project motherly identity because pressure to prioritize caretaking leads WEDs to justify activism with concern for the environment and community as an extension of maternal duty. By performing hegemonic femininity, they transform norms to suit their mobilizations. Scott and Oelofse (2002)add that they are often framed as desperate mothers driven to protect or mourn families.

5.1.1 Victimizing poor black mothers

In nearly all 73 references of mothers and wives, their descriptions as having secondary roles and emotional reactions victimize poor black mothers to elicit sympathy for someone else's agenda. As Chiumbu (2016) also found, news articles referred to women generically such as residents rather than explaining their involvement, such as organization member or protestor. Instead, WEDs frequently are called the mother, wife, or other support role grieving a male protagonist rather than as an activist (Bradshaw et al., 2017). For instance, in reporting on a conflict against Sefateng Chrome Mine (Mahopo, 2017):

> The mother of a Limpopo man who was allegedly shot dead by police wants justice. Lekgake Manthatha blamed police for her son's death. "Our children were sitting there peacefully when they started shooting at them. Now they have killed my

> only son. They have killed him as if he were a dog," Lekgake said. "Whoever did this must lose his job so that his mother can also suffer and go hungry, just like me."

Manthatha's protesting was overshadowed by her role supporting her son, another activist. Her portrayal as a bereaved mother also made her seem vindictive. Motherhood was depicted as her dominant identity, as is the case for many African women, whereas fatherhood is a rarely mentioned background detail for men (Joshi et al., 2020). Kareithi's (2014) systematic review shows how, across Africa, women are 3-4 times more likely to be identified by family status. Implications such depictions have for WED silencing are discussed next.

Of the 46 depictions of women as mothers, wives, or widows, 21 did not explicitly explain their involvement even if their presence connected them to the mobilization and other (male) protestors were clearly referred to as such. Not only does this repress WED contributions, but it also appropriates the women's experiences for agendas that are not their own. Their media coverage uses descriptors such as struggling, broken-hearted, emotional, fearful, worried, crying, suffering, devastated, torn apart, deeply hurt, horrified, filled with dread, angry, outraged, desperate, provoked, filled with unbearable sorrow, shocked, left with nothing, and more to render them as subjects of pity. Rebecca Ndlela, for example, was described in coverage of a conflict against Sappi and Mondi (Macupe 2015) with:

> Eight months ago, Ndlela watched helplessly as about 100 men wearing red overalls demolished her home. All she could do was cry as she witnessed the house that her husband had built for their children four years ago disappear in front of her eyes.

South African media analyses by Kareithi (2014) and Chiumbu (2016) indicate that women are overrepresented as victims in poverty and crime stories. These retellings downplay WED's involvement to suit their agenda, whether it is to reduce them to "poverty porn" or sensationalize them as irrational mothers rather than as having legitimate subjectivities. Depictions of WEDs homogenize their struggles as interchangeable and equally oppressed.

5.1.2 White savior mothers are not exactly wretched

White women are susceptible to hegemonic motherhood differently. Given South Africa's context leading to class differences and social/geographical distancing from the worst impacts of environmental conflicts, white women experience environmental injustices on another scale, for example in having less reported direct violence in Table 4.1. Subsequently, media reports depict white WEDs as concerned citizens rather than as desperate mothers. Owing to their relatively less dire or personal reasons, although white women's advocacy still adhered to feminine stereotypes of community focus, only Federation for a Sustainable Environment president Mariette Liefferink was accredited as a mother, and in a more nuanced way. Reports describe her as not just a devoted mother trying to incite people to "think about your children," but also as someone "armed with a strong spirit of social justice" owing to many other experiences (Bega, 2011)

Instead of reductive tropes, her motherhood is combined with her missionary work and social justice legal background to explain her agenda. Although media reports added details such as her "buying a dozen sickly sweet drinks" for mining-affected people or even bringing chicken to them on Christmas implied that she treated them as family (Vidal, 2011), these same articles develop her character as a woman who intentionally subverts narratives, describing her mannerisms as bold and atypical. Although white women are also subject to monolithic tropes of racialized femininity, there may be a power difference in how strongly these tropes are associated with white WEDs. As Wright (2008) explains, white South African feminists often find themselves in self-negating narratives between being subjected

as women while also being colonial aggressors. Liefferink and the other white WEDs thus did not entirely avoid hegemonic femininity. Their depictions support Scott and Oelofse's (2002) observations of white women living further from pollution mainly advocating from the outside lodging complaints individually in a savior-like narrative.

5.2 The underdog narrative and (black) women as self-sacrificing superheroes

The predominant narrative of black WEDs depicts them as underdogs, "people with less power" one roots for to succeed despite being "considered to be the weakest and the least likely to win" (Cambridge Dictionary, n.d.). I refer to the underdog narrative as characterizing WEDs as tenacious despite violence and increasing burdens. Although sympathetic, such narratives homogenize black women especially. Among all 97 mentioned WEDs, 30 were described as underdogs 79 times. Specific words used include survivors, resolute, determined, bold, leaders, warriors, fighters, brave, tireless, not scared, defiantly patient, will not give up/betray/stop fighting, saving lives/the environment/wildlife and more. One example is Fikile Ntshangase, an assassinated leader mobilizing against Tendele's Somkhele coal mine. Described as an "incredibly outspoken" "courageous activist" and "grandmother" who "did not compromise her ethics," she is often quoted saying, "I cannot sell out my people and if need be, I will die for my people" in her "firm opposition" despite "threats of violence and intimidation" (Koko, 2021; Neves, 2020; Pillay, 2020). Another case is that of still living Nonhle Mbuthuma, who along with fellow WEDs "asserted their rights" against Xolobeni dune mining despite being on a hit list and "things getting worse" after the murder of a male comrade. Like Ntshangase, she is "prepared to die for the land" and is "not going anywhere" (Bega, 2011, 2019). Although their stories are distinct (one against coal mining, the other against sand mining), reporting follows common, simplistic hero scripts, making different events seem alike. This trope is gendered in focusing on sacrifice and community following the patriarchal fantasy of women as upright, devoted to family, and self-sacrificing (Sutton 2010).

5.2.1 Pushing past barriers with a smile

Underdog narratives may also pressure WEDs to follow gendered expectations even when trying to expand possibilities for women's advocacy. Reports praise WEDs such as the Black Mambas, an all-female ranger group, for changing a "traditionally male environment" and having "proved them wrong" despite how "people in the community and all over the world didn't believe" in women. Moreover, their story asserts "women can hold meaningful work outside of the home" with not just their conservation, but also their outreach teaching children (Goyanes, 2017). This echoes Elizabeth Ndlovu mobilizing women to clean Isipingo river pollution, as "the mother of two feels that South African women need to stand up" and "go out into the community and look at how [they] can help" (Govender, 2010). Apolitical reporting sanitizes stories, with little attention brought to injustices necessitating their involvement. Furthermore, their depiction as smiling peacemakers aligns with gendered pressures not to be bold lest they become delegitimized.

By holding women to higher moral standards, the underdog narrative may discredit WEDs as violent and irrational. The press often polarizes women as good or evil because mainstream discourses leave little room for women to legitimately express frustrations (le Roux, 2002). For example, during a peaceful protest, police arrested Colette Solomons, co-founder of Women on Farms. Coverage repeats "charges of public violence," using indirect wording avoiding implicating anyone for accusing her yet using wording blaming her group for having "blocked the road" to suggest "police took action" rightfully against her. Even

positive or neutral reports had negative wording such as "activist arrested" or that Solomons "accuses," "alleges," "demands," and more without explaining why she mobilized, not allowing her to legitimately voice her arguments (Payne, 2020; Payne & Tobias, 2019). This is consistent with 11 other incidences of women defenders depicted as alarmists, not having credentials, terrorists, robbers, suspicious, making defamatory accusations, and more. Although every WED in the study was peaceful, her advocacy was interpreted as threatening. Such delegitimization was uneven across demographics.

5.2.2 White experts are not exactly underdogs

Although all women are subject to gendered narratives, white WEDs had more space for recognition than did their black counterparts. A matrix query of participants' race and role in an environmental conflict revealed that of the 35 white women, 17 were referred to as experts, 9 were leaders, and 8 were protestors aside from one interviewee without a clear role. Meanwhile, of the 62 black women, only 2 were called experts, 16 were leaders, 25 were protestors, and 19 had undefined participation. Beyond reflecting a disparity in employment and participation opportunities granted to women of varying race and status, these unequal proportions may also indicate media reports' differing validation of WED's experiences and contributions depending on positionality.

A discourse analysis of white defenders' roles shows they were often introduced according to their job titles with attention to their specialties. Examples include "Carika van Zyl, chairperson of the West Coast Environmental Protection Association (WCEPA), which opposes the mine" (Mining News, 2017) and "Robyn Hugo, an attorney and head of the Cape Town-based Centre for Environmental Rights Pollution & Climate Change Programme" (Burkhardt, 2020). For protestors, specific terms such as "Melita Steele, senior Greenpeace Africa's Climate and Energy campaigner" and "climate change expert" contributed to white women's authority (BizCommunity, 2017; Greenpeace, 2011)Meanwhile, black women's involvement was often described with less concrete terms tied to family or community if mentioned at all. Examples include "Duduzile Mkhwanazi, a local farmer and mother of three" rather than antimining protestor (Burke, 2018), or Bawinile Mchebi, "daughter of a veteran of the Pondoland uprising of 1960" despite being an Amadiba Crisis Committee member (Ledwaba, 2019). Such patterns not only contribute to rendering WED stories invisible, but also homogenize the mentioned few. Representational differences become more evident when considering implications applied to the underdog narrative.

The underdog narrative is often used to impart a sense of gender empowerment; however, its tokenization does little to challenge silencing. Gqola (2007) criticizes the "dominant talk of empowerment of women" because it expects women to strive to achieve higher and become empowered to attain recognition of "honorary" whiteness or maleness instead of transforming systems and society to accept diverse people's contributions, experiences, and struggles (p. 116). Tropes promoting the exceptionality of prominent women defenders may indirectly suggest that it is enough to recognize certain nonwhite women defenders because if they have achieved success, they have attained a comparable level of privilege as whites. The case of partnership between mining rights advocate Elisa Louw and Ph.D. student Michelle Goliath, for example, exemplifies empowerment speech overshadowing systemic issues. Goliath is credited for helping female miners such as Louw obtain permits. Goliath is depicted concretely as a spokesperson and researcher, whereas Louw has a reductive profile as a desperate mother underdog with less explicit explanation of her mobilizations and more focus on her perseverance through suffering. "Thanks to

Goliath's passion for helping people who have run out of conventional employment options," Louw is quoted saying "she helped us to obtain our legal permit to mine … I could go home and sleep without worrying about the safety of the old people and children who are mining. The permit changed my life as a woman. My voice is heard; my words count. I am proud of myself" (Ledwaba, 2019; Makhafola, 2019). In focusing on one woman's difficulties having her voice heard until those words were spoken through the lips of a white comrade, empowerment discourse does not invoke systemic injustices to change. Reporting rather implies that if other women can endure and mobilize, they can better their situations, leading to increased burdens on black women to resolve repression themselves.

6. Discussion

Though showcasing their stories acknowledges women defenders' tenacity, some reports may inadvertently stereotype women defenders with motherhood tropes or contribute to an underdog narrative of mainly black women as not allowed to be anything less than extraordinary. I argue that when attempting to empower women defenders, such scripts strategically essentialize WEDs as self-sacrificing, which reflects the intersectionally uneven erasure of women's diverse experiences and contributes to structural and cultural violence.

6.1 WED voices beyond the script of motherhood

Maternal stereotypes contribute to implicit violence. For instance, relegating WEDs to support roles and assuming they cannot contribute valuable knowledge bar women from opportunities, contributing to structural violence disadvantaging women. Additionally, as Godfrey (2005) observes, women's family safety concerns force them into a narrow range of acceptable forms of mobilizing. Their activism often incites husbands' wrath and other criticisms for allegedly acting against their family. Serial brutality may also occur as women defenders tend to not just be targeted themselves. Owing to caretaking roles, hitmen attack their families, communities, and the spaces they can be in.

Meanwhile, repeated images of victimized (black) mothers elicit pity and shock for agendas that are not their own. Applying intersectionality, this is a South African manifestation of silencing specific to converging marginalizations of womanhood, blackness, and poverty. Many reports' descriptions of women depicted them as passively victimized, hysterical mothers, conflating womanhood with caretaking and emotional (hyper)sensitivity (le Roux, 2002; Scott & Oelofse, 2002). Moreover, historically marginalized blackness normalizes black deaths, violent experiences, and collective trauma, as well as denies their humanity and subjectivity in situations worsened by poverty and loss of livelihoods (Chiumbu, 2016). Media perpetuates cultural violence by homogenizing WED experiences within universal scripts of vulnerability and virtuousness (Arora-Jonsson, 2011). The feminization of poverty, inferior racial status for black people, and gendered social expectations situate WEDs as victims rather than actors. Consequently, some writers overemphasize and essentialize their suffering, appropriating their struggles for an environmental agenda, which white women are less subject to owing to more control of the narrative. Yet beyond differently colored experiences of injustice, although some reports acknowledged intersectional identities, focusing on marginalities obscures the privileges that many women defenders also have besides race, such as class, sexuality, ability, connections, or more (Joshi et al., 2020). Therefore, the motherhood trope is often problematic in not only exacerbating counter-progressive stereotyping of black women especially, but also in the location of maternal/women's activism within marginality and not empowerment.

Despite its downfalls, the motherhood trope grants some defenders a voice where they had none previously. Women taking control of the narrative themselves may strategically essentialize motherhood to extend their influence. As Anderson, Diabah, and hMensa (2011) write, African women's activism has a long history of strategically essentializing diverse women into traditional narratives of femininity to gain moral leverage owing to ascribed pacifism and devotion to nurturing life. In a structurally racist South African context normalizing the violent policing and disposability of black lives, black maternal activism and public grieving politicizes their suffering. Lawson (2018) suggests that reclaiming motherhood tropes challenges stereotypes of black people as ignorant or aggressive in contexts justifying violence and silencing against them. Hegemonic stereotypes of woman as more caring or less corrupt can also be intentionally leveraged to increase women defenders' legitimacy (Joshi et al., 2020). However, in line with Suttner's (2012) arguments, much care must be taken not to obscure the diversity of WEDs and their uneven experiences of violence in a dynamic context where women and those reporting about them should no longer rely on counterproductive tropes. Such tropes are partially responsible for why the women themselves typically do not have agency over representing their own stories to begin with. Their stories must not be reduced to universal scripts.

6.2 WEDs as more than just your friendly neighborhood superhero

The underdog narrative perpetuates representational violence against especially black WEDs through implying that the solution is that women should be braver in gendered ways. Firstly, idealizing women defenders for sacrificing themselves deflects pressure from systems producing injustices. As was the case with many of the articles, this becomes an intersectional issue of structural violence against poor black women, who, owing to gendered labor and moral expectations, must fill gaps not met by public services and the government (Peek, 2007). Their assumed universal vulnerability normalizes violence toward low-income black women as inherent "Others" lumped together as suffering underdogs. Less emphasis thus covers unequal power distributions in South Africa across demographics of women. Meanwhile, white WEDs were recognized for their unique contributions even when only briefly mentioned in texts mainly about their black counterparts.

Depictions of WEDs as underdogs contribute to cultural violence by portraying WEDs as martyrs, ostracizing those not adhering to notions of how they should speak and behave. Gqola (2007) points out a "cult of femininity" wherein women must perform suitable behaviors to be "safe" and "passive" (p. 116). This renders gender-based violence, such as rape, sexual harassment, and normalized violent discourse about women's bodies invisible even when following expectations to be nonconfrontational. WEDs must thus cope with being pushed around even within mobilizing groups, where many are subjugated in support roles inconducive to speaking out (Buckingham & Kulcur, 2009; Gqola, 2007). Throughout most articles in this study, positive depictions of WEDs construed women defenders according to these ideals, perhaps using strategic essentialism to appeal to a wider audience that may otherwise see such women as aggressors. WEDs may also suffer from the "angry black woman" stereotype owing to intersecting ideologies about race, class, and gender coercing black women into adhering to expectations for politeness or else face accusations of aggression, deflecting attention from accusers (Jones & Norwood, 2017).

Overall, the underdog narrative has been a positive change in representations of women highlighting their overlooked environmental justice contributions and violent experiences. However, to give diverse women defenders platforms for their voices, they must

also not be tone policed or have their stories presentable only as strategically essentialized tales of saints. More WEDs challenge such barriers by embracing being "unruly" or "difficult" (Gqola, 2007). Those writing their own stories resist attempts to make their image more palatable and apolitical by freely representing the complexities of life at the frontlines.
.

7. Conclusion

Throughout South Africa, discursive violence against women makes them among the most burdened and silenced. While such violence is not exclusively against women, WED representation carries uniquely gendered cultural tropes strategically essentializing their activism within maternal themes produced differently from those about masculinity. News reports shape and draw upon cultural narratives about femininity, blackness, and poverty, influencing perceptions of ecological distribution conflicts and the intersectionally marginalized women defenders involved in them. This research investigated how South African WEDs are represented in the media, and how such depictions reflect their experiences of violence, silencing, and empowerment. Findings indicate two narratives of motherhood and of underdogs dominating media discourse, both of which pressure black women especially. White women, though subject to hegemonic femininity, still have more voice, and subsequently have their own manifestations of the narratives. Yet while black women defenders' diverse struggles and contributions are increasingly brought to light, they are also strategically essentialized as universally vulnerable and burdening them in ways adhering to the very stereotypes silencing them to begin with.

This is a distinctly gendered manifestation of structural and cultural violence. Throughout use of language, imagery, and more, culturally violent constructions of WEDs as suffering and self-sacrificing downplay their knowledge and experiences. Consequently, institutions perpetuate structural violence by giving less space for WEDs to exert equal agency. Even when mobilizing, they must use socially sanctioned strategies. Such inequalities feed into other manifestations of violence as women increasingly have odds stacked against them while also shouldering more responsibilities. Still, in contrast to many of the studies in current literature on depictions of actors in South African environmental conflicts, this study indicates that reporting is increasingly supportive of WEDs as a group that has historically been the most invisible and looked down upon.

Chapter 5

Beyond women and men: How extractive projects perpetuate gendered violence against environmental defenders in Southeast Asia

1. Introduction

This article focuses on gendered forms of violence triggered by environmental conflicts as well as the gendered violence resulting from changes that extractivist projects bring. Park and White (2017) point out that there is a growing (Park et al., 2015; Tsikata & Yaro, 2014; J. White & White, 2012) but still understudied body of works on gendered dimensions of land-grabbing. The contribution of this study is highlighting connections

between agrarian issues and gendered experiences of violence and dis/empowerment. Accordingly, the study aims to showcase how extractive conflicts incite shifts in agency and power relations across gender with empirical regional data. The scope of the data encompasses both violence resulting from project consequences as well as retaliatory violence for protest actions at a systemic level of analysis across states in Southeast Asia.

It is well-documented that environmental conflicts increase gendered inequalities limiting decision-making power and resource access while increasing exposure and demands (Abonga et al., 2020; Bradshaw et al., 2017; Großmann, Padmanabhan, & von Braun, 2017; Jenkins, 2017; Lamb et al., 2017). Subsequently, research acknowledging gender often focuses on women (Dankelman, 2010; Fletcher, 2018). Feminist scholars argue that gender is oversimplified as a stagnant binary constructing women as victims versus men as victors (Arora-Jonsson, 2011a; MacGregor, 2010). Focusing on women overlooks relational change and misconstrues gendered consequences of environmental conflicts as only women's problems. Rather, gender intersects with race, class, and more in (re)producing inequalities or privileges (Haug, 2017) nuancing environmental conflict subjectivities (Dao, 2018; de Vos & Delabre, 2018; Kuo, 2020). Such dynamics are important in Southeast Asia because the effects of extractive economies on gender inequality stands out against the diversity of ethnicities, cosmologies, and political regimes. Moreover, institutionalized land-grabbing in the form of economic land concessions is rife regionwide and has far-reaching (and gendered) consequences (Hirsch, 2020). While such is also true elsewhere, Southeast Asia is relatively underreported. Accordingly, this study addresses the following questions: 1) How do environmental land defenders differently experience gendered violence in Southeast Asia? 2) How do gender relations change throughout environmental conflicts?

The investigation consists of a comparative political ecology analysis coding Southeast Asian cases documented in the EJAtlas for gendered forms of violence. The results reveal that whereas women and other gender identities typically experience gender violence in ways that sexualize/inferiorize their bodies, exclude them from decision-making, and discipline them for dissenting, men often experience gender violence in ways punishing them when not being physically and financially dominant. Extractive projects introduce and intensify such violence because extractivist market systems rely on gender hegemonies justifying exploitative social relations. I argue that alleviating gender violence during environmental conflicts must thus subvert narratives informing injustices against all people.

2. Background and literature review

2.1 Southeast Asia as a regional case study for land-grabbing injustices

Southeast Asia merits attention owing to a pattern of economic land concessions for large-scale extractive projects displacing communities. Extractive expansion results in worsening public health, food insecurity, impoverishment, environmental degradation, and gender inequality (Appelt et al., 2022). While such land-grabs have been present across Southeast Asia since European colonialism, recently, state actors have exacerbated the issue (often in violation of local land rights) in pursuit of economic development through foreign export markets (D. Hall, 2011; Kenney-Lazar & Ishikawa, 2019; Schoenberger et al., 2017). This wave of land-grabs is a "distinct historical phenomenon" (Margulis et al., 2013, p. 1) reflecting neoliberal globalization, including non-agricultural land transformations such as special economic zones (sites under different economic regulations than the rest of a country for foreign direct investment) and resource extraction (Borras et al., 2011; Cotula, 2012; Jr & Franco, 2011; B. White et al., 2012; Zoomers, 2010).

Southeast Asia's context of land-grabbing is pertinent to understanding gendered violence. Large-scale extractive land concessions only occur through excluding and displacing mostly multiply marginalized peasant farmers (Byerlee, 2014). Such peoples suffer from colonial legacies and exacerbated climate disasters (Großmann, Padmanabhan, & von Braun, 2017). Cross-regional environmental conflicts restructure social differences, roles, and opportunities (Daley & Pallas, 2014; R. Hall et al., 2015). Extractivist paradigms justify land-grabbing by constructing existing land occupation as unused wastelands, disregarding communities' ways of life and customary land rights as backwards and in the way. This spills over into non-agrarian environmental justice conflicts as the land is not only used for agribusiness, but also resource extraction and urban expansion, collapsing divisions between rural and urban as combined real estate and farming issues dispossess people on all sides (Hirsch, 2020). Extractive development furthermore reconfigures gender norms devaluing Southeast Asian women's roles while segregating them into domestic spheres (Behrman et al., 2012; Lamb et al., 2017; Morgan, 2017). Scholars such as Großmann, Padmanabhan, and Von Braun (2017), Haug (2017), and Park and Maffii (2017) criticize extractivism as male-centered because of workforce composition, production cultures, and exploitation. Extractivism across Southeast Asia relies on low-cost women's labor not only in the workforce, but also in the absence of welfare and public service investment. Moreover, male biases centering "the economy" and "development" overshadow and undervalue highly gendered reproductive activities in the household (Elias, 2020). Consequently, women lose material and discursive recognition. Such bifurcation, however, differs depending on how local beliefs interact with colonial attitudes and practices (Bryant & Tedmanson, 2005; Kopusar, 2002; Öjendal & Sedara, 2006). For instance, in the cases, in Indigenous communities with more egalitarian dynamics, women have more autonomy. In contrast, other communities marginalize women by prioritizing income and private ownership.

2.2 Concepts and contributions in gender theories

A large body of works on gender and environment have discussed gendered impacts on environmental defenders (Nightingale, 2006). Ecofeminists postulated that women are innately aligned with nature, and that the domination of women is linked with environmental destruction (Plumwood, 1991; Shiva, 1988). Ecological feminists countered these conceptualizations as essentializing women, overlooking differences between them. Rather, women and men alike experience the environment and produce knowledges according to culturally specific gender roles (Agarwal, 1992; Cuomo, 1998). Feminist political ecology built upon such ideas, examining how various power relations situate diverse gendered knowledges, experiences, and resource access within environmental struggles, shaping their experiences of privilege and oppression (Elmhirst, 2011; Großmann, Padmanabhan, & Afiff, 2017; Haug, 2017). It is well established in feminist political ecology that literature on environmental conflicts often overlooks gender or equates it with women's issues (Banerjee & Bell, 2007; Mayes & Pini, 2010; O'Shaughnessy & Krogman, 2011). Focusing only on women neglects marginalizations experienced by all genders (Fröhlich & Gioli, 2015; Nightingale, 2002; Sinclair, 2021). Moreover, community interests are often shared regardless of gender, yet women's issues are assumed to revolve around themes such as family and public health distinct from men's presumed interests in economy (Bryant & Pini, 2009; Plumwood, 1991; Willow & Keefer, 2015). Queer ecology questions dichotomous views of sex and gender as "natural," positing that not only do gender relations influence environmental perceptions but imposed hetero-ecologies also have historically used ideas of nature to marginalize queers and heteronormative people alike owing to the violence entailed in maintaining such rigid gender hegemonies (Mortimer-Sandilands & Erickson, 2010).

This study contributes to gender and environment discussions by proposing a coloniality of power through violent gender hegemonies during environmental conflicts. Quijano´s (2000) concept of the coloniality of power postulates that global capitalism/extractivism runs on controlling power through hegemonically constructing certain Others as vulnerable minorities instead of central agents during land-grabbing. Consequently, resources are centralized among systems primarily benefitting white male elites as justified by the hegemonies that construct them as powerful. Applied to violence against environmental defenders, Mejía (2020) expands upon the concept to argue that community leaders are targets for violence because of and justified by their constructions as Others. Ongoing brutality towards environmental defenders has not only survived colonization but is also reinforced by contemporary governance and development. Adding a gender perspective, I argue that violent gender hegemonies are also an important factor Othering people and reinforcing global extractivism. I define hegemonic gender as widespread ideals of what it means to be masculine and feminine expressed through social values and behaviors (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005; O'Shaughnessy & Krogman, 2011). Beyond construing femininity in ways subjugating women to uneven burdens, extractivism also constructs a version of masculinity promoting violence and domination, which influences brutal tactics many armed groups use worldwide to suppress environmental defenders (Manning, 2016; Runyan & Peterson, 2014). Still, not enough research acknowledges men's dis/empowerment, thus overlooking harm experienced by all genders influenced by intersecting factors (Fletcher, 2018). Stereotyping women, men, and nonbinary people as victims or victors obscures experiences of violence, exclusion, and dis/empowerment (Cirefice & Sullivan, 2019; Resurrección, 2013; Tran, 2022). This cross-regional study thus contributes to the literature with discussions of the coloniality of power through violent gender hegemonies. Southeast Asia provides case studies of colonial systems of land-grabbing and extractive power imbalances situating hegemonic gender violence experienced diversely among people of all genders during environmental conflicts.

3. Materials and methods

3.1 Data gathering

To investigate gendered violence during Southeast Asian ecological conflicts, this study uses data from the EJAtlas. Research began by filing or updating EJAtlas cases featuring gendered experiences of violent repression during environmental conflicts drawing from a variety of sources such as academic, media, and activist reports. Empirical evidence is derived from 25 EJAtlas cases across Southeast Asia with a diverse range of gender schemes. These encompassed all 17 known cases documented in the EJAtlas in Southeast Asia read line by line to check for gender violence against both women and men as well as genderqueer people, with 8 more cases I found through Google searches of "(country name)" and "(form of violence)" and pronouns "(she/her/he/him/they/them)." Countries such as the Philippines and Indonesia are more represented owing to a relative lack of information on diverse cases of gendered violence and relation schemes elsewhere. Rural contexts are also more represented owing to the sheer volume of cases occurring at such commodity frontiers.

3.2 Data analysis

Gender violence was coded by reading EJAtlas cases line by line to sort incidences of violence. Codes were generated by case rather than by frequency. Violence was sorted into gendered categories according to how the incidents were justified. Violence was gendered as female, for instance, when justified by women´s inferior status, or gendered as male, for instance, when justified by men´s assumed predisposition toward aggression.

Indiscriminate violence such as arrests, evictions, legal harassment, or police brutality was coded as violence against all. Such information was then used to explore changes in gender relations and distributions of gender violence throughout environmental conflicts in the discussion. Owing to underreporting, some cases additionally did not have enough detail to draw conclusions about gender relations or other intersecting factors. Subsequently, academic sources were used to provide the missing contexts where possible.

4. Results: Description and coding of EJAtlas cases

The following section presents 25 EJAtlas cases centering gendered experiences of violence and shifts in gender relations alongside extractive projects in Cambodia, Indonesia, Malaysia, Myanmar, Philippines, Thailand, and Vietnam. EJAtlas reports are linked in footnotes. Case selection is not representative or generalizable, but a sample of gender relation schemes and violence. The sample was drawn from all EJAtlas cases in Southeast Asia, filtering only those explicitly involving repressive violence against multiple genders. Any statements are made regarding the cases rather than each country or Southeast Asia.

Table 5.1 Distributions of coded gendered violences by case

Case	Country	Violence against women	Violence against men	Violence against all
'Blood sugar' land grab [3]	Cambodia	Repression, uneven burdens	Physical attacks, work-related toxicity exposure/safety hazards	Arrests, death threats, forced evictions, legal harassment, police/military brutality
Boeung Kak Lake evictions[4]	Cambodia	Discursive violence*, domestic violence, repression, uneven burdens	Discursive violence, physical attacks, social ills	Arrests, forced evictions, legal harassment, police/military brutality
Boeung Tamok Lake filling[5]	Cambodia	Discursive violence, domestic violence, repression, uneven burdens	Discursive violence, physical attacks, social ills	Arrests, forced evictions, legal harassment, police/military brutality, smear campaigns
HAGL rubber plantation[6]	Cambodia	Discursive violence, domestic violence, repression, uneven burdens	Physical attacks, work-related toxicity exposure/safety hazards	Arrests, death threats, legal harassment, police/military brutality
Logging on Souy land[7]	Cambodia	Repression	Physical attacks	Arrests, death threats, forced evictions, legal harassment, police/military brutality
Cement factory in karst mountain[8]	Indonesia	Repression	Discursive violence	Police/military brutality
Gosowong gold mine[9]	Indonesia	Uneven burdens	Work-related toxicity exposure/safety hazards	Arrests, legal harassment, police/military brutality, smear campaigns

[3]https://ejatlas.org/conflict/blood-sugar-land-grab-by-phnom-penh-sugar-company-kampong-speu-cambodia
[4]https://ejatlas.org/conflict/boeung-kak-lake-evictions-phnom-penh
[5]https://ejatlas.org/conflict/boeung-tamok-lake-filling-near-samroang-tboung-village-prek-pnov-cambodia
[6]https://ejatlas.org/conflict/hoang-anh-gia-lai-rubber-plantation-on-Indigenous-land-in-ratanakiri-cambodia
[7]https://ejatlas.org/conflict/logging-on-Indigenous-souy-land-in-kampong-speu-cambodia
[8]https://ejatlas.org/conflict/women-cement-their-feet-in-protest-against-cement-factory-indonesia
[9]https://ejatlas.org/conflict/gold-mining-on-Indigenous-pagu-territories-in-north-halmahera-indonesia

Illegal manganese mining[10]	Indonesia	Discursive violence, repression	Work-related toxicity exposure/safety hazards	Arrests, police/military brutality
Marble mining on Mollo land[11]	Indonesia	Uneven burdens	Work-related toxicity exposure/safety hazards	Forced evictions, murders/attempts, police/military brutality, stalking/surveillance
PTPN II oil palm plantation[12]	Indonesia	Uneven burdens	Work-related toxicity exposure/safety hazards	Abductions, arrests, death threats, forced evictions, legal harassment, murders/attempts, police/military brutality, stalking/surveillance
Deforestation on Temiar land[13]	Malaysia	Sexual assault	Physical attacks	Arrests, death threats, legal harassment, LGBTQI discrimination/violence, police/military brutality, smear campaigns
Dawei Special Economic Zone[14]	Myanmar	Repression, uneven burdens, sexual assault	Work-related toxicity exposure/safety hazards	Forced evictions, death threats, police/military brutality, smear campaigns
Lynas Refinery [15]	Malaysia	Repression	Discursive violence	Arrests, legal harassment, police/military brutality, smear campaigns
MAC oil palm plantation[16]	Myanmar	Discursive violence, repression,	Discursive violence, work-related toxicity exposure/safety hazards	Forced evictions, police/military brutality
Anti-LGBTQI typhoon recovery[17]	Philippines	Discursive violence, domestic violence, repression, sexual assault, uneven burdens	Discursive violence, physical attacks, social ills, work-related toxicity exposure/safety hazards	Death threats, forced evictions, legal harassment, LGBTQI discrimination/ violence, police/military brutality
Bataan Nuclear Power Plant[18]	Philippines	Discursive violence, repression	Physical attacks	Arrests, death threats, legal harassment, police/military brutality, smear campaigns, stalking/surveillance
Coal-Free Bataan Movement[19]	Philippines	Discursive violence, repression	Work-related toxicity exposure/safety hazards	Death threats, legal harassment, murders/attempts, police/military brutality, smear campaigns

[10]https://ejatlas.org/conflict/illegal-manganese-mining-in-north-central-timor-indonesia
[11]https://ejatlas.org/conflict/marble-mining-in-Indigenous-mollo-territory-in-west-timor-indonesia
[12]https://ejatlas.org/conflict/ptpn-ii-displaces-Indigenous-rakyat-pununggu-people-for-plantations-in-north-sumatra-indonesia
[13]https://ejatlas.org/conflict/deforestation-on-orang-asli-temiar-territory-in-the-balah-permanent-forest-reserve-gua-musang-malaysia
[14]https://ejatlas.org/conflict/dawei-sez-tanintharyi-region-myanmar
[15]https://ejatlas.org/conflict/lynas-refinery-in-kuantan
[16]https://ejatlas.org/conflict/mac-oil-palm-plantation-tanintharyi-region-myanmar
[17]https://ejatlas.org/conflict/post-disaster-typhoon-yolanda-recovery-process-fossil-fuels-climate-change-conflict
[18]https://ejatlas.org/conflict/bataan-nuclear-power-plant-in-morong-philippines
[19]https://ejatlas.org/conflict/coal-mining-leading-to-the-killing-of-gloria-capitan

Compostela Valley killings[20]	Philippines	Repression	Physical attacks, work-related toxicity exposure/safety hazards	Arrests, death threats, legal harassment, murders/attempts, police/military brutality, smear campaigns, stalking/surveillance
Dawang coffee plantation[21]	Philippines	Repression	Work-related toxicity exposure/safety hazards	Arrests, death threats, forced evictions, legal harassment, murders/attempts, police/military brutality, smear campaigns, stalking/surveillance
Gold mine killings in Mindanao[22]	Philippines	Repression	Physical attacks, work-related toxicity exposure/safety hazards	Arrests, death threats, legal harassment, murders/attempts, police/military brutality, smear campaigns, stalking/surveillance
King-King copper and gold mine[23]	Philippines	Repression	Work-related toxicity exposure/safety hazards	Arrests, legal harassment, murders/attempts, police/military brutality, smear campaigns, stalking/surveillance
Coal power plants[24]	Thailand	Discursive violence, repression	Work-related toxicity exposure/safety hazards	Arrests, death threats, legal harassment, murders/attempts, police/military brutality, smear campaigns, stalking/surveillance
Lignite mining[25]	Thailand	Discursive violence, repression	Work-related toxicity exposure/safety hazards	Abductions, arrests, death threats, forced evictions, legal harassment, murders/attempts, police/military brutality, smear campaigns
Formosa toxic waste spill[26]	Vietnam	Discursive violence, domestic violence, human trafficking, repression, sexual assault, uneven burdens	Physical attacks, work-related toxicity exposure/safety hazards	Arrests, death threats, legal harassment, police/military brutality, smear campaigns, stalking/surveillance
Hung Phu Residential Area[27]	Vietnam	Discursive violence, domestic violence, repression, uneven burdens	Discursive violence, social ills	Forced evictions, legal harassment, police/military brutality, smear campaigns

[20] https://ejatlas.org/conflict/compostela-in-mindanao-philippines
[21] https://ejatlas.org/conflict/dawang-coffee-plantation-on-Indigenous-territory-in-south-cotabato-mindanao-philippines
[22] https://ejatlas.org/conflict/illegal-gold-mining-and-killing-of-anti-mining-Indigenous-leader-jimmy-liguyon-mindano-philippines
[23] https://ejatlas.org/conflict/king-king-copper-and-gold-mine-in-compostela-mindanao-philippines
[24] https://www.ejatlas.org/conflict/proposed-coal-power-plant-in-prachuab-khirikhan-thailand
[25] https://ejatlas.org/conflict/lignite-mining-in-lampang-thailand
[26] https://ejatlas.org/conflict/formosa-toxic-waste-spill-and-marine-life-disaster-in-central-vietnam
[27] https://ejatlas.org/conflict/hung-phu-residential-area-cai-rang-vietnam

4.1 Violence against women: from housewives to hustlers

As Table 5.1 shows, forms of gendered violence specifically targeting women during conflicts were repression, uneven burden, domestic violence, discursive violence, sexual assault, and human trafficking. Gender repression and uneven burden were the most experienced across contexts. Repression refers to blocking or attacking defenders for attending protests, accessing courts, delivering letters/petitions/data, or otherwise mobilizing. Repression was often informed by women's social roles excluding them from decision-making or punishing them when voicing concerns. For example, in the illegal manganese mining case in Indonesia[8], Wilfrida Lalian strugged because husbands did not allow wives to mobilize. Uneven burdens, meanwhile, are when gendered division of labor intensifies demands on women managing ecological consequences (Resurreccion et al., 2004). This was not observed among men in the cases. As observed in cases such as the post-disaster conflict in Tacloban City, Philippines[15] (H. T. Nguyen, 2019), in the wake of ensuing livelihood loss, women took on provider roles while still managing unshared and increasingly difficult household responsibilities.

Discursive and domestic violence, meanwhile, were punitive harms inflicted on women justified by gendered narratives. These forms of violence were perhaps underrepresented owing to a lack of reporting. Discursive violence is communication normalizing violence and constructing subjects as inferior Others justifying other forms of violence (Mikulewicz, 2020). For example, Waewrin Buangern, when detained for mobilizing against lignite mining in Thailand[23], was physically and verbally attacked as undesirable for marriage and thus sub-human. This was universal across class because, even for Aquino, who achieved presidency partly for fighting the Bataan Nuclear Power Plant[16], violent public discourse limited her using feminine-coded domesticity tropes to appear less threatening. Discursive violence often informed domestic violence, which were incidences of husbands violently retaliating against wives for their activism, as seen in Boeung Kak[2] and Boeung Tamok[3]. Sexual assault and human trafficking appeared as the most extreme and rare forms of violence against women. Such forms of violence were informed by the discursive construction of their bodies as inferior and sexualized, as occurred with the Rakyat Pununggu in Indonesia[10]. Likewise, human trafficking increased in the aftermath of the Formosa toxic waste spill in Vietnam[24] owing to their hypersexualized inferiority.

4.2 Violence against men: from husbands to hitmen

Forms of violence against men encountered during conflicts included work-related toxicity exposure and safety hazards; social ills; discursive violence; and physical attacks (Table 5.1). Work-related exposure was when gendered division of labor determined who suffered from which kinds of toxicity or safety hazards and how. For example, fishermen in villages affected by the Formosa waste spill in Vietnam ingested contaminated water while fishing and fell ill or died[24]. Among community members struggling in a conflict against Phnom Penh sugar company in Kampong Speu, Cambodia, men were frequently injured and killed when working with sugarcane cutting machines[1]. Although the cases in this study observed this form of violence against men, this does not mean that they have it worse or that women do not suffer work-related exposures. Rather, discussions of work-related exposures against men tend to overshadow those against women (Navas, 2022).

Extractive industries' impoverishment of local communities incited gender violence wherein rising unemployment made it difficult for men to meet socioeconomic criteria for manhood. This in turn incited not only corporate interests enacting violence against men

during protests, but also provoked men to enact violence themselves upon their own communities in response to gender identity crises. In discursive violence cases harming men, public discourse constructed men as impulsively and excessively violent themselves. This justified state use of brute force to control them in some cases such as Boeung Kak[2] and Boeung Tamok[3] where it was thought that men were more likely to face the brunt of physical brutality than women. Such discursive violence also contributed to their exclusion in some cases such as a cement conflict in Indonesia where men were considered too aggressive to include in mobilizations, as their presence would escalate violence[6]. The other forms of violence against men justified by discursive violence were physically punitive or defensive of honor rather than sexually or domestically controlling as is for women. Across most cases, such frustration with strength and dominance-based masculinity manifested in rising rates of self-harm and interpersonal violence. For example, men tended to also engage in social ills such as substance abuse, gambling, crime, and insurgency because such options were presented as coping mechanisms to rectify feeling emasculated against the backdrop of racialization and class violence. This likely also applies to politically unstable militarized contexts such as the Philippines or Thailand wherein all listed cases of kidnapping and brutality against women[16-23] were perpetuated by male thugs.

4.3 Violence against everyone: beyond binaries

The cases show how extractive industries introduce or worsen gender violence because they manipulate local beliefs and practices toward hegemonic masculinities and femininities justifying resource extraction and exploiting everyone. Most of these countries were also very militarized, increasing gender rigidity and capacities for mass violence. Militarized, extractive hierarchies typically center men throughout institutions, culture, and more, normalizing and presenting them as gender neutral (Ashamole, 2019; Bjarnegård & Melander, 2011; Stoddart & Tindall, 2011). Gendered bodies are then relegated to certain spaces and excluded from others, which is further stratified by other intersectional factors (Lahiri-Dutt, 2013). Consequently, as Table 5.1 shows, even among manifestations of violence indiscriminately targeting people of any gender such as police/military brutality, death threats, smear campaigns, legal harassment, arrests, property destruction, and more, gender hegemonies still nuance space and agency. For example, whereas women were typically murdered at or on the way home, men were typically murdered at work. Across every case, marginalization causes people across gender to experience or even perpetuate violence. In the Lynas refinery case[3], differences in violence and exclusion between a white expat woman and locals meant even local men with expert knowledge were hierarchically lesser than whites. People across generations also experience violence differently, such as in the cases of youth activists in Cambodia and the Philippines whose loss of livelihoods prevented them from achieving socioeconomic criteria for adulthood. Yet they were also empowered in having globalized access to education and tools. Elders 'experiences of exclusion or respect also depend on contexts such as women elders having leadership in the Souy case[11] but disregarded as weak in the King-King[19] and MAC[18] cases.

Distinct forms of gendered violence occurred in cases of a transwoman and her community in the Philippines and a queer activist advocating on behalf of the Temiar in Malaysia[17]. As (Gaard, 1993) writes, hegemonic gender standardizes heterosexuality and gender binaries, defining queers as those failing to adhere to norms. Queer oppression emerges from legally, religiously, and socioculturally sanctioned violence based on devaluation as "against nature" (p. 26). In the cases of Golong from the Philippines[7] and Kasim from Malaysia[17], verbal and violent attacks were distinctly sexual because their

bodies were coded as deviant and deserving punishment. This mirrors violence against women, however, the two also faced further marginalization as people unable to fit into mainstream narratives such as motherhood to assert authority. Consequently, Golong was excluded from receiving basic aid after a typhoon, though her gender flexibility also allowed for better outreach between networks. Nuance also was intersectionally different for Kasim, who was demonized despite being a lawyer and not as marginalized as the Indigenous peoples she represented. Gender paradigms thus become violent when dehumanizing those who cannot fulfill rigid gender expectations.

5. Discussion

Building upon patterns in gender distributions and experiences of violence during environmental conflicts, this section examines how extractivist paradigms inform violence by shifting gender dynamics through the coloniality of power. Environmental conflicts reinforce inegalitarian gender relations by imposing rigid hierarchies and roles disempowering women, men, and anyone in between in gendered ways. Just as there are many manifestations of gendered violence across contexts, there are also many ways environmental defenders counter violence ensuing from gendered stereotypes.

5.1 How extractivism introduces and reinforces hegemonic gender violence

5.1.1 Extractivism introducing hegemonic gender violence through the coloniality of power

Cases among rural Indigenous groups often had gender ideologies different to the colonial binary. In Malaysia, (Howell, 1989) stresses how the Temiar recognize physiological differences, but social roles are gender neutral. The the concept of a head of household is not native; people cooperate distributing tasks by ability rather than gender (Jegatesen, 2017). Meanwhile, in Indonesia, as (Arivia, 2018) observes in the case of the Mollo[9], gender relations are matriarchal, reflected in their women-led anti-mining movement. Mollo men share domestic tasks, supporting women's mobilization capacities. Samin women also led campaigns against a cement factory[6], asserting authority with perceived connections to Mother Earth. Additionally, the Rakyat Pununggu[10] and the Pagu[7] followed Indigenous hierarchies stratified by seniority and class rather than by gender. Extractive land-grabbing and colonization introduced violent gender hegemonies, eroding women and men's agencies as well as nonbinary conceptions of gender as Indigenous communities and their cosmologies become Othered through the coloniality of power.

Many cases provide empirical data supporting works showing that gender relations worsened when new legal, administrative, and market structures concentrated power among men in businesses, police/military, and more upon land-grabbing and the subsequent implementation of extractive projects (Großmann, Padmanabhan, & Afiff, 2017; Schroter, 2010). I argue that these institutions introduced discrimination and violence that were previously uncommon owing to a coloniality of power justifying extractive violence and domination of ancestral territories through using hegemonic gender violence as a mechanism to divide and conquer the people. Consequently, Indigenous women, especially elders and widows, faced marginalization and violence such as in the Kampong Speu[1], Ratanakiri[4], and Souy[5] cases as new gendered power imbalances superseded the agencies women previously had according to Indigenous gender relations and land ownership. Gender dynamics also changed among the Rakyat Pununggu[10] and Pagu[7] as markets delegated women to undervalued domestic work. Such institutions perpetuated gender violence against men too as they were absorbed into systems increasing exposure to bodily risks as well as masculine-coded vices including substance abuse, gambling, and infighting. Although multiple

meanings of masculinity co-exist as well as vary historically and culturally, hegemonic masculinity associates personal worth and identity with physicality and occupation (Carrington & Scott, 2008; O'Shaughnessy & Krogman, 2011). Extractive operations' riskiness may encourage violent interpretations of masculinity owing to industries such as mining placing importance on assumed physical strength for those working in hazardous conditions (Breckenridge, 1998). Although men were typically main targets for violence during conflicts, women were often caught in crossfires or sexually abused by corporate enforcers while tending to fields or home alone (Dwyer & Cagoco-Guia 2011). Eroding customs increased gendered violence for everyone during conflicts.

Hegemonic gender violence also stems from rigid gender binaries. In the case of post-disaster recovery in Haiyan[7], Indigenous gender conceptions included identities besides male or female (Gamboa et al., 2021; McSherry et al., 2015). Centuries of colonization Othered native gender roles as Catholic conceptions of gender and sexuality lumped together anyone considered deviant as gay. With the erasure of non-heteronormative Indigenous identities thus came the liminal status of gender and sexual minorities as conditionally tolerated in a stigmatized, isolated manner within wider patriarchal norms. This informs contemporary structural violence. Post-typhoon, women, but especially gender and sexual minorities, faced disproportionate vulnerability, violence, and discrimination because governmental and civil society efforts alike sideline gender issues. Meanwhile, in case of Indigenous Temiar against logging and plantations[11] in rural Malaysia, gendered violence was perpetrated toward allies rather than their own people when a lawyer defending their community was attacked for also being queer and advocating for transgender and sexual minority rights. However, outside institutions have stratified gender roles, often silencing women, and appointing men as environmental decisionmakers. This reflects uneven gender relations across Malaysia, which degraded with British colonization (Hirschman, 2016). In precolonial Malaysia's bilateral gender scheme, women had higher status than anywhere else in Southeast Asia before industrialization intensified inequalities. Malaysia is now among the worst worldwide in the Global Gender Gap Index as well as one of the most repressive Southeast Asian countries toward gender/sexual minorities (Manalastas et al., 2017). This is a form of coloniality of power through violent gender hegemonies extending beyond women and men to even the conceptions of gender itself as a rigid binary Othering and punishing those not fitting in.

Although I argue that gender hegemonies are one mechanism through which extractive projects use the coloniality of power, race is still a key factor Othering defenders, such as in the case of the Australian-owned Lynas refinery in Kuantan, Malaysia[3]. Many protestors faced police brutality and arrests over more than a decade in their struggles against toxic contamination, yet certain protestors are privileged over others. Australian native Natalie Lowrey, for instance, received worldwide support during her imprisonment in the aftermath of a mass mobilization. Without downplaying her bravery, however, many other protestors, including those who were also arrested or even hospitalized, have rarely been acknowledged, even for experts such as male expert engineer and activist Moses Lim. As various authors critique, in postcolonial countries such as Malaysia, those embodying whiteness are often granted cultural capital in economic, symbolic, and social ways (Koh & Sin, 2021; Lan, 2011; Wallace, 2018). The privileging of white bodies, in this case, took precedence over other factors such as gender, class, education, age, and more.

5.1.2 Extractivism reinforcing existing hegemonic gender violence

There were also many cases wherein gender relations had already long been stratified before extractivist projects exacerbated hegemonic gender violence. For example, gender relations in central coastal fishing villages such as those affected by the 2016 Formosa Plastics toxic waste spill[24] are patriarchal, consider women as inferior (Hao, 2012). Women often work longer hours and have limited decision-making power or opportunities compared to men beyond feminized tasks such as housework, raising livestock, and processing fish. According to traditional beliefs, men are better learners than women; women must not venture out in the public; and men's work is considered risky. The shift to a market economy exacerbated gender differentiation. With the decline of fishing owing to ecological degradation, women are increasingly marginalized. Consequently, Nguyen and Gordon (2020) point out rising trafficking for forced labor, sex work, and marriage. Women are seen as belonging to the husband's family upon marriage, whereas men and their wives support the parents. As economic situations worsen, parents sacrifice daughters often without knowing of the criminal outcomes after losing contact.

Another such mechanism for hegemonic gender violence was through militarized conceptions of masculinity. In contexts historically rife with armed conflict such as southern Tanintharyi in Myanmar or southern coastal Thai villages, there were strong divisions of labor where vulnerable, submissive women were left to do the domestic management and farming and men were expected to be dominant warrior-providers in charge of fishing, trading, and raiding/defending (Bjarnegård & Melander, 2011; Naujoks & Ko, 2018; Park, 2021; Polioudakis, 1991). Men not upholding militaristic masculinity as violence and domination are shamed by both genders, demoting them to the inferior status of women. Militarized masculinity marginalizes not only women, but also homosexuals, ethnic minorities, and more. The context of armed violence then made these places vulnerable to foreign extractive investments, such as Myanmar Auto Corporation (MAC)'s oil palm plantations[14] and land grabbing in Boeung Kak[2] and Boeung Tamok[3]. Increasing economic instability after MAC´s plantations were implemented increased some men's frustrations and consequent domestic violence or recruitment in armed groups. Women were furthermore institutionally excluded because, for instance, only heads of households could vote or participate in negotiations or would not accommodate domestic duties. Consequently, environmental conflicts often escalate violently, as cultural logics of militaristic violence, even under the guise of democratic institutions, suppress opposition with brute force.

Concerning women's agency, corroborating other authors´ observations (Mendoza, 2015; Mora, 2008; Naujoks & Ko, 2018; Park, 2021), even in contexts wherein some women were accepted as leaders and activists, many still faced uneven, increasing burdens leading to subsequent isolation and lack of confidence. Such underwhelming gender transformation was exemplified in cases such as the MAC case[14], wherein women's participation and leadership failed to transform inequalities. While women were welcome to add to critical mass during protests, rigid gender roles and disparities never improved after the conflict. Meanwhile, in the Philippines cases[15-21], gender relations may at first seem relatively egalitarian given the achievements of certain high-ranking women such as with the successes of women leaders against the Bataan Nuclear Power Plant[16], wherein one became president. Yet.women´s supposed agency may be compensating for men's inability to fulfill responsibilities. (Angeles, 2015) describes how men's ascribed roles as providers complemented women's roles as nurturers. When extractivism caused livelihood loss, women took on provider roles, but this has not eroded hegemonic masculinities as men

attempt to reassert dominance. Discursive depictions of women focus on kinship, deflecting from their contributions (Niu, 1999). In the listed cases, this not only hinged women's entry into politics upon approval from male politicians rather than merit, but also overlooked gender issues across intersectional marginalities (Mendoza & Lao, 2017).

Such gender tension was mutually constitutive between both rural and urban contexts. Similar patterns also occurred in Dawei, where the Special Economic Zone[12] exacerbated gender inequalities. Women's stereotypes, for example, informed how they received less information and opportunity to voice opinions while taking on extra burdens. Therefore, although there were many cases wherein hegemonic gender violence was already present, such violence worsened upon extractive land-grabbing. Corporations incorporated existing gendered power imbalances into their transnational colonialities of power, not only further Othering women and men who did not adhere to rigid gender binaries, but also using deepening marginalization as a convenient framework eroding the agencies of the women as well as the men fighting back unequal resource distribution. These stories then illustrate what (Edelman & Wolford, 2017) reinforce in their works on critical agrarian studies in that interactions between women and men as well as rural and urban are intertwined with evolving agrarian issues of encroachment and inequality. As the cases show, agrarian and urban development conflicts alike are hinged upon women's unpaid, unaccounted for uneven burdens and power imbalances, with communities, colonial cosmologies, and commodities moving between contexts through displacement and distribution injustices.

5.2 Environmental conflicts as opportunities to reform gender hegemonies

5.2.1 Promoting women defenders alongside men as supportive allies

In the listed cases, breaking down gender hegemonies most often occurred in the form of women's increased leadership and participation at the frontlines of mobilizations. Because violent gender hegemonies erode women's agency, increasing their agency through protest representation and leadership were critical. As other studies (de Vos & Delabre, 2018; Tran, 2021; Veuthey & Gerber, 2012) have observed, women defenders mobilize in ways that challenge dominant social norms and create alternative spaces in response to gendered barriers. Such mobilizations frequently politicize hegemonic femininity in protests. For example, in the rural Cambodian cases[1, 4, 5], women defenders justified their participation by attempting to shield men from the brunt of police aggression owing to their perceived docility. Women´s construction as more emotional also helped shame authorities and drawing attention by overtly expressing pain. Emotional demonstrations are one of the few opportunities for women to express themselves in a context where women defer to men (Hennings, 2019). Yet relying on such tropes can reinforce rather than transform women's agency in patriarchal contexts (Arivia, 2018; Munir, 2021).

In many cases, women justified their entrance into politics as an extension of their domestic duties. This combined with mobilization strategies portraying themselves as weaker or more emotion to elicit sympathy reinforce the very hegemonies preventing them from achieving equality. Moreover, authorities use such tropes to stigmatize women as irrational. Regardless, by putting their emotions and bodies on the line, women transgress gender expectations. These were not just women's movements, but women and men together in Indigenous movements against issues rooted in the same injustices affecting everyone. Women's increased suffering from mass brutality indicates their increasing agency and hence representation at frontlines to the extent that repression nowadays seems to hit men and women equally. The approach of sending women forward to avoid violent degeneration

of the struggles has been scaled down in recent years and women are also in prison, injured and killed. While women's rising mobilization is now recognized enough to be threatening, they are still not recognized to have safe spaces to voice their concerns without looming threats of violent silencing. As the coloniality of power shows, women lose agency during environmental conflicts owing to violent gender hegemonies constructing them as Others, institutionally dominating alternative gender schemes.

To this end, women's empowerment is not enough. Because much of the gendered violence male defenders face is also rooted in restrictive gender roles, those able to mitigate such violence created space for new gender conceptions. Men's respect for women's resistance in times of crisis was a necessary precursor to their increased respect for women as leaders, experts, and farmers/workers. Indeed, violence against men is intertwined with normalized violence against women, gender and sexual minorities, and ¨non-dominant¨ men, which reflects the fragility of domineering conceptions of masculinity (Baaz & Stern, 2009). For example, in cases such as the Mollo against mining in Indonesia[9], men's willingness to promote WEDs and perform supportive roles was critical in reducing gender violence for all people. Men shared childcare duties during protests, with the community at large organizing together. In many other cases, however, men perpetrated domestic abuse toward activist wives in retaliation for mobilizing. The same narratives justifying domestic abuse to discipline women's outspokenness are those also punishing men for not fulfilling dominant provider roles. This is reflected in how all cases involving domestic violence against women were the same cases involving social ills, discursive violence, and other violences against men. Therefore, by supporting women, men also supported themselves and their own gendered experiences of violence in challenging such hegemonies.

Working together to confront patriarchal structures can bolster successes. In the Gosowong case[7], Indigenous women's leadership was legitimized through reviving cultural gender relation/leadership schemes. Consequently, despite the government only providing community development funding through institutions only recognizing men, women could work as leaders together with them because community members maintained their traditional decision-making and gender relation schemes (Sinclair, 2021). The Dawang coffee plantation case[19] is another instance of redirecting gender roles toward Indigenous schemes with the support of the first female village chief after the assassination of the male chief during the conflict. Men and women also help each other in complex networks for bolstering safety, carving out spaces in public previously restricted only to certain privileged peoples. Such is especially key in challenging the coloniality of power through hegemonic gender violence. If the coloniality of power marginalizes certain groups of women and men alike during environmental conflicts, cases featuring coalitions between, for example, young men and women break age and gender-based Othering through their mutually reinforcing education, support, and other factors in Boeung Kak[2] and Boeung Tamok[3].

5.2.2 How defenders subvert narratives and transcend rigid gender binaries

Countering violent hegemonies also must encompass marginalizations beyond gender binaries, especially for gender and sexual minority defenders. Western heteronormative paradigms condemn traditional non-western gender schemes and corresponding identities during industrial development processes (Balgos et al., 2012; Schmidt, 2003). Applied to contexts rife with climate and extractive-related conflicts, perceived gender transgressions have consequences for not only women and men, but especially for queer communities. Yet gender non-conforming people often not only relieve

gendered burdens such as by doing both caretaking work and physical labor (McSherry et al., 2015), but also open new, inclusive spaces in doing so. In the case of transwoman Golong and other queer environmentalists in Tacloban City[15], social ambiguity allowed them to mobilize networks crossing between diverse groups. Recognizing gender and sexual minorities' needs and capacities at the frontlines challenges ideologies harming everyone.

Coalitions between and beyond genders are instrumental in challenging the coloniality of power across race, class, and more. The case of Kasim[11] was unique in her defense of Malaysian Indigenous communities she is not part of. Although her marginalization as an urban, educated, non-Indigenous LGBTQ lawyer are different from that of Indigenous hunter-gatherers, such collaboration is rooted in tackling barriers dehumanizing everyone during environmental conflicts. The mobilizations challenged mainstream interpretations of Islam that have, in the context of industrialization of the Malaysian forests, been used to Other and thus justify violence against Kasim and the Temiar. Advocating for the Temiar way of life confronted violent hegemonies by reasserting traditional values such as non-hierarchical gender relations endangered by extractive development's infensification of gender disparities and violence (Hirschman, 2016; Jegatesen, 2017; Manalastas et al., 2017). Thus, addressing gendered violence during environmental conflicts presents opportunities for change not only by uplifting women, but also by subverting narratives marginalizing everyone.

6. Conclusion

This article contributes knowledge on understudied gendered dimensions of land-grabbing. Because gendered experiences of violence are rooted in the same structures informing violence against all people during land-grabbing conflicts, addressing gender issues must extend beyond just women. The study used 25 cases across Southeast Asia to illustrate how diversely gendered forms of violence are rooted in and exacerbated by paradigms hoarding resources and power through what I argue is a coloniality of power through hegemonic gender violence. A near-universal pattern is how extractive projects often transform gender relations to become more inegalitarian, with some contextual variations. This leads to gender violence wherein women suffer from restrictions on their bodily and economic autonomy, whereas men are punished when not fulfilling dominant provider roles. Additionally, gendered violence punished anyone unable to perform hegemonically feminine or masculine narratives embedded in Western colonial impositions of gender through extractive and industrial projects, notably queer communities. Even in cases with successful conflict outcomes, defenders´ lives are still at risk partly owing to those successes reinforcing rather than challenging gender violence. Confronting gender hegemonies and subsequent violence in environmental conflicts therefore mutually elevates multiply marginalized groups across gender, race, class, and religion beyond Western extraction-imposed intersectional barriers and subvert violent narratives.

Chapter 6

Gendered violence martyring Filipina environmental defenders

1. Introduction

The Philippines is one of the world's deadliest countries for environmental defenders, though the murders are a small portion of other less reported violence leading up to killings, such as evictions, corruption, or militarization (Delina, 2021; Global Witness, 2021; Moreano Venegas & van Teijlingen, 2022). Former Special Rapporteur on human rights and the environment John Knox stated that "for every 1 killed, there are 20-100 others harassed, unlawfully and lawfully arrested, and sued for defamation, amongst other intimidations" (UNEP, n.d.). Such violence also differs across factors such as gender. Indeed, across Southeast Asia, women are increasingly at the frontlines of environmental conflicts (Morgan, 2017). However, not only do few studies draw attention to gender in deadly conflicts (Tran et al., 2020), but extractive violence is also overlooked in understudied countries such as the Philippines (Delina, 2021; Sifris & Tanyag, 2019; Wayland, 2019). By connecting gender to extractive violence, this article explores how gender influences circumstances leading to Filipina environmental defenders' killings using all known cases.

2. Background and literature review

2.1 Extractive violence in the Philippines

Across the Philippines, private corporations backed by the state have been increasingly pillaging the commons in pursuit of extractivism (Broad & Cavanagh, 1993). This has led to inequality concentrating wealth and power among elites while the majority live in poverty. Especially for rural areas, the government's neoliberalism diminishes communities' livelihoods, which require access to increasingly degraded natural resources (Holden, 2015). Broad and Cavanagh (1993) recount the history of neoliberalism in the Philippines wherein, since Marcos Sr.'s presidency, the government has prioritized free market transformations characterized by deregulation, privatization, and trade liberalization, ultimately leading to aggressive extractivism in the resource-rich nation. Allowing corporations to control land also has given them leeway to displace communities and violate human rights. Even without considering the increase in climate disasters, the rural poor receive no benefits from extractive pursuits (Holden, 2015).

Moreover, as Dressler (2021) explains, although the Philippines has long been murdering environmental activists, Duterte's authoritative regime emboldened the military, police, guards, and hitmen to violently target opponents to extractivism, often falsely "red-tagging" them as Communist terrorists. A declaration of martial law in 2017 has since criminalized defenders under the guise of fighting against terrorism, dismantling civil liberties with militarization through curfews, monitoring, arrest, and permission to execute with impunity. Martial law, especially in rural areas, legitimizes political elites, paramilitaries, militaries, and hitmen intensifying brutality against environmental defenders. Indeed, Kreuzer's (2019) analysis of police use of deadly force during Duterte's campaign reveals a dramatic increase in the magnitude and frequency of such violence compared to

predecessors. Hundreds of defenders have consequently died in protest against extractive projects over the past several decades (Dressler, 2021). The Philippines' future remains shaky in light of new president Marcos Jr., son of the former neoliberal dictator Marcos Sr.

2.2 Gender inequality and extractive violence

Despite the Philippines' reputation for being one of the most gender-egalitarian countries in Asia, discriminatory hegemonies still disadvantage women (Ramalho, 2019). Pre-colonization, women had higher social positions than men valuing them as doctors, political advisors, conservationists, and more. However, colonization introduced patriarchal systems not only subordinating women and stripping away their agencies, but also paving the way for environmental destruction (Gabriel et al., 2020). Stereotypical gender roles now construct women as caregivers performing unrecognized, uncompensated work as mothers and wives wherein they must make life as normal as possible in environmental conflicts. Traditional gender norms of feminine altruism were then co-opted into extractivism, creating a feminization of responsibility unevenly burdening women with social and ecological consequences as well as care work. Mobilizations also perpetuate these dynamics in normalizing Filipina WEDs' sacrifices (Ramalho, 2019).

Although the gendered aspects of murders of environmental defenders in the Philippines is still a burgeoning inquiry, a considerable amount of work has already covered women's vulnerabilities to violence in conflict scenarios. For example, in Sifris and Tanyag's (2019) study of Indigenous Moro women, findings indicate that on top of the brutality and discrimination the entire community faces in conflict scenarios, Moro women also face gendered violence and uneven burdens. Moreover, some authors on gender and disaster in the Philippines suggest that conflicts exacerbate and increase vulnerabilities with the breakdown of social, political, and legal structures in what is called multilayered violence (Aolain, 2012; Enarson & Chakrabarti, 2009; Neumayer & Plümper, 2007). In the Philippines, such violence tends to be patriarchal as influenced by conservative Catholic teachings, colonial legacies, and extractivism (Angeles, 2015; Brickell & Chant, 2010; R. B. Lee, 2004; H. T. Nguyen, 2019; Reese, 2010). Gendered vulnerability then occurs within contexts producing structural and physical violences that mutually reinforce each other (Nguyen, 2019). Structural violence occurs when political, economic, and institutional structures as well as social inequalities such as corruption or poverty impede individual wellbeing (Galtung, 1990). This often informs and enables direct violence, or physical brutality (Tran et al., 2020). This study contributes to theories of violence in environmental conflicts in the Philippines by adding feminist perspectives in investigating connections between gender, vulnerability, and assassinations.

3. Theoretical framework

This study contributes to theories of violence in environmental conflicts in the Philippines by adding feminist perspectives in investigating connections between gender, vulnerability, and assassinations. Accordingly, one main framework informing the methods and analysis is hooks' (1984; 2013) definition of feminism wherein, beyond fighting for gender equality, movements must also consider interconnected oppressions such as racism, classism, colonialism, and more because neglecting some oppressions maintains the basis informing all oppressions. Oppression means removing a person's ability to make choices, and there are two kinds: silencing those who never learned their rights, and forcefully silencing those who dared to voice their rights (hooks, 1984). Power operates differently in various contexts, and consequently, women's expressions of agency appear differently. As

the other side of oppression, agency is the ability to share in power structures controlling one's circumstances (Hirschmann, 1998). External restrictions on women constructed by the patriarchy such as violent practices (harassment, rape, discrimination, etc.), however, limit their abilities to live freely. This study then considers agency in examining power relations rendering WEDs vulnerable to violent oppression (Parker, 2012). Attention must also be paid to intersectionality (Crenshaw, 2016). Essentializing women as environmental victims or caretakers often obscures distinct experiences of violence and dis/empowerment (Cirefice & Sullivan, 2019; B. P. Resurrección, 2013; Tran, 2022). Applied to Filipina WEDs as a marginalized group, this study thus also analyzes intersectional marginalization informing the circumstances behind their assassinations in the context of environmental conflicts.

4. Methodology

4.1 Data gathering

This study collaborates with civil society actors in the Asia Pacific Network of Environment Defenders such as Kalikasan People's Network for the Environment (Kalikasan PNE) and the Center for Environmental Concerns Philippines to enrich the data with perspectives from those on the ground. NGO partnership facilitated the reporting of cases of martyred Filipina women environmental defenders on EJAtlas. First, Kalikasan PNE identified cases of WED martyrs needing documentation. Although the sample is small, the cases are all known incidences of Filipina WED killings according to civil society collaboration and thorough perusal of databases by the Association for Women's Rights in Development, Global Witness, Frontline Defenders, and Business and Human Rights Resource Centre, making the sample as representative as possible. Three cases, however, that of Rechely Luna, Lolita Pepito, and Rita Gascon, were excluded for not having enough documentation. To establish a baseline for data consistency, cases were only included if there was at least enough information to complete all fields in the EJAtlas factsheets.

The organization, from knowledge gathered through networks and keeping up with news, already had been maintaining a list of names of WED martyrs and rudimentary information such as conflict types, affiliations, dates of murders/discoveries, involvement, and locations wherever available. The term "martyr" was requested by Kalikasan PNE out of reverence for WEDs' lives and contributions as well the political nature of their assassinations. We define martyrs as those persecuted and killed for speaking out against injustices. Because Kalikasan PNE did not have further knowledge about the cases they had listed, they then requested the perusal of online resources to fill in missing information. Secondhand data from news and academic articles was then used to report the cases on EJAtlas. Informants requested using only already published materials to avoid exposing activists in ongoing danger. Because of the difficulty in obtaining such scarce information, there was less consistency of included data in less-documented cases compared to high-profile cases, especially for those whose assassinations never made it to court. Indeed, according to correspondents, many extractive perpetrators in the Philippines also own or are major financiers of media corporations, and cases are often censored domestically.

4.2 Data analysis

A theoretical thematic analysis was conducted with the EJAtlas cases with feedback from civil society actors. In a theoretical thematic analysis, coding is informed by themes identified in other similar studies. Coding then focuses on how these themes appear in the present data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). In this study, cases were coded line by line in NVivo to identify data fitting themes related to violence against women defenders in environmental

conflicts such as demographics, conflict circumstances, violent incidences, and mobilization tactics. First, EJAtlas cases were uploaded into NVivo and case files were created for each woman or group of women in the EJAtlas cases. Next, attributes were assigned to each WED with values recording demographics only for those women whom the reports explicitly described using labels for indigeneity, occupation, and so on. Incidences of violence were then coded by reading EJAtlas cases line by line to sort conflict types and incidences of violence such as murders, arrests, evictions, legal harassment, or police brutality. Codes were generated by case rather than by frequency. Coding was then used to identify patterns specific to the Philippines, expanding upon previous global analyses of WED violence and killings (Tran, 2021; Tran et al., 2020). Owing to the underreported and obscure nature of many of the conflicts, some EJAtlas cases additionally did not have enough detail to draw conclusions about gender relations or other intersecting factors. Subsequently, academic sources were used to provide the missing contexts where possible.

5. Findings: Putting martyrs on the map

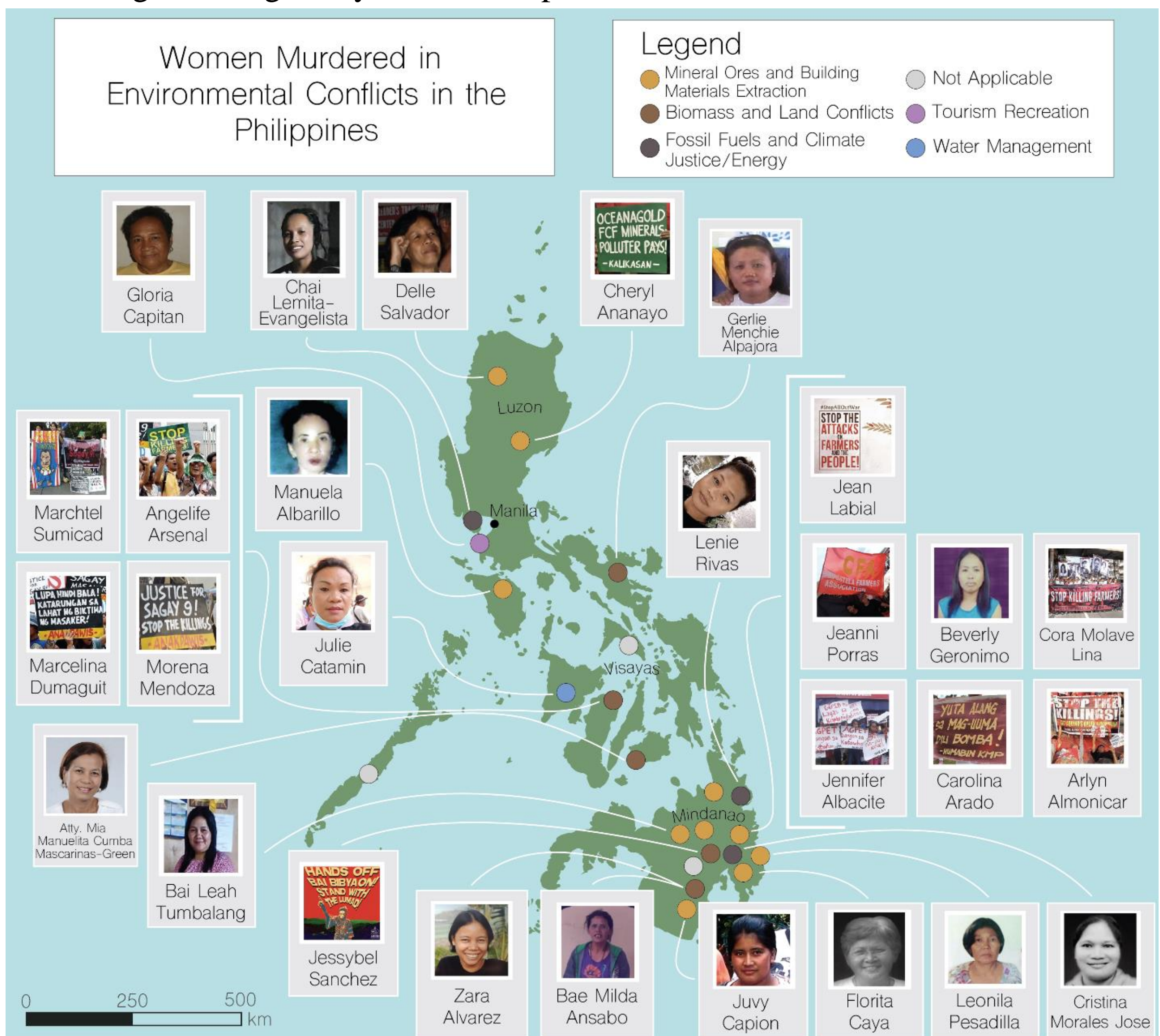


Figure 6.1. Map of women killed during environmental conflicts (credit: Arielle Landau)

5.1 Demographics of martyred Filipina WEDs

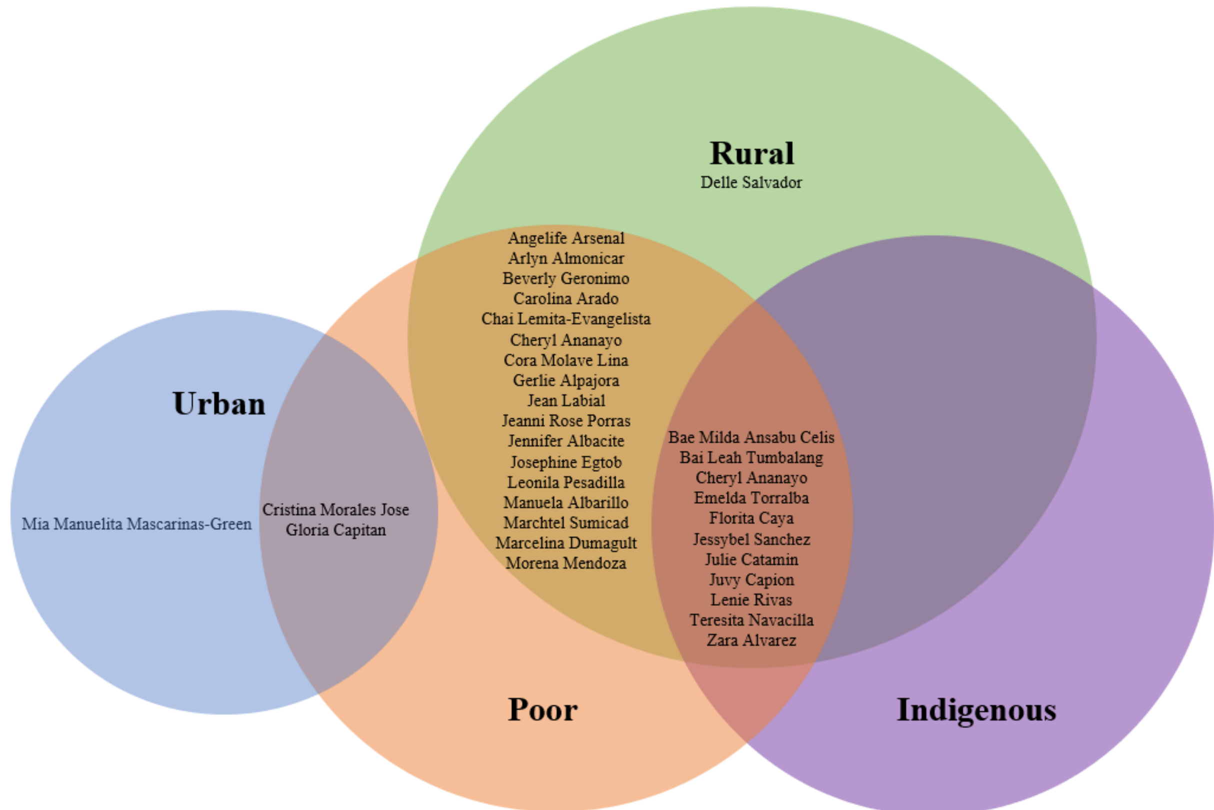


Figure 6.2. Distribution of WEDs by location, occupation, and racialization

Among those whose descriptions in either the EJAtlas cases or in media articles included such information, the women defenders were mostly rural low-wage and/or informal workers with few exceptions, and 10 were also identified as Indigenous. Indeed, all Indigenous women were at the intersections of poverty and rurality, and all the peasant non-Indigenous women were also rural except two (Morales Jose and Capitan). The only two better-off WEDs were specialist supporters of environmental movements: a lawyer (Mascarinas-Green) and a social worker (Salvador). The few urban cases had distinct conflict types only found in such spaces: hotel development (Mascarinas-Green), post-typhoon relief corruption in a heavily-hit metropolitan area (Morales Jose), and coal-fired power plants (Capitan). Meanwhile, rural cases were overrepresented because land rights inequalities were the main drivers of violence. This aligns with an overall boom in environmental defender harassment and homicides in major commodity frontiers such as Mindanao (the site of 12 cases killing 17 WEDs, see Figure 6.1) owing to violent repression paving the way for such projects (Dressler, 2021). Furthermore, Indigenous WEDs were approximately a third of those martyred and nearly all of the rural and the poor, which is disproportionate given that Indigenous populations make up 10-20% of the total population (IWGIA, 2022). Indeed, Indigenous peoples are at higher risk of killings because they not only have historically been displaced to commodity frontiers, but also suffer systemic discrimination and rights violations (Butt et al., 2019; Hanaček et al., 2021; Scheidel et al., 2018).

Figure 6.3. WEDs' mobilization roles

Among the WEDs with such information available, 12 were movement leaders, 2 were specialist helpers (social worker Salvador and attorney Mascarinas-Green), and 17 were movement members/protestors. The impact of their roles on the violence they experienced, moreover, was that whereas members were more often killed during mass violence breaking out during protests or raids, WED leaders and supporters were often singled out and individually assassinated. Source materials the EJAtlas cases cited also often depicted a majority of 16 women as wives, mothers, and grandmothers in explaining their movement contributions and motivations. This reflects the gender nuances behind WEDs' decisions and opportunities to mobilize.

5.2 Violent patterns across conflict types

Violence was higher among mining (10 cases killing 16 WEDs) and biomass (logging/plantations/fishing) cases (4 cases killing 8 WEDs) which have distinct contextual legacies in the Philippines. Because of these legacies, there were patterns in how types of extractive projects began and in ensuing violence against WEDs and their communities. The less-represented conflict types (two urbanization cases, one each for climate disaster, dams, and fossil fuels; 1 WED killed per case) also were rooted in the same inequalities.

Table 6.1 Circumstances behind primarily mining-related conflicts

EJAtlas case	Affected population	Encroachment method	Perpetrators	Case outcome
Andap Valley Complex coal mining, Surigao del Sur	Indigenous groups	Land sold to foreign investors by government; militarization; violent forced displacement	Transnational corporations	Impunity
Didipio Gold and Copper mine, Nueva Vizcaya	Indigenous groups	Land sold to foreign investors by government; violent forced displacement	Transnational corporations	Impunity
Diwalwal Mineral Reservation on indigenous land, Mindanao	Indigenous groups	Illegal entrance with no government intervention; violent forced displacement	Transnational corporations	Partial success
Glencore Xstrata Tampakan Copper-Gold Project, South Cotabato	Indigenous groups	Land sold to foreign investors by government; militarization; violent forced displacement	Transnational corporations	Impunity

Human rights and environmental defenders killed in 2017, Compostela Valley	Indigenous groups; peasant farmers	Land sold to foreign investors by government; violent forced displacement	Transnational corporations	Impunity
Killing of anti-mining activists in Mindanao	Indigenous groups; peasant farmers	Land sold to foreign investors by government; militarization; violent forced displacement	Transnational corporations	Impunity
King-King Copper and Gold Mine, Mindanao	Indigenous groups	Land sold to foreign investors by government; violent forced displacement	Transnational corporations	Impunity
Mining and logging operations in Pantaron Range	Indigenous groups	Land sold to foreign investors by government; militarization; violent forced displacement	Transnational corporations	Impunity
Mining and murders on indigenous land, Mindoro Oriental	Indigenous groups	Land sold to foreign investors by government; bribery; violent forced displacement	Transnational corporations	Partial success
Open pit mining in Ucab	Indigenous groups	Land sold to foreign investors by government; violent forced displacement	Transnational corporations	Impunity

In every mining case, corporations violently displaced communities without consent. According to international news coverage of corresponding court cases cited by the EJAtlas, perpetrators were transnational corporations financed by banks in Canada, China, Japan, the U.S., Switzerland, and more, some with known ties to government authorities. Some exceptions were illegal mines run by paramilitary groups, which the government turned a blind eye to. Affected populations were mainly Indigenous, sometimes including non-Indigenous peasants. In the Philippines, as Holden, Nadeau, and Jacobson (2011) explain, the government's mining interests target the Indigenous because of their historical settlement in mountains where there are high concentrations of minerals and ease with which corporations can cheat legislation. Even for the two cases with partial success, legislation initially recognizing communities' land rights were later violated anyway. Moreover, every mine deployed armed troops to brutally evict people without repercussion. Additionally, armed groups use mining and related corruption as opportunities for extortion and recruitment, often militarizing mines in southern regions such as Mindanao (Holden, 2014), where many cases occurred. Mindanao consequently has the nation's highest levels of armed conflict, environmental injustice, and gender injustice (Dwyer & Cagoco-Guia, 2011).

Table 6.2 Circumstances behind primarily biomass-related conflicts

EJAtlas case	Affected population	Encroachment method	Perpetrators	Case outcome
Banana plantations and logging in Mount Apo Natural Park, Mindanao	Indigenous groups	Colonization	Transnational corporations	Impunity
Illegal fishing in Bicol	Peasant farmers/fishers	Illegal entrance with no government intervention; bribery	Domestic corporations	Success
Murders of UMAN leaders over mining, logging, and plantations near Butuan City	Peasant farmers	Illegal entrance with no government intervention; militarization; violent forced displacement	Transnational corporations	Impunity
Sagay Massacre of Sugar Farmers	Peasant farmers	Colonization	Domestic corporations	Impunity

Biomass conflicts follow patterns of illegal encroachment intertwined with colonial histories. In the two cases of communities encroached upon through colonization, one of the main reasons the United States annexed the Philippines was for deforestation and plantations. As the economy became export-oriented, a new land ownership system concentrated land among the elite few (Cherniguin, 1988). The creation of agrarian laws privatizing communal peasant-occupied lands for large-scale agribusinesses continues today. Since the Comprehensive Agrarian Reform Programme was introduced in the Philippines in 1988 during the Marcos Sr. regime, agribusiness elites have been exploiting the laws to retain ownership of large estates or illegally appropriate peasants' and Indigenous groups' lands (Diprose & Mcgregor, 2009). State agencies also commonly criminalize poor farming communities, scapegoating them for the environmental degradation associated with biomass conflicts (Mostafanezhad & Dressler, 2021). Consequently, biomass cases were perpetuated by severely weakened regulation allowing for illegal exploitation of the poor and rural then and now with near-total impunity for corporations. The one exception was of a fishing community that was able to create new legislation protecting against large-scale illegal fishers, but this was done at the cost of the late WED Gerlie Menchie Alpajora and her rare success in managing collaboration with the police to investigate and prosecute perpetrators.

Table 6.3 Circumstances behind other conflict types

EJAtlas case	Affected population	Encroachment method	Perpetrators	Case outcome
Coastal and land grabbing for tourism in Hacienda Looc, Batangas	Peasant farmers/fishers	Land sold to domestic investors by government; violent forced displacement	Domestic corporations	Impunity
Environmental lawyer killed in Bohol, Visayas Islands	Urban poor	Land sold to domestic investors by government	Domestic corporations	Impunity
Jalaur River Multi-Purpose Project (JRMPP) Phase II Dam, Iloilo	Indigenous groups	Land sold to foreign investors by government; bribery; violent forced displacement	Transnational corporations	Impunity
Resistance to coal stockpiling leads to Gloria Capitan's murder, Bataan	Urban poor	Land sold to domestic investors by government	Domestic corporations	Impunity
Typhoon Bopha´s post-disaster climate injustices and relief corruption, Compostela	Urban poor	n/a	Domestic and transnational corporations	Impunity

The other conflict types (urbanization, climate disaster, dams, and fossil fuels) followed land-grabbing patterns that varied depending on location. The rural cases of Hacienda Looc and the Jalaur dam followed patterns similar to mining conflicts wherein corporations took advantage of lax regulation to forcefully displace communities. Meanwhile, cases affecting the urban poor were the only ones without displacement. Instead of new extraction efforts displacing people at commodity frontiers, communities suffered consequences of polluting projects in already-industrialized areas. The perpetrators were a mix of domestic and transnational corporations, though with more presence of domestic business tycoons and politicians named in the cases, possibly facilitating impunity.

5.3 Circumstances behind Filipina WEDs' assassinations

EJAtlas case	WEDs	Assassins	Murder type	Other victims	Justification	Outcome
Andap Valley Complex coal mining, Surigao del Sur	Lenie Rivas	Military; hitmen	Military raid	Fellow mobilizers; family/children	Red-tagging	Impunity
Banana plantations and logging in Mount Apo Natural Park	Bae Milda Ansabu Celis	Hitmen	Home shooting	Family/children	None	Impunity
Coastal and land grabbing for tourism in Hacienda Looc	Chai Lemita-Evangelista	Military	Serial killings	Family/children	Red-tagging	Impunity
Didipio Gold and Copper mine, Nueva Vizcaya	Cheryl Ananayo	Hitmen	Drive-by shooting	Fellow mobilizers; family/children	None	Impunity
Diwalwal Mineral Reservation on indigenous land in Monkayo, Compostela Valley	Florita Caya	Hitmen	Drive-by shooting	None	None	Impunity
Environmental lawyer killed in Bohol, Visayas Islands	Mia Mascarinas-Green	Hitmen	Drive-by shooting	Family/children	None	Impunity
Glencore Xstrata Tampakan Copper-Gold Project in South Cotabato	Juvy Capion	Military; police	Home shooting	Family/children	Red-tagging	Impunity
Human rights and environmental defenders killed in 2017, Compostela Valley	Leonila Pesadilla	Military; hitmen	Home shooting	Family/children	Red-tagging	Impunity
Illegal fishing in Bicol	Gerlie Menchie Alpajora	Hitmen	Home shooting	Family/children	None	Impunity
Jalaur River Multi-Purpose Project Phase II Dam, Iloilo	Julie Catamin	Military; hitmen	Drive-by shooting	None	Criminalization	Impunity
Killing of anti-mining activists in Mindanao	Cora Molave Lina, Arlyn Almonicar, Carolina Arado, Jeanni Rose Porras, Jean Labial, Beverly Geronimo	Military; hitmen	Serial killings	Fellow mobilizers; family/children	Red-tagging	Impunity
King-King Copper and Gold Mine, Mindanao	Teresita Navacilla	Military; hitmen	Drive-by shooting	None	None	Impunity
Mining and logging operations in Pantaron Range	Jessybel Sanchez	Military; hitmen	Drive-by shooting	None	Red-tagging	Impunity
Mining and murders on indigenous land, Mindoro Oriental	Manuela Albarillo	Police	Home shooting	Fellow mobilizers; family/children	Red-tagging	Impunity
Murders of UMAN leaders over mining, logging, and plantations near Butuan City	Emelda Torralba	Hitmen	Drive-by shooting	None	None	Impunity
Open pit mining in Ucab	Delle Salvador	Military	Work shooting	Fellow mobilizers	None	Impunity
Resistance to coal stockpiling leads to Gloria Capitan's murder	Gloria Capitan	Hitmen	Drive-by shooting	Family/children	None	Impunity
Sagay Massacre of Sugar Farmers	Angelife Arsenal; Morena Mendoza; Marcelina Dumagult; Marchtel Sumicad	Military	Military raid	Fellow mobilizers; family/children	Red-tagging	Impunity

Typhoon Bopha´s post-disaster climate injustices and relief corruption, Compostela	Cristina Morales-Jose	Military	Military raid	Fellow mobilizers	Criminalization	Impunity

Table 6.4 Circumstances behind WED assassinations

Most of the WED martyrs were shot dead, with many of them being targeted by hitmen on motorcycles. This aligns with a pattern Holden (2014) identifies for environmental defenders generally wherein the nature of such extrajudicial killings indicates a lack of fear of police intervention. Meanwhile, 8 WED martyrs were assassinated during military and police raids on protests and/or communities. Such mass violence included arson, bombing, property damage, and gassing. Sexual assault also commonly occurred during raids. The circumstances during which the individual shootings occurred also matter. In 14 cases, WEDs were not only themselves attacked, but so were others accompanying them in clustered serial killings or crowd violence. Furthermore, the killers had total impunity. Police and courts often delayed and covered up murders as well as did not investigate them properly. Obstruction of justice was also observed for the conflicts as a whole in that communities were not able to obtain any kind of retribution for environmental crimes.

In many cases, the State and the corporations sent military and/or police to crack downs on environmental defenders frequently veiled as terrorist rebels under red-tagging. Indeed, militarization of areas accused of housing communist rebels is often used to suppress Indigenous and local peoples' opposition to harmful projects or coerce them into consenting. Paramilitary groups likewise violently take over communities to control extractive projects (W. Holden et al., 2011). Reflecting such national patterns, most of the violence in the cases was associated with increased militarization and police presence during environmental conflicts. For instance, soldiers forcefully evicted Lumad communities from the disputed land marked for the Andap Valley Coal Complex. The military and police justified evictions by claiming that the communities had to be suppressed because they were full of NPA sympathizers. Meanwhile, they brought in coal mining machinery and fuel trucks while torturing and killing protestors such as Lenie Rivas.

In cases without red-tagging, companies hired thugs to repress dissent, though hitmen were often suspected military personnel. In state-backed violence perpetrated by military, police, and/or guards during specific protesting incidences, highly visible mass attacks publicly terrorized and smeared the entire community. Whereas red-tagging deems WEDs communist enemies of the state, criminalization uses trumped-up charges. Meanwhile, the cases involving hitmen and thugs targeting a specific person were less formal and less visible. Martyrs were usually killed through drive-by shootings blocking them from action, such as two hitmen suspected of being militia shooting Jessybel Sanchez in transit from a meeting about her community's petition and legal battle against logging firm Alcantara & Sons. Such killings typically involved death threats prior to the murder, such as in the case of Gerlie Menchie Alpajora. Alpajora was intimidated for a week discouraging her from her advocacy against illegal fishing in Bicol. She was shot dead sleeping next to her sons at home after her reports led to the arrests of several culprits. Although her killer was never apprehended, her death sparked a successful campaign jailing large-scale fishers and introducing protective measures in the local legislation.

6. Discussion

6.1 Filipina WEDs at the intersection of rurality, poverty, and Indigeneity

As the results indicate, impoverished, rural, Indigenous, and otherwise multiply marginalized women were at high risk of vulnerability and retaliation in environmental conflicts associated with a loss of status and agency. Indeed, WED martyrdom occurred mostly among rural, poor contexts as well as disproportionately among Indigenous groups. Poor communities were most negatively affected by extractivism owing to the Philippines' shift toward foreign export markets and deregulation. Rural commodity frontiers additionally became marginalized as places to exploit in service of urban centers (Holden et al., 2011). Consequently, many of these cases involved dubious or no consent, especially among Indigenous land rights cases. Dubious consent may reflect gendered power imbalances and status degradation concentrating decision-making power among men that corporations designate as spokespersons for the entire community. This was exemplified by the Jalaur dam's bribery of assigned male spokespeople to access Indigenous Tumandok land despite resistance from community members and Julie Catamin, whose leadership and perspectives went unheeded despite her position as barangay captain.

Moreover, corporations often discredit poor, rural, typically Indigenous peoples as uneducated, backwards, and against economic development, a pattern common in the Philippines and among Southeast Asian conflicts generally (Cabunilas, 2019; Großmann, Padmanabhan, & von Braun, 2017). WEDs at the intersection of rurality, poverty, and Indigeneity are particularly prone to such dehumanization in gendered ways, as observed in Lenie Rivas' sexual assault and killing after Duterte's orders to "shoot female rebels in the vagina" and dismissal of the violence as "collateral damage" in the Andap Valley case (Peoples Dispatch, 2021). Her humanity was disregarded owing to her intersectional disposability as a poor rural Manobo woman. Women's exclusion from decision-making has not only marked a loss of status but has also contributed to a loss of agency.

Regarding agency as one's ability to participate in shaping one's circumstances and live freely, poor, rural WEDs lost agency when violence was institutionalized by various forms of structural violence. Firstly, juridical bodies, police/military, and other institutions used social structures such as selective enforcement of policies/laws to facilitate the entry of unwanted extractive projects. Indigenous WEDs experienced additional intersectional loss of agency. The cases recount how gender relations worsened when new legal, administrative, and market structures concentrated power among men in businesses, police/military, and more upon land-grabbing and the subsequent implementation of extractive projects (Großmann, Padmanabhan, & Afiff, 2017; Schroter, 2010). Alternative, more egalitarian gender roles have long been well-documented among Indigenous groups in the Philippines. However, colonization introduced discrimination and violence that were previously uncommon and erased previous gender dynamics (Gamboa et al., 2021; McSherry et al., 2015). Extractivism then exploited such gender inequalities to support further industrial growth and exploitation through enforcing unfair gendered divisions of labor. Consequently, new gendered power imbalances superseded agencies women previously had according to Indigenous gender relations and land ownership (Großmann, Padmanabhan, & Afiff, 2017).

The cases illustrate the continuing development of such patterns in how WEDs faced increasingly difficult care work and wage labor demands upon men's absorption into extractive work and/or migration (Angeles, 2015; Tran, 2021). Moreover, structural violence sanctioned direct brutality against WEDs in giving legal preferences to companies granting

impunity for violent entry, extraction, and extermination. Rurality, poverty, and Indigeneity thus may subject WEDs to conditions diminishing their agency and status because governments and corporations violate their rights, reduce their decision-making opportunities, and reinforce unequal gendered divisions of labor.

6.2 Mining and biomass industries' bloody legacies

Mining and biomass conflicts may have been deadliest because of an association with industries and violent, gendered subordination. Mining is "an exceptionally masculinized industry in terms of the composition of its workforce and its cultures of production as well as symbolic exploitation of feminized nature" (Großmann, Padmanabhan, & von Braun, 2017, p. 16). Various scholars (Bradshaw et al., 2017; Großmann, Padmanabhan, & Afiff, 2017; Jenkins, 2017; Kopusar, 2002; Sinclair, 2021) concur that mining disproportionately affects women because of gendered roles. All the mining cases also featured high rates of WED repression by militia in raids or as suspected hitmen. Many of the mining cases were imposed through militarization. The government's low tolerance toward anti-mining protests means that mining hotspots are militarized for "security" (Holden, 2014). Consequently, as the cases show, conflict brutality often escalated owing to militaristic violence. Militarization possibly institutionally excludes women from participation in decision-making owing to the military and extractivism centralizing power among men, leaving women with less agency and uneven burdens (Angeles, 2015). For example, in the Glencore Xstrata case wherein Indigenous B'laan Juvy Capion was martyred, community tensions increased as Sagittarius Mines Inc. unequally granted employment, bribes, and political power to certain men they designated as decision-makers. Military camps may also reduce women's mobility and therefore agency because of increasing dangers of sexual abuse among other violences without recourse, especially among the Indigenous (Holden et al., 2011). Furthermore, all hitmen and military/police aggressors were explicitly male. Men's appointment into such violent roles during extractive conflicts may be rooted in male-dominated structures promoting dominance over marginalized peoples (Angeles, 2015).

The possible connection between industries and worsening gender inequality/violence is also the case for biomass conflicts owing to exploitative land policies, namely elites manipulating the nation's Comprehensive Agrarian Reform Program for agribusiness (mostly monoculture plantations, but also livestock) and logging (typically in tandem with plantations). Several scholars have previously observed how across Southeast Asia, such projects lead to major changes in land ownership regimes, which in turn introduces or intensifies violent gender stratification (Elmhirst et al., 2017; O'Shaughnessy & Krogman, 2011; J. White & White, 2012). These conflicts affected WEDs especially because, as other scholars have also found in the Philippines and Southeast Asia, such projects profit off land-grabbing and entrapment of local communities. This limits resources available for local households and widens pay gaps owing to gendered divisions of labor in biomass industries (Appelt et al., 2022; Hirsch, 2020). As with other conflict types, ensuing disputes are then rooted not only in concentrations of power shifting in favor of elite men, but also in burdening women with managing displacement and environmental consequences.

6.3 Gendered circumstances behind Filipina WED martyrdom

The circumstances of WEDs' murders were subtly gendered, including their pre-conflict vulnerability, mobilization opportunities, and experienced violence during conflicts. Firstly, gender informed vulnerabilities putting the WEDs at additional risk, such as the social and economic conditions contributing to the martyring of Cristina Morales Jose in the

aftermath of Typhoon Bopha. As Nguyen (2019) writes, unstable conditions aggravate pre-existing gender and social tensions. Conflicts thus become the trigger exploding underlying preconditions into violence (Aolain, 2012; Enarson & Chakrabarti, 2009; Neumayer & Plümper, 2007). Such was the case with Morales Jose's assassination on her way to file a lawsuit during militarization of relief operations. She was intersectionally marginalized as a poor woman in an urban space long-degraded by industrial activity. She already faced gendered vulnerability and restricted agency facing uneven burden living in a place physically and socioeconomically unable to withstand disasters in a context rife with corruption and structural inequalities. The typhoon's devastation of land and resources triggered violence and killings that would not necessarily have occurred had the prerequisite intersectional inequalities, government corruption, censorship of corporate culpability, and military impunity not already made her life so disposable in the eyes of her killers.

Regarding mobilization opportunities, violently blocking WEDs from mobilizing and widespread fear restricted women's agency to enter public spheres by making it unsafe for them to move and speak freely. This restrained WEDs to certain spaces as well as in some cases, forced them to evacuate or hide themselves and their families. WEDs' mobilizations often centering around motherhood themes also reflects the gender nuances behind WEDs' decisions and possibilities to mobilize. Many WEDs additionally mobilized in response to increased burdens from environmental consequences owing to gendered division of labor, such as Juvy Capion and other B'laan women's difficulties with food insecurity when mining degraded and blocked their access to the land. Capion, among some other WEDs, also described themselves as mothers to justify their activism as an extension of maternal duty when scrutinized for protesting. WEDs both constrain and enable parts of their identities within cultures that predetermine which practices and spaces are legitimate for whom (Kurtz, 2007). Some Filipina WEDs thus shaped their advocacy using motherhood tropes because as intersectionally marginalized people facing loss of agency, their mobilizations were constrained to what was socially acceptable and safe.

As for violence during conflicts, although all genders of defender are killed, there are gendered nuances in women's killings. For instance, 12 of the WEDs were killed while at home and accompanying family members. Shooting mothers and grandmothers in front of their children and grandchildren in such a vulnerable space carries different meanings and consequences for the entire community. Beyond the loss of community lynchpins, such terror tactics may carry additional emotional impact from violently disrupting the sanctity of family and home life. Moreover, certain forms of violence such as sexual assault typically occur specifically against women, preying on cultural narratives of women's bodies as embodying shame and symbolic of a community's sanctity (D. Taylor, 2018). These violences thus had material and physical consequences that restricted surviving WEDs' capacities to exercise agency in fear that by mobilizing, they not only put themselves at risk, but also others. Moreover, for WEDs facing additional intersectional marginalizations, discourse about the environmental conflicts focuses much more on the gruesome details of their murders rather than on honoring and recognizing the WEDs' lives and causes. This both sensationalizes the violence and normalizes the deaths as not newsworthy beyond violence inflicted upon a dehumanized Other (Tran, 2022). The gendered nuance between Filipina WEDs' killings and that of others is that, as gendered, racialized, socially and geographically distant targets for violence, their relative vulnerability and invisibility before, during, and after conflicts perhaps compels systemic impunity and apathy among extractive benefactors and silencing among peers.

7. Conclusion

This article explored how gender influences circumstances leading to Filipina environmental defender assassinations. The Philippines is one of the world's deadliest countries for environmental defenders, especially in mining and biomass conflicts. The contribution of this study was empirical data showing gendered, intersecting vulnerabilities WEDs faced leading up to martyrdom. Many of the WED martyrs were a combination of working-class rural Indigenous people, which reflects historical inequalities targeting these demographics for extractive violence. Such vulnerability was institutionalized by structural violence taking advantage of gendered disempowerment to facilitate extractive encroachment. How women decide to and can get involved in mobilizing is also subtly gendered. On one hand, women often mobilize in response to increased vulnerability and burdens from environmental consequences connected to hegemonic gender roles. On the other hand, environmental conflicts aggravate underlying preconditions for violence that had been building up. Furthermore, cultural violence, especially red-tagging, made it unsafe for many WEDs to move and speak freely.

Yet women's increased suffering from mass brutality indicates their increasing representation at frontlines as WEDs are now recognized as powerful albeit threatening. Acknowledging their roles as community and movement lynchpins, however, meant that a large proportion of WEDs were not only themselves attacked, but so were others associated with them in clustered attacks. While hitmen and armed forces shoot anyone they deem as threats, this carries a different weight for women shot in front of their children. Filipina WEDs loss of agency and martyrdom in conflict scenarios thus perhaps stems from the use and interpretation of intersecting marginalizations across gender, race, class, location, and more to feed into and support agendas developed by and for elite men to serve extractive interests. While there is now enough cultural recognition for women's leadership in environmental conflicts to deem them threats that need to be controlled, there is not enough to give them safe, respected platforms to voice concerns.

Chapter 7

A global analysis of gendered violence in environmental conflicts

1. Introduction

Assassinations are the most visible form of direct violence, but all threats to women defenders are difficult to document owing to censorship and a lack of data (Tran et al., 2020). Lacking documentation of violence against women especially is also prevalent owing to discursive discrimination against women treating the loss of their lives as normal, deserved, and "ungrievable" (Butler, 2020). To address this gap, this article examines 522 cases from the Environmental Justice Atlas (EJAtlas) involving WEDs, 79 of whom were assassinated for their advocacy. Routine assassinations of WEDs are not isolated incidences, but rather political tactics forcefully making way for extractivism. Gendered patterns of extractive violence consequently remain overlooked.

The study addresses these questions: 1) Under which circumstances have WEDs been killed? 2) How does gender inform types of violence against WEDs? Log-linear regression traced distributions of violence against WEDs across conflict types, commodities, impacts, and mobilizations. Binomial regression then addressed structural patterns in countries where WEDs were murdered. The contribution of this article is using a large sample of cases to illuminate global patterns of violence against women environmental defenders. We broaden analyses to circumstances leading up to and including murders because beyond killings, extractive violence encompasses displacement, repression, criminalization, and violent targeting. Given our statistical approach and the nature of the material, we are aware of the potential dehumanization of WEDs' circumstances and denial of their agency. However, quantitative data analysis using a large, representative sample is necessary for strengthening arguments that patterns of gendered violence found in qualitative, locally-focused studies are not merely outliers, but rather are occurring worldwide.

2. Theoretical framework and literature review

It has been argued in the literature that there is a connection between ecocide and genocide of native peoples, minorities, the poor, and rural communities. Ecocide is the notion that environmental destruction is criminal and has devastating genocidal impacts on affected communities dependent on the health of their environments for physical, spiritual, and cultural well-being (Crook & Short, 2014). Genocidal outcomes are those exterminating/persecuting groups, assimilating survivors, and reconfiguring cultural values (Dunlap, 2018). Ecocide typically begins with land-grabbing, or forcefully dispossessing communities of their lands and natural resources. Such usurpation is secured through colonial, legal, and institutional structures such as private and state land ownership regimes disrupting previous common law tenure practices. This control is also reinforced through ideological and discursive practices which may or may not be overtly exterminatory or marginalizing (Crook & Short, 2021). Ensuing ecological destruction then becomes genocidal when causing conditions fundamentally threatening a group's cultural and/or physical existence. More specifically, direct physical violence gives way to indirect forms of extermination through undermining place-based livelihoods, such as deforestation causing food instability, pollution causing health impacts (Lynch et al., 2021), or structural inequalities increasing vulnerability(Tran, 2021). There has been increasing attention to ecocide through environmental defender killings worldwide as well as slow industrial violence/genocide wherein people suffer long-term environmental consequences (Dunlap, 2021; Goyes et al., 2017; Lynch et al., 2018; Moloney & Chambliss, 2014; Nixon, 2011). However, that literature does not elaborate on the ecocide-genocide-gender connection, which is where this study's contributions lie.

3. Methods

145 cases wherein WEDs were assassinated for their advocacy were collected and published between December 2019 and December 2022. WED assassination cases already reported in the EJAtlas were also checked for accuracy, updated, and included in this analysis. A data capture of all 3,544 cases in the EJAtlas was performed on January 31, 2022, logging variables such as WED presence, conflict types, commodities, health and social impacts, as well as forms of violence coded with 1 for the variables' presence or 0 for the variables' absence. We then selected cases from countries wherein WEDs were assassinated (see fig. 1; n=522) because assassinations are contextual to each country's sociopolitical factors and because it provides a more rigorous comparison if the cases are compared to

cases not indicating WED assassinations in the countries. As such, countries with WED assassinations, to some extent, had different patterns than those without WED assassinations.

In addition to assassinations, we also selected displacement, repression, criminalization of activists, and violent targeting to deepen understanding of contextual, less understood violence in environmental conflict studies(Christian & Dowler, 2019; Nixon, 2011). These variables were chosen because these are categories of violence that the EJAtlas records. The EJAtlas identified such variables as key measures of violence through over a decade of collaboration with hundreds of activists on the ground, and these measures of violence have already been used in previous literature using EJAtlas data in statistical analyses of violence (Butt et al., 2019; Hanaček et al., 2022; le Billon & Lujala, 2020; Scheidel et al., 2020). Each variable was used to calculate percentages of WEDs facing each type of violence based on log-linear regressions, which calculated p-values and identified statistical significance, or the likelihood that the variables had a genuine effect on each other rather than seemed connected by chance. Variables with a p-value of approximately 0.05 or less were interpreted as having a 95% or higher probability that the variables had meaningful impact. Variables that were statistically significant for three or more forms of violence were used to analyze patterns in gender and violence.

To examine structural violence (Table 1), we performed a binomial regression analysis exploring how increases in Rule of Law and gender equality (independent variables) correspond to increases in the five forms of violence (dependent variables) for martyred WEDs (factor). Rule of Law is an index rating countries' governance accountability from 0-1 based on constraints on government powers, absence of corruption, open government, fundamental rights, order and security, regulatory enforcement, civil justice, and criminal justice (World Justice Project, n.d.). Meanwhile, the Global Gender Equality Index measures countries' gender equality from 0-1 according to economic participation and opportunity, educational attainment, health and survival, and political empowerment (World Economic Forum, 2019). During the regression analysis, we considered p-values ≤ 0.05 and conducted assumption checks to make sure the variance inflation factor (VIF) for the covariates were lower than 2.5 and tolerance was >0.40. This means that for the 29 countries wherein WEDs were assassinated, Rule of Law and gender equality corresponded closely. Quantitative data from both regressions is complemented throughout the paper with qualitative data from reading EJAtlas cases line by line. Definitions of each variable are in Table 7.1.

Table 7.1 Definition of variables

Dependent variables	**Definition**
Assassination	Death of one or more protestors, intentionally caused by a third party. Death can occur on the spot, for example when shooting to death environmental defenders, or be caused following wounds, rapes, tortures, etc. (Scheidel et al., 2020)
Displacement	Forced or otherwise induced movement of peoples due to the conflictive project or activity. It includes displacement according to resettlement programs or without any such scheme. It can be a direct impact of the conflictive project or an indirect, gradual consequence of it across time(Scheidel et al., 2020).
Repression	Threat to subdue or act of subduing protests by institutional or physical force. Includes a variety of tactics (frequently including violent and coercive actions, violating rights) taken by government, or security staff, militias or corporate actors, to quell dissent and protests(Scheidel et al., 2020).
Violent targeting	Physical harassment, injuring or assassinations of specific targeted persons, usually key activists, or to implant fear to defer environmental defenders' actions. Examples include violent threats to activists and their relatives, death threats, sexual threats, accident attempts, etc(Scheidel et al., 2020).

Criminalization	Criminal prosecutions of individuals and abuses of civil and human rights, the opening of criminal investigations unlikely to reach trial used to disarticulate, demoralize, and discourage social protest, and the use of disproportionate sentences for offenses to punish practices often deployed in protests(Scheidel et al., 2020).
Independent variables	**Definition**
WED	Women or women's organizations playing a key role in the mobilization against the contentious activity, either because they are affected by specific impacts (health, labor, household conditions, sexual exploitation, discrimination, or murder), or because they lead the main narratives of resistance(Scheidel et al., 2020; Tran et al., 2020).
Rule of Law	A 0 to 1 ranked index of countries' jurisdictions maintained by the World Justice Project based on eight factors: constraints on government powers, absence of corruption, open government, fundamental rights, order and security, regulatory enforcement, civil justice, and criminal justice(World Justice Project, n.d.)
Global Gender Gap Index	A 0 to 1 ranked index measuring gender equality across countries maintained by the World Economic Forum according to economic participation and opportunity, educational attainment, health, survival, and political empowerment(World Economic Forum, 2019).

4. Findings

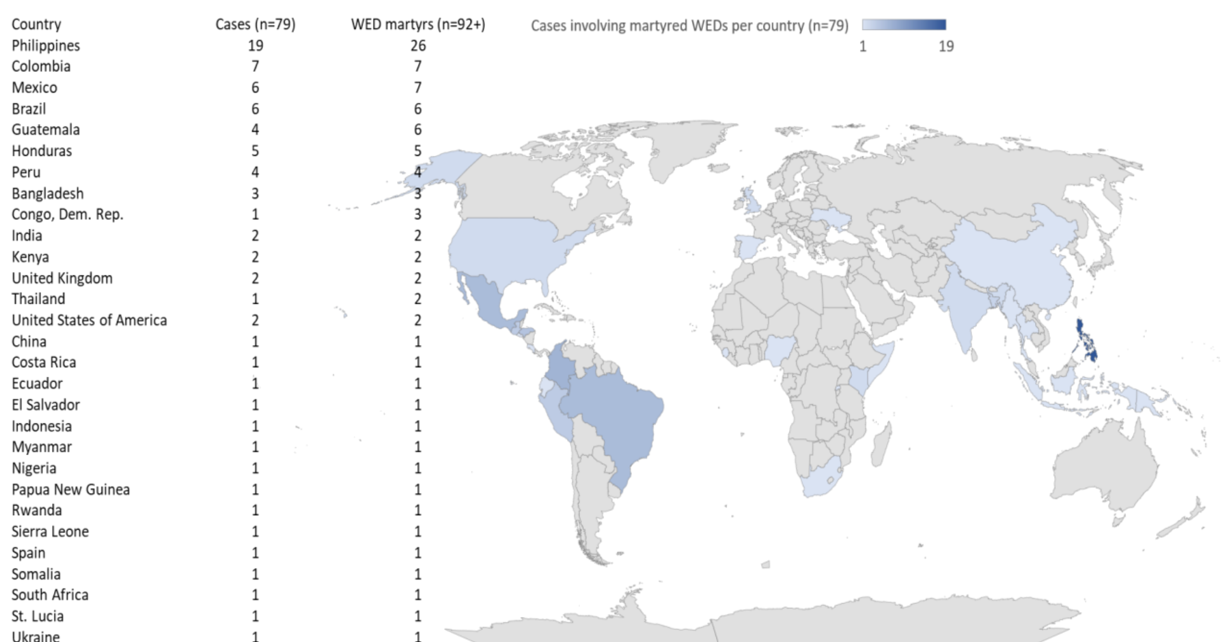


Figure 7.1 Distributions of WED martyr cases by country

WED assassinations predominantly occurred in Latin America, Asia, and Africa. Many cases were in the Philippines, Colombia, Mexico, and Brazil. This closely follows global distributions of assassinations of environmental defenders of any gender worldwide (Global Witness, 2021). The distribution does not mean that violence against WEDs is a Global South issue because there were also six assassinations in the U.S. and Europe. Even in Southern cases, some in Costa Rica, Kenya, Rwanda, and Saint Lucia targeted global North expatriates. The data is skewed toward the Philippines. There were 19 WED assassination cases, more than double compared to Colombia in second place. Some Philippines cases were massacres/serial killings, assassinating 26 WEDs across 19 cases, whereas cases elsewhere targeted one or two at a time.

4.1 Violence against WEDs and conflict types

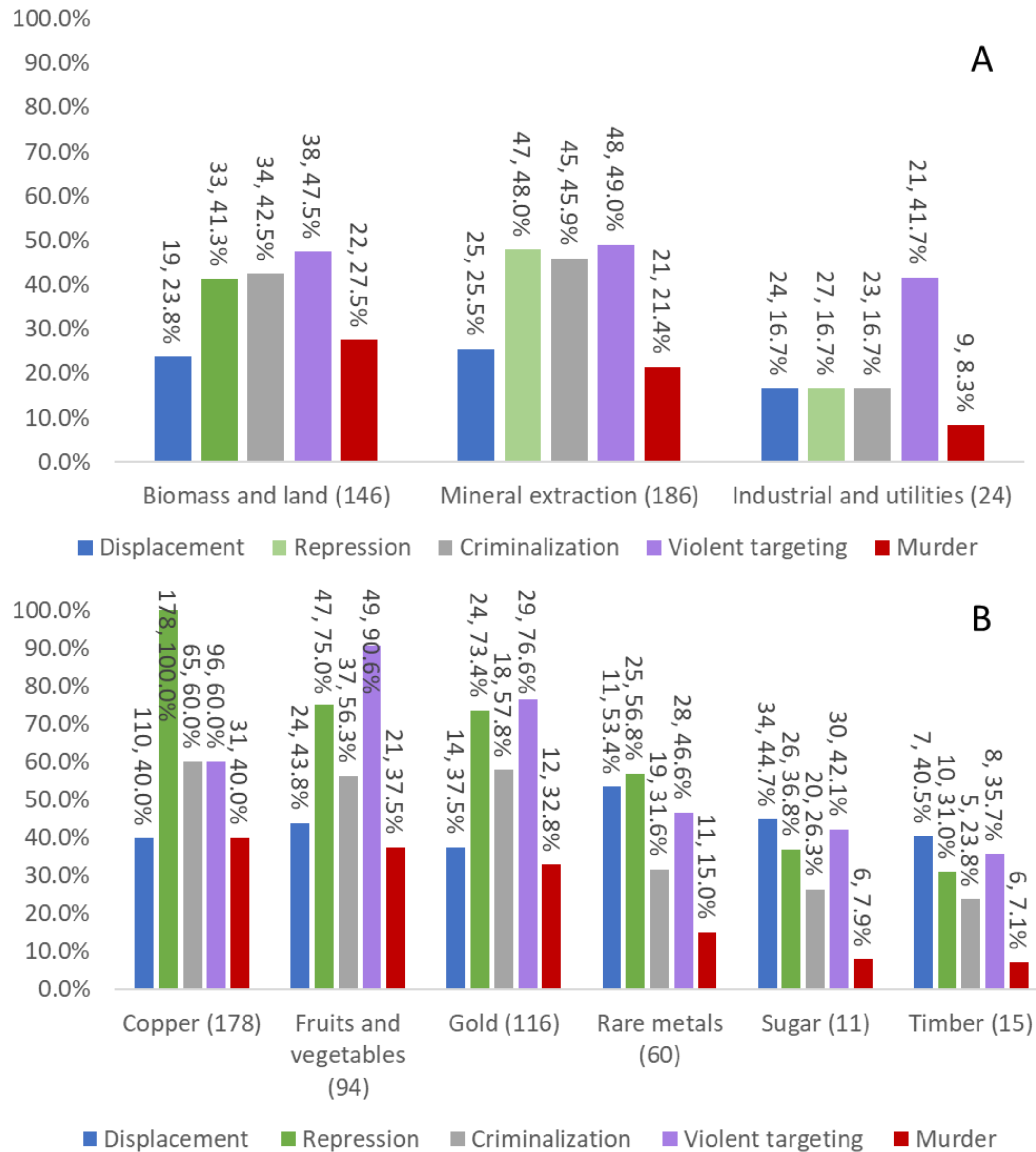


Figure 7.2 Distributions of violence across conflicts and commodities

Figure 7.2A shows that the types of conflicts with high statistical significance of violence against WEDs were biomass and land, mineral extraction, and industrial and utilities conflicts. Biomass and land conflicts (n=146) are disputes over forests, agriculture, fisheries, and other sectors directly reliant on natural resources in territories with contested land use. Mineral ores and building materials extraction conflicts are about opening and operating mines and mining-related harms (n=186). Meanwhile, industrial and utilities conflicts are disturbances caused by large-scale plants and the infrastructures supporting them (n=24). The distribution of violence throughout biomass and land conflicts was that nearly half of all corresponding cases involved repression (41%), criminalization (43%), and violent targeting (48%) of women defenders. Meanwhile, women defenders suffered a third of the displacement (24%) and murder (28%) in the biomass cases. Mineral extraction was similar as WEDs were subject to about half of the repression (48%), criminalization (46%), and violent targeting (49%) as well as about a fourth of the displacement (26%) and murder

(21%). Industrial and utilities conflicts were different in that displacement, repression, and criminalization were all evenly at 17% WEDs whereas 41% of those suffering violent targeting and 9% of those martyred were women.

As Figure 7.2B illustrates, violence across conflict types corresponded with extracted commodities. Mining commodities were copper, gold, and rare metals. Copper notably was repressive for women defenders in 100% of registered cases. WEDs also suffered an even 60% of the criminalization and violent targeting and an even 40% of the displacement and murder in copper cases. Gold inflicted high proportions of displacement (38%), repression (73%), criminalization (58%), violent targeting (77%) and murder (33%) against women. Rare metal violence affected WEDs in 53% of displacement, 57% of repression, 19% of criminalization, 47% of violent targeting, and 15% of murder cases. Biomass conflicts encompassed plantation struggles over produce and sugar as well as logging. Fruits and vegetables cases were brutal toward women in 43% of displacement, 75% of repression, 56% of criminalization, 91% of violent targeting, and 38% of murder cases. In sugar cases, WEDs suffered nearly half of the displacement (45%) and violent targeting (42%) incidences as well as 37% of displacement, 20% of criminalization, and 8% of murder. Lastly, the distribution of violence against WEDs in timber conflicts was 41% for displacement, 31% for repression, 24% for criminalization, 26% for violent targeting, and 7% for murder.

4.2 Violence against WEDs and conflict consequences

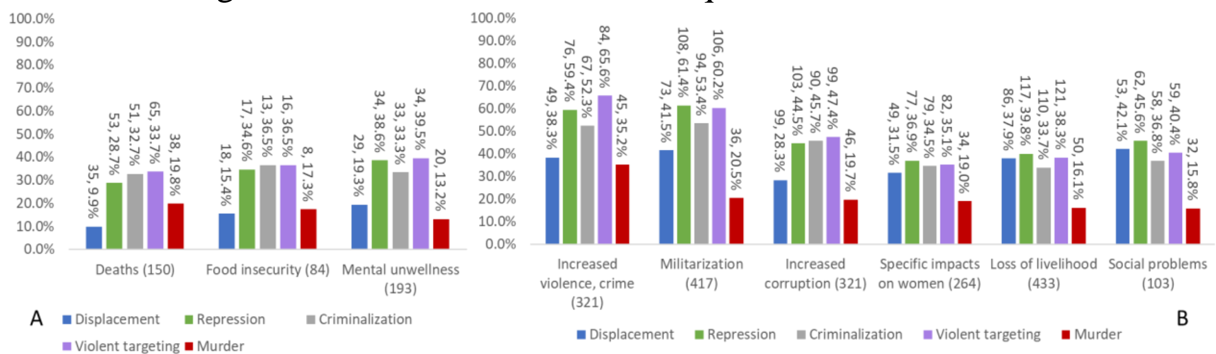


Figure 7.3 Distributions of violence against WEDs across conflicts and commodities

Figure 7.3A illustrates slow violence as health impacts statistically shown to involve WEDs either directly or on behalf of those they defended. Deaths resulting from sicknesses or accidents were the most serious outcome inciting women to action in 10% of displacements, 29% of repressions, 33% of criminalization, 34% of violent targeting, and 20% of murders. WEDs were also spurred into mobilizing in response to food insecurity, for which they experienced 15% of displacements, 35% of repressions, 37% of criminalization and violent targeting, and 17% of murders. Ensuing mental unwellness such as depression, anxiety, and trauma-induced stress then afflicted WEDs in 19% of displacements, 39% of repressions, 33% of criminalization, 40% of violent targeting, and 13% of murders.

As depicted in Figure 7.3B, social impacts involving a statistically significant proportion of WEDs were those reducing agency and mobility. Extractive projects increased violence and crime. Consequently, WEDs appeared in 38% of displacements, 59% of repressions, 52% of criminalization, 66% of violent targeting, and 35% of murders. Militarization often enforced extractive development, affecting women in 41% of displacements, 61% of repressions, 53% of criminalization, 60% of violent targeting, and

21% of murders. The EJAtlas defines corruption as perpetrators abusing power for financial/political gain in cases where it is evidenced and documented in court judgements and/or by mobilizing groups. Increased corruption was associated with WEDs in 28% of displacements, 45% of repressions, 46% of criminalization, 47% of violent targeting, and 20% of murders. Specific impacts on women were increased sexual violence upon the establishment of military or male worker camps supporting extractive projects. This was present in 32% of displacements, 37% of repressions, 35% of criminalization, 35% of violent targeting, and 19% of murders. Loss of livelihood was also a common reason informing WEDs' activism, for which they experienced retaliation in 38% of displacements, 40% of repressions, 34% of criminalization, 38% of violent targeting, and 16% of murders. Lastly, WEDs suffered social ills in 42% of displacements, 46% of repressions, 37% of criminalization, 40% of violent targeting, and 16% of murders.

4.3 Structural violence against WEDs

Table 7.2 Binomial regression model coefficients

Dependent variable: **Displacement (1)**						
Independent variables	Estimate	SE	Z	P	VIF (<2.5)	Tolerance (>0.40)
WED (1)	0.337	0.119	2.82	0.005	1.00	0.999
Rule of Law	-1.952	0.770	-2.54	0.011	1.14	0.874
Gender equality	- 4.063	1.087	-3.74	<0.001	1.15	0.873
Dependent variable: **Assassination (1)**						
Independent variables	Estimate	SE	Z	P	VIF (<2.5)	Tolerance (>0.40)
WED (1)	0.0364	0.147	0.248	0.805	1.00	0.998
Rule of Law	-6.6091	0.996	-6.634	<0.001	1.07	0.938
Gender equality	5.5950	1.300	4.305	<0.001	1.07	0.937
Dependent variable: **Repression (1)**						
Independent variables	Estimate	SE	Z	P	VIF (<2.5)	Tolerance (>0.40)
WED (1)	0.575	0.113	0.508	<0.001	1.00	0.998
Rule of Law	-4.810	0.739	-6.51	<0.001	1.12	0.896
Gender equality	2.934	1.043	2.81	0.005	1.12	0.897
Dependent variable: **Criminalization of activists (1)**						
Independent variables	Estimate	SE	Z	p	VIF (<2.5)	Tolerance (>0.40)
WED (1)	0.674	0.117	5.78	<0.001	1.00	0.999
Rule of Law	-4.007	0.723	-5.54	<0.001	1.14	0.880
Gender equality	6.307	1.118	5.64	<0.001	1.14	0.881
Dependent variable: **Violent targeting of activists (1)**						
Independent variables	Estimate	SE	Z	p	VIF (<2.5)	Tolerance (>0.40)
WED (1)	0.868	0.115	7.54	<0.001	1.00	0.998
Rule of Law	-4.172	0.756	-5.52	<0.001	1.13	0.888
Gender equality	2.756	1.087	2.54	0.011	1.12	0.889

Note: For each variable, reference levels are 1-1 for violence and WED.

Rule of Law and gender equality varied across countries wherein WEDs were assassinated. The Democratic Republic of Congo had the lowest scores at 0.34 and 0.576 respectively, while the United Kingdom had the highest Rule of Law at 0.8 and Rwanda had the highest gender equality at 0.805. Table 1 indicates that violence negatively correlates with Rule of Law and gender equality, and positively correlates with the presence of WEDs in a case. This means that, generally, when there is low Rule of Law and gender equality,

there is more violence. Conversely, the higher the Rule of Law and gender equality, the less violence there is. However, cases involving WEDs frequently involve violence regardless of high Rule of Law or gender equality. The models show statistical significance for most forms of violence except assassination, wherein the negative relationship indicates that there is no evidence showing connections to Rule of Law, gender equality, and WED presence.

5. Discussion

Of the 3544 cases in the EJAtlas, only 522 (15%) involved WEDs. Proportions of coverage including women may be higher in the EJAtlas than other databases because we reported 145 of these cases, specifically mentioning women. Given that aggressors attack defenders of any gender (Fotaki & Daskalaki, 2020; Hennings, 2019; Park, 2019), there may be lacking documentation rather than a gender disparity of violence. Data tracking extractive violence rarely disaggregates findings by gender, and there are no established indicators analyzing gendered violence in environmental conflicts (Deonandan & Bell, 2019; Fletcher, 2018). Because women's lives may also be considered less "grievable" in many contexts (Butler, 2020), gendered violence may be routine and underreported, and environmental conflicts would not be an exception (Joshi et al., 2020; Tran, 2022). It is also well-documented that women experience gendered barriers to mobilization owing to misogyny and a loss of agency in conflict scenarios; consequently, they are less represented at frontlines and thus less likely targets (Agarwal, 2001; Lamb et al., 2017; Morgan, 2017; Peek, 2007; Sinclair, 2021; Tran, 2021). Notably, gender does not appear to be as relevant to distributions of killings by country. The distribution of environmental killings for defenders of any gender by country are tracked by organizations such as Global Witness (2021), and they are nearly indistinguishable compared to Figure 7.1 with only WEDs. Instead, gender has more relevance for circumstances in which defenders are assassinated.

Overall, repression, criminalization, and violent targeting are evenly distributed when analyzing violence with gender, suggesting that WEDs typically experience these forms of violence together rather than independently leading up to their assassinations. In the case of conflict consequences, slow violence (illness or injuries, mental distress, health and nutrition disparities) followed the same patterns as direct violence. Slow and direct violence are intertwined and mutually reinforcing (Galtung, 1990; Nguyen, 2019). For example, sexual assault during environmental conflicts is not only physical, but also reinforces women's inferior positions, inability to move freely, and loss of agency by marking their bodies as shameful and less-than-human (Sutton, 2010; Tamale, 2017; Tran, 2021). Moreover, the most common way women defenders were killed was at mass actions such as protests and blockades in 52 out of the 79 cases deadly to WEDs. Prior to the killings, some WEDs faced weeks or even years of death threats discouraging them from incriminating corporations. The effects of such brutality extended towards the entire community because it normalized violence and justified the lack of proper investigations/prevention. Meanwhile, displacement and murder occur as consequences of the other forms of violence when extractive projects escalate retaliation. All these more invisible forms of violence occur over years of strife, culminating in murder. Moreover, the circumstances were subtly gendered at every stage including exposure and vulnerability to conflicts, mobilization opportunities, and experienced violence.

5.1 Contextualizing violence across countries

Although the analysis is on a global level, there are outliers for gender-related extractive violence. The highest concentrations of WED assassinations were in Latin

America and Southeast Asia. This adds empirical data backing Global Witness reporting these regions as the deadliest for environmental defenders(Global Witness, 2021). The Philippines was the outlier at 26 assassinations over 19 cases despite an average Rule of Law of 0.48. While cases in other countries typically targeted individuals, many Philippines cases involved mass violence and serial killings. Indeed, Global Witness[4] reported the Philippines as the deadliest country for environmental defenders. Duterte's presidency emboldened violence against those opposing harmful projects, often falsely "red-tagging" them as Communist terrorists(Dressler, 2021). Cases show that women are also increasingly represented not only in gender equality (0.784), but also at frontlines. Yet Filipina WEDs are now recognized as threats alongside political recognition.

WED assassinations in Colombia likewise are situated within a context of insurrections and repression. Despite being a country with an average Rule of Law (0.5) and relatively higher gender equality (0.7), there has been a wave of recent assassinations of indigenous and Afro-Colombian defenders carried out by paramilitary groups to the blind eye of the government since the signing of a "peace" agreement in 2016(Brown, 2016). The violence is strongest where there are land acquisition conflicts over illicit mining and coca farming. Meanwhile, the National Development Plan promotes foreign investment at commodity frontiers while privileging those who conform to hegemonic masculine identities and excluding everyone else(Coleman, 2007). Consequently, there is typically little to no intervention in violence affecting women during conflicts. WEDs in Colombian cases then bring empirical evidence to widespread attacks on not only themselves, but also their families and communities as they were openly reproached for "forsaking" their roles as mothers for their roles as defenders(Candamil & Mejia Duque, 2012).

In Mexico, in the past two decades, the government has restructured its economy in favor of foreign extractive markets, such as through agrarian laws privatizing communal peasant-occupied lands for large-scale agribusinesses (Narchi, 2015). The government also enabled a mining boom by lifting foreign ownership and tax policies as well as weakening environmental regulation. Narcotraffickers took advantage of new market structures, resources, networks, and dismantled political protections and became involved in environmental conflicts (Wright, 2011). The drug and extractive trades enforced masculinized models of domination and violence, creating a climate of impunity for the widespread femicides and brutal suppression of local defenders seen in the EJAtlas cases, as indicated by its declining Rule of Law (0.44) yet relatively higher gender equality (0.65).

For many years, Brazil has been one of the most violent countries for environmental defenders despite having an average Rule of Law (0.53) and relatively higher gender equality (0.695) scores. Land inequality has been endemic since colonial times owing to power being concentrated among an elite patriarchy openly using violence to deter resistance(Barbosa & Roriz, 2021). This results in systematic defender killings, which have significantly worsened under Bolsonaro's administration brutally silencing defenders[32].

As the cases show, women especially are at the heart of such struggles, yet racial, gender, and class dynamics multiply their vulnerabilities (Quijano, 2000). Overall, across these countries, authoritarian populism reinforced existing chauvinism wherein gendered tropes and inequalities incite and justify violence against women. Dictators such as Duterte have used such masculinist violence to bolster populist ecocidal agendas (Parmanand, 2020). Moreover, gender inequality underlies/amplifies much of the violence against WEDs

because extractivism centers power in masculinized industries owing to workforce composition, cultures of production, and its reliance on exploitation of women's roles as caretakers to compensate for lacking investment in affected communities(Bradshaw et al., 2017; Großmann, Padmanabhan, & Afiff, 2017; Sinclair, 2021).

5.2 Violent circumstances behind WED assassinations

Results support findings showing that cases involving mining, biomass, and industrialization were the most dangerous for WEDs, but also defenders generally (Scheidel et al., 2020; Tran et al., 2020). Copper, gold, and other rare metals derived from mineral extraction had the most violence against WEDs. Data representation was skewed by the Philippines owing to the prevalence of copper, gold, and nickel mining (Aytin, 2016). However, all mining cases featured high rates of WED displacement and repression, backing how such masculinized industries diminish women's agencies (Großmann et al., 2017). Such is also the case for plantation and deforestation conflicts owing to exploitative land policies. Sugar cases were skewed by the Philippines owing to sugar barons land reforms (Diprose & Mcgregor, 2009). Industrial and utilities conflicts support other conflict types, so no commodities were associated with industrial cases.

Regarding consequences producing vulnerabilities for WEDs, slow violence was intertwined with direct violence. Health impacts including mental problems, complications caused by contamination or accidents, and malnutrition were often gendered in contexts with gendered division of labor and thus gendered exposure to ecological consequences. Either gender's typical avenues of exposure to ecological health risks are not better or worse than the other, just different in how and where they were exposed. Notably, health impacts were not just those affecting women personally, but also consequences their communities suffered. WEDs mobilized on behalf of loved ones, backing anecdotal evidence from other studies (Leguizamón, 2019; Morgan, 2017; Tran, 2021). Concerning social impacts, militarization, increased violence and crime, and increased corruption were associated with high rates of violence against WEDs because they are symptomatic of widespread impunity. Specific impacts on women such as sexual violence disrupt the symbolic sanctity of women's bodies (Csevár, 2021). Loss of livelihood is one of the most common motivators for WEDs. Social problems were associated with the cases rather than women personally falling into vices such as substance abuse, domestic violence, gambling, prostitution, and crime. Extractive industries' impoverishment of communities makes attaining socioeconomic criteria for manhood difficult. Some men may engage in social ills when feeling emasculated, affecting women's increased burdens and vulnerability(Angeles, 2015).

5.3 Global impunity for WED assassinations regardless of relative equality

Even when Rule of Law and gender equality were average to high, WEDs faced statistically significant levels of most types of violence, including in the most violent countries (Philippines, Colombia, Mexico, Brazil), which had average to above average scores. Assassination, however, was less gendered. As the cases show, perpetrators kill everyone of any gender opposing extractivism, especially in cases involving crowd violence. However, the other forms of violence are statistically significant in association with WEDs, indicating that gender instead influences methods, mechanisms, and circumstances leading to deadly violence. It is not how many women are killed versus other genders, but rather how women are killed that is gendered.

These findings also add a gendered perspective to findings wherein marginalized groups, such as Indigenous peoples, likewise experience high levels of violent repression regardless of Rule of Law (Hanaček et al., 2022). While there is more violence against WEDs in the global South where there tends to be less Rule of Law and gender equality, there were also assassinations in North America and Europe despite higher Rule of Law and gender equality. As the 522 cases thus showed, WEDs experience high rates of violence despite "democratic" structural and gender equality. Countries with significant women-led environmental movements also appear to be no more or less peaceful toward WEDs given murders such as that of unknown women in the women's war against Chevron in Nigeria or of Helen Thomas in the antinuclear Greenham Women's Peace Camp in England. Rather, EJAtlas cases indicate that WEDs killed in contexts with strong women-led mobilizations were more often killed in mass or serial violence under circumstances with increased armed policing than contexts with less prominent WED leadership. WEDs' increased recognition perhaps made themseen as threats rather than gave them safer platforms to voice concerns.

6. Conclusion

An ecocide-genocide-gender connection is thus apparent in how assassinations and extractive violence were situated within contexts producing gendered vulnerabilities. Ecocidal dispossession of lands and resources, as many of the EJAtlas cases corroborate, often began upon intrusion of masculinized extractive industries into communities, undermining women's agency. As occurred in the deadliest countries toward WEDs, changing land ownership regimes used patriarchal ideologies to foster genocidal conditions emboldening violence in subtly gendered manifestations of repression, criminalization, violent targeting, and murder. Ecocidal control of populations then occurs as fear of and actually experienced gendered (lethal) violence not only deters mobilizations, but also creates impunity as women are less able to mobilize safely. Moreover, while most cases do not explicitly report WED involvement or violence, this reflects representational and mobilization inequalities. This study thus shows patterns that would not be possible to see if focusing only on specific incidences of murders disaggregated from holistic considerations of other intertwining violences, demographics, and other contextual information.

Chapter 8

Conclusion

1. Introduction

By looking into multidimensional forms of violent repression against WED opposition to extractive projects both globally and locally, this dissertation addresses how environmental conflicts spur gendered violence. The dissertation emphasizes that women have been a relatively overlooked group in environmental conflict research and makes the following literature contributions: 1) WEDs face multiple marginalizations and thus multiple forms of violence at every stage of their advocacy from awareness of the issue to retaliatory killings, and such violence is subtly gendered. 2) The various gendered vulnerabilities, experiences of violence, and barriers to mobilization WED face shape the opportunities available to them and thus influences the distinctly anti-violent strategies they use to circumvent violent repression; 3) Extractivism runs on inequalities introduced/exacerbated

by violent gender hegemonies that environmental defenders confront by protesting, thus embodying new concepts of whose voice matters. This chapter summarizes the dissertation's main findings according to the research objectives, highlights the main conceptual and methodological contributions, and closes with prospects for further research.

2. Main findings

2.1 A multiple case-study analysis of murdered WEDs

This dissertation builds on previous studies on lethal violence in environmental conflicts by contributing rare data on WEDs and showing that violence against environmental defenders is shaped by different positionalities of gender, class, race, and more. In databases such as Global Witness (2021), women make up 10% or less of reported assassinations of environmental defenders. This proportion is also reflected in the EJAtlas. Yet this does not mean that there is a scarcity of violence against women. To balance the coverage, the dissertation thus contributes in the second chapter by documenting and exposing forms of violence that WEDs suffer in a selection of case studies. While many studies concern one or a few cases, comparatively analyzing cases of violence against WEDs across various regions is critical to current work on environmental conflicts because each of the 35 diverse stories in Chapter 2 come together to reveal a pattern of violence across time, space, and circumstance, embedded in geographies of land, resources, and communities. Chapter 2 thus also contributes to feminist political ecology (FPE) by analyzing unequal gendered power relations informing gendered environmental knowledges, rights, and practices. The case studies provide empirical data supporting FPE arguments of how extractivism uses multidimensional violence to assert patriarchal power over women and the environment (Elmhirst, 2018; Resurrección & Elmhirst, 2020; Rocheleau et al., 1996).

Chapter 2 furthermore argues, based on empirical evidence, that lethal violence in environmental conflicts also reflects uneven privileging and repression of diversely affected women according to intersectionality (Crenshaw, 2016). Intersectional factors beyond gender such as race, class, and more influence coexisting privilege and marginalization within interlocking systems of power and oppression. Peasant women of color and Indigenous women are subject to different forms and intensities of violence, than their white, formally educated and respected counterparts. Reporting thus overrepresents white women among African and U.S./European cases despite BIPOC (black/indigenous/people of color) shouldering more of the burden to mobilize and bear consequences. Such gendered barriers prevent diverse WEDs' acknowledgement and involvement in justice struggles. Women defenders consequently are routinely murdered to prevent them from exposing state, corporate, and criminal extractive pursuits. Given that the stories represent just a small sample of a vast unknown, the point is not to offer a closed typology of women defenders. Instead, this research showcases how despite the range of diverse circumstances, there were universal patterns of extractive and patriarchal violence especially towards BIPOC WEDs.

2.2 A comparative study of WEDs' antiviolent success strategies

The violence that women defenders face, however, must not overshadow their accomplishments in environmental conflicts. They are not merely passive victims of extermination, but rather powerful agents precisely because of the unique perspectives they gain from such dire circumstances. Building off of Chapter 2, Chapter 3 brings a more hopeful angle where diverse WEDs use diverse mobilization methods to obtain positive outcomes overcoming violence such as new legislation, land rights recognition, and new leadership opportunities banning extractives from their communities or at least attaining

reparations. As Chapter 3 discusses, WEDs employ non-violent culturally specific strategies and perform cultural scripts to achieve varying levels of success in violent, silencing contexts. Using a selection of 25 cases, Chapter 3 expands upon the dissertation's FPE framework by adding embodiment to discussions of intersectionality (Sutton, 2010). Beyond gender, intersectional factors influence which bodies are nurtured or discarded, and whose bodies are prone to control, torture, and sacrifice. According to the analysis in Chapter 3, women are expected to prioritize others' bodily needs before their own, and are also punished for their mobilizations during environmental crises. Yet women also use their bodies as a means for resistance. As the cases show, WEDs' bodies in protest become physical evidence challenging hegemonic forces of oppression dictating which bodies can be seen and heard.

WEDs' political and socioeconomic conditions informed their activism, sparked by their social roles and corresponding motivations as well as experiences of violence for protecting their communities. As such, many of the women defenders' successes came about through reimagining the cultural narratives originally used to justify violence against them. One of the most prevalent embodied narratives throughout WEDs' mobilization strategies is politicized maternity. Yet relying on motherhood tropes may inadvertently undermine activism among WEDs non-conforming to hegemonic femininity, but this is constrained to what little flexibility women may have to begin with. Alternative, intersectional narratives also arise through identifying with ethnic groups, professions, and more. Yet the most important and powerful factor among WED success strategies was how every case of the 25 was nonviolent despite increasing violence against them. WEDs succeed because their mobilization strategies, which are situated within intersectionally gendered experiences of violence and injustice, counter violent hegemonies with inclusive, antiviolent ones.

2.3 Women environmental defenders in South Africa

Going from global overviews to local, context-specific cases, the fourth chapter examines South Africa and how WEDs' experiences of violence, silencing, and empowerment are reflected in media coverage of environmental conflicts. Throughout South Africa, discursive violence against women makes them among the most burdened and silenced. While such violence is not exclusively against women, WED representation carries gendered tropes within maternal themes produced differently from those about masculinity. News reports shape and draw upon cultural narratives about femininity, blackness, and poverty, influencing perceptions of ecological distribution conflicts and the intersectionally marginalized women defenders involved in them. Further expanding upon previous FPE themes of intersectionality and embodiment, Chapter 4 discusses strategic essentialism, a tactic wherein an internally diverse yet marginalized group is homogenized to create a simpler, more unified public image that may increase attention(Eide, 2010; Sharma, 2015). Yet such universalization may also contribute to static views and deepen marginalization of experiences differing intersectionally, causing subsequent embodied violence. Strategic essentialism was found throughout a feminist critical discourse analysis of 98 media reports covering environmental conflicts mentioning women defenders.

Findings indicate two narratives of motherhood and of underdogs dominating media discourse, both of which pressure black women especially. White women, though subject to hegemonic femininity, still have more voice. Yet while black women defenders' diverse struggles and contributions are increasingly brought to light, they are also strategically essentialized as universally vulnerable and burdening them in ways adhering to the very stereotypes silencing them to begin with. This is a gendered manifestation of structural and

cultural violence. Throughout use of language, imagery, and more, culturally violent constructions of WEDs as suffering and self-sacrificing downplay their knowledge and experiences. Consequently, institutions perpetuate structural violence by giving less space for WEDs to exert equal agency. Even when mobilizing, WEDs use socially sanctioned strategies. Such inequalities feed into other manifestations of embodied violence as women face mounting barriers to mobilizing while also shouldering more responsibilities.

2.4 How extractive projects perpetuate gendered violence in Southeast Asia

Chapter 5 provides another regional look into contextually specific incidences of gendered violence in environmental conflicts, this time in Southeast Asia. However, instead of the previous chapters' focus on women, the fifth chapter instead expands gender concerns to also encompass men and gender non-conformists. This is because gendered experiences of violence are rooted in the same structures informing violence against all people and not just women. Applying FPE concerns of uneven marginalization across intersectional axes of difference such as gender to colonial perspectives on the lasting legacies of violence then and now, Chapter 5 proposes a coloniality of power through violent gender hegemonies in environmental conflicts. The coloniality of power postulates that extractivism runs on controlling power through hegemonically constructing certain Others as vulnerable minorities instead of central agents during land-grabbing (Quijano, 2000). Defenders are targets for violence because of and justified by their constructions as Others. Ongoing brutality towards environmental defenders is not only the continuation of colonization, but is also reinforced by contemporary governance, economic, and development. Violent gender hegemonies are also an important factor in Othering people and reinforcing extractivism. Beyond construing femininity in ways subjugating women to uneven burdens, extractivism also constructs a version of masculinity promoting violence and domination, influencing brutal tactics many armed groups use worldwide to suppress defenders.

A near-universal pattern across 25 Southeast Asian environmental conflict cases is how extractive projects often transform gender relations to become more inegalitarian. This leads to gender violence wherein women suffer from restrictions on their bodily and economic autonomy, whereas men are punished when not fulfilling dominant provider roles. Additionally, gendered violence punished anyone unable to perform hegemonically feminine or masculine narratives embedded in Western colonial impositions of gender through extractive and industrial projects, notably queer communities. Reaffirming Chapter 3's findings on a global scale and Chapter 4's findings in South Africa, Chapter 5 empirically shows how even in cases with successful outcomes, defenders´ lives are still at risk partly owing to those successes reinforcing rather than challenging gender violence. Confronting gender hegemonies and subsequent violence in environmental conflicts therefore mutually elevates marginalized groups across gender, race, and class to subvert violent narratives.

2.5 Gendered violence martyring Filipina environmental defenders

For a deeper dive into the most contextually specific and concrete local manifestations of extractive violence, Chapter 6 brings the dissertation back to an examination of the gendered precarious conditions informing and leading up to Filipina environmental defenders' assassinations. The chapter diverges from the previous one on Southeast Asia generally in focusing on a context of authoritarian populism and a "red scare" amidst regulatory reforms benefitting extractive markets. The Philippines is one of the world's deadliest countries for environmental defenders, especially in the mining and agribusiness sectors. The country is going through an unfortunate long period in its history

marked by an authoritarian regime, pro-extractive policies, political violence, and insurgency. In the Philippines, the militarization of repression, the red-tagging, the colonial and racist traditions, and general impunity toward killers lead to widespread environmental assassinations (Dressler, 2021; Holden, 2014).

Chapter 6 examines 20 cases wherein 31 women were martyred to silence their environmental advocacy. The analysis drew upon a feminist definitions such as oppression, which is removing a person's agency. Agency is the ability to make choices. Oppressions are interconnected intersectionally, and neglecting some forms of oppression (racism, classism, sexism embedded in colonialism, etc.) maintains the basis informing all group oppressions (Biana, 2020; hooks, 1984, 2013). Indeed, many of the WED martyrs were a combination of working-class rural Indigenous people, which reflects historical inequalities targeting these demographics for extractive violence. I argue that such oppression was institutionalized by structural violence taking advantage of gendered disempowerment to facilitate extractive encroachment through removing agency. Yet some women's successes are taken as excuses to dismiss other differently marginalized women's perils. The Philippines consequently is often lauded as having among the highest gender equality in Southeast Asia, and this obscures and silences debates on rampant oppression and murders.

Furthermore, culturally specific violence, such as red-tagging, made it unsafe for many WEDs to move and speak freely, especially when up against powerful mining and agribusiness interests allied with the military. Acknowledging their roles as community and movement lynchpins, moreover, meant that a large proportion of WEDs were not only themselves attacked, but so were others associated with them in clustered attacks. While hitmen and armed forces shoot anyone they deem as threats or "communists," this carries a different weight for women shot in front of their children. The perpetrators themselves being predominantly men also reflect gendered patterns of masculine militarized violence. Yet women's increased suffering from mass brutality indicates their increasing representation at frontlines as WEDs are now recognized as powerful albeit threatening. This marks a shift in oppression. While there is now enough cultural recognition for women's leadership in environmental conflicts to deem them threats that need to be controlled, there is not enough to see WEDs as their own agents or give them safe, respected platforms to voice concerns.

2.6 A global statistical analysis of murdered women environmental defenders

Chapter 7 then brings the dissertation back to a global scale in examining all EJAtlas cases for the circumstances behind WED killings worldwide. As discussed in Chapter 6, Filipina WEDs are facing a crisis of extermination owing to various violent circumstances such as the collusion between the State, the military, as well as mining and agribusiness to criminalize, dehumanize, and target opposition in gendered ways. WEDs' increasing mobilizations incites increasing recognition, yet also increasing retaliation and derision. Such patterns are not unique to the Philippines only, as indicated throughout Southeast Asia generally and even insidiously throughout public discourse in South Africa. The previous chapters used smaller samples of case studies that favored in-depth readings over generalizability.

As such, the final study in the dissertation thus brings in statistical evidence of these patterns with a large representative sample of all 3,544 cases in the EJAtlas, 522 of the cases pertaining to violence against women occurring in the countries wherein there were 79 cases of WED assassinations. Through log-linear and binominal regressions, this chapter showed

how companies, courts, governments, and armed groups obstructed justice through displacement, repression, criminalization, violent targeting, and murders. Although WEDs are not more likely to be killed than any other gender of defender, the ways in which they are killed are gendered, reflecting systems of oppression. Analyses also include factors of violence that are part of the process leading up to murder incidences. The statistically significant numbers obtained from the analyses affirm the conclusions throughout the previous chapters. Firstly, as the entire dissertation also illustrates, the numbers confirm that lethal violence is especially concentrated in some countries and among mining, agribusiness, and industrial conflicts in the global South. However, this does not make the issue purely a global South phenomenon, as some women defenders are also murdered regardless of their demographics, location, and their countries' Rule of Law or gender equality.

3. Conceptual and methodological contributions

The dissertation primarily draws upon feminist political ecology and related concepts such as intersectionality in examining gendered violences and assassinations in environmental conflicts. In doing so, the dissertation expands current understandings of the forces driving such violence during the social, political, and ecological transformations of communities affected by extractive encroachment. Each of the chapters thus provides insights on how environmental conflicts co-create disproportionate burdens, vulnerabilities, and dangers for those marginalized across a constellation of gender, race, class, and more.

3.1 Providing empirical data supporting current discussions

This dissertation is a direct response to the many scholars pointing out a need for better coverage recognizing and documenting disproportionately gendered violence and visibility in environmental conflicts, as well as the role that such violence plays in forwarding extractive agendas (Arora-Jonsson, 2011b; Elmhirst et al., 2017; Glazebrook & Opoku, 2018; Jenkins, 2017; Leguizamón, 2019; Navas et al., 2018; Roy & Martinez-Alier, 2019; Sutton, 2010; Temper et al., 2015; Wayland, 2019). Gender is an important angle in research on environmental conflicts because the distribution of environmental burdens and benefits varies intersectionally (Crenshaw, 2016; Rocheleau et al., 1996). There is indeed a wide academic consensus documenting intersectional inequalities, often concerning one or a few specific case studies. However, these studies have less breadth and depth of empirical comparative data on multiple scales from local to global than the present dissertation.

This dissertation contributes to knowledge on violence against WED all across the world's vast extractivist landscapes. It covers, as it has not been done before in the literature, a diverse array of socioecological conflicts in diverse geographies exploring local-global interactions through a comparative political ecology analysis of EJAtlas cases. In doing so, the dissertation employs methods explicitly identifying the many ways extractive projects co-create and take advantage of gendered roles, narratives, and vulnerabilities enabling and justifying violent repression in environmental conflicts. Throughout the chapters, coding the EJAtlas cases identified, categorized, and subcategorized a detailed record of manifestations of multidimensional gendered violence and the diverse people these violences were inflicted upon. Furthermore, coding the EJAtlas cases provided empirical evidence backing hypotheses suggesting near-universal patterns of extractivist domination. Statistical analysis in chapter 7 in particular strengthens the hypothesis that such violence is indeed the rule rather than the exception. The dissertation thus contributes to worldwide research on environmental conflicts and resistance, with particular reference to the role of WEDs.

3.2 Challenging reductive stereotypes and narratives

Concerning the relatively lacking documentation currently covering gendered violence against environmental defenders, especially of women, the dissertation also serves to challenge recurring, reductive narratives in how these cases are typically depicted. In doing so, the dissertation not only documents how WEDs have challenged such hegemonies within their own movements, but also criticizes common practices in current literature and media. Indeed, beyond merely documenting gendered violence in environmental conflicts, it is also important to approach discourse carefully. As the various chapters of the dissertation show, there are near-universal patterns wherein intersectionally marginalized women defenders, especially poor or peasant and/or Indigenous women of color, face silencing not only through repressive violence and censorship, but also in being essentialized even in sympathetic discourse. Such essentialization is a form of discursive violence rooted in hegemonic gender violence not only during conflicts, but also in reporting about them.

Firstly, the dissertation shows how WEDs transform narratives about femininity restricting their agency and capacities to mobilize in conflicts. As found out through thematic coding (Braun & Clarke, 2006) and feminist critical discourse analysis (Nartey, 2020), many WEDs face gendered barriers to activism based on hegemonic constructions of gender limiting women's social roles to private, domestic work and deferring decision-making and power concentration to men. Many scholars indeed importantly document WEDs' negotiation of feminine narratives in justifying their advocacy, primarily through ethnographic case studies of one or a few conflicts (Bradshaw et al., 2017; Jenkins, 2017; Lahiri-Dutt, 2013; Lawson, 2018; R. Lee, 2008). However, there is a lack of empirical data expanding such analyses to larger sample sizes globally or regionally, making it difficult to identify patterns through cross-comparison of regions, cases, violences, and other circumstances. As such, especially in chapters 2 and 3, the thesis documents how WEDs circumvent such violently rigid gender narratives in order to mobilize. These included tactics such as putting their diverse bodies on the line in protest to visibly confront what a person with full agency should look like, repurposing motherhood narratives to assert authority and gain respect, as well as Indigenous women re-establishing traditional leadership and gender roles that colonialism, interrelated with extractivism, tried to erase.

Pushing beyond ideas of women defenders being the main impetus and thus those responsible for shouldering the burdens of taking down violent gender hegemonies, the dissertation also calls into question the discursive violence perpetuated in much of the coverage on women involved in environmental conflicts, even when well-intentioned. Women defenders are intersectionally diverse, and their circumstances differ. Consequently, there are no one-size-fits-all solutions to gender violence issues, and one women's success does not indicate increased equality for all women (Niu, 1999; Valerio, 2014). Yet as the dissertation criticizes, certain women are given much more voice, control over their narratives, and thus individual attention and recognition to their causes over more severely marginalized peers whose stories are reduced to stereotypes. These stereotypes, also found in academic articles (Abonga et al., 2020; Büscher, 2015; Krauss, 1993; Shiva, 1988; Stevens, 2006), often depict WEDs as suffering underdogs and hysterical mothers. If not approached critically, such tropes not only normalize violence against WEDs, but also may overemphasize their role as saviors in environmental conflicts instead of criticizing states, corporations, and armed groups responsible for creating the conflicts in the first place. The contribution of this dissertation, especially chapters 3, 4, and 5, to current understandings of gendered violence in environmental conflicts is criticizing gender hegemonies as well as the

systems and institutions producing such violence to begin with. In doing so, the dissertation provides suggestions for how to discuss WEDs as a diverse set of people without perpetuating marginalization and reductivism.

Lastly, the dissertation also calls into question the very definition of gendered violence in environmental conflicts. In much of the literature, gender issues are often conflated as women's issues. Such studies frame gendered violence during environmental conflicts as primarily inflicted by powerful men onto victimized women. For example, Nguyen's (2019) study depicts gender violence as male-on-female violence in Vietnamese environmental conflicts. Likewise, Castro Palaganas (2010) framed gendered violence as Indigenous Filipinas' abuses at the hands of military men defending extractive sites. Violence against women is a real and all-too-prevalent consequence of environmental conflicts. Yet while WEDs are indeed the main focus of this dissertation owing to their well-documented gendered marginalization and disproportionate persecution, focusing solely on women or framing the problem as exclusive to them neglects how, according to feminist theory (Biana, 2020; hooks, 1984, 2013), women's oppression is rooted in the oppression of all genders and intersectional marginalizations. Consequently, such gender oversight puts the onus on women rather than challenges the gendered roles, interactions, and hegemonies central to conflict violence against everyone. The consideration of queer theory and conceptions of gender questioning the naturalization of gendered roles and binaries is almost nonexistent in discussions of environmental conflict violence. Many articles acknowledge that gender is a primary factor influencing the distribution of environmental burdens, but only give examples of women (e.g., Brickell & Chant, 2010; Fröhlich & Gioli, 2015; Hajjar et al., 2020; Lawson, 2018; Nightingale, 2002; Nyulaku & Ojakorotu, 2018; C. M. Y. Park, 2021; E. Perry et al., 2011; Ramalho, 2019; Scott & Oelofse, 2002; Sifris & Tanyag, 2019). The dissertation, especially chapter 5, thus contributes to the literature through providing empirical evidence of gendered extractive violence against women, men, and genderqueer individuals, tying in queer ecologies to feminist political ecology discussions of violence.

4. Limitations and prospects for future research

As the dissertation concerns gendered violence against environmental defenders, the disparate coverage on such contentious and underreported data as well as its digital rather than grounded nature of the evidence mean that there are many unknowns. These unknowns encompass silenced histories such as how many more martyred environmental defenders there are whose cases were censored or never reported, information about their lives beyond just being a bloody statistic, or even the name of the woman assassinated in the Sierra Leone iron mining case from the introductory chapter. The dissertation, while drawing attention to such suppressed stories, still thus leaves more avenues for increasingly better representation. Moreover, rather than judge who is better off than others the text focuses on the importance of intersectional lines of marginalization and dis/empowerment in environmental conflicts.

4.1 Geographical and demographic unevenness

Neither the dissertation nor large-scale databases cover all existing cases of environmental assassinations and gendered violence. The sample population is inherently limited to the information publicly available online. Because reporting on environmental injustices is geographically uneven, the data throughout the dissertation thus is also skewed, and it is unknown how representative the numbers of cases included capture the severity and spread of violent environmental conflicts occurring in various countries. However, I did contribute 145 new cases to the EJAtlas improving geographical coverage on WED cases.

More information is available about gendered violence and WED killings in Latin America and Southeast Asia compared to Africa. Africa indeed remains understudied across all academic disciplines and databases. Varying political tolerance toward media and academics documenting attacks means that depending on region, not only are there fewer strong networks of contacts, but there is also less ability to speak out without brutal consequences. Disparities in rural versus urban siting, internet accessibility, language barriers, and local educational attainment also mean there is weaker information exchange between existing groups, causing difficulty in obtaining regional data. I was also limited to the information readily accessible to me, which restricted the information to that which could be found on Google or in academic and civil society databases to mostly anglophone, global North readers. There may additionally be less murder cases to report on in North America and Europe as countries with relatively high Rule of Law and gender equality benefitting from extractivism in the Global South. More research should investigate understudied regions such as Africa accordingly. However, even in such relatively "egalitarian" countries, inequalities are uneven across regions and demographics.

Moreover, certain WEDs are overrepresented or underrepresented in environmental conflicts based on intersectional marginalization. Despite those such as impoverished or peasant women and queer folk of color shouldering more of the burden to mobilize and bear consequences, such marginalized groups have little power to control and criticize the discourse. Meanwhile, white wealthy women, for example, who typically experience less systemic discrimination, have a different relationship with governments or formal organizations as well as a different set of tools and opportunities, providing them with more leverage to raise their voices. Further research should focus on the most marginalized and underrepresented contexts within key extractive benefitting countries. For example, more studies should investigate the epidemic of disappearances and murders of Indigenous women in North America, Europe, and Oceania as regions that historically and currently site contentious extractive developments such as nuclear waste dumps on their rural, impoverished, and ecologically degraded reservations. In the United States and Canada especially, these Indigenous reservations are considered beyond the law, which makes them prime sites for both environmental crimes and femicides (Gable, 2020; Waghiyi, 2012).

More research should also consider queer environmental defenders, their contributions, and experiences of violence. Worldwide, genderqueer peoples are at high risk of violence and trans people especially are highly subject to lynchings even in the most gender egalitarian of countries. The marginalization of LGBTQ+ people to "gay" urban districts in countries such as the United States known to be ecologically, socially, and economically marginalized is also well-documented in human geography literature (Collins et al., 2017). Yet while women's disparate shouldering of environmental burdens is receiving growing attention in environmental conflict literature, no published studies have examined whether disproportionate environmental risks exist based on minority sexual orientation.

4.2 Voice, representation, and interpretation

Because I both filed many of the EJAtlas entries and did the coding, the data is inevitably shaped by my positionality as a western, outside scholar. Despite efforts to include grounded perspectives by collaborating at a distance with activists on the ground, the empirical examples throughout the dissertation are partial and incomplete representations of the links between violence and women environmental defenders referenced through sources accessible to me. I recognize that it is a colonial practice built into academic infrastructure

to be in a position to speak on these issues and have my voice heard louder than those being oppressed at the frontlines. However, it is an ever more frequent and powerful colonial practice to censor stories of violent repression. Thus, statistics on killed environmentalists (men and women) have been produced by a small volunteer organization, Global Witness, and not by official UN bodies. My work, my publications and this thesis make WEDs visible whom would otherwise remain invisible.

Future endeavors to document gendered violence in environmental conflicts should thus include more local voices. However, while the ability to conduct more grounded research would have enriched the dissertation beyond its current use of only EJAtlas cases, this does not mean that I necessarily advocate for future research to seek fieldwork and interviews. Indeed, fieldwork and interviewing can often perpetuate colonialism and exploitation of marginalized subject communities. Colonially-produced preconceptions often lead to colonially-produced knowledge. As such, it is preferable to defer to and/or highlight local academics, activists, or journalists owing to their cultural literacies, language skills, histories, and deeper connections necessary to navigate delicate sociopolitical circumstances fairly and safely. In my view, future research genuinely promoting WED's struggles would instead greatly benefit from increasing local communities' capacities to raise their voices to the whole world, as environmental justice affects everyone globally. It will take many years to break down barriers into academia on a larger scale. Cooperating and mutually exchanging knowledge with local defenders across countries and contexts challenges norms in academia on what legitimate research looks like and whose voices count as well as beyond academia in everyday and/or activist spaces.

References (for the entire dissertation)

Abonga, F., Kerali, R., Porter, H., & Tapscott, R. (2020). Naked Bodies and Collective Action: Repertoires of Protest in Uganda's Militarised, Authoritarian Regime. *Civil Wars*, *22*(2–3), 198–223.

Abramovitz, J. (1994). Biodiversity and gender issues: Recognizing common ground. In *Feminist perspectives on sustainable development* (pp. 198–212). Zed Books.

Adams, J. (2002). Art in social movements: Shantytown women's protest in Pinochet's Chile. *Sociological Forum*, *17*(1), 21–56.

Agarwal, B. (1992). The Gender and Environment Debate: Lessons from India. *Feminist Studies*, *18*(1), 199–158.

Agarwal, B. (2001). Participatory exclusions, community forestry, and gender: An analysis for South Asia and a conceptual framework. *World Development*, *29*(10), 1623–1648.

Agarwal, B. (2010). *Gender and Green Governance: The Political Economy of Women's Presence Within and Beyond Community Forestry*. Oxford University Press.

Alexander, P. (2010). Rebellion of the poor: South Africa's service delivery protests - a preliminary analysis. *Review of African Political Economy*, *37*(123), 25–40.

Alternative Information and Development Centre. (2020). Women are the frontline. *Amandla*, 56.

Anderson, J. A., Diabah, G., & hMensa, P. A. (2011). Powerful women in powerless language: Media misrepresentation of African women in politics (the case of Liberia). *Journal of Pragmatics*, *43*(10), 2509–2518.

Angeles, L. (2015). Male as "Macho-Machunurin": Bringing Men and Masculinities in Gender and Development Studies. *Kasarinlan Journal of Third World Issues*, *16*(1), 9–30.

Aolain, F. D. (2012). Women, Vulnerability and Humanitarian Emergencies. *SSRN Electronic Journal*, *18*(1).

Appelt, J. L., Garcia Rojas, D. C., Verburg, P. H., & van Vliet, J. (2022). Socioeconomic outcomes of agricultural land use change in Southeast Asia. *Ambio*, *51*(5), 1094–1109.

Arivia, G. (2018). Spiritual ecofeminism of indigenous women in Indonesia: A celebration of women's strength, power and virtue. *Competition and Cooperation in Social and Political Sciences*, 353–359.

Arora, S., Carol, J., Colfer, J. P., & González, M. (2021). Seeing the Quiet Politics in Unquiet Woods : A Different Vantage Point for a Future Forest Agenda. *Human Ecology*.

Arora-Jonsson, S. (2009). Discordant connections: Discourses on gender and grassroots activism in two forest communities in India and Sweden. *Signs*, *35*(1), 213–240.

Arora-Jonsson, S. (2011). Virtue and vulnerability: Discourses on women, gender and climate change. *Global Environmental Change*, *21*(2), 744–751.

Arora-Jonsson, S. (2013). *Gender, Development and Environmental Governance: Theorizing Connections*. Routledge.

Ashamole, D. C. (2019). Extractive industry and the politics of manhood in Nigeria's Niger Delta: a masculinity perspective of gender implication of resource extractivism. *Norma*, *14*(4), 255–270.

Aydin, C. I., Ozkaynak, B., Rodríguez-Labajos, B., & Yenilmez, T. (2017). Network effects in environmental justice struggles: An investigation of conflicts between mining companies and civil society organizations from a network perspective. *PLOS ONE*, *12*(7).

Aytin, A. (2016). A social movements' perspective on human rights impact of mining liberalization in the Philippines. *New Solutions*, *25*(4), 535–558.

Baker, P., & Levon, E. (2015). Picking the right cherries? A comparison of corpus-based and qualitative analyses of news articles about masculinity. *Discourse and Communication*, *9*(2), 221–236.

Balgos, B., Gaillard, J. C., & Sanz, K. (2012). The warias of Indonesia in disaster risk reduction: the case of the 2010 Mt Merapi eruption in Indonesia. *Gender and Development*, *20*(2), 337–348.

Banerjee, D., & Bell, M. M. (2007). Ecogender: Locating gender in environmental social science. *Society and Natural Resources*, *20*(1), 3–19.

Barbosa, R., & Roriz, J. (2021). The subversive practice of counting bodies: Documenting violence and conflict in rural Brazil. *Journal of Agrarian Change*, *21*(4), 870–886.

Barca, S. (2020). *Forces of Reproduction*. Cambridge University Press.

Barrett, M. (2005). Making (Some) Sense of Feminist Poststructuralism in Environmental Education Research and Practice. *Canadian Journal of Environmental Education*, *10*, 62–78.

Barry, J. M. (2008). "A Small Group of Thoughtful, Committed Citizens": Women's Activism, Environmental Justice, and the Coal River Mountain Watch. *Environmental Justice*, *1*(1), 25–33.

Bega, S. (2011). *No mine dump far enough, no corporate big enough*. Federation for a Sustainable Environment. https://fse.org.za/index.php/2011/12/04/no-mine-dump-far-enough-no-corporate-big-enough/

Bega, S. (2019). *Xolobeni activist defies death threats to protect her ancestral land*. IOL. https://www.iol.co.za/news/south-africa/gauteng/xolobeni-activist-defies-death-threats-to-protect-her-ancestral-land-19212076

Behrman, J., Meinzen-Dick, R., & Quisumbing, A. (2012). The gender implications of large-scale land deals. *Journal of Peasant Studies*, *39*(1), 49–79.

Bell, S. E., & Braun, Y. A. (2010). Coal, identity, and the gendering of environmental justice activism in central Appalachia. *Gender and Society*, *24*(6), 794–813.

Biana, H. T. (2020). Extending bell hooks' feminist theory. *Journal of International Women's Studies*, *21*(1), 13–29.

Birkeland, J. (1993). Ecofeminism: Linking theory and practice. In G. Gaard (Ed.), *Ecofeminism: Living Interconnections with Animals and Nature* (pp. 19–32). Temple University Press.

BizCommunity. (2017). *Greenpeace slams new nuclear plant plans*. BizCommunity. https://www.bizcommunity.com/Article/196/705/168746.html

Bjarnegård, E., & Melander, E. (2011). Disentangling gender, peace and democratization: The negative effects of militarized masculinity. *Journal of Gender Studies*, *20*(2), 139–154.

Bond, P., & Ngwane, T. (2010). Community resistance to energy privatization in South Africa. In K. Abramsky (Ed.), *Sparking a Worldwide Energy Revolution: Social Struggles in the Transition to a Post-Petrol World*. AK Press.

Bonnes, S. (2013). Gender and racial stereotyping in rape coverage: An analysis of rape coverage in a South African newspaper, Grocott's Mail. *Feminist Media Studies*, *13*(2), 208–227.

Borras, S. M., Hall, R., Scoones, I., White, B., & Wolford, W. (2011). Towards a better understanding of global land grabbing: An editorial introduction. *Journal of Peasant Studies*, *38*(2), 209–216.

Bradshaw, S., Linneker, B., & Overton, L. (2017). Extractive industries as sites of supernormal profits and supernormal patriarchy? *Gender and Development*, *25*(3), 439–454.

Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, *3*(2), 77–101.

Breckenridge, K. (1998). The Allure of Violence: Men, Race and Masculinity on the South African Goldmines, 1900-1950. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, *24*(4), 669–693.

Brickell, K., & Chant, S. (2010). "The unbearable heaviness of being": Reflections on female altruism in Cambodia, Philippines, the Gambia and Costa Rica. *Progress in Development Studies*, *10*(2), 145–159. https://doi.org/10.1177/146499340901000204

Broad, R., & Cavanagh, J. (1993). *Plundering Paradise: The Struggle for the Environment in the Philippines*.

Brooks, H. (2019). Democracy and its discontents. *Political Quarterly*, *90*(67), 5–17.

Brown, K. (2016). Colombia's New Killing Spree: The War Is Over, but Civilians Are Still Being Targeted. *Progressive*, *82*(5), 55–58.

Bryant, L., & Pini, B. (2009). Gender, class and rurality: Australian case studies. *Journal of Rural Studies*, *25*(1), 48–57.

Bryant, L., & Tedmanson, D. (2005). Drilling Down — Diversity in the Mining Industry. *International Journal of Knowledge, Culture and Change Management* 5(1).

Buckingham, S., & Kulcur, R. (2009). Gendered geographies of environmental injustice. *Antipode*, *41*(4), 659–683.

Buiten, D., & Salo, E. (2007). Silences stifling transformation: Misogyny and gender-based violence in the media. *Agenda*, *21*(71), 115–121.

Bullard, R. (1990). *Dumping on Dixie*.

Burke, J. (2018). *Open coalmine near Africa's first nature reserve divides community*. The Guardian. https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2018/oct/17/the-coming-of-the-mine-separated-us-a-community-split-in-south-africa

Burkhardt, P. (2020). *Government doubles emission limits for sulphur dioxide*. Business Day. https://www.businesslive.co.za/bd/national/2020-03-30-government-doubles-emission-limits-for-sulphur-dioxide/
Büscher, B. (2015). 'Rhino poaching is out of control!' Violence, race and the politics of hysteria in online conservation. *Environment and Planning A*, *48*(5), 979–998.
Butler, J. (2020). *The force of nonviolence : an ethico-political bind*. Verso Books.
Butt, N., Lambrick, F., Menton, M., & Renwick, A. (2019). The supply chain of violence. *Nature Sustainability*, *2*(8), 742–747.
Byerlee, D. (2014). The fall and rise again of plantations in tropical Asia: History repeated? *Land*, *3*(3), 574–597.
Cabunilas, S. A. (2019). Identitary Politics and Violence. Narratives from Cultural Societies in the Philippines. *Identity Temptations*, *73*(1).
Cambridge Dictionary. (n.d.). *UNDERDOG*. Cambridge Dictionary. Retrieved November 8, 2022, from https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/underdog
Candamil, J., & Mejia Duque, C. M. (2012). The role of women defenders of human rights in Colombia. *Forced Migration Review*, *41*(September), 33.
Castro Palaganas, E. (2010). Onward with the Cordillera Indigenous women's struggle for liberation, democracy, and self-determination. *Signs*, *35*(3), 550–558.
Chagnon, C. W., Durante, F., Gills, B. K., Hagolani-Albov, S. E., Hokkanen, S., Kangasluoma, S. M. J., Konttinen, H., Kröger, M., LaFleur, W., Ollinaho, O., & Vuola, M. P. S. (2022). From extractivism to global extractivism: the evolution of an organizing concept. *Journal of Peasant Studies*, *May*.
Cherniguin, S. (1988). The sugar workers of negros, Philippines. *Community Development Journal*, *23*(3), 187–194.
Chiumbu, S. (2016). Media , Race and Capital : A Decolonial Analysis of Representation of Miners ' Strikes in South Africa. *African Studies*, *75*(3), 417–435.
Christian, J. M., & Dowler, L. (2019). Slow and fast violence: A feminist critique of binaries. *Acme*, *18*(5), 1066–1075.
Cirefice, V., & Sullivan, L. (2019). Women on the Frontlines of Resistance To Extractivism. *Policy & Practice-a Development Education Review*, *29*, 78–99.
Coleman, L. (2007). The gendered violence of development: Imaginative geographies of exclusion in the imposition of neo-liberal capitalism. *British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, *9*(2), 204–219.
Collins, T. W., Grineski, S. E., & Morales, D. X. (2017). Sexual orientation, gender, and environment. In *Annals of the American Association of Geographers* (Vol. 107, Issue 1).
Connell, R. W., & Messerschmidt, J. W. (2005). Hegemonic masculinity rethinking the concept. *Gender and Society*, *19*(6), 829–859.
Cotula, L. (2012). The international political economy of the global land rush: A critical appraisal of trends, scale, geography and drivers. *Journal of Peasant Studies*, *39*(3–4), 649–680.
Crenshaw, K. (2016). Mapping the Margins : Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence against Women of Color. *Stanford Law Review*, *43*(6), 1241–1299.
Crook, M., & Short, D. (2014). Marx, Lemkin and the genocide-ecocide nexus. *International Journal of Human Rights*, *18*(3), 298–319.
Crook, M., & Short, D. (2021). Developmentalism and the Genocide–Ecocide Nexus. *Journal of Genocide Research*, *23*(2), 162–188.

Csevár, S. (2021). Voices in the Background: Environmental Degradation and Climate Change as Driving Forces of Violence Against Indigenous Women. *Global Studies Quarterly*, *1*(3), 1–11.

Cuomo, C. J. (1998). *Feminism and ecological communities : an ethic of flourishing*. Routledge.

Daley, E., & Pallas, S. (2014). Women and Land Deals in Africa and Asia: Weighing the Implications and Changing the Game. *Feminist Economics*, *20*(1), 178–201.

Dankelman, I. (2010). *Gender and Climate Change: An Introduction*. Earthscan.

Dao, N. (2018). Rubber plantations and their implications on gender roles and relations in northern uplands Vietnam. *Gender, Place and Culture*, *25*(11), 1579–1600.

de Vos, R., & Delabre, I. (2018). Spaces for participation and resistance: gendered experiences of oil palm plantation development. *Geoforum*, *96*(July), 217–226.

Delina, L. L. (2021). Topographies of coal mining dissent: Power, politics, and protests in southern Philippines. *World Development*, *137*, 105194.

Deonandan, K., & Bell, C. (2019). Discipline and punish: Gendered dimensions of violence in extractive development. *Canadian Journal of Women and the Law*, *31*(1), 24–56.

Diprose, G., & Mcgregor, A. (2009). Dissolving the sugar fields: Land reform and resistance identities in the Philippines. *Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography*, *30*(1), 52–69.

Dressler, W. (2021). Defending lands and forests: NGO histories, everyday struggles, and extraordinary violence in the Philippines. *Critical Asian Studies*, *53*(3), 380–411.

Dunlap, A. (2018). The 'solution' is now the 'problem:' wind energy, colonisation and the 'genocide-ecocide nexus' in the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, Oaxaca. *International Journal of Human Rights*, *22*(4), 550–573.

Dunlap, A. (2021). The Politics of Ecocide, Genocide and Megaprojects: Interrogating Natural Resource Extraction, Identity and the Normalization of Erasure. *Journal of Genocide Research*, *23*(2), 212–235.

Dunlap, A., & Brock, A. (2022). Enforcing Ecocide: Power, Policing & Planetary Militarization. In *Enforcing Ecocide*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Dwyer, L., & Cagoco-Guia, R. (2011). GENDER AND CONFLICT IN MINDANAO. In *The Asia Foundation*.

Edelman, M., & Wolford, W. (2017). Introduction: Critical Agrarian Studies in Theory and Practice: Symposium: Agrarianism in Theory and Practice Organisers: Jennifer Baka, Aaron Jakes, Greta Marchesi and Sara Safransky. *Antipode*, *49*(4), 959–976.

Eide, E. (2010). Strategic essentialism and ethnification: Hand in Glove? *Nordicom Review*, *31*(2), 63–78.

Elias, J. (2020). The Gendered Political Economy of Southeast Asian Development. In T. Carroll, S. Hameiri, & L. Jones (Eds.), *The Political Economy of Southeast Asia* (pp. 227–248). Springer International Publishing.

Elmhirst, R. (2011). Migrant pathways to resource access in Lampung's political forest: Gender, citizenship and creative conjugality. *Geoforum*, *42*(2), 173–183.

Elmhirst, R. (2018). Feminist Political Ecologies – Situated Perspectives, Emerging Engagements. *Ecologia Politica*, *54*, 1–10.

Elmhirst, R., Siscawati, M., Basnett, B. S., & Ekowati, D. (2017). Gender and generation in engagements with oil palm in East Kalimantan, Indonesia: insights from feminist political ecology. *Journal of Peasant Studies*, *44*(6), 1137–1159.

Enarson, E., & Chakrabarti, P. G. (2009). *Women, Gender and Disaster: Global Issues and Initiatives*.

England, S. (2018). *Writing Terror on the Bodies of Women: Media Coverage of Violence against women in Guatemala*. Lexington Books.

Ertör, I. (2021). ‘We are the oceans, we are the people!’: fisher people’s struggles for blue justice. *Journal of Peasant Studies*.

Ette, M. (2017). Where are the women? Evaluating visibility of Nigerian female politicians in news media space. *Gender, Place and Culture*, *24*(10), 1480–1497.

Fabricant, N., & Postero, N. (2013). Contested bodies, contested states: Performance, emotions, and new forms of regional governance in Santa Cruz, Bolivia. *Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Anthropology*, *18*(2), 187–211.

Fick, G. (2000). The Importance of Equality to the Sphere of Local Government. *Agenda*, *0950*(45), 27

Fletcher, A. J. (2018). *More than Women and Men: A Framework for Gender and Intersectionality Research on Environmental Crisis and Conflict*. *January*, 35–58.

Fotaki, M., & Daskalaki, M. (2020). Politicizing the Body in the Anti-Mining Protest in Greece. *Organization Studies*.

Frenkel, R. (2008). Feminism and contemporary culture in South Africa. *African Studies*, *67*(1), 1–10.

Fröhlich, C., & Gioli, G. (2015). Gender, Conflict, and Global Environmental Change. *Peace Review*, *27*(2), 137–146.

Gaard, G. (1993). *Ecofeminism: Women, Animals, Nature*. Temple University Press.

Gable, M. (2020). *At Least 5,500 Native American Women Are Missing in the U.S.* Pacific Standard. https://psmag.com/social-justice/searching-for-indigenous-woman-savanna-lafontaine-greywind

Gabriel, A. G., de Vera, M., & Marc, M. A. (2020). Roles of indigenous women in forest conservation: A comparative analysis of two indigenous communities in the Philippines. *Cogent Social Sciences*, *6*(1).

Galtung, J. (1990). Cultural Violence. *Journal of Peace Research*, *27*(3), 291–305.

Gamboa, L. C. L., Ilac, E. J. D., Carangan, A. M. J. M., & Agida, J. I. S. (2021). Queering public leadership: The case of lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender leaders in the Philippines. *Leadership*, *17*(2), 191–211.

Glazebrook, T., & Opoku, E. (2018). Defending the defenders: Environmental protectors, climate change and human rights. *Ethics and the Environment*, *23*(2), 83–109.

Global Witness. (2021). *Last line of defense* (Issue September).

Godfrey, P. (2005). Diane Wilson vs. Union Carbide: Ecofeminism and the elitist charge of “essentialism.” *Capitalism, Nature, Socialism*, *16*(4), 37–56.

Govender, K. (2010). *Returning a river to life* . The Witness. https://www.citizen.co.za/witness/archive/Returning-a-river-to-life-20150430/

Goyanes, C. (2017). *This All-Female Anti-Poaching Unit in South Africa is Saving Rhinos and Wildlife*. National Geographic. https://www.nationalgeographic.com/adventure/article/black-mambas-anti-poaching-wildlife-rhino-team

Goyes, D., Mol, H., Brisman, A., & South, N. (2017). *Environmental Crime in Latin America: The Theft of Nature and the Poisoning of the Land*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Gqola, P. D. (2001). Defining people: Analysing power, language and representation in metaphors of the New South Africa. *Transformation*, *47*, 94–106.

Gqola, P. D. (2007). How the ‘cult of femininity’’ and violent masculinities support endemic gender based violence in contemporary South Africa.’ *African Identities*, *5*(1), 111–124.

Gramsci, A. (1971). *Selections from the prison notebooks of Antonio Gramsci*. International Publishers.

Greenpeace. (2011). *Greenpeace stages protest at South African coal power station* . The Guardian. https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2011/nov/07/greenpeace-protest-south-africa-coal

Großmann, K., Padmanabhan, M., & Afiff, S. (2017). Gender, ethnicity, and environmental transformations in Indonesia and beyond. *Austrian Journal of South-East Asian Studies*, *10*(1), 1–10.

Großmann, K., Padmanabhan, M., & von Braun, K. (2017). Contested development in Indonesia: Rethinking ethnicity and gender in mining. *Austrian Journal of South-East Asian Studies*, *10*(1), 11–28.

Guha, R. (1989). *The Unquiet Woods: Ecological Change and Peasant Resistance in the Himalaya*. Oxford University Press.

Hajjar, R., Ayana, A. N., Rutt, R., Hinde, O., Liao, C., Keene, S., Bandiaky-Badji, S., & Agrawal, A. (2020). Capital, labor, and gender: the consequences of large-scale land transactions on household labor allocation. *Journal of Peasant Studies*, *47*(3), 566–588.

Hall, D. (2011). Land grabs, land control, and Southeast Asian crop booms. *Journal of Peasant Studies*, *38*(4), 837–857.

Hall, R., Edelman, M., Borras, S. M., Scoones, I., White, B., & Wolford, W. (2015). Resistance, acquiescence or incorporation? An introduction to land grabbing and political reactions 'from below.' *Journal of Peasant Studies*, *42*(3–4), 467–488.

Hallstein, M., Quass, S., & Miller, V. (1996). FEMINIST POLITICS AND ENVIRONMENTALJUSTICE Women's community activism in West Harlem, New York. In D. Rocheleau, B. Thomas-Slayter, & E. Wangari (Eds.), *Gender and environment: A feminist political ecology perspective* (pp. 62–86). Routledge.

Hanaček, K., Langemeyer, J., Bileva, T., & Rodríguez-Labajos, B. (2021). Understanding environmental conflicts through cultural ecosystem services - the case of agroecosystems in Bulgaria. *Ecological Economics*, *179*(August 2020), 106834.

Hanaček, K., Scheidel, A., Rojas, F., Martinez-Alier, J., Kroger, M., Kröger, M., Scheidel, A., Rojas, F., & Martinez-Alier, J. (2022). On thin ice – The Arctic commodity extraction frontier and environmental conflicts. *Ecological Economics*, *191*(January 2021).

Hao, N. (2012). Gender issues in the fishery communities of the central coastal provinces of Vietnam. *Gender in Aquaculture and Fisheries: Moving the Agenda Forward*, *25*, 129–143.

Haug, M. (2017). Men, women, and environmental change in Indonesia: The gendered face of development among the Dayak Benuaq. *Austrian Journal of South-East Asian Studies*, *10*(1), 29–46.

Hennings, A. (2019). The dark underbelly of land struggles: the instrumentalization of female activism and emotional resistance in Cambodia. *Critical Asian Studies*, *51*(1), 103–119.

Hess, D. J., & Satcher, L. A. (2019). Environmental Politics Conditions for successful environmental justice mobilizations: an analysis of 50 cases. *Environmental Politics*, *28*(4), 663–684.

Hirsch, P. (2020). The Political Economy of Land and Agrarian Relations in Southeast Asia. In T. Carroll, S. Hameiri, & L. Jones (Eds.), *The Political Economy of Southeast Asia. Studies in the Political Economy of Public Policy* (pp. 341–365). Springer International Publishing.

Hirschman, C. (2016). Gender, the status of women, and family structure in Malaysia. *Malaysian Journal of Economic Studies*, *53*(1), 33–50.

Hirschmann, N. J. (1998). Western Feminism, Eastern Veiling, and the Question of Free Agency. *Constellations*, *5*(3), 345–368.
Hobson, J. (2008). Digital whiteness, primitive blackness. *Feminist Media Studies*, *8*(2), 111–126.
Holden, W. (2014). The new people's army and neoliberal mining in the philippines: A struggle against primitive accumulation. *Capitalism, Nature, Socialism*, *25*(3), 61–83.
Holden, W. (2015). Mining amid typhoons: Large-scale mining and typhoon vulnerability in the Philippines. *Extractive Industries and Society*, *2*(3), 445–461.
Holden, W., Nadeau, K., & Jacobson, R. D. (2011). Exemplifying accumulation by dispossession: Mining and indigenous peoples in the Philippines. *Geografiska Annaler, Series B: Human Geography*, *93*(2), 141–161.
hooks, b. (1984). *Feminist theory: from margin to center*. South End Press.
hooks, b. (2013). Feminism is for everybody: passionate politics. In *Planning* (Vol. 79, Issue 5).
Hornborg, A., & Martinez-Alier, J. (2016). Ecologically unequal exchange and ecological debt. *Journal of Political Ecology*, *23*(1), 328–49116. www.ejatlas.org
Howell, S. (1989). "TO BE ANGRY IS NOT TO BE HUMAN, BUT TO BE FEARFUL IS": CHEWONG CONCEPTS OF HUMAN NATURE. In S. Howell & R. Willis (Eds.), *Societies at Peace: Anthropological Perspectives* (pp. 45–59). Routledge.
Hume, M. (2009). Researching the gendered silences of violence in El Salvador. *IDS Bulletin*, *40*(3), 78–85.
Ikelegbe, A. (2005a). Engendering civil society: Oil, women groups and resource conflicts in the Niger Delta region of Nigeria. *Journal of Modern African Studies*, *43*(2), 241–270.
Ikelegbe, A. (2005b). Engendering civil society: Oil, women groups and resource conflicts in the Niger Delta region of Nigeria. *Journal of Modern African Studies*, *43*(2), 241–270.
IWGIA. (2022). *Philippines* . International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs. https://www.iwgia.org/en/philippines.html
Jegatesen, G. (2017). *Indigenous Women and Gender Roles: Migrant Orang Asli Women in the Klang Valley, Malaysia*.
Jenkins, K. (2017a). Women anti-mining activists' narratives of everyday resistance in the Andes: staying put and carrying on in Peru and Ecuador. *Gender, Place and Culture*, *24*(10), 1441–1459.
Jenkins, K. (2017b). Women anti-mining activists' narratives of everyday resistance in the Andes: staying put and carrying on in Peru and Ecuador. *Gender, Place and Culture*, *24*(10), 1441–1459.
Jenkins, K., & Rondón, G. (2015). 'Eventually the mine will come': women anti-mining activists' everyday resilience in opposing resource extraction in the Andes. *Gender and Development*, *23*(3), 415–431.
Jones, T., & Norwood, K. J. (2017). Aggressive encounters & white fragility: Deconstructing the trope of the Angry Black Woman. *Iowa Law Review*, *102*(5), 2017–2069.
Jørgensen, M., & Phillips, L. (2012). Discourse Analysis as Theory and Method. *Discourse Analysis as Theory and Method*.
Joshi, D. K., Hailu, M. F., & Reising, L. J. (2020). Violators, virtuous, or victims? How global newspapers represent the female member of parliament. *Feminist Media Studies*, *20*(5), 692–712.
Jr, S. B., & Franco, J. (2011). Political Dynamics of Land-grabbing in Southeast Asia. In *Transnational Institute*. http://www.ritimo.org/IMG/pdf/TNI_Land-grabbing.pdf

Kareithi, P. J. (2014). Africa: Outdated representations continue to deny women autonomy of their “personhood.” In *Feminist Media Studies* (Vol. 14, Issue 2, pp. 334–337). Taylor & Francis.

Kenney-Lazar, M., & Ishikawa, N. (2019). Mega-Plantations in Southeast Asia: Landscapes of Displacement. *Environment and Society*, *10*(1), 63–82.

Knox, J. (2017). Environmental Human Rights Defenders. A global crisis. In *Policy Brief, Universal Rights Group* (Issue February).

Koh, S. Y., & Sin, I. L. (2021). Race, whiteness and internationality in transnational education: academic and teacher expatriates in Malaysia. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, *0*(0), 1–21.

Koko, K. (2021). *Senseless killings of activists, including Fikile Ntshangase, were preventable*. The Mail & Guardian. https://mg.co.za/news/2021-03-18-senseless-killings-of-activists-including-fikile-ntshangase-were-preventable-un-report/

Kopusar, P. (2002). An Australia Indigenous Women’s Perspective: Indigenous Life and Mining. In I. Macdonald & C. Rowland (Eds.), *Tunnel Vision: Women, Mining and Communities* (pp. 26–30). Oxfam Community Aid Abroad.

Krauss, C. (1993). Women and Toxic Waste Protests: Race, Class and Gender as Resources of Resistance. In *Qualitative Sociology* (Vol. 16, Issue 3).

Krupp, S. J. (2000). Environmental Hazards: Asessiong the risk to women. *Fordham Environmental Law Journal*, *12*(1), 111–139.

Kuo, I. C. (2020). Changing masculinities in response to environmental impacts of mining: Reflections from Mindre village, Papua New Guinea. *Extractive Industries and Society*, *7*(2), 446–452.

Kurtz, H. E. (2007). Gender and environmental justice in Louisiana: Blurring the boundaries of public and private spheres. *Gender, Place and Culture*, *14*(4), 409–426.

Lahiri-Dutt, K. (2013). Bodies in/out of place: Hegemonic masculinity and kamins’ motherhood in Indian coal mines. *South Asian History and Culture*, *4*(2), 213–229.

Lamb, V., Schoenberger, L., Middleton, C., & Un, B. (2017). Gendered eviction, protest and recovery: a feminist political ecology engagement with land grabbing in rural Cambodia. *Journal of Peasant Studies*, *44*(6), 1217–1236.

Lan, P. C. (2011). White Privilege, Language Capital and Cultural Ghettoisation: Western High-Skilled Migrants in Taiwan. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *37*(10), 1669–1693.

Lawson, E. S. (2018). Bereaved black mothers and maternal activism in the racial state. *Feminist Studies*, *44*(3), 713–735.

Lazar, M. M. (2007). Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis: Articulating a Feminist Discourse. *Critical Discourse Studies*, *4*(2), 141–164.

Lazar, M. M. (2014). Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis: Relevance for Current Gender and Language Research. In *The Handbook of Language, Gender, and Sexuality: Second Edition* (pp. 180–199).

le Billon, P., & Lujala, P. (2020). Environmental and land defenders: Global patterns and determinants of repression. *Global Environmental Change*, *65*(July), 102163.

le Roux, E. (2002). *Unsung Heroines: Media Reflections of the Social Conflict in South Africa* (Vol. 17, Issue 2). African and Asian Studies 1(4).

Ledwaba, L. (2019). *‘We will not give up’: Tension rises as Xolobeni community vows to fight mining*. Citypress. https://www.news24.com/citypress/news/we-will-not-give-up-tension-rises-as-xolobeni-community-vows-to-fight-mining-20190409

Lee, R. (2008). Mobilizing Motherhood (And Fatherhood): Civic Empowerment in the Quake Zones of China. *Feminist Studies*, *34*(1), 299–313.

Lee, R. B. (2004). Filipino men's familial roles and domestic violence: Implications and strategies for community-based intervention. *Health and Social Care in the Community*, *12*(5), 422–429.

Leguizamón, A. (2019). The Gendered Dimensions of Resource Extractivism in Argentina's Soy Boom. *Latin American Perspectives*, *46*(2), 199–216.

Leopeng, B., & Langa, M. (2020). Destiny overshadowed: masculine representations and feminist implications in a South African men's magazine. *Feminist Media Studies*, *20*(5), 672–691.

Lynch, M. J., Fegadel, A., & Long, M. A. (2021). Green Criminology and State-Corporate Crime: The Ecocide-Genocide Nexus with Examples from Nigeria. *Journal of Genocide Research*, *23*(2), 236–256.

Lynch, M. J., Stretesky, P. B., & Long, M. A. (2018). Green criminology and native peoples: The treadmill of production and the killing of indigenous environmental activists. *Theoretical Criminology*, *22*(3), 318–341.

MacGregor, S. (2010). "Gender and climate change": From impacts to discourses. *Journal of the Indian Ocean Region*, *6*(2), 223–238.

Mahopo, Z. (2017). *Mom wants justice for son "killed" by police*. Sowetan Live. https://www.sowetanlive.co.za/news/2017-07-16-mom-wants-justice-for-son-killed-by-police/

Makhafola, G. (2019). *Northern Cape's female "zama zamas" trained as artisans*. IOL. https://www.iol.co.za/business-report/economy/northern-capes-female-zama-zamas-trained-as-artisans-30711429

Manalastas, E. J., Ojanen, T. T., Torre, B. A., Ratanashevorn, R., Hong, B. C. C., Kumaresan, V., & Veeramuthu, V. (2017). Homonegativity in southeast Asia: Attitudes toward lesbians and gay men in Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, and Vietnam. *Asia-Pacific Social Science Review*, *17*(1), 25–33.

Manning, S. M. (2016). Intersectionality in resource extraction: a case study of sexual violence at the Porgera mine in Papua New Guinea. *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, *18*(4), 574–589.

Margulis, M. E., McKeon, N., & Borras, S. M. (2013). Land Grabbing and Global Governance: Critical Perspectives. *Globalizations*, *10*(1), 1–23.

Martinez-Alier, J. (2002). *The Environmentalism of the Poor*. Edward Elgar Publishing Limited.

Martinez-Alier, J. (2021). Mapping ecological distribution conflicts: The EJAtlas. *Extractive Industries and Society*, *8*(4), 100883.

Martinez-Alier, J., & O'Connor, M. (1996). *Ecological and Economic Distribution Conflicts* (UFAE and IAE Working Papers). Unitat de Fonaments de l'Anàlisi Econòmica (UAB) and Institut d'Anàlisi Econòmica (CSIC).

Martinez-Alier, J., Temper, L., del Bene, D., & Scheidel, A. (2016). Is there a global environmental justice movement? *Journal of Peasant Studies*, *43*(3), 731–755.

Mautner, G. (2008). Analyzing Newspapers, Magazines and Other Print Media. In *Qualitative Discourse Analysis in the Social Sciences* (pp. 30–53).

Mayes, R., & Pini, B. (2010). The "Feminine Revolution in Mining": A critique. *Australian Geographer*, *41*(2), 233–245.

Mayher, A., & Mcdonald, D. A. (2007). The print media in South Africa: Paving the way for "privatisation." *Review of African Political Economy*, *34*(113), 443–460.

McSherry, A., Manalastas, E. J., Gaillard, J. C., & Dalisay, S. N. M. (2015). From deviant to Bakla, strong to stronger: Mainstreaming sexual and gender minorities into disaster risk reduction in the Philippines. *Forum for Development Studies*, *42*(1), 27–40.

Mehta, M. (1996). "OUR LIVES ARE NO DIFFERENT FROM THAT OF OUR BUFFALOES" Agricultural change and gendered spaces in a central Himalayan valley. In D. Rocheleau, B. Thomas-Slayter, & E. Wangari (Eds.), *Gender and environment: A feminist political ecology perspective* (pp. 155–180). Routledge.

Mejía, C. (2020). "Nos están matando": (We Are Being Killed). *Journal of Architectural Education*, *74*(2), 315–318.

Mendoza, D., & Lao, M. (2017). Corazon Aquino: The Reluctant First Female President of the Philippines. In V. Montecinos (Ed.), *Women Presidents and Prime Ministers in Post-Transition Democracies* (pp. 205–220). Palgrave Macmillan.

Mendoza, R. C. (2015). Situational Analysis of Women in Small-Scale Mining in T'Boli South Cotabato. *Sdssu Multidisciplinary Research Journal*, *3*(June), 15–22.

Mikulewicz, M. (2020). The Discursive Politics of Adaptation to Climate Change. *Annals of the American Association of Geographers*, *110*(6), 1807–1830.

Mining News. (2017). *Saldanha Municipality bails out controversial Elandsfontein mine*. Mining News. https://miningnews.co.za/2017/09/04/saldanha-municipality-bails-out-controversial-elandsfontein-mine/

Moloney, C. J., & Chambliss, W. J. (2014). Slaughtering the Bison, Controlling Native Americans: A State Crime and Green Criminology Synthesis. *Critical Criminology*, *22*(3), 319–338.

Mora, M. (2008). Lutes, Gongs, Women and Men: (En)Gendering Instrumental Music in the Philippines. *Ethnomusicology Forum*, *17*(2), 225–247.

Moreano Venegas, M., & van Teijlingen, K. (2022). The gendered criminalization of land defenders in Ecuador: From individualization to collective resistance in feminized territories. In *Environmental Defenders* (pp. 76–87). Routledge.

Morgan, M. (2017). Women, gender and protest: contesting oil palm plantation expansion in Indonesia. *Journal of Peasant Studies*, *44*(6), 1179–1198.

Mortimer-Sandilands, C., & Erickson, B. (2010). *Queer ecologies : sex, nature, politics, desire*. Indiana University Press.

Mostafanezhad, M., & Dressler, W. (2021). Violent atmospheres: Political ecologies of livelihoods and crises in Southeast Asia. *Geoforum*, *124*(August 2019), 343–347.

Narchi, N. E. (2015). Introduction environmental violence in Mexico: A conceptual introduction. *Latin American Perspectives*, *42*(5), 5–18.

Nartey, M. (2020). A feminist critical discourse analysis of Ghanaian feminist blogs. *Feminist Media Studies*, *21*(4), 1–16.

Naujoks, J., & Ko, M. T. (2018). Behind the masks: Masculinities, gender, peace and security in Myanmar. In *International Alert*.

Navas, G. (2022). 'If there's no evidence, there's no victim': undone science and political organisation in marginalising women as victims of DBCP in Nicaragua. *Journal of Peasant Studies*, *0*(0), 1–24.

Navas, G., Mingorria, S., & Aguilar-González, B. (2018). Violence in environmental conflicts: the need for a multidimensional approach. *Sustainability Science*, *13*(3), 649–660.

Neumayer, E., & Plümper, T. (2007). The gendered nature of natural disasters: The impact of catastrophic events on the gender gap in life expectancy, 1981-2002. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, *97*(3), 551–566.

Neves, J. (2020). *KZN coal mine murder: NGO urges investigation into Fikile Ntshangase death*. BizNews. https://www.biznews.com/sa-investing/2020/10/28/fikile-ntshangase

Nguyen, B. N., & Gordon, M. (2020). Human Trafficking and Gender Inequality in Remote Communities of Central Vietnam. *Journal of Social Change*, *12*(1), 11.

Nguyen, H. T. (2019). Gendered Vulnerabilities in Times of Natural Disasters: Male-to-Female Violence in the Philippines in the Aftermath of Super Typhoon Haiyan. *Violence Against Women*, *25*(4), 421–440.

Nightingale, A. (2002). Participating or just sitting in? The dynamics of gender and caste in community forestry. *Journal of Forest and Livelihood*, *2*(1), 17–24.

Nightingale, A. (2006). The nature of gender: Work, gender, and environment. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, *24*(2), 165–185.

Niu, G. A.-Y. (1999). Wives , Widows , and Workers: Corazon Aquino , Imelda Marcos , and the Filipina " Other ". *NWSA Journal*, *11*(2), 88–102.

Nixon, R. (2011). *Slow Violence and the Environmentalism of the Poor*. Harvard University Press. http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt2jbsgw

Njamela, Y. (2019). *South Africa's Mpumalanga Province choking in pollution*. China Global Television Network. https://news.cgtn.com/news/2019-07-04/South-Africa-s-Mpumalanga-Province-choking-in-pollution-I3mvQ3wceY/index.html

Nyulaku, P., & Ojakorotu, V. (2018). *The Question of Development among Oil Endowed Nations of Africa: Gendered Violence in the Niger Delta of Nigeria*.

Öjendal, J., & Sedara, K. (2006). Korob, kaud, klach: In search of agency in rural Cambodia. *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, *37*(3), 507–526.

Oladimeji, O., & Osunkunle, O. (2020). Media channels and their potency in portraying gender based violence against women among Uitenhage Residents in the Eastern Cape Province of South Africa. *AFFRIKA Journal of Politics, Economics and Society*, *10*(1), 133–152.

Opoku-Mensah, A. (2001). Marching on: African feminist media studies. *Feminist Media Studies*, *1*(1), 25–34.

O'Shaughnessy, S., & Krogman, N. T. (2011). Gender as contradiction: From dichotomies to diversity in natural resource extraction. *Journal of Rural Studies*, *27*(2), 134–143.

Özkaynak, B., Rodríguez-Labajos, B., Aydın, C. I., Yanez, I., & Garibay, C. (2015). *Towards environmental justice success in mining conflicts: An empirical investigation, EJOLT Report No. 14*. *14*, 96.

Park, C. M. Y. (2019). "Our Lands are Our Lives": Gendered Experiences of Resistance to Land Grabbing in Rural Cambodia. *Feminist Economics*, *25*(4), 21–44.

Park, C. M. Y. (2021). Gender and generation in rural politics in Myanmar: a missed space for (re)negotiation? *Journal of Peasant Studies*.

Park, C. M. Y., & White, B. (2017). Gender and generation in Southeast Asian agro-commodity booms. *Journal of Peasant Studies*, *44*(6), 1105–1112.

Park, C., White, B., & Julia, J. (2015). The gendered politcal ecology of agrofuels expansion. In E. Dietz & O. Pye (Eds.), *The Political Ecology of Agrofuels* (pp. 53–69). Routledge.

Parker, J. (2012). Questioning Appropriation : Agency and Complicity in a Transnational Feminist Location Politics. *Journal of Feminist Scholarship*, *3*(Fall), 1–18.

Parmanand, S. (2020). Duterte as the macho messiah: Chauvinist populism and the feminisation of human rights in the Philippines. *Review of Women's Studies*, *29*(2), 1–30.

Pathak, S. (2020). *The Chipko Movement: A People's History*. Permanent Black.

Payne, S. (2020). *Women on Farms Project calls for moratorium on farm eviictions*. Daily Maverick. https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2020-08-04-women-on-farms-project-calls-for-moratorium-on-farm-evictions/

Payne, S., & Tobias, N. (2019). *Women farmworkers demand an end to use of harmful pesticides*. Daily Maverick. https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2019-08-30-women-farmworkers-demand-an-end-to-use-of-harmful-pesticides/

Peek, B. (2007). Women in the Environmental Justice Sector: Why Is It Always White Men Who Speak? *Agenda: Empowering Women for Gender Equity*, *1*(73), 118–125.
Peoples Dispatch. (2021). *Outrage in Philippines over killing of 2 indigenous farmers and a child by army*. Peoples Dispatch. https://peoplesdispatch.org/2021/06/17/outrage-in-philippines-over-killing-of-2-indigenous-farmers-and-a-child-by-army/
Perry, E., Potgieter, C., & Bob, U. (2011). Environmental conflicts and women's vulnerability in Africa. *African Journal on Conflict Resolution*, *10*(2).
Pillay, M. (2020). *Shock and fear following murder of Hluhluwe-Imfolozi activist Fikile Ntshangase*. SABC News. https://www.sabcnews.com/sabcnews/shock-and-fear-following-murder-of-hluhluwe-imfolozi-activist-fikile-ntshangase/
Plumwood, V. (1991). Nature, Self, and Gender: Feminism, Environmental Philosophy, and the Critique of Rationalism. *Hypatia*, *6*(1), 3–27.
Polioudakis, E. J. . (1991). Social Organization , Gender , and Adaptation in Southern Thailand. *Ethnology*, *30*(1), 65–83.
Quijano, A. (2000). Coloniality of power, eurocentrism, and Latin America. *Nepantla: Views from South*, *1*(3), 533–581.
Ramalho, J. (2019). Empowerment in the era of resilience-building: Gendered participation in community-based (disaster) risk management in the Philippines. *International Development Planning Review*, *41*(2), 129–148.
Reese, N. (2010). Current Research on South-East Asia " Still Working on it " : An Overview on the Current State of Public Activism of Women in the Philippines. *ASEAS ASEAS - Austrian Journal of South-East Asian Studies*, *3*(32), 136–150.
Resurrección, B., & Elmhirst, R. (2020). *Negotiating Gender Expertise in Environment and Development: Voices from Feminist Political Ecology*. Routledge.
Resurrección, B. P. (2013). Persistent women and environment linkages in climate change and sustainable development agendas. *Women's Studies International Forum*, *40*, 33–43.
Resurreccion, B. P., Real, M. J., & Pattana, P. (2004). Officialising strategies: Participatory processes and gender in Thailand's water resources sector. *Development in Practice*, *14*(4), 521–532.
Rocheleau, D., Thomas-Slayter, B., & Wangari, E. (1996). Gender and environment: A feminist political ecology perspective. In D. Rocheleau, B. Thomas-Slayter, & E. Wangari (Eds.), *Feminist Political Ecology: Global Issues and Local Experience* (pp. 3–26). Routledge.
Roy, B., & Martinez-Alier, J. (2019). Environmental Justice Movements in India: An analysis of the multiple manifestations of violence. In *Ecology, Economy and Society-the INSEE Journal* (Vol. 2, Issue 1).
Runyan, A. S., & Peterson, V. S. (2014). *Global Gender Issues in the New Millennium* (4th ed.). Westview Press.
Salleh, A. (2017). Ecofeminism as Politics Nature, Marx and the Postmodern. In *Journal of Materials Processing Technology* (2nd ed., Vol. 1, Issue 1). Zed Books.
Sasson-Levy, O., & Rapoport, T. (2003). Body, gender, and knowledge in protest movements: The Israeli case. *GENDER & SOCIETY*, *17*(3), 379–403.
Scheidel, A., del Bene, D., Liu, J., Navas, G., Mingorría, S., Demaria, F., Avila, S., Roy, B., Ertör, I., Temper, L., & Martínez-Alier, J. (2020). Environmental conflicts and defenders: A global overview. *Global Environmental Change*, *63*(7), 102–104.
Scheidel, A., Temper, L., Demaria, F., & Martínez-Alier, J. (2018). Ecological distribution conflicts as forces for sustainability: an overview and conceptual framework. *Sustainability Science*, *13*(3), 585–598.

Schmidt, J. (2003). Paradise Lost? Social Change and Fa'afafine in Samoa. *Current Sociology*, *51*(4), 417–432.

Schoenberger, L., Hall, D., & Vandergeest, P. (2017). What happened when the land grab came to Southeast Asia? *Journal of Peasant Studies*, *44*(4), 697–725.

Schroter, S. (2010). Christianity in Indonesia: An overview. *Christianity in Indonesia: Perspectives of Power*, *0*, 9–28.

Scorgie, Y., Kneen, M. A., & Annegarn, H. J. (2003). Air Pollution in the Vaal Triangle - Quantifying Source Contributions and Identifying Cost-Effective Solutions. *Clean Air Journal*, *13*(2).

Scott, D., & Oelofse, C. (2002). Double Trouble: Environmental Injustice in South Durban. *Agenda*, *0950*(52), 50. https://doi.org/10.2307/4066473

Serafini, P. (2021). Extractivist violence and the COVID-19 conjuncture. *Journal of the British Academy*, *9*(5), 95–116.

Sharma, N. (2015). Strategic Anti-Essentialism: Decolonizing Decolonization. In K. McKittrick (Ed.), *Sylvia Wynter: On being human as praxis* (pp. 164–182). Duke University Press.

Shiva, V. (1988). Staying Alive: Women, Ecology and Survival in India. In *Community practitioner : the journal of the Community Practitioners' & Health Visitors' Association* (Vol. 84, Issue 7).

Sifris, R., & Tanyag, M. (2019). Intersectionality, transitional justice, and the case of internally displaced Moro women in the Philippines. *Human Rights Quarterly*, *41*(2), 399–420.

Sinclair, L. (2021). Beyond victimisation: Gendered legacies of mining, participation, and resistance. *Extractive Industries and Society*, *July 2020*.

Spivak, G. C. (1988). Can the Subaltern Speak? *Die Philosophin*, *14*(27).

Stevens, P. (2006). Women's Aggressive Use of Genital Power in Africa. *Transcultural Psychiatry*, *43*(4), 592–599.

Stoddart, M. C. J., & Tindall, D. B. (2011). Ecofeminism, hegemonic masculinity, and environmental movement participation in British Columbia, Canada, 1998-2007: "women always clean up the mess." *Sociological Spectrum*, *31*(3), 342–368.

Sultana, F. (2020). Political ecology 1: From margins to center. *Progress in Human Geography*.

Suttner, R. (2012). Understanding Non-racialism as an Emancipatory Concept in South Africa. *Theoria*, *59*(130).

Sutton, B. (2007). *Poner el Cuerpo : Women ' s Embodiment and Political Resistance in Argentina*. Miami: Cambridge University.

Sutton, B. (2010). *Bodies in Crisis*. Rutgers University Press. http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt5hhzms

Sylvain, R. (2014). Essentialism and the Indigenous Politics of Recognition in Southern Africa. *American Anthropologist*, *116*(2), 251–264.

Tamale, S. (2016). Controlling women's fertility in Uganda. *Sur*, *13*(24), 117–128.

Tamale, S. (2017). Nudity, Protest and the Law in Uganda. *Feminist Africa*, *22*, 52–87.

Taylor, D. (2018). Are Women's Lives (Fully) Grievable? Gendered Framing and Sexual Violence. In C. Fischer & L. Dolezal (Eds.), *New Feminist Perspectives on Embodiment: Breaking Feminist Waves* (pp. 147–165). Palgrave Macmillan.

Taylor, L., & Hurley, P. T. (2016). *Political Ecology of Exurbia*. Zed Books.

Temper, L., Bene, D. del, & Martinez-Alier, J. (2015). Mapping the frontiers and front lines of global environmental justice: The EJAtlas. *Journal of Political Ecology*, *22*, 254–278.

Temper, L., Demaria, F., Scheidel, A., del Bene, D., & Martinez-Alier, J. (2018). The Global Environmental Justice Atlas (EJAtlas): ecological distribution conflicts as forces for sustainability. *Sustainability Science*, *13*(3), 573–584.

Tran, D. (2021). A comparative study of women environmental defenders' antiviolent success strategies. *Geoforum*, *126*, 126–138.

Tran, D. (2022). Realities beyond reporting : women environmental defenders in South Africa Realities beyond reporting : women environmental defenders in South Africa. *Feminist Media Studies*, *00*(00), 1–18.

Tran, D., Martínez-Alier, J., Navas, G., & Mingorría, S. (2020). Gendered geographies of violence : a multiple case study analysis of murdered women environmental defenders. *Journal of Political Ecology*, *27*(1), 1189–1212.

Tsikata, D., & Yaro, J. A. (2014). When a Good Business Model is Not Enough: Land Transactions and Gendered Livelihood Prospects in Rural Ghana. *Feminist Economics*, *20*(1), 202–226.

UNEP. (n.d.). *Who are environmental defenders?* Retrieved September 11, 2020, from https://www.unenvironment.org/explore-topics/environmental-rights-and-governance/what-we-do/advancing-environmental-rights/who

Unger, N. C. (2008). The Role of Gender in Environmental Justice. *Environmental Justice*, *1*(3), 115–120.

Valerio, K. A. (2014). Storm of violence, surge of struggle: Women in the aftermath of Typhoon Haiyan (Yolanda). *Asian Journal of Women's Studies*, *20*(1), 148–163.

van Allen, J. (2015). What Are Women's Rights Good For? Contesting and Negotiating Gender Cultures in Southern Africa. *African Studies Review*, *58*(3), 97–128.

Venter, Z. S., Shackleton, C. M., van Staden, F., Selomane, O., & Masterson, V. A. (2020). Green Apartheid: Urban green infrastructure remains unequally distributed across income and race geographies in South Africa. *Landscape and Urban Planning*, *203*(0349), 103889.

Verchick, R. (2004). Feminist Theory and Environmental Justice. In *New Perspectives on Environmental Justice: Gender, Sexuality and Activism*. Rutgers University Press.

Verschuur, C. (2008). Neighbourhood movements, gender and social justice: the cultural reinvention of politics by women. *International Social Science Journal*, *59*(1), 409–420.

Veuthey, S., & Gerber, J. F. (2012). Accumulation by dispossession in coastal Ecuador: Shrimp farming, local resistance and the gender structure of mobilizations. *Global Environmental Change*, *22*(3), 611–622.

Vidal, J. (2011). *South Africa – where climate change may trigger a toxic timebomb*. The Guardian. https://www.theguardian.com/environment/blog/2011/nov/26/south-africa-mining-industry-johannesburg-pollution

Waghiyi, C. (2012). *Indigenous Women and Environmental Violence*.

Wallace, D. (2018). Cultural capital as whiteness? Examining logics of ethno-racial representation and resistance. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, *39*(4), 466–482.

Wasserman, H., Chuma, W., & Bosch, T. (2018). Print media coverage of service delivery protests in South Africa : A content analysis. *African Studies*, *77*(1), 145–156.

Wayland, J. (2019). Black Sand and the Red Court: Scalar Politics of a Mining Conflict in the Philippines. *Annals of the American Association of Geographers*, *109*(3), 1006–1023.

Weiss, G. (2018). A Genealogy of Women's (Un)Ethical Bodies. In C. Fischer & L. Dolezal (Eds.), *New Feminist Perspectives on Embodiment. Breaking Feminist Waves* (pp. 17–35). Palgrave Macmillan. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-72353-2_2

White, B., Borras, S. M., Hall, R., Scoones, I., & Wolford, W. (2012). The new enclosures: Critical perspectives on corporate land deals. *Journal of Peasant Studies*, *39*(3–4), 619–647.

White, J., & White, B. (2012). Gendered experiences of dispossession: oil palm expansion in a Dayak Hibun community in West Kalimantan. *The Journal of Peasant Studies*, *39*(3–4), 995–1016.

Willow, A. J., & Keefer, S. (2015). Gendering extraction: Expectations and identities in women's motives for shale energy opposition. *Journal of Research in Gender Studies*, *5*(2), 93–120.

WoMin. (2013). *Women, Gender, and Extractivism in Africa*.

World Economic Forum. (2019). *Global Gender Gap Report 2020*. http://www3.weforum.org/docs/WEF_GGGR_2020.pdf

World Justice Project. (n.d.). *What is the Rule of Law?* World Justice Project. Retrieved May 7, 2022, from https://worldjusticeproject.org/about-us/overview/what-rule-law

Wright, L. (2008). Displacing the voice: South African feminism and JM Coetzee's female narrators. *African Studies*, *67*(1), 11–32.

Wright, M. W. (2011). Necropolitics, narcopolitics, and femicide: Gendered violence on the Mexico-U.S. border. *Signs*, *36*(3), 707–731.

Zoomers, A. (2010). Globalisation and the foreignisation of space: Seven processes driving the current global land grab. *Journal of Peasant Studies*, *37*(2), 429–447.

List of publications and communications

Scholarly peer-reviewed publications:

Tran, D., Martínez-Alier, J., Navas, G., & Mingorría, S. (2020). Gendered geographies of violence : a multiple case study analysis of murdered women environmental defenders. *Journal of Political Ecology*, *27*(1), 1189–1212.

Tran, D. (2021). A comparative study of women environmental defenders' antiviolent success strategies. *Geoforum*, *126*(June 2020), 126–138.

Tran, D. (2022). Realities beyond reporting: women environmental defenders in South Africa. *Feminist Media Studies*, *00*(00), 1–18.

Submissions to journals in progress:

Tran, D. (2022). Beyond women and men: How extractive projects perpetuate gendered violence against environmental defenders in Southeast Asia. Under second round of revisions in *Journal of Peasant Studies*

Tran, D. (2022). The holes their bullets left in our communities: Gendered violence martyring Filipina environmental defenders. Under third round of revisions in *The Extractive Industries and Society*.

Tran, D. and Hanaček, K. (2022). More than just headlines: A global statistical analysis of murdered women environmental defenders. Under revision in *Nature Sustainability*.

Non-academic publications:

Tran, D. (2020). *Ntshangase's voice rings louder than gunshots*. The Ecologist. https://theecologist.org/2020/nov/05/ntshangases-voice-rings-louder-gunshots

Tran, D. (2021). Defensoras ambientales en lucha contra la violencia mediante la no

violencia. *Ecología Politica¸ 61*(1). https://www.ecologiapolitica.info/defensoras-ambientales-en-lucha-contra-la-violencia-mediante-la-no-violencia/

Tran, D. (2021). *Dying for environmental democracy*. The Ecologist. https://theecologist.org/2021/jun/28/dying-environmental-democracy

Tran, D. (2022). *Women defending our earth*. The Ecologist. https://theecologist.org/2022/mar/08/women-defending-our-earth

Tran, D. (2022). *Free Antonio Tolentino*. The Ecologist. https://theecologist.org/2022/may/26/free-antonio-tolentino

Interviews with journalists:

Montanya, X. (2021). *Qui va matar Berta Cáceres?* VilaWeb. https://www.vilaweb.cat/noticies/berta-caceres-assassinat-dones-ecologistes-joc-de-miralls/

Drury, M. (2021). *Killed for campaigning: Meet the women fighting the coal giants | Euronews*. EuroNews. https://www.euronews.com/green/2021/02/22/killed-for-campaigning-meet-the-women-fighting-the-coal-giants

Drury, M. (2021). *Indigenous Women Are on the Front Lines of the Narco War — and Dying Because of It*. Women's Media Center. https://womensmediacenter.com/climate/indigenous-women-are-on-the-front-lines-of-the-narco-war-and-dying-because-of-it

Conferences:

V TIEC Colloquium, June 2020 (Spain): Presented "A comparative study of women environmental defenders' antiviolent success strategies"

8th International Degrowth Conference, August 2021 (Netherlands): Presented "A comparative study of WEDs' antiviolent success strategies"

EXALT Symposium, October 2021 (Finland): Presented "Gendered geographies of violence: A multiple case study analysis of murdered WEDs"

XIV International Conference of the ESEE, June 2022 (Italy): Presented "A global statistical analysis of murdered women environmental defenders"

Earth Crisis and the Global Environmental Movement, August 2022 (United States): Presented "Beyond women and men: How extractive projects perpetuate gendered violence against environmental defenders in Southeast Asia"

INTECOL, August 2022 (Switzerland): Presented "How extractive projects perpetuate gendered violence against environmental defenders in Southeast Asia"

Philippine Studies Conference, November 2022 (Japan): Presented "Gendered violence martyring Filipina environmental defenders"

Seminars:

Soka University of America, March 2021 (United States): Presented thesis research to Environmental Movements undergraduate course

Soka University of America, April 2021 (United States): Organizer and speaker at an alumni panel on Environmental Justice & Sustainability

Queen's University, November 2022 (Canada): Presented the EJAtlas and thesis research to Development in Practice undergraduate course