

Not victims, but fighters: A global overview on women's leadership in anti-mining struggles

Francisco Venes ^{1 a}

Stefania Barca ^b

Grettel Navas ^c

^a University of Coimbra, Portugal

^b University of Santiago de Compostela, Spain

^c University of Chile, Chile

Abstract

While it is known that women have a strong presence in struggles for Environmental Justice, there is a lack of knowledge about their role in them, particularly in struggles opposing mining projects. We aim to fill this gap by undertaking the first global systematization of the available data on women's anti-mining activism, using a multi-case perspective. We analyze 151 mining conflicts identified through the Environmental Justice Atlas, examining the impacts mining activities have had on women, how women responded to these, how they organized to oppose mining projects, and what challenges they faced in their activism. While our analysis reinforces many aspects discussed by Feminist Political Ecology scholars on the challenges women face in their activism, it also raises new questions about the specific impacts mining has on women, the repertoire of actions they have at their disposal as part of their activism, and how they organize to oppose mining projects, patriarchal dynamics within movements, and to question prevailing narratives of progress.

Keywords: Feminist political ecology, women, environmental justice, mining, Environmental Justice Atlas

Résumé

Alors qu'il est connu que les femmes ont une forte présence dans les luttes pour la justice environnementale, il y a un manque de connaissances sur leur rôle dans celles-ci. En particulier, dans les luttes contre les projets miniers. Pour combler cette lacune on se propose à réaliser la première systématisation mondiale des données disponibles sur l'activisme anti-mines dirigés par des femmes, en utilisant une perspective multi-cas. Pour cela, nous analysons 151 conflits miniers identifiés dans l'Atlas de la justice environnementale, nous examinons les impacts des activités minières sur les femmes, la manière dont elles y ont répondu, comment elles s'organisent pour s'opposer aux projets miniers et les défis auxquels elles ont été confrontées pendant leur activisme. Si bien notre analyse soutiens de nombreux aspects discutés par les spécialistes de l'écologie politique féministe sur les défis auxquels les femmes sont confrontées dans leur activisme, elle soulève également de nouvelles questions sur les impacts spécifiques de l'exploitation minière sur les femmes, le répertoire d'actions dont elles disposent dans le cadre de leur activisme, et comment ils s'organisent pour s'opposer aux projets miniers, mais aussi à la dynamique patriarcale au sein des mouvements et questionne les discours dominants sur le progrès.

¹ Francisco Venes, PhD(c) at the Centre for Social Studies (CES), University of Coimbra, Portugal. Email: francisco.venes@gmail.com. Stefania Barca, Distinguished researcher 'Beatriz Galindo' at the University of Santiago de Compostela, Spain. Email: Stefania.barca@usc.es. Grettel Navas, Assistant Professor at Facultad de Gobierno, University of Chile, Chile. Email: grettel.navas@gobierno.uchile.cl. Acknowledgements: we are grateful to the community of collaborators who have entered cases in the *EJ Atlas*. Francisco Venes acknowledges support from Fundação para a Ciência e Tecnologia (FCT) through the PhD grant SFRH/BD/146767/2019. Grettel Navas acknowledges support from the ERC project 'EnvJustice' (GA 695446).

Mots-clés : Ecologie politique féministe, femmes, justice environnementale, exploitation minière, Atlas de la Justice Environnementale

Resumen

Si bien es conocido que las mujeres tienen una fuerte presencia en las luchas por la Justicia Ambiental, existe aún un desconocimiento sobre su rol en estas luchas, especialmente en las luchas contra proyectos mineros. En este artículo, nuestro objetivo es llenar este vacío mediante la elaboración de la primera sistematización global de datos disponibles sobre el activismo anti-minería liderado por mujeres, utilizando una perspectiva de casos múltiples. Para ello, analizamos 151 conflictos mineros identificados a través del Atlas de Justicia Ambiental, examinamos los impactos que las actividades mineras han tenido en las mujeres, cómo ellas respondieron a éstos, cómo se organizaron para enfrentar la actividad minera y qué desafíos enfrentaron en su activismo. Si bien nuestro análisis refuerza muchos aspectos discutidos por las académicas en el campo de la Ecología Política Feminista sobre los desafíos que enfrentan las mujeres en su activismo, también planteamos nuevas preguntas sobre los impactos específicos que la minería tiene sobre las mujeres, el repertorio de acciones que tienen a su disposición como parte de su activismo, y cómo se organizan para oponerse a los proyectos mineros, las dinámicas patriarcales dentro de los movimientos así como cuestionar las narrativas predominantes de progreso.

Palabras-clave: Ecología Política Feminista; Justicia Ambiental; mujeres; minería; Atlas de Justicia Ambiental

1. Introduction

The expansion of the global economy continually generates ecological distribution conflicts (Martínez-Alier, 2002), putting at risk the livelihoods of an ever-growing number of people and their relationship with the territories they inhabit. Over the past few decades, these conflicts have led to a growing number of socio-environmental conflicts and the emergence of a global Environmental Justice movement, put in motion by a plurality of actors (Martínez-Alier, 2002; Martínez-Alier *et al.*, 2016; Temper *et al.*, 2015).

While the Environmental Justice literature tends to focus on multi-site analysis of socio-environmental conflicts, often stressing commonalities in struggles taking place on a global scale, women's perspectives and actions have not always had visibility in environmental justice debates (Pellow, 2018), with some exceptions (see Di Chiro, 2005; Kirk, 1997; Krauss, 1993; Larkins, 2018; Perkins, 2012; Stein, 2004; Tran, 2021; Tran *et al.*, 2020). The gendered dimension of mining conflicts is seldom analyzed (Conde, 2017). A growing literature on women's anti-mining struggles, however, mostly based on ethnography, single-case analysis, and often adopting a Feminist Political Ecology approach, has shown how women have had a strong presence in struggles for environmental justice and stresses the importance of context in understanding women's activism (Di Chiro, 2005; Gaard, 2017; Kirk, 1997; Stein, 2004; Sze, 2017). Building on the findings of this literature, in this article we look at women's opposition to mining from a multi-case perspective, with the purpose of identifying commonalities and differences in the global context. We analyze 151 mining conflicts recorded in the Environmental Justice Atlas (*EJ Atlas*), investigating four main dimensions of women's agency:

- 1) what impacts have mining activities had on women?
- 2) what actions did they carry out?
- 3) how did they organize to oppose mining projects? And
- 4) what challenges did they face in their activism?

We use the *EJ Atlas* to identify the cases and as a source of information on women's participation. Additionally, we examined other sources of information such as published academic texts, institutional reports and other publications by international and local organizations involved in the conflicts.

Our results suggest that mining activities impact women in four different ways: their health and care work practices; their subsistence and income; their experience of violence; and by severing community relations. Moreover, women participate in opposition to mining in eight different ways: through direct action;

organizing public events; territorial oversight; consciousness raising; legal procedures; advocacy and campaigning; creating socio-political spaces and fostering community livelihood; and promoting care work. These actions show that women perform much more than support roles in opposition to mining. Our analysis also indicates widespread patriarchal relations within opposition movements that women often counter by organizing through women's groups.

In section 2, we briefly address the existing literature on resistance to mining projects. Section 3 outlines the main theoretical arguments on women's opposition to extractive industries. Section 4 describes the methodological steps followed in data analysis. In section 5, we discuss the most important findings from the multi-case analysis, namely, specific impacts of mining projects on women, their actions of opposition, and their forms and dynamics of organization. Finally, in section 6, we present the main conclusions from the discussion.

2. Resistance to mining

Resistance to mining is growing, but not all communities facing the implementation of mining projects oppose them (Conde & Le Billon, 2017). When they do, a considerable number mobilize before the project's implementation, with most conflicts occurring in rural and semi-urban areas (Özkaynak *et al.*, 2015). The aims, concerns and discourses advanced by opposition movements vary across different socio-political and cultural contexts (Dietz & Engels, 2018; Urkidi & Walter, 2017). The same variation occurs with strategies: actors have used multiple forms of mobilization in their struggles, including direct action, advocacy efforts, bringing mining companies and governments to court, community consultations, awareness-building campaigns, building local and extra-local alliances, or producing alternative knowledge (Dietz & Engels, 2018; Özkaynak & Rodríguez-Labajos, 2012). While some groups oppose mining activities by envisioning and engaging in alternative livelihood projects, not all of them share such transformative purposes (Conde, 2017).

Scholars have pointed out that mining conflicts can occur as a consequence of socio-environmental impacts on land, water and livelihoods, as a reaction to a lack of participation in decision-making processes and obstacles to self-determination, or due to insufficient compensation (Conde, 2017; Urkidi & Walter, 2017). Since mining projects do not take place in unused lands, negative impacts and restrictions on land use forms are among the most recurring drivers of resistance. There has also been a growing interest in deep sea mining.

3. Women and extractive industries

Literature on women and extractive industries has focused on three main gendered aspects of extractive industries, including opposition to mining activities, and especially on women's participation. First, they have shown the direct relationship between the specific impacts these activities have on women and their opposition struggles. Women's everyday tasks, particularly food provision and water collection in rural areas – which are determined by the gendered division of labor – make them particularly aware of the negative impacts of extractive industries (Adusah-Karikari, 2015; Bilder, 2013; Bradshaw *et al.*, 2017; Bravo & Vallejo, 2019; Jenkins, 2014, 2015; Jenkins & Rondón, 2015; Macleod, 2016; Navarro, 2019, 2020; Turner & Brownhill, 2004; V'Cenza & Sullivan, 2019). Moreover, in both rural and urban areas, women are usually responsible for nursing and healthcare within the family and the community (especially where access to public health services is scarce), and thus are more sensitive to the health impacts of extractive projects (Jenkins, 2014; Jenkins & Rondón, 2015; Navarro, 2019). These studies suggest that the condition of subsistence providers and caregivers, through a process of gendered socialization (V'Cenza & Sullivan, 2019), informs women's deep commitment to community health and territorial integrity (G. Rodríguez, 2019).

Second, some scholars stress how extractive industries have reinforced existing patriarchal dynamics (Adusah-Karikari, 2015; Bradshaw *et al.*, 2017; Echart & Villarreal, 2019; Jenkins, 2014; Moreano & Teijlingen, 2021; Silva, 2017; Verdú, 2017). Since men capture most of the income while women suffer most of the burdens (Adusah-Karikari, 2015; Jenkins, 2014), mining activities result in growing male privilege in the community, reinforcing men's domination over women. This includes growing insecurity and exclusion from labor opportunities in the sector (Verdú, 2017). The negative impacts described above and the entrenchment of patriarchal dynamics have led to loss of economic, social and cultural status for women in

communities affected by extractive industries worldwide (Bradshaw *et al.*, 2017; Jenkins, 2014; Landén & Fotaki, 2018; Verdú, 2017).

The previous aspects are linked to a third one regarding women's opposition to extractive industries: some women not only organize in response to the unequal costs and benefits of mining, but also to challenge existing patriarchal dynamics within opposition movements. Women's perspectives and concerns have often been silenced within communities, leading to women's lack of representation and visibility in community decision-making instances and in negotiations with project promoters (Adusah-Karikari, 2015; Bravo & Vallejo, 2019; Landén & Fotaki, 2018; Verdú, 2017). This is sometimes linked to a lack of recognition of female land ownership (Navarro, 2019). Furthermore, women's ability to engage in resistance is hindered by the fact that they have to cope with time-consuming, daily tasks such as food production, household chores and childcare (Bravo & Vallejo, 2019; Jenkins & Rondón, 2015). Sometimes, they even suffer pressure from family and community members to abandon activism for the same reason (Jenkins & Rondón, 2015). According to Bravo and Vallejo (2019), the silencing and side-lining of women ends up facilitating the entrance of extractive industries in territories. This suggests that, as patriarchal rule functions structurally with extractivism, anti-extractive struggles should start with questioning patriarchy at all scales.

Through their opposition to extractive industries, women have challenged patriarchal dynamics. Some women contest the income generated by mining where it does not compensate for the negative impacts on community livelihoods. Instead, they engaged in efforts to defend and care for life, creating new opportunities for transformation (Navarro, 2019) and challenging narratives about their participation in the public arena (Jenkins & Rondón, 2015). Others politicized traditionally-assigned gender roles as part of their activism, including that of motherhood (Bell & Braun, 2010; Velásquez, 2017). In Guatemala, for instance, women from the mountains of Xalapán stood up against mining by linking daily struggles to defend land with the defense of their bodies as the first "territory" threatened by the capitalist-patriarchal development model. They developed the concept of *Territorio Cuerpo-Tierra*² (Cabnal, 2010) which has caught the attention of scholars in recent years (Caretta *et al.*, 2020; Rodríguez Castro, 2020; Zaragocin & Caretta, 2020).

However, the existing literature shows how women's opposition sometimes draws on essentialist narratives of femininity, stressing women's closer proximity to non-human nature (Bravo & Vallejo, 2019; Jenkins, 2015). Some authors have argued that this use of essentialist claims is often more symbolic and strategic, rather than a reinforcement of traditional gender constructs (Jenkins, 2017; Verdú, 2017).

From this section, we have identified three main theoretical arguments in the literature discussed:

- 1) women's opposition is directly linked to specific impacts extractive projects have on them and their communities. Authors stress the gendered division of labor as conducive to women's improved awareness of negative impacts;
- 2) extractive industries have reinforced existing patriarchal dynamics, both through channeling economic benefits to men and excluding women from labor opportunities, and by increasing male privilege within communities;
- 3) strategies of resistance are also gendered. Women faced several challenges to their activism, such as lack of voice within decision-making instances and resistance to their engagement in tasks beyond traditionally assigned roles. Some have self-organized in order to challenge these dynamics.

These findings usually arise from single-case studies of women's engagement in opposition to extractive projects. These are common in Feminist Political Ecology (FPE) approaches that stress the importance of context in interpretations of women's actions.

² Body-land territory, in English.

4. Methodology

Our contribution to this debate consists in conducting an ample survey of women's anti-mining activism drawing on published studies and data collected in the *EJ Atlas*³, which includes "women" as a categorical variable among several mobilizing groups.⁴ We analyze a sample of 151 mining conflicts on a global scale (see Figure 1), highlighting cases with participation of female activists and their organizations (Martínez-Alier *et al.*, 2016; Scheidel *et al.*, 2020).

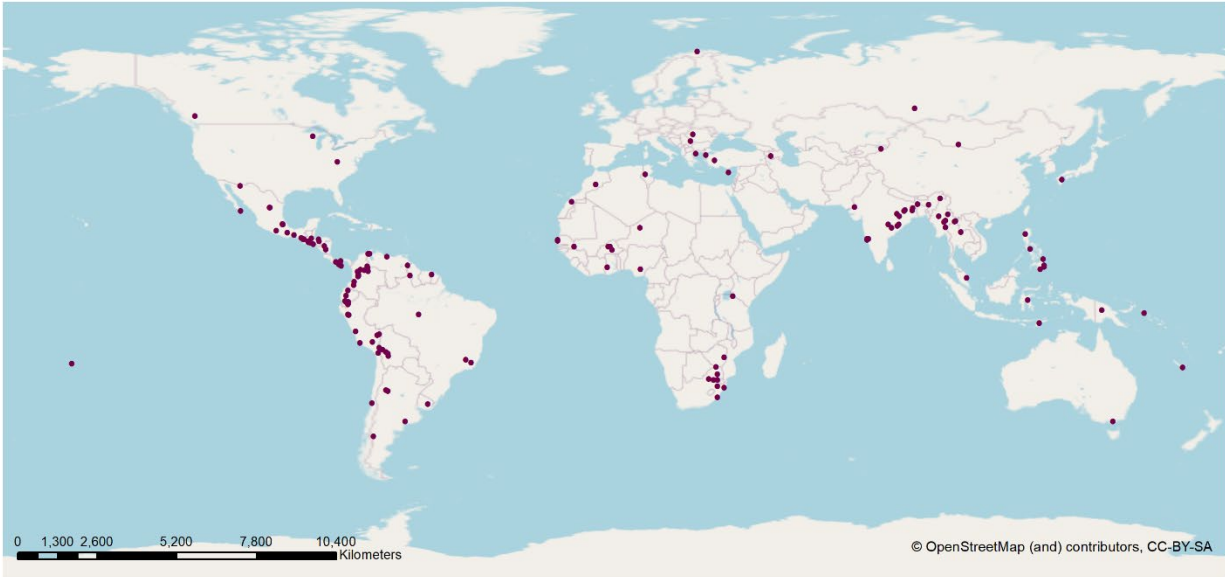


Figure 1: Geographical coverage of environmental conflicts registered in the EJAtlas, 2021 (n=151). Note that each dot represents one case.⁵

The *EJ Atlas* is the largest existing inventory of socio-environmental conflicts, with more than 3,700 cases reported in November 2022. It is the result of a collaborative effort by academics, individual activists, and organizations who contribute information from verifiable sources for each case (see Martínez-Alier *et al.*, 2016; Scheidel *et al.*, 2020; Temper *et al.*, 2018 for methodological details), so that a comparative multi-case approach or statistical political ecology can be used (Temper *et al.*, 2015, 2018). This transcends the single case study approach that is more common in political ecology literature. The *EJ Atlas* is used by both academics and activists to gain visibility for environmental injustice globally, and to share experiences and foster articulation between different groups (Martínez-Alier *et al.*, 2016; Temper *et al.*, 2015). Since its launch on the web, the *EJ Atlas* has been used as a unique research tool. Methodological approaches range from qualitative to quantitative, and statistical analysis that benefits from the growing availability of data (Dell'Angelo *et al.*,

³ The Environmental Justice Atlas is available at <https://ejatlas.org>.

⁴ According to the supplementary material for Scheidel *et al.* (2020), the category "Women" in the Atlas is defined in the following manner: "Women collectives or women 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 and transformation". See more at: <https://ars.els-cdn.com/content/image/1-s2.0-S0959378020301424-mmcl.pdf>.

⁵ It is important to note that the *EJ Atlas* has an uneven geographical coverage. Because of the better availability of data and collaborators, some countries have a large number of conflicts than others, not necessarily because there are more conflicts on the ground.

2021; Martínez-Alier *et al.*, 2016; Navas *et al.*, 2018; Scheidel *et al.*, 2020). In July 2021, there were 780 mining conflicts, corresponding to 23% of the cases in the *EJ Atlas*.

Approximately 22% of the total number of EJ conflicts identify women as important actors in conflict (750 cases). Although there has not been a global systematization such as the one we propose here for mining conflicts, there has been some research on women using the *EJ Atlas*: The Latin-American Network of Women Defending Social and Environmental Rights, CENSAT and ACKnowl-EJ led a joint effort to map 22 cases of Latin American women resisting extractive activities.⁶ Echart & Villareal (Echart & Villarreal, 2019) described women's activism in some projects in Latin America through a cartographic project based on the *EJ Atlas*. Tran *et al.* (2020) presented 35 cases of murdered Women Environmental Defenders, raising the issue of violence against female leaders involved in socio-environmental conflicts. Tran (2021) has also shown how some of these women enact different strategies to cope with these violent situations.

In this article, we use the *EJ Atlas* as a source of information on women's activism. More specifically, we analyze data on the organizations through which women have participated in mining conflicts, descriptions of the actions they carried out, and details on the gender specific impacts that mining activities have. Additionally, we include information on women's involvement from published academic texts, institutional reports and other publications by international and local organizations involved in the conflicts whenever available. These were identified through a keyword search in Google Scholar.⁷ Through an in-depth analysis of the 151 mining conflicts, we excluded those cases in which we did not find information on women's resistance (n=47). The following discussion is therefore based on the 104 cases.

5. Results and discussion

Impacts of mining projects on women

Out of all cases analyzed, 67% point to either visible or potential⁸ negative impacts of mining projects that are specific to women. Based on the data, we divided these impacts into four categories:

- a) deterioration of women's health, or the health of their children and other family members, with consequent increase of women's burden of care (Health and care work);
- b) reduced access to subsistence resources and to income opportunities for women (Subsistence and income);
- c) increased violence against women (Violence); and
- d) loss of social cohesion and community divisions (Community) (see Table 1).

Mining impacted women's health, particularly due to contaminated water sources they enter into contact within their daily provisioning activities (cases 015, 017, 020, 023, 073, 083, 123, 139, 142 and 148). Water contamination brought skin diseases (cases 047 and 121) (Macleod, 2016) and led to the development of cancer (case 148) (Bell, 2013). It also impacted women's reproductive health, including fertility loss and malformations during pregnancy and at birth (cases 097, 098 and 143) (IDAMHO, 2013). In some cases, they also reported respiratory problems due to dust pollution (cases 076, 080, 098, 122 and 148) (Bell, 2013; Mampa, 2019; RIMM, 2010). Mining also affected women's mental health, with some expressing feelings of sadness, anguish, shock, powerlessness, emotional stress and lack of self-esteem (cases 047, 135, 138, 140, 142 and 143) (Caxaj *et al.*, 2014; IDAMHO, 2013; PYO & KAN, 2010; Soliz, 2017; Soliz *et al.*, 2019). Moreover, mining activities have consequences for children's health and that of other family members. These impacts are frequently described as affecting women as well because of their primary role in care duties (cases 020, 023, 073 and 123) (Daza *et al.*, 2013; Salime, 2019).

⁶ See featured map *Mujeres Latinoamericanas Tejiendo Territorios*: <https://ejatlas.org/featured/mujeres>

⁷ The keyword search was carried out in English, Spanish, French and Portuguese.

⁸ Visible impacts are already happening and have been reported. Potential impacts are not yet present but may happen in the near future.

| Category of impact | Detailed impacts | Case number |
|-------------------------------|---|---|
| Health and care work | Impacts from water contamination including impacts on reproductive health, birth defects and skin diseases. Dust pollution and respiratory problems. Deterioration of mental health. | 015, 017, 020, 023, 042, 047, 073, 076, 080, 083, 097, 098, 122, 121, 123, 135, 138, 139, 140, 142, 143, 148 |
| Subsistence and income | Lower productivity of croplands and diseased cattle, reduced access to water. Loss of land, destruction of crops, and reduced access to common resources. Loss of labor opportunities, devaluation of women's labor, increased labor journeys, and economic dependency on men's wage labor. | 015, 017, 020, 023, 042, 047, 057, 073, 076, 077, 078, 090, 093, 095, 096, 100, 121, 123, 134, 137, 138, 139, 140, 142, 145, 147 |
| Violence | Psychological harassment by mining companies and/or the State, including smear campaigns and dismissal of women activists as emotional, passionate and irrational. Criminal persecution. Physical violence and harassment by private security, mineworkers, or public forces, including sex violence and trafficking. Harassment of women's organizations. Threats, including death menaces, murder and attempted murder. | 003, 012, 020, 022, 023, 025, 026, 028, 038, 045, 042, 042, 045, 047, 048, 048, 051, 055, 065, 079, 080, 083, 091, 093, 094, 096, 100, 108, 116, 118, 119, 121, 123, 129, 132, 137, 138, 139, 140, 142, 143, 146, 147, 148, 150 |
| Community | Loss of community ties and mutual support practices, divisions inside communities and families. | 047, 048, 065, 080, 090, 138, 139, 140, 143 |

Table 1: Categories of impacts felt by women.

Mining impacts on land productivity and availability were also felt more keenly by women due to their role as food and income providers. They reported soil and water contamination as having a detrimental effect on crop fertility and causing diseases in cattle (cases 015, 042 047, 073, 076, 077, 096, 121, 123, 134, 137 and 142), but the occupation of arable lands by mining activities also reduced women's access to common resources. As a result, they have had to spend more time procuring basic needs (cases 017, 023, 057, 073, 078, 090, 093, 100, 134, 142, 145 and 147) (AIPP, Asia Indigenous Peoples Pact, 2013; Amnesty International, 2015, 2017; Castro Ramírez *et al.*, 2015; López, 2011; Macleod, 2016; Mukherjee, 2014; Nam Ma Shan Farmers, 2017; Salime, 2019; Soliz, 2017). At the same time, women's economic security decreased since they lost access to traditional sources of income and had more difficulties than men in finding new ones. Some women were pushed into wage labor in mines due to this loss of income; however, work in the sector is scarce for them. Mining increased the time women spend on daily activities as well as their economic dependency on men's waged work (cases 015, 017, 020, 078, 093, 095, 100, 137, 138, 139, 142, 143, 145, 147) (Amnesty International, 2015, 2017; Cuadros, 2011; IDAMHO, 2013; López, 2011; Naw Paw Lar Say, 2018; Soliz, 2017). Some women who used to work in artisanal mining found that the arrival of industrial projects threatened or terminated this source of income (cases 029, 033, 035, 078, 079, 108 and 145) (Bermúdez *et al.*, 2012; Bolívar Rocha & Ibarra-Melo, 2017; Drechsel *et al.*, 2019; Luning, 2014; Méndez *et al.*, 2020).

Economic dependency goes hand in hand with other forms of violence against women who oppose mining projects. Women were often subjected to psychological harassment and smear campaigns by

governments and mining companies (cases 003, 045 and 055). Their actions and narratives were often labelled as too emotional, passionate or irrational (cases 023, 048, 119, 137 and 148). Some women were criminally prosecuted by mining companies and governments due to their actions against mining, in an attempt to undermine opposition movements (cases 012, 023, 026, 045, 047, 048, 065, 083, 093, 100, 116, 139, 143, 146 and 148) (Amnesty International, 2017; Fotaki & Daskalaki, 2020; Solano Ortiz, 2013; Urkidi, 2011; Velásquez, 2017). Physical violence and harassment against women were also recurrent in mining conflicts (cases 022, 023, 038, 065, 079, 080, 091, 093, 100, 108, 083, 132, 138 and 139) (AIPP, Asia Indigenous Peoples Pact, 2013; Goodland, 2007; Isla, 2015; Landén & Fotaki, 2018; Lund & Panda, 2011; MiningWatch Canada & RAID, 2016; Rondón, 2009). Women were physically threatened (cases 022, 045, 083, 116, 119, 137, 143, 148), and in some cases killed because of their opposition to mining (cases 028, 042, 045, 047, 093, 123, 129, 146) or survived assassination attempts (cases 047, 048, 143). Sexual violence was used both by mining companies' personnel and uniformed forces. Reports of sex offences were sometimes linked to a higher consumption of alcohol by men in mining communities. Some women were also victims of human trafficking or forced into sex work due to a lack of alternative income sources (cases 012, 020, 025, 043, 051, 055, 094, 096, 100, 108, 118, 121, 147, 150).

Even though these forms of violence affected women in mining territories in general, these impacts were more strongly experienced by those who are more visible in their opposition. Across all cases, at least 10 activists were assassinated, while many others were subjected to different forms of violence and coercive methods (see Tran, 2021; Tran *et al.*, 2020). For instance, Dora Recinos Soto received a deadly gun shot for her opposition to the El Dorado mine in El Salvador (case 042). In South Africa, police agents killed Paulina Masuthlo in a raid at Nkaneng, a community opposing the Marikana project (case 081) (Naicker, 2015), while Fikile Ntshangase was murdered in front of her grandson, reportedly as retaliation for her refusal to drop criminal charges against the mining company in charge of the Somkhele project (case 123). Diodora Hernández and Yolanda Oqueli both survived murder attempts for their activism against the Marlin and El Tambor projects in Guatemala (cases 047 and 048) (Pedersen, 2018; J. Rodríguez, 2016).

Some women leaders were judicially prosecuted for their activism. In Perú, Juana Payaba Cachique was prosecuted for blocking the mining company's right to free transit in her community (case 013), and Maxima Acuña was accused of usurping the land where she lives, supposedly belonging to Yanacocha (a Peruvian gold company behind the Conga project, case 023). Teresa Muñoz was persecuted by authorities for her activism against the El Escobal project in Guatemala and had to hide for 7 months to escape arrest (case 045) while Primrose Sonti, a community leader in South Africa, was arrested on intimidation charges (case 081) (Ndibongo, 2015). Other activists were either threatened, harassed or diminished based on their gender. Margarita Pérez and her family were threatened by mine workers at San Mateo de Huanchor, Perú (case 022) (Rondón, 2009), and Agnes Kharshiing, president of Civil Society Women's Organization, was attacked by a mob after taking pictures of trucks carrying coal from illegal operations in India (case 132). Yolán Friedmann from the Endangered Wildlife Trust was publicly ridiculed by Vele Colliery's South African project's director for being emotional and unscientific (case 119). A similar language was used by mining supporters to undermine the leadership of several female leaders against mountaintop coal mining in the United States (case 148) (Bell, 2013). Opposition to mining also affected some women professionally. Jacqueline Evans was dismissed as director of the Marae Moana marine reserve due to her support for a 10-year moratorium on seabed mining in the Cook Islands (case 111). Yanna Tannagashev, a Russian indigenous leader, lost her job as a teacher for organizing protests against the Raspadskaya project (case 116). This, and the fact that she was also criminally prosecuted for her activism, forced her to leave Russia and apply for political asylum abroad. This was the same fate of Isabel Gamez, who opposed the El Dorado mine in El Salvador (case 042). She fled to Europe fearing for her life (Red Latinoamericana de Mujeres Defensoras de Derechos Sociales y Ambientales *et al.*, 2018).

Finally, women are sometimes reported as being particularly affected by intra-community and intra-familial divisions fostered by the presence of mining projects. These divisions not only hinder resistance efforts but also break social dynamics of solidarity and mutual support where women play a major role (cases 047, 048, 065, 080, 090, 138, 139, 140 and 143) (Colectivo de Investigación y Acción Psicosocial Ecuador, 2015; Macleod, 2016; Solano Ortiz, 2013; Tatham, 2016).

The four categories of impacts described here are not mutually exclusive: they intertwine and show how women perceive mining projects as threatening their livelihoods and that of their communities. Even though some of the impacts described above affect women in particular, one might argue that other impacts fall upon the entire community, regardless of gender. However, we cannot ignore the fact that it was women signaling these aspects. We believe that this data provides strong evidence to support the argument that women are often the first to signal the negative consequences of mining activities because they, to a large extent, are made responsible for subsistence and care work. The same happens with the entrenchment of patriarchal relations, in particular the deterioration of the social status of women due to the loss of their sources of income, and increased exposure to different forms of violence. At the same time, these cases also bring forward two aspects worthy of further attention: the impacts of mining activities on women's mental health, and their role in social cohesion and the consequences of community divisions.

Women's actions in resistance to mining

Women have engaged in opposition to mining in a variety of ways. Following the available data, we divided their actions into 8 categories. These include direct action initiatives, such as roadblocks, protests and occupations; organization of events; territorial oversight; awareness raising and recruiting of new members. Women have also spearheaded legal procedures against companies responsible for the negative impacts of mining activities and carried advocacy initiatives with institutions at different scales. Moreover, they have tended to the material, health and emotional needs of the community, a central aspect for the cohesion of opposition movements. Women have actively promoted the viability of community livelihoods as part of their activism, sometimes by undertaking productive initiatives as part of alternative scenarios to mining, and have fostered communities' socio-political spaces through educational projects and workshops. (see Table 2).

An important part of the activities carried out by women that we found in the data refer to female leaders (see Annex B for a complete list of these leaders). They had a determining role in anti-mining resistance through direct-action initiatives, such as roadblocks and protests, often showing a fierce attitude with respect to mining supporters. Peruvian Shipibo leader Juana Payaba Cachique mobilized the community to deny the mining company access to the area of Tres Islas (case 013), and Eunice Mampa from South Africa organized a peaceful protest to demand monetary compensation to villagers affected by the Sefateng project (case 080). Estela Reyes from Guatemala single-handedly blocked a company bulldozer, sparking resistance to the El Tambor mine (case 048), while Indonesian activist Wilfrida Lalian chased mining security guards and police agents with a motorcycle when they attempted to intimidate her community (case 101). Some female activists were notable for their refusal to sell land to mining companies and fiercely resisted displacement attempts, such as the case of Maxima Acuña's internationally renowned resistance to constant eviction attempts by the Peruvian company Yanacocha, promoter of the Conga project (case 023) (Li & Paredes, 2019; Santiago, 2017).

Women leaders were also fundamental to raise people's awareness of mining's impacts. In India, Mukta Jhodia travelled across villages in Kashipur to alert people of the potential negative effects the Baphlimali mine would have on arable lands (case 091) (Naik, 2012), and Lorraine Kakaza launched a series of podcasts to alert to the costs that coal mining would have on people's lives in the Mpumalanga province of South Africa (case 121). In the Philippines, activist Sherryll Mindo-Fetalvero not only visited communities to raise awareness but also launched a signature campaign against Ivanhoe's copper and gold open-pit project in the island of Tablas (case 103) (Mindo-Fetalvero, 2012). Some activists prompted and coordinated lawsuits against mining companies: Margarita Pérez sued the manager of the San Mateo de Huanchor mine in Perú for crimes against public health (case 022), and Nasreen Hug was preparing an international lawsuit against the Phulbari mining project in Bangladesh when she was assassinated (case 133).

| Type of Actions | Women's participation/leadership | Case number |
|--|---|--|
| Direct action | Organized roadblocks to camps and facilities and the transportation of minerals, temporarily disrupting mining activities; organized protests, marches and sit-ins, carried out hunger strikes; occupied public institutions and mining concessions areas, and engaged in sabotage actions. | 007, 013, 014, 029, 038, 047, 048, 065, 079, 080, 083, 086, 091, 100, 121, 124, 133, 137, 139, 145, 148, 151 |
| Public events | Organized photo exhibitions to showcase their actions and divulge their motivations for their struggle; coordinated symbolic acts as part of their public repertoire of resistance, such as tributes and customary rituals; enact artistic performances, sometimes to keep collective memory of resistance alive. | 029, 048, 073, 098, 101, 149 |
| Territorial oversight | Participated in community patrols to prevent the entry of miners, organized reconnaissance visits to mining sites and community initiatives to monitor impacts. | 023, 065, 081, 121, 133, 148 |
| Awareness raising | Played a central role in informing the community of the negative impacts of mining activities; organized spaces for women to share their perspectives and discuss strategies; coordinated petitions and open letters; produced media contents such as magazines, radio programs and podcasts; active in recruiting community members to different resistance actions. | 014, 015, 026, 029, 043, 045, 047, 051, 054, 065, 073, 098, 103, 113, 121, 123, 139, 148 |
| Legal procedures | Spearheaded legal procedures against companies responsible for the negative impacts of mining activities on community health, contamination of water sources and sexual violence perpetrated by security guards and mine workers. | 022, 026, 029, 043, 047, 065, 083, 101, 103, 108, 121, 122, 137, 139, 147, 148, 150, 151 |
| Advocacy and campaigning | Carried advocacy initiatives with local authorities, government and supra-governmental stakeholders to raise awareness for their cause and to ensure stricter environmental regulations; some also demanded better compensation schemes and more employment opportunities from mining companies. | 029, 065, 083, 101, 103, 139, 147, 148, 150 |
| Socio-political spaces and community livelihood | Undertook productive initiatives as part of alternative scenarios to mining or to compensate for the loss of income; promoted educational projects and workshops on non-extractive economic practices; organized popular referendums on mining activities and follow up on consultation procedures. | 029, 032, 045, 051, 070, 078, 081, 098, 139, 140, 144, 147 |
| Care work | Cared for the material, health and emotional needs of the community; food preparation during protests. | 029, 041, 053, 121, 138, 139, 143, 151 |

Table 2: Categories of actions carried out by women.

Some leaders decided to continue their efforts by entering national representative politics after many years acting on the local level. Primrose Sonti, founder of the women's group Sikhala Sonke active in the Marikana conflict was elected to the South African National Assembly in 2014 (case 081) (Ndibongo, 2015); Erkingul Imankodjoeva, an activist opposing the Kumtor project, entered Kyrgyzstan's Supreme Council in 2010 (case 083) (Leuze, 2014); Francia Márquez, a leader opposing illegal gold mining in La Toma, was

recently elected vice-president of Colombia (case 029). Other women put their efforts into creating reserves where mining projects could not take place. Bayarjargal Agvaantseren's defense of Snow Leopards' habitat in the Tost mountains of Mongolia put a stop to mining interests in the South Gobi Desert. She was behind the creation of the Tost Tosonbumba Nature Reserve (case 084). Jacqueline Evans established the Marae Moana marine reserve in the Cook Islands and actively supported a 10-year moratorium on seabed mining that would have affected the reserve (case 111). Both activists received the *Goldman Environmental Prize* in 2019 for their conservation efforts.⁹ The award was also delivered to other women opposing mining: Judy Bonds in 2003 for her activism against coal mountaintop removal in West Virginia (USA) (case 148), and Francia Márquez in 2018 (case 029).

From the data, we can ascertain that women have been responsible for essential tasks such as caring for their communities, which usually receive less attention in descriptions of mining conflicts. However, the plethora of actions described above shows that women's involvement goes well beyond them. Roadblocks, protests, strikes, territory patrol, legal actions and advocacy are as much the realm of women as men. Furthermore, we stress the importance of women's role in information sharing and in mobilizing community members.

Women's forms of organization and patriarchal dynamics within opposition movements

We identified 68 organizations in 62 cases through which women participate in opposition to mining (see Annex A for a detailed list of organizations). Despite sharing a common purpose in their opposition to mining projects, these organizations follow different purposes, and many existed before the conflicts started. Most of the organizations are composed exclusively of female members. Among these, some focus both on the violence exerted on women and that imposed on territories by mining industries, therefore establishing a link between environmental justice and a struggle for gender equality. This is exemplified in the cases of women belonging to the *Red Nacional de Mujeres en Defensa de la Madre Tierra* (RENAMAT) from Bolivia (cases 014, 015 and 017), the *Asociación de Mujeres Indígenas de Santa María Xalapan Jalapa* from Guatemala (case 045), and the *Feminist Table* network (cases 082 and 123) (Fakier & Cock, 2018) and *WoMin alliance* from South Africa (cases 078, 081, 120, 123, 144, 147). In Kyrgyzstan, women from the NGO *Karek* who oppose the Kumtor gold project also present themselves as an environmental organization and also as a women's protection group (case 083) (Leuze, 2014).

However, not all female organizations follow this approach. Many intervene mostly along the lines of gender equality and fostering the defense of women's rights. Their intervention occurs mainly through helping with women's empowerment and fostering political participation in the conflict. Most of these organizations existed before conflict began. In some cases, women also organized through producers' associations who carry entrepreneurial initiatives that increase and diversify their income sources and, at the same time, constitute socio-economic alternatives to mining. That is the case of the *Associação das Mulheres Munduruku Wakoborun in Brazil* (case 008), *Sinchi Warmi Río Blanco* (case 026), the *Coordinadora de Mujeres de Intag in Ecuador* (case 140) (Estrello, 2016), and *Asociación de Mujeres Campesinas y Artesanas del municipio del Cerrito* (ASOMUARCE) in Colombia (case 113) (Mancera, 2020).

One particular aspect of women's organization through female-only groups is that their involvement in conflicts sometimes results from their perceived lack of voice within opposition movements. Women's absence from decision-making instances is a common theme, even when they are present in greater numbers in community assemblies. Moreover, they also contest existing narratives about conflicts, and the specific impacts they suffer from mining activities do not receive proper attention within existing organizations. For instance, Andean women formed the *Frente de Mujeres Defensoras de la Pachamama* in Ecuador because they refused to be solely represented by male-controlled community waterboards (cases 026 and 139) (Solano Ortiz, 2013; Velásquez, 2017). In Chile, *Mujeres de Zonas de Sacrificio* was created in response to male control of leadership in local opposition to mining and other chemical industries (case 151) (Bolados & Sánchez, 2017).

⁹ <https://www.goldmanprize.org/blog/introducing-the-2019-goldman-environmental-prize-winners/>

Women in Bolivia organized through RENAMAT in order to increase their participation in decision-making instances (cases 014, 015 and 017). This was also one of the purposes that led *mestiza* and indigenous activists to form the *Frente de Mujeres en Defensa de la Vida de El Panguí* (case 025) (Yépez & Teijlingen, 2017) and *Sinchi Warmi Río Blanco* (case 026), both from Ecuador. In Brazil, Munduruku women felt they were underrepresented in decision-making instances which were dominated by male leaders. By organizing through the *Associação de Mulheres Munduruku Wakoborun* they conquered political space in their communities (case 008) (Campelo, 2018). In Colombia, women behind ASOMUARCE demanded inclusion in the delimitation process of the *El Almorzadero páramo*¹⁰ where mining companies intended to extract coal (case 113) (Mancera, 2020). In South Africa, the organization *Women Affected by Mining United in Action* (WAMUA) appeared as a challenge to patriarchy not only in the mining industry, but also in the parent organization *Mining Affected Communities United in Action* (MACUA) (cases 081 and 123). In the same country, when mine workers went to the mountains to struggle for better wages in the Marikana platinum project, women created *Sikhala Sonke* (case 081) (Naicker, 2015).

Women also participate actively in conflicts through mixed-gender organizations, often taking on a strong presence in the everyday life of these spaces. That is the case of the *Consejo Comunitario de La Toma*, struggling against gold mining in Colombia (case 029), the Wangsaphung Community Committee in Thailand (case 098), the *Colectivo Madreselva* in Guatemala (cases 045 and 047), the *Prakrutik Sampad Surakshya Parishad* (PSSP) in India (case 091), the Pa-O Youth Organization (PYO) in Myanmar (cases 094 and 135) or the *Cinturón Occidental Ambiental* (COA) in Colombia (case 141). Women also figure among the founders of different organizations (cases 038, 047, 065 070, 119 and 122).

Some of the organizations we identified have a distinct ethnic background, which shows that indigenous and tribal women participate actively in opposition to mining. Some do it through groups that advocate for indigenous women's rights to fight gender-based violence in Mexico (case 054), *Purple Action for Indigenous Women's Rights* (LILAK) in the Philippines (case 107) and *Lahu Women's Organization*, that works with Lahu women living in refugee camps near the Myanmar-Thailand border (case 096). Some indigenous women act through organizations that defend indigenous socio-cultural aspects, cosmogonies and modes of living that are threatened by mining activities. That is the case of *Associação de Mulheres Munduruku Wakoborun* in Brazil (case 008), *First Nations Women Advocating Responsible Mining* (FNWARM) in Canada (case 061), *Wanaaleru - Organización de Mujeres Indígenas Amazónicas* (case 010) in Venezuela, or *Sütsüin Jieyuu Wayúu* in Colombia (case 137).

Scale of intervention and alliances

Regarding the spatial scale of intervention, approximately 50% of the organizations act locally. However, some have regional or national reach, and a few act at an international level. National and international networks were particularly important in fostering alliances and solidarity among women, not only by building bridges among different struggles but also through connecting local women with feminist-activist scholars, and urban feminist groups. In the African continent, the *WoMin* alliance played a key role for women's mobilization in Burkina Faso, Ghana and South Africa (cases 078, 081, 120, 123, 144, 147). In South Africa, the *Marikana* Support campaign helped the *Sikhala Sonke* women's movement oppose platinum mining (case 081) (Naicker, 2015), and the *Amazigh Cultural Identity Movement* contributed to increase local women's influence in decision-making instances regarding the Imider silver project in Morocco (case 073) (Salime, 2019). In Europe, female cleaners from Athens who were active in anti-austerity protests during the country's financial crisis expressed their solidarity with Chalkidiki women opposing the Skouries gold project (case 065) (Tsavdaroglou *et al.*, 2017). In South and Central America and the Caribbean, the *Latin American Network of Women Social and Environmental Rights Defenders* created opportunities for women to share knowledge and build common opposition strategies. At the national level, the NGO *Acción Ecológica* from Ecuador also formed partnerships with women living in territories affected by mining activities. As Sempértegui (2019) shows in her analysis of *Acción Ecológica's* alliances with Amazonian women, and notwithstanding the fact

¹⁰ *Páramo* is an alpine tundra ecosystem that occurs at high altitudes in the Equatorial Andes.

that these connections are sometimes marked by contradictions and power imbalances, they lead to important transformations and learning processes on both sides.

Patriarchal relations within opposition to mining

As noted from our data, the persistence of patriarchal relations contributed to reproducing gender inequality within resistance movements. Sometimes, women had to confront both the mining companies and their male partners in the community. Although some women organized to assert their voice – as described above – the challenge of being heard and included on an equal footing with men in decision-making is perhaps the most commonly mentioned manifestation of gender-based disparities. In India, women seldom participated in decisions regarding the Baphimali mine (case 091) (Naik, 2012) and were not recruited for positions of responsibility in the movement opposing the Phulbari project (case 133) (Pegu, 2012). In Ecuador, Indigenous Shuar and non-Indigenous women opposing the Mirador project had little voice in decision making even though they have in larger numbers in community assemblies (case 025) (Yépez & Teijlingen, 2017). The same happened with women opposing the El Pavón project in Guatemala (case 041) (González, 2015).

Even when women participate more actively in the movement, men tend to hold leadership positions. This phenomenon appeared to be directly associated with men's entitlement to land ownership and water use rights, as mentioned in the context of opposition to mining in Bolivia (case 014) (CASA, 2013), Mexico (case 057) (Castro Ramírez *et al.*, 2015) and South Africa (case 123) (Hansen & Mdlalose, 2015). Some men insisted a woman's place is at home, taking care of household duties and the family. In Ecuador, women's activism against the Rio Blanco and Loma Larga projects was labelled as inappropriate (cases 026 and 139) (Jenkins, 2014). In the USA, women opposing mountaintop coal mining were told their place is at home (case 148) (Bell, 2013). The same argument was advanced in Peru regarding women's activism against the Conga project: some community members think "their place is in the kitchen" (case 023) (Daza *et al.*, 2013). In some cases, men showed disapproval of women's participation by exerting pressure to abandon activism or by diminishing their actions and public visibility. Sometimes, this translated into active boycotts of women's activism. In Guatemala, men forbade women from conducting house meetings in order to organize against the Marlin mine (case 047) (Tatham, 2016). In South Africa, women opposing the Somkhele project were denied access and use of community spaces (case 123) (Hansen & Mdlalose, 2015). Men from New Caledonia-Kanaky prevented women from assuming leadership positions in the movement against the Goro nickel mine (case 110) (Horowitz, 2017). Therefore, these men protected their privileged positions in community politics and as interlocutors in the conflicts. This was sometimes incentivized by mining companies, who exploited existing patriarchal dynamics to their own benefit. In New Caledonia-Kanaky and Morocco, companies preferred to maintain dialogue channels with exclusively male leadership in communities near the Goro (case 110) and Imider mines (case 073) respectively (Horowitz, 2017; Salime, 2019). In Cananea, Mexico, the mining company contributed to reinforce traditional gender roles as a strategy to maintain a dependable workforce (case 059) (Browning-Aiken, 2000).

From a feminist political ecology perspective, the link between anti-sexist and anti-mining activism makes perfect sense: it illuminates how extractivism results from a master model of modernity which is premised on, and reinforces, intersecting axes of inequality (Barca, 2020; Plumwood, 1993). In this sense, women's anti-extractive mobilization holds broader transformative potential – as the next sub-section will show. Overall, women maintain a strong presence in the everyday life of organizations opposing mining activities. They not only organize locally, but also establish alliances across different spatial scales. The majority of organizations are exclusively formed by female members, but they also participate actively within mixed-gender spaces. Some of the female-only organizations were created in order to counter women's lack of voice within existing groups. In spite of this, some women keep being criticized for their activism because of prevailing patriarchal perceptions on gender roles, and are sometimes boycotted in their attempts to organize and act.

Women's activism and socio-political transformation

As mentioned above, the decision to form female groups was sometimes motivated by women's desires to assert their voices in instances of decision-making within opposition movements. However, women's efforts to transform patriarchal structures were not limited to a claim for gender equality in participation: in some cases, their activism contributed to challenge traditional gender perceptions within communities and for broader collective changes.

For instance, Afro-Colombian women's activism in La Toma, Colombia, turned spaces of female domination into spaces for personal and collective transformation, therefore destabilizing fixed notions of women's place in community life. Moreover, they established a link between ancestral practices and the future in a process of physical and symbolic reappropriation of the territory (case 029) (Bolívar Rocha & Ibarra-Melo, 2017; Mina Rojas *et al.*, 2015). In Ecuador, women's productive initiatives of resistance to mining contributed to empower women's position, both within and outside their communities (case 140). They have been crucial in creating new territorial identities opposing mining interests (Adrover *et al.*, 2008; D'Amico, 2012; Estrello, 2016; Johnston, 2013; Murillo & Sacher, 2017). In Thailand, activists have organized weaving and food collectives to maintain a sense of identity and preserve practices of self-sufficiency (case 098). In the USA, women asserted their Appalachian identity closely linked to the protection of social cohesiveness and relational aspects of communities (case 148) (Bell, 2013). In Colombia, Wayúú women fighting El Cerrejón mine proposed a reinterpretation of water as a political agent in response to river contamination. By attributing agency to non-human nature, they are actively challenging what is commonly assumed as acceptable grounds for dispute (case 137) (Ulloa, 2020). Guatemalan indigenous activists opposing the El Escobal mine have stressed the nexus between ancestral practices of patriarchal violence and those of mining activities defending, at the same time, a future in harmony with traditional ways of life (case 045) (Dary, 2016). In fact, the concept of defending the body-land territory was born from these women's activist praxis. In a similar manner, Bolivian women in Huanuni and Corocoro have established new relationships with the territory and communal forms of livelihood based on the Andean cosmovision as part of their activism, including gender duality in leadership (cases 015 and 017) (López, 2011). This has not meant passive acceptance of ancestral principles. Instead, it was achieved through a process of simultaneously reclaiming and questioning existing interpretations of gender duality (G. Rodríguez, 2019).

The examples described above show how some women are reclaiming and reshaping existing practices through anti-mining activism, thereby creating new repertoires of struggle that refuse the imposition of a dominant culture or a single narrative of progress. This does not mean that women's struggles always encompass this transformational aspect. In fact, some mobilizations focus on the issue of proper compensation for negative impacts. Nonetheless, it is our understanding that these examples invite further inquiries into the relationship between women's opposition to mining and broader socio-political transformations. They also speak to the argument some authors have made on the limits of conceptualizing Environmental Justice merely through the lens of its redistribution, recognition and procedural dimensions (Agyeman *et al.*, 2016; Carmin & Agyeman, 2011; Schlosberg, 2013; Temper *et al.*, 2018; Velicu & Kaika, 2017). Some of the emerging themes of women's opposition to mining illustrate how important it is to consider different – yet intersecting – forms of domination and injustice, as well as understanding self-recognition as the reappraisal and valuing of one's way of life (Álvarez & Coolsaet, 2020). These women not only contest given positions of power, but also redefine identities and positions by "performing alternative ways of being and acting together" (Velicu & Kaika, 2017). They have embarked in a process where they have become political agents (Velicu, 2020).

One other issue that is closely linked to this previous aspect is how women choose to represent themselves in anti-mining struggles. Sometimes, they describe their activism through essentialist notions of womanhood. Women in Ecuador (cases 025, 026 and 139) and Greece (case 065) depicted themselves as having a closer proximity to Earth and water, acting as their guardians because they are givers of life (Fotaki & Daskalaki, 2020; Jenkins, 2015; Jenkins & Rondón, 2015; Petroske, 2017; Verdú, 2017). Motherhood and care work often appear as common drivers for women's activism. In many cases, these claims had a strategic purpose: they were used to legitimize their stance, both inside and outside the community, or to obtain certain advantages, such as when women form a barrier between police and male protestors to reduce violence (Fotaki & Daskalaki, 2020; Naik, 2012). However, this approach may present risks as well, particularly when it is not

accompanied by a transformation of patriarchal relations within opposition movements. For Josefa, a young Zoque female leader opposing the Santa Martha mine in Mexico, folkloric descriptions of motherhood are problematic because they render patterns of internal violence and domination invisible (case 051) (Morosín, 2019). On this question, Noel Sturgeon (1999) suggested that a difference should be acknowledged between academic and activist discussions of essentialist narratives enacted by women. While in academia essentialist discourses ignore differences among women, in activism essentialist claims have, in some cases, strengthened political movements and enhanced communication. Following Josefa's argument, we believe such a difference may be hard to establish, in particular when essentialist discourses may help women gain legitimacy in public opinion but, at the same time, could also reinforce existing patriarchal dynamics. It is essential to understand in which context and to what purpose people enact discourses on womanhood or motherhood as part of their opposition to mining.

6. Concluding discussion

We have carried out a thorough analysis of women's participation in 151 mining conflicts from the *EJ Atlas*. This constitutes the first global systematization of the available data on women's anti-mining activism from a multi-case perspective. From these 151 cases, we have excluded those that did not provide any information on women's resistance, leaving a total of 104 cases, which have formed the basis of our discussion. With respect to the negative consequences of mining projects for women, we have identified four intertwining categories of impacts: 1) deterioration of women's health, their children and other family members; 2) reduced access to resources and income; 3) increased psychological and physical violence and 4) loss of empathy and community divisions. Our analysis reinforces many of the aspects signaled by authors carrying single case study analysis, showing how health, subsistence and violence issues faced by women have a global reach. Moreover, our research also raises the question of the impact on women's mental health and of how community divisions affect women in particular. Both aspects have been insufficiently explored in the literature and deserve further attention in future research.

Our work shows that women have not only been the victims of mining activities, but they have also had a predominant role in opposing them. Our analysis demonstrates women's strong presence and initiative in struggle. We've encountered eight categories of participation: direct action; organizing public events; territorial oversight; consciousness raising; legal procedures; advocacy and campaigning; creating socio-political spaces and fostering community livelihood; and promoting care work. Women have promoted a variety of strategies in order to prevent the implementation of mining projects, thus showing their central role in opposition to mining instead of performing solely support duties, however important these may be.

In terms of organization, women have participated in the conflicts both through existing groups and by creating new ones. Most organizations are local, but women have also established broader alliances between them through different regional and global networks. Our analysis has unveiled a little bit of the rich and complex spatial distribution of women's organization in opposition to mining. Such distribution merits further research. Moreover, our work evidences a predominance of female-only groups that were formed in order to overcome the lack of representation of women's voices in decision-making instances, and a disregard for their own perspectives on the conflicts. Patriarchal dynamics within opposition movements are widespread and have also been felt through active boycotting of women's activism by those who evoke traditional gender roles to question their public visibility.

Some women have also turned their opposition to mining into a practice of transformation of existing structures, creating new repertoires of struggle that refuse the imposition of a dominant culture or a single narrative of progress. Sometimes, women's narratives about their activism draw on essentialist discourses of womanhood and a closer connection to non-human nature. While sometimes these appear to work more as a strategy for legitimacy, we consider it is important to understand the context in which these narratives are enacted in order to understand if they do not reinforce disempowering practices.

We believe a multi-case outlook such as the one presented in this article may encourage scholars to pay further attention to women's opposition to mining conflicts. Almost all single cases in our sample would benefit from a more thorough and context-specific analysis of women's participation. One important aspect that is not

easily ascertained from the data is how issues of class, race and ethnicity alter the incidence and intensity of impacts felt by women. Women do not conform to a homogeneous group and any attempts at multiple case analysis of socio-environmental conflicts must bear this in mind. Therefore, some of the negative impacts described above may cross different axes of domination, but they may also be more pervasive in certain groups of women than others. While there is a prevalence of rural women in the sample under analysis, which is expected in the context of mining activities¹¹, there may exist differences among female actors, both on the local level or across different scales due to the alliances established during the struggle. There is still much to be known on women's opposition to mining.

References

- Adrover, M. F., Tàbara, J. D., Oñederra, A., & Safont Sans, B. (2008). *Transformación de los roles de las mujeres colonas y cambio socioambiental: El caso de la penetración de la minería transnacional en un agroecosistema de la comunidad de Junín, Ecuador*. <https://ddd.uab.cat/record/45421>
- Adusah-Karikari, A. (2015). Black gold in Ghana: Changing livelihoods for women in communities affected by oil production. *The Extractive Industries and Society*, 2(1), 24-32. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.exis.2014.10.006>
- Agyeman, J., Schlosberg, D., Craven, L., & Matthews, C. (2016). Trends and directions in environmental justice: From inequity to everyday life, community, and just sustainabilities. *Annual Review of Environment and Resources*, 41(1), 321-340. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-environ-110615-090052>
- AIPP, Asia Indigenous Peoples Pact. (2013). *Mining the womb of the Earth: Struggles of Indigenous women against destructive mining*. AIPP, Asia Indigenous Peoples Pact. <https://aippnet.org/mining-the-womb-of-the-earth-struggles-of-indigenous-women-against-destructive-mining/>
- Álvarez, L., & Coolsaet, B. (2020). Decolonizing environmental justice studies: A Latin American perspective. *Capitalism Nature Socialism*, 31(2), 50-69. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10455752.2018.1558272>
- Amnesty International. (2015). *Open for business? Corporate crime and abuses at Myanmar copper mine*. 162). Amnesty International. <https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/asa16/0004/2015/en/>
- Amnesty International. (2017). *Mountain of trouble: Human rights abuses continue at Myanmar's Letpadaung mine*. Amnesty International. <https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/asa16/5564/2017/en/>
- Barca, S. (2020). Forces of reproduction: Notes for a counter-hegemonic Anthropocene. *Elements in Environmental Humanities*. Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/9781108878371>
- Bell, S. E. (2013). *Our roots run deep as ironweed: Appalachian women and the fight for environmental justice*. University of Illinois Press.
- Bell, S. E., & Braun, Y. A. (2010). Coal, Identity, and the gendering of environmental justice activism in Central Appalachia. *Gender & Society*, 24(6), 794-813. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0891243210387277>
- Bermúdez, R., Rodríguez, T., & Roa, T. (2012). *Mujer y minería: Ámbitos de análisis e impactos de la minería en la vida de las mujeres—Enfoque de derechos y perspectiva de género*. CENSAT. <https://censat.org/es/publicaciones/mujer-y-mineria-ambitos-de-analisis-e-impactos-de-la-mineria-en-la-vida-de-las-mujeres-enfoque-de-derechos-y-perspectiva-de-genero>
- Bilder, M. (2013). [Las mujeres como sujetos políticos en las luchas contra la megaminería en Argentina. Registros acerca de la deconstrucción de dualismos en torno a la naturaleza y al género](#). *Movimientos sociales y las disputas por los territorios y los bienes comunes en América Latina*. X Jornadas de Sociología de la UBA, Buenos Aires.
- Bolados, P., & Sánchez, A. (2017). Una ecología política feminista en construcción: El caso de las "mujeres de zonas de sacrificio en resistencia", Región de Valparaíso, Chile. *Psicoperspectivas. Individuo y Sociedad*, 16(2), 33-42. <https://doi.org/10.5027/psicoperspectivas-Vol16-Issue2-fulltext-977>

¹¹ More than 80% of the cases analyzed in this article involve rural communities.

- Bolívar Rocha, M. C., & Ibarra-Melo, M. E. (2017). Las mineras de La Toma. Resistencia negra en defensa de la vida y el territorio. *Pensamiento Americano*, 10(19), 155-174. <https://doi.org/10.21803/pensam.v10i19.35>
- Bradshaw, S., Linneker, B., & Overton, L. (2017). Extractive industries as sites of supernormal profits and supernormal patriarchy? *Gender & Development*, 25(3), 439-454. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13552074.2017.1379780>
- Bravo, A., & Vallejo, I. (2019). Mujeres indígenas amazónicas. Autorepresentación, agencialidad y resistencia frente a la ampliación de las fronteras extractivas. *RITA*, 12. <http://revue-rita.com/dossier-12/mujeres-indigenas-amazonicas-autorepresentacion-agencialidad-y-resistencia-frente-a-la-ampliacion-de-las-fronteras-extractivas-andrea-bravo-ivette-vallejo.html>
- Browning-Aiken, A. (2000). *The transformation of Mexican copper miners: The dynamics of social agency and mineral policy as economic development tools*. PhD Dissertation, Anthropology. The University of Arizona.
- Cabnal, L. (2010). Acercamiento a la construcción del pensamiento epistémico de las mujeres indígenas feministas comunitarias de Abya Yala. In ACSUR (Ed.), *Feminismos diversos: El feminismo comunitario* (pp. 10-25). ACSUR - Las Segovias.
- Campelo, L. (2018). Resistentes, mulheres Munduruku lutam por espaço político. *Brasil de Fato*. <https://www.brasildefato.com.br/2018/09/03/resistentes-mulheres-munduruku-lutam-por-espaco-politico>
- Caretta, M. A., Zaragocin, S., Turley, B., & Orellana, K. T. (2020). Women's organizing against extractivism: Towards a decolonial multi-sited analysis. *Human Geography*, 13(1), 49-59. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1942778620910898>
- Carmin, J., & Agyeman, J. (Eds.). (2011). *Environmental inequalities beyond borders: Local perspectives on global injustices*. MIT Press.
- CASA, Colectivo de Coordinación de Acciones Socio Ambientales. (2013). *Minería con «M» de machismo, madre tierra con «M» de mujer*. CASA, Colectivo de Coordinación de Acciones Socio Ambientales.
- Castro Ramírez, A. G., Martelo, E. Z., Olvera, M. A. P., & Corona, G. B. M. (2015). *Desposesión, minería y transformaciones en la vida de la población de Cedros, Zacatecas, México*. *OXÍMORA Revista Internacional de Ética y Política*, 7, Art. 7.
- Caxaj, C. S., Berman, H., Varcoe, C., Ray, S. L., & Restoulec, J.-P. (2014). Gold mining on Mayan-Mam territory: Social unravelling, discord and distress in the Western highlands of Guatemala. *Social Science & Medicine*, 111, 50-57. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2014.03.036>
- Colectivo de Investigación y Acción Psicosocial Ecuador. (2015). *Íntag: Una sociedad que la violencia no puede minar. Informe psicosocial de las afectaciones en Íntag provocadas por las empresas mineras y el Estado en el proyecto Llurimagua*. <https://psicosocialecuador.org/investigaciones/intag/>
- Conde, M. (2017). Resistance to mining. A review. *Ecological Economics*, 132, 80-90. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ecolecon.2016.08.025>
- Conde, M., & Le Billon, P. (2017). Why do some communities resist mining projects while others do not? *The Extractive Industries and Society*, 4(3), 681-697. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.exis.2017.04.009>
- Cuadros, J. (2011). Impactos de la minería en la vida de hombres y mujeres del sur andino. Los casos Las Bambas y Tintaya. In J. Anderson (Ed.), *Mujer rural: Cambios y persistencias en América Latina* (pp. 207-238). CEPES.
- D'Amico, L. (2012). Environmentalism and gender in Intag, Ecuador. En M. L. Cruz-Torres & P. McElwee (Eds.), *Gender and sustainability: Lessons from Asia and Latin America* (pp. 25-49). University of Arizona Press.
- Dary, C. (2016). ¡Nosotras somos las portavoces! Biopolítica y feminismo comunitario frente a la minería en Santa Rosa y Jalapa, Guatemala. *Ciencias Sociales y Humanidades*, 3(1), 17-33. <https://doi.org/10.36829/63CHS.v3i1.206>

- Daza, M., Soler, M., Llamoctanta, B., Caruajulca, J., & Cercado Chávez, R. (2013). Megaminería en Cajamarca desde las experiencias de vida de las mujeres: El derecho a la protesta, impactos, propuestas y participación política de las mujeres de Bambamarca en la defensa del agua frente al proyecto minero Conga. In R. Hoetmer, M. Castro, M. Daza, J. de Echave C., C. Ruiz, & A. Rodríguez-Carmona (Eds.), *Minería y movimientos sociales en el Perú: Instrumentos y propuestas para la defensa de la vida, el agua y los territorios* (pp. 357-363). Programa Democracia y Transformación Global, CooperAcción, AcSur Las Segovias, EntrePueblos.
- Dell'Angelo, J., Navas, G., Witteman, M., D'Alisa, G., Scheidel, A., & Temper, L. (2021). Commons grabbing and agribusiness: Violence, resistance and social mobilization. *Ecological Economics*, 184, 107004. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ecolecon.2021.107004>
- Di Chiro, G. (2005). Performing a "Global Sense of Place": Women's actions for environmental justice. In L. Nelson & J. Seager (Eds.), *A Companion to Feminist Geography* (pp. 496-515). Blackwell.
- Dietz, K., & Engels, B. (2018). Contested extractivism: Actors and strategies in conflicts over mining. In M. Middell (Ed.), *The Routledge Handbook of Transregional Studies* (pp. 275-282). Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429438233-34>
- Drechsel, F., Engels, B., & Schäfer, M. (2019). "The mines make us poor": Large-scale mining in Burkina Faso. GLOCON Country Reports. GLOCON. <https://www.land-conflicts.fu-berlin.de/en/publikationen/Country-Report/Country-Report-No-2-EN/index.html>
- Echart, E., & Villarreal, M. del C. (2019). Women's Struggles Against Extractivism in Latin America and the Caribbean. *Contexto Internacional*, 41(2), 303-325. <https://doi.org/10.1590/s0102-8529.2019410200004>
- Estrello, L. (2016). *Defender el horizonte: Paisaje, conflicto socioambiental y antropología visual en Junín (Íntag, Ecuador)*. FLACSO Ecuador. <http://repositorio.flacsoandes.edu.ec/handle/10469/9797>
- Fakier, K., & Cock, J. (2018). Eco-feminist organizing in South Africa: Reflections on the feminist table. *Capitalism Nature Socialism*, 29(1), 40-57. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10455752.2017.1421980>
- Fotaki, M., & Daskalaki, M. (2020). Politicizing the body in the anti-mining protest in Greece. *Organization Studies*, 42(8), 1265-1290. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0170840619882955>
- Gaard, G. (2017). Feminism and environmental justice. In R. Holifield, J. Chakraborty, & G. Walker (Eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of Environmental Justice* (pp. 74-88). Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315678986-7>
- González, T. P. (2015). *Minería y desarrollo en Nicaragua: Una mirada feminista del caso*, Masters thesis. Universidad Centroamericana.
- Goodland, R. J. A. (2007). *India: Orissa, Kashipur: Utkal bauxite & alumina project: human rights and environmental impacts*. Business & Human Rights Resources Centre.
- Hansen, M., & Mdlalose, B. (2015). *Anti-extractivist feminist politics in KwaZulu-Natal*. World Association for Political Economy 10th Forum, Johannesburg.
- Horowitz, L. S. (2017). 'It shocks me, the place of women': Intersectionality and mining companies' retrogradation of indigenous women in New Caledonia. *Gender, Place & Culture*, 24(10), 1419-1440. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0966369X.2017.1387103>
- IDAMHO, Instituto de Derecho Ambiental de Honduras. (2013). *The San Martín mine at Valle de Siria. Exploration, exploitation and closure: Impacts and consequences*. IDAMHO. https://iderechoambientalhonduras.org/sites/default/files/attachments/materials/informe_completo_mi_na_san_martin_ingles-web.pdf
- Isla, A. (2015). The guardians of Conga Lagoons: Defending land, water and freedom in Peru. *Canadian Woman Studies*, 30(2-3). <https://cws.journals.yorku.ca/index.php/cws/article/view/37448>
- Jenkins, K. (2014). Women, mining and development: An emerging research agenda. *The Extractive Industries and Society*, 1(2), 329-339. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.exis.2014.08.004>

- Jenkins, K. (2015). Unearthing women's anti-mining activism in the Andes: Pachamama and the "Mad Old Women". *Antipode*, 47(2), 442-460. <https://doi.org/10.1111/anti.12126>
- Jenkins, K. (2017). Women anti-mining activists' narratives of everyday resistance in the Andes: Staying put and carrying on in Peru and Ecuador. *Gender, Place & Culture*, 24(10), 1441-1459. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0966369X.2017.1387102>
- Jenkins, K., & Rondón, G. (2015). 'Eventually the mine will come': Women anti-mining activists' everyday resilience in opposing resource extraction in the Andes. *Gender & Development*, 23(3), 415-431. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13552074.2015.1095560>
- Johnston, J. (2013). *Nunca han visitado, no han vivido Ecoturismo comunitario: Una Alternativa Sostenible y Constitucional de desarrollo en la zona de Intag*. SIT study abroad report.
- Kirk, G. (1997). Ecofeminism and environmental justice: Bridges across gender, race, and class. *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies*, 18(2), 2-20. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3346962>
- Krauss, C. (1993). Women and toxic waste protests: Race, class and gender as resources of resistance. *Qualitative Sociology*, 16(3), 247-262. <https://doi.org/10.1007/BF00990101>
- Landén, A. S., & Fotaki, M. (2018). Gender and struggles for equality in mining resistance movements: Performing critique against neoliberal capitalism in Sweden and Greece. *Social Inclusion*, 6(4), 25. <https://doi.org/10.17645/si.v6i4.1548>
- Larkins, M. L. (2018). Complicating communities: An intersectional approach to women's environmental justice narratives in the Rocky Mountain West. *Environmental Sociology*, 4(1), 67-78. <https://doi.org/10.1080/23251042.2017.1423011>
- Leuze, M. (Director). (2014). *Flowers of Freedom* [Documentary]. TOPOS.
- Li, F., & Paredes, A. (2019). Stories of resistance: Translating nature, indigeneity, and place in mining activism. In C. Vindal Ødegaard & J. J. Rivera Andía (Eds.), *Indigenous life projects and extractivism: Ethnographies from South America* (pp. 219-243). Springer. <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-93435-8>
- López, E. (2011). Aproximaciones a los impactos de la minería en la vida de las mujeres. Los casos Huanuni y Coro Coro. En J. Anderson (Ed.), *Mujer rural: Cambios y persistencias en América Latina* (pp. 239-254). CEPES.
- Lund, R., & Panda, S. M. (2011). New activism for political recognition: Creation and expansion of spaces by tribal women in Odisha, India. *Gender, Technology and Development*, 15(1), 75-99. <https://doi.org/10.1177/097185241101500104>
- Luning, S. (2014). The future of artisanal miners from a large-scale perspective: From valued pathfinders to disposable illegals? *Futures*, 62, 67-74. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.futures.2014.01.014>
- Macleod, M. (2016). Development or devastation? Epistemologies of Mayan women's resistance to an open-pit goldmine in Guatemala. *AlterNative: An International Journal of Indigenous Peoples*, 12(1), 86-100. <https://doi.org/10.20507/AlterNative.2016.12.1.7>
- Mampa, E. (2019). Community members beaten by mine security. *Tunatazama*. <https://communitymonitors.net/2019/10/community-members-beaten-by-mine-security/>
- Mancera, G. (2020). ["En el páramo nacimos, en el páramo crecimos y por el páramo somos lo que somos" Conservación ambiental y organización campesina en el páramo del Almorzadero, Cerrito Santander](#). Bachelors Thesis, Universidad del Rosario.
- Martínez-Alier, J. (2002). *The environmentalism of the poor: A study of ecological conflicts and valuation*. Edward Elgar. [pp 1-38](#)
- Martínez-Alier, J., Temper, L., Del Bene, D., & Scheidel, A. (2016). Is there a global environmental justice movement? *The Journal of Peasant Studies*, 43(3), 731-755. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03066150.2016.1141198> [draft](#)

- Méndez, R., Mejía, A., & Acevedo, Á. (2020). Territorialidades y representaciones sociales superpuestas en la dicotomía agua vs. oro: El conflicto socioambiental por minería industrial en el páramo de Santurbán. *Territorios*, 42-Esp., 1. <https://doi.org/10.12804/revistas.urosario.edu.co/territorios/a.7563>
- Mina Rojas, C., Machado, M., Botero Mosquera, P., & Escobar, A. (2015). Luchas del buen vivir por las mujeres negras del Alto Cauca. *Nómadas*, 43, 163-187. <https://doi.org/10.30578/nomadas.n43a10>
- Mindo-Fetalvero, S. (2012). A beautiful dream. In J. Pasimio, F. Sevilla, & A. Lyn (Eds.), *Stories from the mines...of struggle, sisterhood & solidarity* (pp. 32-33). Alyansa Tigil Mina.
- MiningWatch Canada & RAID, Rights and Accountability in Development. (2016). *Background Brief: Adding insult to injury at the North Mara Gold Mine, Tanzania*. MiningWatch Canada, RAID.
- Moreano, M., & Teijlingen, K. van. (2021). The gendered criminalization of land defenders in Ecuador: From individualization to collective resistance in feminized territories. In M. Menton & P. Le Billon (Eds.), *Environmental defenders*. Routledge.
- Morosín, A. (2019). *Confronting dispossession: Indigenous mobilization for environmental justice, ethnic politics, and gender relations in the Isthmus of Tehuantepec*. PhD dissertation. University of California Riverside.
- Mukherjee, S. (2014). Mining and women: The case of the Maria of Chhattisgarh. *Social Change*, 44(2), 229-247. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0049085714525500>
- Murillo, D. C., & Sacher, W. (2017). Nuevas territorialidades frente a la megaminería: El caso de la Reserva Comunitaria de Junín. *Letras Verdes, Revista Latinoamericana de Estudios Socioambientales*, 22, 46-70. <https://doi.org/10.17141/letrasverdes.22.2017.2727>
- Naicker, C. (2015). Worker struggles as community struggles: The politics of protest in Nkaneng, Marikana. *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, 51(2), 157-170. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0021909615605533>
- Naik, I. C. (2012). Tribal women and environmental movement in India: A study of Kashipur Block of Odisha. *Contemporary Voice of Dalit*, 5(2), 153-162. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0974354520120202>
- Nam Ma Shan Farmers. (2017). *Stop coal mining in Nam Ma*. Shan Human Rights Foundation. <https://shanhumanrights.org/stop-coal-mining-in-nam-ma/>
- Navarro, M. L. (2019). *Mujeres en defensa de la vida contra la violencia extractivista en México*. *Política y Cultura*, 51, 11-29.
- Navarro, M. L. (2020). Mujeres en lucha por la defensa de la vida asediada y afectada por los extractivismos en México. *Revista Trabalho Necessário*, 18(36), Art. 36. <https://doi.org/10.22409/tn.v18i36.42787>
- Navas, G., Mingorria, S., & Aguilar-González, B. (2018). Violence in environmental conflicts: The need for a multidimensional approach. *Sustainability Science*, 13(3), 649-660. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11625-018-0551-8>
- Naw Paw Lar Say. (2018). Social inequality and structural violence: Narrative study of "widows issue" at Mawchi Mine in Myanmar. *Advances in Social Science, Education and Humanities Research*, 165, 415-419. <https://doi.org/10.2991/iccsr-18.2018.91>
- Ndibongo, B. (2015). *Women of Marikana: Survival and struggles*. PhD dissertation, University of Johannesburg. <http://hdl.handle.net/10210/59526>
- Özkaynak, B., & Rodríguez-Labajos, B. (2012). *Mining conflicts around the world*. EJOLT Report 7. EJOLT.
- Özkaynak, B., Rodríguez-Labajos, B., & Ískender, C. (2015). *Towards environmental justice success in mining resistances: An empirical investigation*. EJOLT Report 14. EJOLT.
- Pedersen, A. (2018). *¡Somos La Puya! (We Are La Puya!): Community resistance to Canadian mining company operations in Guatemala* PhD dissertation, Queen's University, Canada.
- Pegu, M. (2012). *The Phulbari Movement: Resisting neo-liberalism in Bangladesh*. Report. [Academia](http://www.academia.edu/10210/59526)
- Pellow, D. N. (2018). *What is critical environmental justice?* Polity.
- Perkins, T. E. (2012). Women's pathways into activism: Rethinking the women's environmental justice narrative in California's San Joaquin Valley. *Organization & Environment*, 25(1), 76-94. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1086026612445390>

- Petroske, L. (2017). *La lucha por Kimsakocha: Resistencia contra la minería en Azuay, Ecuador*. https://digitalcollections.sit.edu/isp_collection/2554
- Plumwood, V. (1993). *Feminism and the mastery of nature*. Routledge.
- PYO, Pa-Oh Youth Organization & KAN, Kyoju Action Network. (2010). *Poison clouds: Lessons from Burma's largest coal project at Tigyit*. Pa-Oh Youth Organization.
- Red Latinoamericana de Mujeres Defensoras de Derechos Sociales y Ambientales, Grufides, Ingeniería Sense Fronteras, CATAPA, Ghent University - Human Rights Centre, Fedepaz, & Demus-Studies for Women. (2018). *Informe sobre la situación de riesgo y criminalización de las defensoras del medioambiente en América Latina*. Red Latinoamericana de Mujeres Defensoras.
- RIMM, Red Internacional Mujeres y Minería. (2010). *Women from mining affected communities speak out—defending land, life & dignity*. RIMM.
- Rodríguez Castro, L. (2020). 'We are not poor things': *Territorio cuerpo-tierra* and Colombian women's organised struggles. *Feminist Theory*, 22(3), 339-359. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1464700120909508>
- Rodríguez, G. (2019). *Reproduciendo otros mundos: Indigenous women's struggles against neo-extractivism and the Bolivian state*. PhD dissertation, Portland State University. <https://doi.org/10.15760/etd.6970>
- Rodríguez, J. (2016). This land is ours: In Guatemala, a struggle over land and resources pits transnational mining interests against indigenous communities. *NACLA Report on the Americas*, 48(3), 245-252. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10714839.2016.1228173>
- Rondón, G. (2009). *Canadian mining in Latin America: Corporate social responsibility and women's testimonies*. *Canadian Woman Studies/les Fahiers de la femme*, 27(1), 89-96.
- Salime, Z. (2019). *Protest camp as counter-archive at a Moroccan silver mine*. *Middle East Report*, 291, 46-51.
- Santiago, C. J. (2017). *¡Conga No Va Carajo!* PhD dissertation, Columbia University. <https://doi.org/10.7916/D8BG3183>
- 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, 102104. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.gloenvcha.2020.102104>
- Schlosberg, D. (2013). Theorising environmental justice: The expanding sphere of a discourse. *Environmental Politics*, 22(1), 37-55. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09644016.2013.755387>
- Sempértegui, A. (2019). Indigenous Women's Activism, Ecofeminism, and extractivism: Partial connections in the Ecuadorian Amazon. *Politics & Gender*, 17(1), 197-224. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1743923X19000023>
- Silva, R. (2017). *Mujeres y conflictos ecoterritoriales. Impactos, estrategias, resistencias*. Entrepueblos. <https://www.entrepobos.org/publicaciones/mujeres-y-conflictos-ecoterritoriales-impactos-estrategias-resistencias/>
- Solano Ortiz, L. M. (2013). *Impactos sociales de la minería a gran escala en la fase de exploración y el rol de las defensoras de la Pachamama en la resistencia a los proyectos río Blanco y Quimsacocha* Masters thesis, Universidad de Cuenca. <http://dspace.ucuenca.edu.ec/handle/123456789/4701>
- Soliz, M. F. (2017). *Megaminería en el país de los derechos de la naturaleza. Conflictividad, salud colectiva y daño psicosocial en las mujeres*. *Ecología Política: Cuadernos de Debate Internacional*, 54, 75-80.
- Soliz, M. F., Yépez, M. A., & Sacher, W. (2019). *The significance of memory and monitoring: Resistances from the Valle de las Luciernagas*. <http://repositorio.uasb.edu.ec/handle/10644/6489>
- Stein, R. (Ed.). (2004). *New perspectives on environmental justice: Gender, sexuality, and activism*. Rutgers University Press.
- Sturgeon, N. (1999). Ecofeminist appropriations and transnational environmentalisms. *Identities*, 6(2-3), 255-279. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1070289X.1999.9962645>
- Sze, J. (2017). Gender and environmental justice. In S. MacGregor (Ed.), *Routledge Handbook of Gender and Environment* (pp. 159-168). Routledge.

- Tatham, R. (2016). *Women, resistance, and extractive development: The case study of the Marlin mine* Masters thesis, University of Saskatchewan.
- Temper, L., Del Bene, D., & Martinez-Alier, J. (2015). Mapping the frontiers and front lines of global environmental justice: The *EJ Atlas*. *Journal of Political Ecology*, 22(1), 255-278. <https://doi.org/10.2458/v22i1.21108>
- Temper, L., Walter, M., Rodriguez, I., Kothari, A., & Turhan, E. (2018). A perspective on radical transformations to sustainability: Resistances, movements and alternatives. *Sustainability Science*, 13(3), 747-764. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11625-018-0543-8>
- Tran, D. (2021). A comparative study of women environmental defenders' antiviolent success strategies. *Geoforum*, 126, 126-138. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.geoforum.2021.07.024>
- 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. <https://doi.org/10.2458/v27i1.23760>
- Tsavadaroglou, C., Petrakos, K., & Makrygianni, V. (2017). The golden 'salto mortale' in the era of crisis: Primitive accumulation and local and urban struggle in the case of Skouries gold mining in Greece. *City*, 21(3-4), 428-447. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13604813.2017.1331563>
- Turner, T. E., & Brownhill, L. S. (2004). Why women are at war with Chevron: Nigerian subsistence struggles against the international oil industry. *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, 39(1-2), 63-93. <https://doi.org/10.1177/002190960404048251>
- Ulloa, A. (2020). The rights of the Wayúu people and water in the context of mining in La Guajira, Colombia: Demands of relational water justice. *Human Geography*, 13(1), 6-15. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1942778620910894>
- Urkidi, L. (2011). The defence of community in the anti-mining movement of Guatemala. *Journal of Agrarian Change*, 11(4), 556-580. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1471-0366.2011.00326.x>
- Urkidi, L., & Walter, M. (2017). Environmental justice and large-scale mining. In R. Holifield, J. Chakraborty, & G. Walker (Eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of Environmental Justice* (pp. 374-387). Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315678986-30>
- V'Ceza, C., & Sullivan, L. (2019). *Women on the frontlines of resistance to extractivism*. *Policy & Practice: A Development Education Review*, 29, 78-99.
- Velásquez, T. A. (2017). Enacting refusals: Mestiza women's anti-mining activism in Andean Ecuador. *Latin American and Caribbean Ethnic Studies*, 12(3), 250-272. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17442222.2017.1344263>
- Velicu, I. (2020). Prospective environmental injustice: Insights from anti-mining struggles in Romania and Bulgaria. *Environmental Politics*, 29(3), 414-434. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09644016.2019.1611178>
- Velicu, I., & Kaika, M. (2017). Undoing environmental justice: Re-imagining equality in the Rosia Montana anti-mining movement. *Geoforum*, 84, 305-315. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.geoforum.2015.10.012>
- Verdú, A. D. (2017). Respuestas de las mujeres shuar al conflicto socioambiental en el área del Proyecto Mirador (Ecuador). *Revista de Antropología Social*, 26(1), 9-30. <https://doi.org/10.5209/RASO.56040>
- Yépez, M. J., & Teijlingen, K. van. (2017). Mujeres y la minería a gran escala en El Pangui: Una aproximación desde la Ecología Política Feminista. In K. van Teijlingen, E. Leifsen, C. Fernández Salvador, L. Sánchez-Vázquez, & T. N. Riofrancos (Eds.), *La Amazonía minada: Minería a gran escala y conflictos en el sur del Ecuador* (pp. 173-206). USFQ Press : Abya Yala. [intro](#)
- Zaragocin, S., & Caretta, M. A. (2020). Cuerpo-Territorio: A decolonial feminist geographical method for the study of embodiment. *Annals of the American Association of Geographers*, 111(5), 1503-1518. <https://doi.org/10.1080/24694452.2020.1812370>

Appendices

Annex A - List of organizations

| Code | Name of the Organization | Scale | Details |
|------|--|----------|---|
| 008 | Munduruku Wakoborun Women's Association (Associação das Mulheres Munduruku Wakoborun) | Local | Defend socio-cultural aspects, indigenous cosmogony and promote productive projects. Women had no voice in meetings, there were no female leaders. Internal gender disparities, including access to public space. |
| 025 | El Pangui's Women's Front in Defense of Life (Frente de Mujeres en Defensa de la Vida de El Pangui) | Local | Despite being active in actions taken against the project, Shuar and Mestiza women had almost no voice in decision making. |
| 026 | Sinchi Warmi Rio Blanco | Local | Mestiza peasant women leading a process of autonomy building and asserting their voice in the local opposition movement. |
| 045 | Indigenous Women from Santa Maria Xalapan Jalapa Association (Asociación de Mujeres Indígenas de Santa María Xalapan Jalapa - AMISMAXAJ) | Local | Oppose mining violence against women's bodies and territories. |
| 046 | Movement of Maya Women from Huehuetenango (Movimiento de Mujeres Mayas de Huehuetenango) | Regional | Promote gender equality and women's voice and influence in decision making in the region. |
| 046 | Mama Maquin | Local | Defend women's rights |
| 047 | Mother Earth Defenders (Defensoras de la Madre Tierra) | Local | Religious group. Their resistance centers on cultural transformation, developing community consciousness and they attribute a religious and spiritual meaning to their struggle. The ethnic identity developed by women is produced in alterity to a hypermasculine identity exacerbated by the presence of the mine. |
| 054 | House of Ixtepec's Indigenous Women (Casa de la Mujer Indígena de Ixtepec) | Local | Part of a network of Women's Houses where women organize to defend themselves from gender violence and act to end it. |
| 060 | Business and Professional Women Club (Club de Mujeres Profesionistas y Negocios) | Local | Only mentioned. No relevant information |
| 076 | Koudiadène Women | Local | Reference to female leader Philomène Thiaw |
| 077 | Women's Promotion Groups (Groupements de Promotion Féminine) | Local | A platform created by women in order to posit their demands to the company. |
| 081 | Sikhala Sonke | Local | Sikhala started because women were left to take care of home and children while male miners carried a strike in the mountains. Women weren't allowed to strike alongside men in the mountains due to traditional Xhosa beliefs, so they met separately. |

| | | | |
|--------------|---|----------|--|
| 083 | Karek | Local | Environmental organization and for women's rights, founded by female leader Erkingul Imankodjoeva. |
| 095 | Molo Women Mining Watch Network | Local | Organization formed by women from the Karenni Women's Organization, Karenni Social Welfare and Development Centre and Karenni Evergreen Organization. They wanted to gather more information on the Mawchi tin mines. |
| 096 | Lahu Women's Organization | Local | Defend women's rights, particularly in refugees' camps in Thailand, close to the border with Myanmar. Their aim is women's empowerment, fostering political participation and the training of leaders. |
| 113 | Peasant and Artisan Women from El Cerrito Municipality Association (Asociación de Mujeres Campesinas y Artesanas del municipio del Cerrito - ASOMUARCE) | Local | Founded by Gloria Calderón in order to foster the economic development and empowerment of peasant women and their families. Women organized in order to demand inclusion in the delimitation process of the Almorzadero Paramo. |
| 132 | Civil Society Women's Organization | Local | Only mentioned. No relevant information |
| 134 | Wan Long women's group | Local | Only mentioned. No relevant information |
| 137 | Wayúu Women's Strength (Fuerza de las Mujeres Wayúu/Sütsüin Jieyuu Wayúu) | Local | The organization's main goal is to attain visibility and change the current situation of Wayúu people, in particular the relationship between large scale projects and forced displacement. |
| 026,139 | Women Defenders of Pachamama Front (Frente de Mujeres Defensoras de la Pachamama) | Local | Women refused to be represented in opposition to mining by male community water boards leaders. They have decided to advance their own narratives on mining and its gendered impacts. |
| 140 | Intag Women's Association (Coordinadora de Mujeres Intag) | Local | Created in order to strengthen women's participation, empowerment and autonomy. It's an umbrella organization for several local groups of women producers. |
| 151 | Women from Sacrifice Zones (Mujeres de Zonas de Sacrificio) | Local | Women formed their own organization in order to address male control of leadership in the opposition movement. |
| 143 | Woman from Valle de Siria (Mujeres del Valle de Siria) | Local | Only mentioned. No relevant information |
| 014, 015,017 | National Network of Women in Defense of Mother Earth (Red Nacional de Mujeres en Defensa de la Madre Tierra - RENAMAT) | National | The network strengthens women's capacity and leadership skills in Bolivia, including violations of their land and natural resource rights. The organization sees violence against 'Mother Earth' and women as interlinked forms of oppression. It has fostered local women opposition. |
| 097 | Shan Women's Action Network (SWAN) | National | Network for Gender equality and justice for Shan women who demand social and political change through community-based actions, research and advocacy. |

| | | | |
|------------------------------|--|---------------|--|
| 023 | Hualgayoc's Women Group (Central Única Provincial de Mujeres de Hualgayoc) | Regional | Only mentioned. No relevant information |
| 023 | Women in Defense of Life Association (Asociación de Mujeres en Defensa de la Vida) | Regional | Regional group. Female leader Maxima Acuña is a member. |
| 023, 025, 042, 048 | Latin American Network of Women Social and Environmental Rights Defenders (Red Latinoamericana de Mujeres Defensoras de Derechos Sociales y Ambientales) | International | Ecofeminist network of Latin American organizations. |
| 050 | Water and Life: Women, Rights and Environment (Agua y Vida: Mujeres, Derechos y Ambiente) | Regional | Ecofeminist group based in Chiapas. Works on personal and collective autonomy for women, and in creating opportunities for women to emerge as promoters of Environmental Justice. |
| 010 | Wanaalerum, Organization of Indigenous Amazonian Women (Wanaaleru, Organización de Mujeres Indígenas Amazónicas) | Regional | Indigenous grassroots organization promoting indigenous women's empowerment. |
| 010 | La Danta Lascanta | National | Ecofeminist collective focused on direct action and research. |
| 010 | La Araña Feminista | National | Socialist feminist network, aligned with the Bolivarian Revolution. |
| 049 | Guatemala's National Widows Association (Coordinadora nacional de viudas de Guatemala - CONAVIGUA) | National | Organization that defends widows' rights to have a political voice and against violence. |
| 061 | First Nations Women Advocating Responsible Mining (FNWARM) | National | Works to promote sustainable mining processes that respect First Nations rights. |
| 078, 081, 120, 123, 144, 147 | WoMin Alliance | International | Intervenes in different conflicts in the African continent, helping women organize assemblies where they can share experiences and build alliances and solidarity among those affected by mining. Participates in the campaign " <i>Women stand their ground against big coal</i> ". |
| 081, 121, 123 | Women Affected by Mining United in Action (WAMUA) | National | Address patriarchy in the mining sector and within communities that are members of its parent organization, Mining Affected Communities United in Action (MACUA). It was created in order to challenge the fact women do not have the power to speak. Participates in the campaign " <i>Women stand their ground against big coal</i> ". |
| 107 | Purple Action for Indigenous Women's Rights (LILAK) | National | Organization of indigenous women leaders, feminists, anthropologists, human rights advocates, environmentalists and lawyers who support the struggle for indigenous women's human rights. |

| | | | |
|---------------|--|----------|--|
| 082, 123 | Feminist Table | National | Initiative trying to develop grassroots eco-feminist solidarity among black women in South Africa. The organizations represented at the Feminist Table come from different struggles for Environmental Justice, ending violence against women, access to reproductive care, land, water, affordable energy, and adequate working conditions. |
| 140 | Popular and Diverse Women's Assembly (Asamblea de Mujeres Populares y Diversas de Ecuador) | National | Feminist group of academics and urban activists. |
| 025, 140, 142 | Acción Ecológica | National | National NGO, formed mostly by female members. Follows an ecofeminist praxis and discourse. Provides support to local organizations. |
| 122 | Vukani Environmental Justice Movement in Action | Local | Founded by female leader Promise Mabilo. |
| 106 | Save Pantukan Movement | Regional | Network of indigenous peoples from the Compostela Valley province opposing large-scale mining activities. Engaged in small-scale mining activities. Teresa Navacilla was a prominent leader before she was murdered for her opposition to the King-King project. |
| 103 | Alliance of Students Against Mining (ASAM) | Regional | Platform used by female leader Sherryl Mindo-Fetalvero in her activism. |
| 091 | Aragamee | Regional | Fostered local women's opposition to mining. |
| 081 | Marikana Support Campaign | Regional | Urban group based on Johannesburg, helped local female group Sikhala Sonke. |
| 073 | Amazigh Cultural Identity Movement | National | The Movement's ideas inspired younger generations of politicized students who helped reshaping practices at Imider, including new modes of organizing - committees, discussion circles, open forums - where women's voices became more prominent. |
| 070 | Almyras | Local | Platform for two female leaders' activism and promotion of local socio-cultural aspects. |
| 065 | Female cleaners from Athens | Regional | Informal group of hundreds of women working as cleaners who have been prominent actors in anti-austerity protests in Athens. They have expressed public support for women in Chalkidiki. |
| 047 | Miguelense Front against Mining (Frente Miguelense contra la Minería - FREDEMI) | Local | Female Maya-Mam leader was the first leader of FREDEMI. The organization supported local women in a lawsuit against mining companies. |

| | | | |
|----------|---|---------------|--|
| 029 | La Toma Community Council (Consejo Comunitario de La Toma) | Local | Platform used by female leader Francia Márquez in her activism. It has been determinant in the "Movilización de Mujeres Afrodescendientes por el Cuidado de la Vida y los Territorios Ancestrales". Women have assumed the management of the organization in order to assert their voice. They had been kept apart from decision-making. |
| 045, 047 | Madreselva Collective (Colectivo Madreselva) | National | Urban ecologist movement, supports groups who defend life, territories and natural resources. Strong female participation. |
| 038 | Panamanian Anti-mining Network (Red Antiminera Panameña) | National | Founded and led by women concerned with the negative impacts of the Petaquilla project. |
| 065 | SOS Halkidiki | Local | Movement initiated by women, who maintain a strong participation. |
| 091 | Prakrutik Sampad Surakshya Parishad (PSSP) [Natural resources conservation forum] | Regional | Strong presence of tribal women among its members |
| 094, 135 | Pa-O Youth Organization (PYO) | Regional | The organization is described as a monks, women and youth group. |
| 098 | Wangsaphung Community Committee | Local | Formed mostly by women in order to discuss the impacts of gold mining. They have held public forums, open discussions, photo exhibitions and workshops. |
| 119 | Endangered Wildlife Trust | National | Founder was female leader Yolán Friedmann |
| 123 | Mfolozi Community Environmental Justice Organization (MCEJO) | Local | Female leader Fikile Ntshangase was a prominent member before she was murdered. |
| 129 | Rajmahal Pahar Bachao Association | Local | Female leader Valsa John was a member before she was murdered. |
| 141 | Western Environmental Belt (Cinturón Occidental Ambiental - COA) | Regional | Women play an important role within the organization |
| 141 | Támesis Economic and Solidary Circuit (Circuito Económico Solidario de Támesis - CESTA) | Local | Women participate in the circuit through productive initiatives. |
| 146 | Movement for Dignity and Justice (Movimiento Amplio por la Dignidad y la Justicia - MADJ) | National | Tolupán female leader María Enriqueta Matute was a member before she was murdered. |
| 007 | Vía Campesina | International | Women from the Organization engaged in direct action against the project. |
| 042 | Cabañas Environmental Committee (Comité Ambiental de Cabañas) | Local | Female leader Dora Alicia Recinos was a member before she was murdered. |

| | | | |
|-----|--|-------|---|
| 051 | Matza Collective (Colectivo Matza) | Local | Founded by Josefa, a Zoque female leader. The group organizes workshops and produces a magazine on indigenous activism, culture and gender. |
| 100 | Karonsi'e Dongi Community Alliance (KRAPASKAD) | Local | Female leader Werima Manta is a member. |
| 121 | Social and Environmental Justice in Action | Local | Founded by female leader Lorraine Kakaza in order to do research on the project's contamination of wetlands. |
| 072 | Union for the Unemployed in Gafsa | Local | Founded by female leader Ghazala Mhamdi. |

Annex B – List of female leaders

| Code | Name | Actions/known for | Outcome and/or consequences of her actions |
|------|--|---|--|
| 013 | Juana Payaba Cachique | Shipibo leader, organized blockage of mining company access to community. | Criminalized |
| 022 | Margarita Pérez Anchirayco | Led lawsuit against the manager of the mining company for crimes against public health. He was sentenced. | She and her family were threatened by mine workers. Had her electricity cut. |
| 023 | Maxima Acuña | Attracted international attention and awareness for the Conga conflict. Maxima opposed efforts to displace her. | Victim of a smear campaign. Harassed and criminalized. Her crops have been destroyed. Won Goldman Environmental Prize in 2016. |
| 028 | Adelinda Gómez | No relevant information on her actions. | Murdered. |
| 029 | Francia Márquez | President of Consejo Comunitario La Toma and member of Proceso de Comunidades Negras (Afro-Colombian organization). Has played a fundamental role in organizing the local community. Won Goldman Environmental Prize in 2018. | No relevant information on the outcome and/or consequences of her actions. |
| 039 | Silvia Carrera | First female president of the Ngöbe-Buglé General Congress, maximum authority of this ethnic group. | No relevant information on the outcome and/or consequences of her actions. |
| 042 | Dora Alicia Recinos, Vidalina Morales and Isabel Gamez | No relevant information on her actions. | Dora Alicia was murdered; she was 8 months pregnant. Vidalina and Isabel received threats. Isabel went into exile. |
| 045 | Teresa Muñoz, Merylyn Topacio and Laura Vásquez | No relevant information on her actions. | Teresa was criminalized. Merylyn and Laura were murdered. |
| 047 | Diodora Hernández | Refused to sell land to the mining company. | Murdered. |
| 048 | Estela Reyes and Yolanda Oqueli | Estela blocked a company bulldozer with her car. It was one of the first acts of resistance. | Yolanda was shot during a protest, but survived. Attempt. She was a victim of a smear campaign by the government and criminalized. |

| | | | |
|-----|--|--|--|
| 051 | Josefa Sánchez | Zoque leader, founder of the Matza Collective (Colectivo Matza) | No relevant information on the outcome and/or consequences of her actions. |
| 066 | Irena Živković | No relevant information on her actions. | No relevant information on the outcome and/or consequences of her actions. |
| 070 | Evi Charalambous and Thea Christoforou | Acted in defense of local cultural heritage and sustainable agritourism. | No relevant information on the outcome and/or consequences of her actions. |
| 072 | Ghazala Mhamdi | Founder of the Union for the Unemployed in Gafsa, struggling for job opportunities at the mine. Became involved in representative politics, running for parliament in 2014. | No relevant information on the outcome and/or consequences of her actions. |
| 076 | Philomène Thiaw | Leader of Kouidiadiène Women. | No relevant information on the outcome and/or consequences of her actions. |
| 080 | Eunice Mampa | Organized a peaceful protest because the company refused monetary compensation to villagers. | Received death threats. |
| 081 | Paulina Masuthlo and Primrose Sonti | Xhosa leader Primrose Sonti founded the Sikhala Sonke women's group and entered parliamentary politics in 2014. She was elected to South Africa's National Assembly. | Paulina was murdered by the police during a raid. Primrose was criminalized. |
| 082 | Cynthia Baleni and Nonhle Mbuthuma | No relevant information on her actions. | Both have received death threats. Nonhle was physically harassed. |
| 083 | Erkingul Imankodjoeva | Founder of NGO Karek, she fought in order to protect Petrov's glacier from the impacts of Kumtor mine. Was elected to the national parliament. | No relevant information on the outcome and/or consequences of her actions. |
| 084 | Bayarjargal Agvaantseren | Created a local protection zone that impeded mining activities in an area inhabited by Snow Leopards (Tost Tosonbumba Nature Reserve). Won Goldman Environmental Prize in 2019. | No relevant information on the outcome and/or consequences of her actions. |
| 091 | Mukta Jhodia | Has travelled to tribal villages in the region, alerting people for mining interests. Won Chingari award for women fighting corporate crime | No relevant information on the outcome and/or consequences of her actions. |
| 100 | Werima Mananta | Member of the Karonsi'e Dongi Community Alliance – KRAPASKAD. | No relevant information on the outcome and/or consequences of her actions. |
| 101 | Wilfrida Lalian | Confronted company security and the police during an attempt to intimidate the community, chasing them with a motorcycle. She started organizing resistance in her village. | No relevant information on the outcome and/or consequences of her actions. |
| 103 | Sherryll Mindo-Fetalvero | Organizer at the Alliance of Students Against Mining (ASAM), visited communities raising awareness, advised authorities on how to deal with mining companies, and put pressure on politicians to make a stand on mining. Advanced signature campaign in Tablas against mining, gathering approx. 75% of voting population. | No relevant information on the outcome and/or consequences of her actions. |
| 106 | Teresa Navacilla | Human rights defender, member of Save Pantukan Movement | Had to hide for 7 months. Was murdered. |

| | | | |
|-----|------------------------|--|--|
| 111 | Jacqueline Evans | Worked as director of the Marae Moana marine protected area, supported a 10-year moratorium on seabed mining. | Lost job as director because of her support for a moratorium. Won Goldman Environmental Prize in 2019 for her efforts. |
| 113 | Gloria Calderón | Leader and founder of ASOMUARCE. | No relevant information on the outcome and/or consequences of her actions. |
| 116 | Yana Tannagashev | Shor leader. | Yana received threats from the police and mining company. Was criminalized for organizing protests and has lost her job as teacher. Had to go into exile. |
| 119 | Yolan Friedmann | No relevant information on her actions. | Has received written personal attacks. Mocked by the mining director for being too emotional and unscientific. |
| 120 | Dude Hadebe | Refused to sign an eviction order. | Had her house demolished. |
| 121 | Lorraine Kakaza | Community monitor volunteer, spoke in conferences, attended protests and launched a series of podcasts to divulge the impacts of the project on people's lives. Works with WAMUA, doing research and campaigning in the media and pursues legal mechanisms to continue community resistance. Established NPO Social and Environmental Justice in Action in 2017 in order to conduct research on contamination of wetlands. | Harassed. |
| 122 | Promise Mabilo | Founder of Vukani Environmental Movement. Engaged in advocacy efforts with mining companies and the government. | No relevant information on the outcome and/or consequences of her actions. |
| 123 | Fikile Ntshangase | Was vice-Chairperson of a sub-committee of the Mfolozi Community Environmental Justice Organisation (MCEJO). | Murdered in front of grandson. It is suspected the killing was in retaliation for her refusal to sign an agreement with mining company to cease MCEJO's court challenges against Somkhele. She was also preparing to denounce bribe attempts she had received. |
| 129 | Valsa John | Participated in protests. | Murdered. |
| 132 | Agnes Kharshiing | President of Civil Society Women's Organization (CSWO), actively engaged in denouncing illegal mining activities | Attacked by mob after taking pictures of truck carrying coal from illegal operation. |
| 133 | Nasreen Hug | Human rights defender, was preparing an international lawsuit against the company | Nasreen died in a suspicious car accident. She had been raising concerns over the project and was preparing an international lawsuit. She was about to divulge a dossier she had prepared with the press. She had been dissuaded from proceeding with an anti-mining campaign. |
| 134 | Nang Moan | Head of the Wan Long women's group. | No relevant information on the outcome and/or consequences of her actions. |
| 146 | María Enriqueta Matute | Tolúpan leader. | Murdered during roadblock action. |

| | | | |
|-----|------------|--|--|
| 148 | Judy Bonds | Leader against mountaintop removal coal mining in West Virginia, USA | Won Goldman Environmental Prize in 2003. |
|-----|------------|--|--|

Annex C – List of cases analyzed and sources of information

| Project Code | Project or conflict's name | Country | Conflict URLs (<i>EJ Atlas</i>) | Additional sources of information |
|--------------|---|-----------|---|-----------------------------------|
| 001 | El desquite | Argentina | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/esquel-meridian-gold-mine-argentina | No additional sources |
| 002 | Sierra de La Ventana | Argentina | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/sierra-de-la-ventana-argentina | No additional sources |
| 003 | Aratirí | Uruguay | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/uruguay-no-mineria-de-hierro | No additional sources |
| 005 | Famatina | Argentina | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/famatina-gold-mining-argentina | No additional sources |
| 006 | Serra do Brigadeiro (Miradouro) | Brazil | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/companhia-brasileira-de-aluminio-cba | No additional sources |
| 007 | Capão Xavier | Brazil | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/capao-xavier-mine-brazil | No additional sources |
| 008 | Illegal mining in Jacareacanga | Brazil | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/munduruku-indigenous-resistance-against-illegal-gold-mining | Campelo 2018 |
| 009 | Niobium mining Roraima | Brazil | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/niobium-mining-project-extraction-in-raposa-serra-do-sol-brazil | No additional sources |
| 010 | Arco Minero del Orinoco (several projects) | Venezuela | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/las-luchas-contra-el-mega-proyecto-del-arco-minero-del-orinoco | No additional sources |
| 011 | Loma de Hierro | Venezuela | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/loma-de-hierro | No additional sources |
| 012 | Illegal mining in La Pampa and Tambopata National Reserve | Peru | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/illegal-mining-in-la-pampa-tambopata-peru | No additional sources |
| 013 | Illegal mining in the community of Tres Islas | Peru | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/comunidad-indigenas-islas-y-mineria-ilegal-en-madre-de-dios | No additional sources |
| 014 | Achachucani | Bolivia | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/proyecto-minero-achachucani | CASA 2013 |
| 015 | Huanuni | Bolivia | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/huanuni-bolivia | López 2011; Rodríguez 2019 |
| 016 | Kori Kollo | Bolivia | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/inti-raymi-contamina-rio-desaguadero-oruro-bolivia | No additional sources |

| | | | | |
|-----|--|----------|---|---|
| 017 | Copper mining and processing plant at Corocoro | Bolivia | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/coro-coro-hidrometalurgica | López 2011 |
| 018 | Los Pumas | Chile | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/explotacion-de-manganeso-los-pumas-arica-chile | No additional sources |
| 019 | Santa Ana | Peru | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/proyecto-minero-santa-ana-cancelado-por-rechazo-de-la-comunidad | No additional sources |
| 020 | Tintaya | Peru | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/tintaya-espinar-peru | Cuadros 2011 |
| 021 | Marcona | Peru | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/shougang-marcona-peru | No additional sources |
| 022 | San Mateo de Huanchor | Peru | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/san-mateo-de-huanchor-peru | Rondón 2009 |
| 023 | Conga | Peru | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/conga | Daza <i>et al.</i> 2013; Isla 2015; Li and Paredes 2019; Santiago 2017; |
| 024 | Cerro Corona | Peru | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/gold-fields-cerro-corona | No additional sources |
| 025 | Mirador | Ecuador | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/mirador-cordillera-del-condor-ecuador | Viteri 2017; Verdú 2017 Yépez and Teijlingen 2017; Red Latinoamericana de Mujeres Defensoras de Derechos Sociales y Ambientales <i>et al.</i> 2018; |
| 026 | Río Blanco | Ecuador | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/rio-blanco-molleturo-azuay-ecuador AND https://ejatlas.org/conflict/international-minerals-corporation-imc-in-molleturo-ecuador | Jenkins 2015; Jenkins and Roldón 2015; Jenkins 2017; |
| 027 | Curipamba Sur | Ecuador | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/curipamba-sur-bolivar-ecuador | No additional sources |
| 028 | Mining in the Macizo Colombiano (several projects) | Colombia | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/mining-in-macizo-colombiano-colombia | No additional sources |
| 029 | Mining in Suárez (La Toma) | Colombia | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/suarez-cauca-colombia | Mina <i>et al.</i> 2015; Quiñones Torres 2015; Bolívar and Ibarra 2017 |
| 030 | Mining Quindío | Colombia | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/exploracion-de-oro-y-otros-minerales-en-quindio-colombia | No additional sources |
| 031 | Tolda Fría | Colombia | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/tolda-fria | No additional sources |
| 032 | La Colosa (focus on Piedras municipality) | Colombia | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/consulta-popular-en-piedras-tolima | No additional sources |
| 033 | Marmato | Colombia | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/marmato-mines-colombia | Bermúdez <i>et al.</i> 2012 |

| | | | | |
|-----|---|-------------|---|---|
| 034 | Gramalote | Colombia | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/proyecto-gramalote-antioquia-colombia | No additional sources |
| 035 | Santurbán | Colombia | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/paramo-de-santurban-colombia | Méndez <i>et al.</i> 2020 |
| 036 | Cerro Quema | Panama | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/cerro-quema-panama | No additional sources |
| 037 | Mining in Soná (Veraguas) | Panama | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/sona-panama | No additional sources |
| 038 | Petaquilla | Panama | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/petaquilla-panama | RIMM, Red Internacional Mujeres y Minería 2010 |
| 039 | Cerro Chorchá | Panama | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/ngobe-bugle-against-mining-panama | Díaz Pinzón 2013; Persson Vargas 2013 |
| 040 | La Libertad | Nicaragua | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/santo-domingo-mining-project-nicaragua | No additional sources |
| 041 | El Pavón | Nicaragua | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/proyecto-minero-el-pavon-municipio-rancho-grande-nicaragua | Pérez González 2015 |
| 042 | El Dorado | El Salvador | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/el-dorado-el-salvador | Red Latinoamericana de Mujeres Defensoras de Derechos Sociales y Ambientales <i>et al.</i> 2018 |
| 043 | Fenix | Guatemala | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/fenix-el-estor-guatemala | Deonandan <i>et al.</i> 2017 |
| 044 | Cerro Blanco | Guatemala | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/cerro-blanco-guatemala | No additional sources |
| 045 | El Escobal | Guatemala | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/el-escobal | Dary Fuentes 2016 |
| 046 | Mining concessions San Rafael II and III, Saturno II en Huehuetenango | Guatemala | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/comunidades-rechazan-expansion-de-mina-marlin-en-huehuetenango-guatemala | No additional sources |
| 047 | Marlin | Guatemala | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/marlin-guatemala | Urkidi 2011; Caxaj <i>et al.</i> 2014; Macleod 2016; Rodríguez 2016; Sabas 2019; Tatham 2006 |
| 048 | El Tambor | Guatemala | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/proyecto-minero-el-tambor | Madre Selva 2014; Valladares and López 2015; Bailey 2018 |
| 049 | San Ildefonso Ixtahuacán | Guatemala | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/san-idelfonso-ixtahuacan | No additional sources |
| 050 | Blackfire | Mexico | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/chicomuselo-contra-blackfire-chiapas | No additional sources |
| 051 | Santa Marta | Mexico | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/miguel-chimalapa-oaxaca-mexico | Morosin 2019 |
| 052 | Natividad | Mexico | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/capulalpam-de-mendez-contra-natividad-oaxaca | No additional sources |

| | | | | |
|-----|----------------------|---------------|---|--|
| 053 | Los Filos | Mexico | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/mina-los-filos-el-bermejil-carrizalillo | Garubay and Balzaretti 2009 |
| 054 | Espejeras | Mexico | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/mineria-de-oro-frisco-de-c-slim-en-tetela-de-ocampo-mexico | Restrepo 2014 |
| 055 | Tuligtic/Ixtaca | Mexico | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/ixtamaxtitlan-proyectosmineros-almaden | No additional sources |
| 056 | La Lupe | Mexico | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/la-poblacion-de-zautla-en-contra-mineria-de-china-mexico | No additional sources |
| 057 | Peñasquito | Mexico | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/penasquito | Castro <i>et al.</i> 2015 |
| 058 | Tayahua | Mexico | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/salaverna-minera-tahuaya-grupo-frisco-mexico | No additional sources |
| 059 | Cananea | Mexico | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/cananea-mine-mexico | Rivera <i>et al.</i> 2019 |
| 060 | Paredones Amarillos | Mexico | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/paredones-amarillos-mina-concordia-los-cardones-mexico | Ibarra 2018 |
| 061 | New Prosperity | Canada | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/new-prosperity-goldmine-fish-lake-bc-canada | No additional sources |
| 062 | Crandon Mine | USA | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/proposed-crandon-mine-in-northeast-wisconsin-usa | No additional sources |
| 063 | Montagne D'Or | French Guiana | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/montagne-dor-guyane-france | No additional sources |
| 064 | Repparfjord/Nussir | Norway | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/repparfjord-nussir-case | No additional sources |
| 065 | Skouries | Greece | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/gold-mining-in-chalkidiki-greece | Landén and Fotaki 2018; Fotaki and Daskalaki 2020; Tsavdaroglou <i>et al.</i> 2017 |
| 066 | Bor | Serbia | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/over-a-century-of-the-pollution-from-the-bor-mines-serbia | No additional sources |
| 067 | Mining in Brad | Romania | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/brad-polymetallic-ores-including-gold | No additional sources |
| 068 | Kirazli and Ağı Dağı | Turkey | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/ida-mountain-kazdagi-prospecting-for-gold-turkey | No additional sources |
| 069 | Kışladağ | Turkey | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/kisladag-gold-mine-turkey | No additional sources |
| 070 | Strongylos | Cyprus | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/women-activists-against-south-mathiatis-mine-cyprus | Cirefice 2018 |
| 071 | Amulsar | Armenia | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/no-to-amulsar-gold-mine | No additional sources |

| | | | | |
|-----|--|----------------|---|--|
| 072 | Phosphate mining in Gafsa | Tunisia | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/phosphate-mining-in-gafsa | Schultz 2015 |
| 073 | Imider | Morocco | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/imider-silver-mine-morocco | Salime 2019 |
| 074 | Boucraa phosphate mine | Western Sahara | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/resource-extraction-in-boucra-western-sahara-updated-by-julie-snorek-7-nov-2016 | No additional sources |
| 075 | Taïba | Senegal | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/phosphates-mining-in-the-gardening-zone-of-niayes-mboro-senegal | No additional sources |
| 076 | Petite Mine | Senegal | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/khoudiadienne-sephos-senegal | Kanoute 2015 |
| 077 | Sabodala | Senegal | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/sabodala-gold-project-senegal | No additional sources |
| 078 | Kalsaka and Sega | Burkina Faso | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/kalwaka-gold-mine-burkina-faso | No additional sources |
| 079 | North Mara | Tanzania | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/acacia-mining-north-mara-gold-mine-former-barrick-gold-tanzania | MiningWatch Canada 2016 |
| 080 | Sefateng | South Africa | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/open-cast-mining-at-sefateng-chrome-mine-in-limpopo-south-africa | Mampa 2019 |
| 081 | Marikana | South Africa | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/lonmin-south-africa | Benya 2015; Naicker 2016; Ndibongo 2015; Ntswana 2015 |
| 082 | Xolobeni | South Africa | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/pondoland-wild-coast-xolobeni-mining-threat-south-africa | WoMin colective 2017; RIMM, Red Internacional Mujeres y Minería 2010 |
| 083 | Kumtor | Kyrgyzstan | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/kumtor-gold-mine-krygyzstan | Leuze 2014 |
| 084 | Mining in the Tost mountains (Gobi desert) | Mongolia | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/large-scale-mining-in-south-gobi-desert-mongolia | No additional sources |
| 085 | Toroku | Japan | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/toroku-miyazaki-prefecture-japan | No additional sources |
| 086 | Iron mining in Sonshi (Goa) | India | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/45-people-arrested-for-protesting-against-pollution-by-iron-ore-mining-in-sonshi-go | No additional sources |
| 087 | Iron mining in Caurem (Goa) | India | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/caurem-illegal-mining-and-village-protest | No additional sources |
| 088 | Kundil Sponge Iron factory | India | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/kundil-sponge-iron-limited-londa-india | No additional sources |
| 089 | Surjagarh (Wooria hills) | India | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/lloyds-steel-iron-ore-mine-gadchiroli-maharashtra | No additional sources |

| | | | | |
|-----|---|-------------|---|---|
| 090 | Bailadila | India | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/iron-ore-mining-in-dantewada-jharkhand | Mukherjee 2014 |
| 091 | Baphlimali mine and Utkal refinery plant | India | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/human-rights-and-environmental-violation-for-bauxite-mining-in-the-baphlimali-hills-of-kashipur-rayagada-district-odisha | Lund and Mishra 2011 Naik 2012; Goodland 2007; Sahu 2019 |
| 092 | Lanjigarh mine and refinery | India | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/niyamgiri-vedanta-bauxite-mining-india | Lund and Mishra 2011 |
| 093 | Monywa complex (Letpadaung mine) | Myanmar | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/monywa-letpadaung-copper-mine-sangaing | Amnesty International 2015, 2017 |
| 094 | Pinpet mine and processing factory | Myanmar | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/pinpet-iron-mining-factory-shan-state-myanmar | No additional sources |
| 095 | Mawchi | Myanmar | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/mawchi-tungsten-mine-karenni-state-myanmar | Naw Paw Lar Say 2018 |
| 096 | Platinum mining at Ah Yeh village, Tachilek | Myanmar | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/platinum-mining-in-eastern-shan-state-myanmar | No additional sources |
| 097 | Mon Len gold mining area | Myanmar | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/mon-len-gold-mine-killings-shan-state-myanmar | No additional sources |
| 098 | Gold mining in Loei province | Thailand | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/loei-gold-mine-thailand | No additional sources |
| 099 | Lynas Refinery | Malaysia | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/lynas-refinery-in-kuantan | No additional sources |
| 100 | Sorowako | Indonesia | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/karonsie-dongi-people-and-vale-mine-in-sorowako-sulawesi-indonesia | RIMM, Red Internacional Mujeres y Minería 2010; AIPP, Asia Indigenous Peoples Pact 2013 |
| 101 | Illegal manganese mining, North Central Timor | Indonesia | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/illegal-manganese-mining-in-north-central-timor-indonesia | Heroepoetri <i>et al.</i> 2016 |
| 102 | Gold and copper mining in Bakun | Philippines | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/royalcos-mining-explorations-in-bakun-municipality | No additional sources |
| 103 | Mining project in Tablas Island | Philippines | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/metallic-mining-moratorium-in-romblon-philippines | Sherryl Mindo-Fetalvero 2012 |
| 104 | Taganito | Philippines | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/taganito-mining-corporations-nickel-mine-surigao-del-nortephilippines | No additional sources |
| 105 | Mining in Compostela Valley | Philippines | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/compostela-in-mindanao-philippines | No additional sources |
| 106 | King-King | Philippines | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/king-king-copper-and-gold-mine-in-compostela-mindanao-philippines | No additional sources |

| | | | | |
|-----|-----------------------------------|------------------|---|-----------------------------------|
| 107 | Tampakan | Philippines | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/glencore-xstrata-tampakan-copper-gold-project-south-cotabato | No additional sources |
| 108 | Porgera Joint Venture | Papua New Guinea | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/porgera-joint-venture-pjv-gold-mine-in-papua-new-guinea | No additional sources |
| 109 | Panguna | Papua New Guinea | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/rio-tintos-lawsuit-papua-new-guinea | No additional sources |
| 110 | Goro mine and southern refinery | New Caledonia | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/rheebu-nuu | Horowitz 2017 |
| 111 | Seabed mining in the Cook Islands | The Cook Islands | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/opposition-to-overfishing-and-seabed-mining-based-on-raui-principals-cook-islands-new-zealand | No additional sources |
| 112 | Coal mining in Zulia | Venezuela | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/indigenas-wayuu-del-socuy-defienden-sus-territorios-ante-el-avance-de-proyectos-vinculados-a-la-extraccion-de-carbon-carbozulia | No additional sources |
| 113 | El Almorzadero | Colombia | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/paramo-el-almorzadero-colombia | Mancera 2020 |
| 114 | Coal mining in Carare-Opón | Colombia | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/landazuri-santander-colombia | No additional sources |
| 115 | Pisba | Colombia | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/exploracion-y-explotacion-de-carbon-en-el-paramo-de-pisba-boyaca | No additional sources |
| 004 | Quebrada de Alipan | Argentina | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/mineria-de-uranio-en-las-canas-la-rioja | No additional sources |
| 116 | Raspadskaya | Russia | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/raspadskaya-coal-mine-in-kemerovo-oblast-russia | No additional sources |
| 117 | Arlit and Akouta | Niger | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/areva-uranium-mines-in-agadez-niger | No additional sources |
| 118 | Coal mining in Enugu | Nigeria | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/enugu-communities-apprehensive-about-planned-resuscitation-of-moribund-coal-mines | Friends of the Earth Nigeria 2014 |
| 119 | Vele Colliery | South Africa | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/vele-colliery-mine-next-to-the-mapungubwe-national-park-in-limpopo-south-africa | No additional sources |
| 120 | Ikwezi | South Africa | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/ikwezi-coal-mining-project-in-dannhauser-newcastle-south-africa | No additional sources |
| 121 | Coal mining in Carolina | South Africa | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/water-pollution-from-acid-mine-drainage-in-carolina-south-africa | No additional sources |

| | | | | |
|-----|---|--------------|---|--|
| 122 | Coal mining in Emalahleni | South Africa | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/coal-pollution-from-eskom-in-emalahleni-mpumalanga-south-africa | Cock 2019 |
| 123 | Somkhele | South Africa | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/tendele-coal-mine-somkhele-kwazulu-natal | Hansen and Mdlalose 2015; Fakier and Cock 2018 |
| 124 | Thar | Pakistan | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/sindh-engro-coal-mining-company | No additional sources |
| 125 | Coal mining in Dehing Patkai Wildlife Sanctuary | India | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/coal-mining-in-dehing-patkai-assam | No additional sources |
| 126 | Gare Pelma block at Mand Raigarh coalfield | India | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/advansi-protest-in-gare-pelma-coal-mine-kosampali-chhattisgarh-india | No additional sources |
| 127 | PEKB coal block at Hasdeo-Arand coalfield | India | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/direct-violation-of-forest-rights-act-in-the-mining-belt-of-surguja-district-chhattisgarh | No additional sources |
| 128 | Purnadih | India | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/kusum-tola-india | No additional sources |
| 129 | Panem coal mine | India | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/panem-coal-mines-india | No additional sources |
| 130 | Khagra Joydev coal block | India | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/protest-in-loba-village-birbhum-west-bengal-against-coal-mining | No additional sources |
| 131 | Pakri-Barwadiah (Barkagaon coal block) | India | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/illegal-land-acquisition-for-coal-mining-and-violent-protest-in-hazaribagh-jharkhand | No additional sources |
| 132 | Coal mining in the Jaintia Hills | India | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/ban-of-rat-hole-mining-in-jaintia-hills-meghalaya | No additional sources |
| 133 | Phulbari | Bangladesh | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/protest-against-open-pit-coal-mine-project-in-phulbari-region | Luthfa 2012; Pegu 2012; Hasan 2020; |
| 134 | Nam Ma | Myanmar | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/nam-ma-coal-mining-and-extrajudicial-killings-shan-state-myanmar | Nam Ma Shan Farmers 2017 |
| 135 | Tigyit | Myanmar | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/tigyit-coal-power-plant-shan-state-myanmar | Pa-Oh Youth Organization and Kyoju Action Network 2010 |
| 136 | Hazelwood | Australia | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/2014-hazelwood-open-cut-coal-mine-fire | No additional sources |
| 137 | El Cerrejón | Colombia | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/el-cerrejon-mine-colombia AND https://ejatlas.org/print/glencore-switzerland-bhp-billiton-united-kingdom-angloamerican-australia | Christiaens <i>et al.</i> 2018; Ulloa 2020 |

| | | | | |
|-----|------------------------------|--------------|---|---|
| 138 | Fruta del Norte | Ecuador | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/fruta-del-norte-ecuador | No additional sources |
| 139 | Loma Larga | Ecuador | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/iamgold-in-quimsacocha-ecuador | Solano 2013; Jenkins 2014; Jenkins and Roldón 2015; Petroske 2017; Velázquez 2017; Zaghul and Ruiz 2018; |
| 140 | Llurimagua | Ecuador | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/intag-mining-junin-ecuador | Martínez-Alier 2001; Adrover <i>et al.</i> 2008; D'Amico 2012; Johnston 2013; Estrella 2016; Murillo and Sacher 2017; |
| 141 | Quebradona | Colombia | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/mineria-en-tamesis-colombia | No additional sources |
| 142 | San Carlos-Panantza | Ecuador | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/panantza-san-carlos-ecuador | Solíz 2017 |
| 143 | San Martín | Honduras | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/valle-de-siria-honduras | IDAMHO, Instituto de Derecho Ambiental de Honduras 2013 |
| 144 | Bomboré | Burkina Faso | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/mobilization-against-the-gold-mining-bombore-project-by-orezon-burkina-faso | No additional sources |
| 145 | Bissa-Bouly | Burkina Faso | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/bissa-gold-mine-burkina-faso | Luning 2014; Engels 2018; Drechsel <i>et al.</i> 2019 |
| 146 | La capa | Honduras | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/los-tolupanes-en-contra-de-proyectos-mineros-e-hidroelectricos-el-yoro-hondura | No additional sources |
| 147 | Ahafo South | Ghana | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/gold-min | No additional sources |
| 148 | Coal mining in West Virginia | USA | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/mountaintop-mining-removal-in-west-virginia-usa AND https://ejatlas.org/conflict/keystone-coal-by-mountain-top-removal-threat-to-kanawha-state-forest | Bell and Braun 2010 |
| 149 | Yanacocha | Peru | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/yanacocha-mine-peru | Jenkins and Boudewijn 2020 |
| 150 | Marange | Zimbabwe | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/marange-diamond-mines-pollute-rivers-zimbabwe AND https://ejatlas.org/conflict/marange-diamond-land-and-human-rights-abuses-zimbabwe | Muchadenyika 2015 |
| 151 | Ventanas Industrial Complex | Chile | https://ejatlas.org/conflict/ventanas-industrial-complex-chile AND https://ejatlas.org/conflict/la-contaminacion-y-la-lucha-de-los-pescadores-artesanales-amenazadas-en-puchuncavi-chile | Bolados <i>et al.</i> 2017; Bolados and Sánchez 2017 |