COMMUNITY RESISTANCE TO CANADIAN TRANSNATIONAL MINING OPERATIONS IN LATIN AMERICA

A Thesis Submitted to the College of

Graduate and Postdoctoral Studies

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements

For the Degree of Master of Public Health

In the School of Public Health

University of Saskatchewan

Saskatoon

By

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Abstract

The practices of Canadian mining companies operating in Latin America, and the Canadian government's role in supporting these practices, have been duly criticized for the blatant social, environmental, and economic injustices created and perpetuated by transnational mining. The violation of human and Indigenous rights has elicited widespread resistance to mining from surrounding communities. A considerable amount of literature has explored the dynamics of this anti-mining activism, with most articles exploring a particular case study or feature of a few cases. However, a region-wide systematic synthesis of qualitative themes on the topic has not been found. Given the extent and nature of Canadian mining companies operating Latin America, the purpose of this project was to scope the published literature to characterize the nature of community resistance to Canadian transnational mining in Latin America.

A scoping review method was employed to systematically search the literature, select studies for inclusion, chart qualitative data, and synthesize the literature reviewed. After screening, 61 articles discussing a total of 26 conflicts were included in this review. Conflicts in several Latin American countries with various Canadian mining companies were represented in this literature. In 69 percent of conflicts, the literature explicitly states the involvement of Indigenous groups in anti-mining resistance. Seventy-three percent of communities in the 26 conflicts were involved in agricultural livelihood activities. Sixty-five percent of conflicts occurred during the exploration stages of mining with all but one of these communities expressing complete rejections of mining, while 27 percent of conflicts occurred during the exploitation stages of mining with all of these communities seeking to change the conditions under which mining occurred. Communities had several interrelated concerns about mining that motivated their resistance, and used a variety of tactics to enact their activism. Furthermore, only five of 61 articles discussed at length the gendered dimensions of resistance, providing insights into gendered adversities, narratives, and tactics of resistance, and revealing a need for a gendered lens in the study of anti-mining movements. The literature reveals promising and important insights as well as clear gaps in research on the complexity and nuances of anti-mining movements in Latin America.

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1. CHAPTER 1: Introduction

1.1. Introduction to thesis

The most pressing concerns for the health of populations at a global scale involve social, economic, and environmental injustices that hinder the living conditions necessary for good health (1). These avoidable inequalities stem from historical and ongoing unjust distributions of power and resources (1). As the process of globalization has unfolded over the past few decades, "[allowing] transnational corporations to move freely across borders" (2 p. 139), the exacerbation of global inequalities and poverty has been accelerated through the active implementation of neoliberal economic policies.

One industry in particular that has perpetuated social, economic, and environmental injustices and has benefited from global neoliberal reforms is transnational mining. In a neocolonial fashion, economic and trade policies have enabled the continued extraction of resource wealth from countries in the Global South to benefit capitalists and citizens in the Global North, while projecting the social and environmental harms on host countries, leaving few, if any, benefits. Replicating top-down "benevolent" colonial practices of the past – in which colonists claimed they were on a well-intentioned "civilizing mission" (3 p. 103) – mining capitalists, pro-mining governments, and international economic organizations justify transnational mining by asserting that they are helping to "develop" the Global South, once again undermining the agency and self-determination of "passive" actors in the Global South.

Communities residing in areas targeted for mining "development" have resisted mining, defiantly expressing their opposition to this form of exploitation and dispossession. These socio-environmental conflicts can be seen as creative rather than destructive (4), with resistance to mining "set against a backdrop of neoliberalism and [representing] an unambiguous path out of exploitation towards social justice" (5 p. 404). Further, communities' activism can be construed as a vehicle for upstream health protection and health promotion by resisting various forms of oppression (6). Through their resistance against mining, communities are attempting to prevent the many negative socio-environmental effects of mining, which stand to harm health through both physical and psychosocial means, including displacement, loss of culture and spirituality, disruption of livelihood, exacerbation of inequalities, and environmental contamination resulting in threats to food security and water access (7,8). All of these impacts of mining operations, which have been well documented in the literature, threaten the overall living conditions that are essential for health. Communities in conflict with mining elucidate the "highly political nature of health threats" (9 p. 824) presented by mining companies, with political and economic factors representing key underlying determinants of health (7).

Canada is a significant player in the transnational mining industry, with a substantial portion of Canadian companies' transnational mining investment occurring in Latin America (10,11). According to a leaked report from the Prospectors and Developers Association of Canada, Canadian mining companies were implicated in one third of 171 mining-related conflicts examined in countries of the Global South (3), posing serious threats to the health and well-being of workers and communities surrounding their operations. These socio-environmental conflicts have been explored by a growing literature.

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1.2. Goals and research questions

In this descriptive qualitative study, I use a scoping review method to scope and synthesize the published literature exploring the nature of communities' resistance to Canadian transnational mining in Latin America. Based on this literature, I aim to understand how communities organize against mining threats and to characterize key insights pertaining to the internal dynamics of these movements.

A considerable amount of literature has explored the dynamics of anti-mining activism, including the strategies of resistance, community dynamics, and interactions between communities and mining companies (12–19). Most articles have explored a particular case, or a particular feature of a few cases. During initial literature review, two articles were found that summarize socio-environmental conflicts in particular countries – Ecuador (20) and Mexico (19). However, a region-wide systematic synthesis of qualitative themes on the topic was not found. As concerned Canadian researchers, given the extent and nature of Canadian mining companies operating Latin America, there was an interest in understanding the nature of community resistance to Canadian mining in Latin America.

The overarching question guiding this exploratory scoping review was "what does the published literature reveal regarding the nature of community resistance to Canadian transnational mining in Latin America?"

In chapter two, in addition to providing an overview of the scope of the literature included in this review, I address the following sub-questions:
    a. "Who is resisting and what are their motivations, goals, strategies and tactics?"
    b. "What are some of the tensions that arise within anti-mining resistance?"

In chapter three, I address a sub-question pertaining specifically to gender: "what does the published literature reveal regarding the gendered dimensions of anti-mining movements against Canadian transnational mining in Latin America?"

In the remainder of this introductory chapter, I provide background information on Canadian mining in Latin America, describe the widespread resistance to mining that has arisen in the region, and briefly discuss the various themes explored in the scope of the literature pertaining to these anti-mining movements.

1.3. Background and literature review

1.3.1. Overview of Canadian mining in Latin America

The practices of Canadian mining companies in Latin America, and the Canadian government's role in supporting these practices, have been subject to increasing international scrutiny (21–23). Chief among these criticisms are the blatant violation of human rights and Indigenous rights in host countries, the severe environmental harms inflicted upon local ecologies, and the stark economic injustices associated with transnational resource extraction (3,5,10,24). The nature and extent of Canadian mining in Latin America prompts Gordon and Webber (2016) to aptly describe Canadian mining companies' practices as "predatory" as they prey on marginalized communities and exploitable environments (10). Various authors and mining-affected communities emphasize the imperialistic underpinnings of Canadian mining, as the Canadian state promotes the expansion of its economic dominance over much of the Latin American region and repatriates significant wealth (3,8,10,17,25–31).

In 2013, 57 per cent of all mining companies worldwide were listed on the Toronto Stock Exchange and TSX venture exchanges. Junior mining firms, which are involved mostly in exploration activities, comprised 90 percent of the total Canadian mining company count in 2016 (5,11,21,23). Despite their negligible economic significance, junior firms are often responsible for some of the worst social and environmental offenses, lacking capital and incentive to invest in responsible practices, and typically establishing preliminary contact with communities during exploration (4,5,21,32).

Compared to other countries' mining industries, Canadian mining has a large proportion of foreign investments outside Canada, with 54 percent of Canadian mining assets abroad occurring in Latin America and the Caribbean in 2016 (11,17,22). The extent of Canadian mining companies' control over Latin America's natural resources is striking: Canadian companies owned 180 out of 229 mining properties in Peru in 2013 (10); are dominant in Colombia, owning 80 out of 98 mining properties in 2013 (10,12); comprised eight of nine foreign mining companies with exploration or exploitation concessions in Guatemala in 2011 (5); and accounted for over two thirds of foreign mining companies in Mexico (19,33). According to Grinspun and Mills (2015), in 2010 Canadian mining investment comprised over 60 percent of total mining investment in the region (34).

1.3.2. Global Context

Since the 1980s, the global political economy has been characterized by international neoliberalism, implemented within the context of long-standing global inequalities and power differentials (28,35,36). Low- and middle-income countries have been forced, either directly by powerful governments and international economic organizations like the World Bank, or indirectly by the demands of globalized capitalism, to open their economies, reduce royalties, and weaken governmental regulation to facilitate transnational investment such as extractive investment (5,13,21–23,34,35,37,38). In the 1990's, structural adjustments were adopted in nearly every country in Latin America to create favourable investment climates for corporations by diminishing labour and environmental regulations and citizen land rights (3,19,21,38–41). Free trade agreements between Canada and Latin American countries have prioritized the rights of capital at the expense of human rights and environmental protection (3,34,36,42,43). The implementation of neoliberal reforms in the 1980s, combined with technological advancements that enabled the profitable exploitation of low-grade ores, fostered a transnational mining investment boom in Latin America beginning in the 1990s (5,34,35,44,45).

1.3.3. Latin American contexts

Beyond the region-wide neoliberalism affecting countries in Central and South America, the political contexts in which mining has occurred have varied significantly between countries and over time. Although discussion of these contexts is beyond the scope of this thesis, two general and brief points are provided here with particular relevance to resource extraction. Present day mining and its associated injustices in Latin America need to be understood and contextualized within a long history of conquest, colonialism, imperialism, and exploitation; power- and value-laden economic relations; and the heterogeneous socio-political contexts within Latin America (28,46).

1.3.3.1.   Neoliberalism and post-neoliberalism

As disenchantment with the exclusionary nature of neoliberal economic and political governance grew in Latin America, various left-wing, socialist governments came to power

in the 2000s in countries such as Ecuador and Bolivia (4,20,34,47). Although characterized as post-neoliberal governments, these governments continued to promote and rely heavily on resource extraction to fund socialist policies, but distinguished this "neo-extractivism" from neoliberal extractivism which continued to prevail in countries such as Peru, Guatemala, Honduras, and Mexico (4,34,47–49). Nevertheless, mining, and civil society resistance to mining, has been a feature in both post-neoliberal neo-extractivist contexts and neoliberal extractive contexts.

1.3.3.2.   War and post-war

Canadian mining companies have also operated in civil war contexts such as that of Colombia, and in countries with fragile post-civil war contexts, such as those of Guatemala and El Salvador (10). In the latter two countries, painful memories of violence and severe repression, and related imperialistic intervention by the United States, were all too fresh (46,50,51). The 1990's had brought an end to brutal civil wars and genocidal repression, enabling the development of resistance and community organization against persisting injustices (13,52); however, resistance to further imperialistic intervention in the form of mining has, too, been met with violent repression, as will be described below (52).

1.3.4. Predatory practices of Canadian mining companies and the Canadian government

It is within these global and country contexts that Canadian mining companies have enacted various harms while operating in Latin America. The predatory practices of Canadian mining companies have included the securitization of mining operations, which has resulted in the violent criminalization of citizens expressing dissent towards mining (10). In addition, Canadian mining companies have benefitted from the pre-existing violence, repression, and conflict in host countries, using unstable or weak political contexts to operate with lenient oversight (5) and using ongoing violence to disguise the violence perpetrated by Canadian companies through private security, state forces, and intra-community mechanisms (10,53). Canadian mining companies have also been known to exploit communities' lack of education and poverty through unfair negotiations, deceit, and bribery (19,33,44). Furthermore, as Kuecker (2007) notes, transnational mining companies from the Global North "operate in ways that are often illegal in their own countries" (38 p. 97) by, for example, employing sub-standard environmental techniques that result in highly damaging contamination and pollution (5,38). Finally, by operating through local subsidiaries in host countries and transferring ownership in strategic ways, Canadian mining companies have deflected responsibility for any problematic occurrences associated with their operations (17,54).

Despite their well-documented problematic practices, Canadian mining companies enjoy the full and unconditional political support of the Canadian state (3,19,21,26,55). The Canadian government's foreign policy in Latin America has been largely directed by the interests of Canadian transnational mining corporations (10,27,34). For example, the Canadian government has intervened in the politics of Latin American countries such as Guatemala, Honduras, and Peru to support pro-mining governments, regardless of their position on human rights (10). The Canadian state has also played a role in encouraging the securitization of mining investments, which often leads to violence against citizens (10,21). In addition, the distribution of Canadian development aid has been re-oriented to promote mining-related interests (3,10,17,56). The most obvious examples involve Canada funding the development of new mining codes in Colombia (34,57,58), Honduras (48), and Bolivia (21). These new mining codes tend to weaken countries' regulations pertaining to social and environmental practices of mining (34); for example, the 2013 mining law in Honduras allowed for

companies to use unlimited amounts of water despite many citizens lacking basic access to water for subsistence; stipulates that no areas of the country can be mining-free zones; and where multiple communities surround mining sites, requires the consultation of only one community (48). As Grinspun and Mills (2015) state, "by working behind the scenes, Canadian officials can truthfully state that Canadian companies are following foreign laws, while conveniently omitting who is shaping these laws and, most importantly, in whose interest" (34 p. 140).

Furthermore, the Canadian government provides extensive financial support for its mining companies through tax incentives, subsidies, and financing (5,19,34). The Canadian government also holds considerable investments in mining; Canada Pension Plan funds are invested in Canadian mining, implicating working Canadians in mining transgressions abroad (3,17,55). Moreover, Canada has dictated free trade agreements (FTAs) and foreign investment protection agreements with regions and countries in Latin America, weakening state sovereignty and protecting the rights of Canadian capital at the expense of human rights and environmental safety (3,34,43); under such FTAs, Canadian multinational corporations have sued some of the poorest countries in the hemisphere, such as Pacific Rim's 77 million dollar lawsuit against El Salvador for "the right to poison" its main water source (59). The weakened sovereignty of states in Latin America is both an outcome of and a risk factor for predatory mining practices.

Finally, the Canadian government has repeatedly refused to regulate its mining industry abroad, effectively encouraging their egregious practices (3,34). Canadian mining companies have been subject to less corporate oversight than American companies operating abroad (5,34). Enabled by the Canadian government's financial incentives and lack of oversight, Canadian junior companies have sought investments in countries that have minimal capacity or political will to regulate environmental and social practices (5). Mid-tier and senior companies are not innocent in these relations; Dougherty (2011) describes relations between junior and senior mining companies as "strategic partnerships" (5 p. 407), with seniors "behind the juniors waiting" according to a Guatemalan official (5 p. 409). While Canada clearly interferes with the sovereignty of Latin American states through economic and political means (39,51,60), the Canadian government has hypocritically cited an unwillingness to interfere in sovereignty of states when it comes to holding companies accountable for their actions in other countries (61).

These predatory practices of the Canadian government are in sharp contrast to Canada's positive international reputation as a benevolent, peacekeeping, and non-imperialistic country (39), a reputation that may in fact enable these practices to occur with relatively less scrutiny. The drive for profits leads to various predatory practices by Canadian mining companies in Latin America for which there are few or no repercussions, resulting in ongoing and devastating outcomes.

1.3.5. Outcomes of Canadian mining in Latin America

1.3.5.1. Violence: displacement and criminalization

The land needed for large-scale mining operations requires the clearing of inhabitants who stand "in the way" of companies' activities (35). Violence has often accompanied this process of displacement, with evictions being carried out by private security or military forces that intimidate inhabitants (10). This has led to mass displacement, and subsequent exacerbated marginalization of peasant and Indigenous communities (10,13,47,62,63).

The criminalization of dissent towards mining has become a widespread phenomenon across Latin America (6,10,13,21,35,43,48). Research by Mining Watch Canada has illustrated how this process occurs (64). The state first defines mining as a national interest, enabling the portrayal of anti-mining activists as anti-development, criminals, or terrorists (64). Citizens who voice critiques of mining face targeted violence, torture, arbitrary detention, death threats, rape, and murder inflicted through mine security forces, police and military forces, and the pro-mining contingent (3,10,21,23,48,65,66). A recent statistic released by United Nations Human Rights Office (2017) revealed that in 2016 75 percent of murders of human rights defenders occurred in the Americas, and that 41 percent of these murders involved those opposing extractive industry or defending Indigenous rights to land and natural resources (67).

Pressure to securitize investments has come from company shareholders, as described in the case of Da Capo Resources operating in Bolivia (21), and Canadian government actors, as discussed by Gordon and Webber (2016) with respect to Canadian mining interests in Colombia. Both incidents have led to host governments deploying military forces against their own citizens (10,21). In Mexico, El Salvador, Ecuador, and Guatemala, community leaders of anti-mining resistance have been targeted for rape, murder, and assault (23,35,55). In Jenkins' (2015) research with women resisters in Peru and Ecuador, the women recall the violation of their right to protest and their subjection to detention, beating, sexual assault, and torture by state forces (65). As described by Middeldorp *et al.* (2016), military forces in Honduras were deployed as "security guards on these projects, not as neutral forces promoting rule of law" against citizens voicing their legitimate concerns about mining (48 p. 937). In another example of the Marlin Mine in Guatemala, a Maya-Mam woman verbally agreed to have electrical cables run through their land, but was made to sign a blank piece of paper (6). Soon, however, an electrical post was erected next to her home, and she tried various avenues to voice her complaints (6). Receiving no response from authorities or mining company officials, a few women cut the cables (6,37). This act of resistance caught companies' and officials' attention, and the women were issued arrest warrants and forced into hiding (6,37). As Wilson (2016) states, "they push people to desperation and then frame their reactions as violent" (68 p. 26).

Beyond private security and state authorities, Canadian mining companies have been involved in other, more nuanced forms of creating violence, such as the creation of divisions within communities (21,38,69,70). For example, a subsidiary of Canadian company Goldcorp operating the Marlin Mine in Guatemala took advantage of communities' poverty, using money, gifts, and promises to create divisions within communities based on pro- and anti-mining stances (66). Divided community members turn against each other, and subsequently anti-mining activists become targets and victims of threats and violence within communities (66).

Violence is effected through multiple avenues: private security of mining operations, state military and police forces, paramilitary forces, and intra-community mechanisms. In complex and convoluted ways, Canadian mining companies and the Canadian government are intimately involved in this violence, perpetuating societal conflict and structural violence towards marginalized groups in Latin America.

1.3.5.2. Ecological outcomes

Mining has resulted in ecological devastation in vulnerable areas across Latin America. Due to high levels of toxic chemicals in the resources upon which they depend, surrounding communities have experienced deleterious environmental health effects such as respiratory and skin problems, miscarriages, congenital birth defects, and genetic mutations (3,10,19,48,52,71). In Peru, the most water-stressed country in Latin America, 13 billion m^3 of mining waste are dumped into its watercourses annually (71). In Colombia, communities have been consuming water that is charcoal-coloured due to mining effluent in their only source of water (10).

1.3.5.3. Exacerbation of inequalities

Through displacement, violence, and environmental health effects, mining has exacerbated pre-existing and intersecting racial, ethnic, gender, and economic inequalities. Many mining areas are near or on lands occupied by Indigenous people, Afro-descendants, or mestizo/a peasants, all of whom continue to experience historically-rooted forms of institutionalized racism, violence, and exclusion (10,19,62,64). Mining companies benefit from this marginalization, because it becomes easier to displace, deceive, and exploit people within the country's context (10,15). In particular, mining has been described as a policy of ethnocide, as it threatens to destroy unique cultures that are tied to the environment and land (12,72). For Indigenous communities such as those in Guatemala, Canadian mining represents the newest episode of a long series of imperialistic exploitation and dispossession through genocide, ethnocide, violence, racism, and repression (29,46). In addition, employment of a select few members from communities, primarily men, has resulted in increased economic inequalities within communities (7,73,74). The altered gender power relations in families and communities, the securitization of mining operations, the economic marginalization faced by women, and the demand for transient male workers in mining regions has resulted in escalated domestic and sexual violence against women (3,7,23,62,65,73).

At a macro level, mining perpetuates uneven development and poverty in Latin American countries. In Canada's efforts to decrease royalties and taxes paid by transnational mining companies to host countries, as well as diminish environmental and labour rights, it would seem Canada is actively suppressing development in Latin American countries (19). Mining-related neoliberal restructuring in host countries, comprising cuts to healthcare and education and the reduction of government regulations and protections, leaves very few, if any, benefits for nations, regions, and mining-affected communities, meanwhile producing enormous social costs and long-term environmental harms (10,16,19,30,38).

1.3.6. Failure of development and corporate social responsibility discourses

It has been argued that mining leads to development in the community in which it operates, a rhetoric that has been perpetuated by powerful actors such as the World Bank. The evidence often shows otherwise: poverty of surrounding communities is often higher in mining zones (7,10,30,75,76) and countries with natural resource wealth often also have poor development outcomes; this phenomenon has been explained by the resource curse hypothesis (68,77). A broad explanation offered by Bebbington *et al.* (2008) indicates how a development model that relies heavily on resource extraction undermines democratic systems (4). Aggressive mining agendas in countries result in governments relying on mining companies for a large part of their revenues, and, as a result, these governments turn into mining advocates instead of being citizen advocates. This reliance on mining revenue rather than taxpayer revenue undermines the democratic social contract, in which citizens should have a financial basis to hold their governments to account (4). Because mining represents a path to almost instant

wealth that is favourable to short-term political agendas, governments have less incentive to prioritize long-term development by investing in people (e.g. through education and healthcare). Several authors also point to the fact that mining is temporary and market-dependent, and therefore does not present a sustainable or consistent form of development and revenue (4,38,78).

Many mining advocates have touted the jobs created by mining as one of its important benefits in countries of the Global South. However, mining often involves temporary, flexible, or rotational work for communities surrounding the mine (79). Furthermore, labour conflicts have emerged over low wages, problematic working conditions, and disrespect for workers (10,79). As mines are temporary endeavours with finite lifespans, the jobs that are created are relatively short-term. More broadly, modern mining is capital intensive rather than labour intensive (80). This is demonstrated by the observation that in Peru, a country that relies heavily on mining, only 1 percent of the workforce is employed in mining (44). In fact, a report by the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean states that for every USD 1 million invested in mining, only 0.5 jobs are created, the lowest employment prospects of twelve major industries (81).

Various mining proponents have advertised companies' corporate social responsibility (CSR) measures as evidence for companies' good intentions and the mining industry's benefits for communities. CSR measures involve voluntary social and environmental initiatives undertaken by mining companies in the communities where they operate. However, CSR has been critiqued as inadequate and disingenuous, pointing to the enormous gaps between the CSR narratives that are publicized and the actual occurrences in communities (32,44,48,82). Evidence has shown that CSR at best offers minimal benefits that pale in comparison to the long-term social and environmental costs, and at worst is a public relations campaign to increase shareholder value, generate public support, obtain community "consent," and deflect attention from the issues (32,70,82,83). When the fundamental obligation of a private company is to increase its shareholders' value, CSR must first and foremost align with that goal (32,82,84).

Furthermore, CSR has been promoted as an alternative to government intervention. This is deeply problematic in countries of the Global South, where state absence in the provision of services for citizens is replaced by voluntary and temporary measures through private sector actors, rather than by sustained democratic systems (44,85). Through the democratic social contract, governments can be held to account, but companies cannot. In addition, while state provision of services would benefit all citizens or key subsets of the population in a coordinated fashion, companies' initiatives may only benefit a select few citizens for particular motives. After criticisms were raised about the environmental and social costs as well as lack of economic benefits of mining, the World Bank itself published a report concluding that neoliberal mining development "has generated unnecessarily high social and environmental costs" (41 p. 124).

1.3.7. Resistance and conflict

The extent of Canadian mining in Latin America and its associated harms have elicited widespread socio-environmental conflict in the region (3,69,86). With little room for participatory voice in decisions affecting their lives, marginalized communities must resort to various forms of resistance to mining to have their grievances heard (32). The Observatory of Mining Conflicts in Latin America (OCMAL) lists a growing total of mining conflicts in the region, with 245 conflicts registered as of April 2018 (87). The McGill Research Group

Investigating Canadian Mining in Latin America (MICLA), focusing specifically on conflicts with Canadian mining companies, lists 85 conflicts in total since the transnational mining boom began in the 1990s (88). The actual number of conflicts is likely larger than either one of these tallies (35, David Studnicki-Gizbert, November 10, 2017). In Peru alone, Gordon and Webber (2016) note that 123 out 167 documented conflicts in 2012 were socio-ecological in nature, and Canadian companies were implicated many of these conflicts (10). Various non-governmental organizations, in both Canada and Latin America, have played a role in investigating, documenting, and supporting communities in mining-related conflicts caused by Canadian companies (89–91).

These community-level conflicts have burgeoned into a heterogeneous region-wide anti-mining movement against the immediate livelihood threats associated with mining activity, and against environmental destruction, racial and cultural marginalization, and neoliberal economic development (18,86). Anti-mining movements in Latin America have been referred to as the "environmentalism of the poor," wherein the livelihoods and subsistence of the poor are intimately intertwined with the health of the surrounding environment, through water sources and agriculture (16,35,38,92,93). These movements are distinct from Western environmentalism movements, which are mostly championed by middle-class citizens concerned with long-term environmental issues or aesthetic concerns (13,35). Despite the considerable violence and repression anti-mining activists suffer at the hands of mining companies and pro-mining governments, and the immense power differentials between these actors, there have been particular documented cases of success. Persistent and courageous resistance to mining has led to noteworthy victories, such as the closure of mining operations and even mining bans in certain regions (3,23,94–96).

1.4. Key themes in community resistance to mining in Latin America

A preliminary review of the literature informed the key themes to be scoped in the review process to characterize the nature of anti-mining resistance.

1.4.1. Labour and eco-territorial conflicts

One key distinction in the types of anti-mining conflicts is based on two different kinds of capital accumulation: exploitation and dispossession (4,18–20,97). On one hand, workers have contested accumulation by exploitation of workers through labour conflicts centered on labour rights (18,19,35); these conflicts have arisen at Canadian mining operations in Latin America due to companies' disregard for occupational safety, decent pay, reasonable working hours, and the basic dignity of workers (10,12,19,79). On the other hand, accumulation by dispossession of surrounding communities' land, livelihood, culture, identity, and health has resulted in the relatively recent proliferation of eco-territorial conflicts based on Indigenous, land, and livelihood rights (4,18,19,35,41,86).

The review undertaken in this project focused on eco-territorial conflicts between communities and Canadian mining companies, which manifest rather differently than labour conflicts. According to Svampa (2015), resource extraction in Latin America has resulted in an eruption of socio-environmental conflicts characterized by an "eco-territorial turn" in grassroots resistance to extractivism (86 p. 69).

1.4.2. Exploration and exploitation stage conflicts

Eco-territorial conflicts occurring with surrounding communities can be further divided into ones that take place during the exploration phases of mining versus ones that emerge during

the exploitation stages of mining (19,32,41,98). These two types of conflicts also tend to manifest differently, with resisting communities expressing different demands and positions towards mining, and utilizing different strategies accordingly. The conflicts discussed in the literature were categorized according to whether they are exploration or exploitation phase conflicts.

1.4.3. Identities

The intersectional identities of activists are an important dimension in the study of anti-mining resistance in Latin America for several reasons. Communities' historically rooted identities with respect to race, Indigenous status, gender, class, and livelihood inform motivations for resistance, demands and framings of movements, as well as positions on mining and tensions between movement activists and other actors (8,31). For example, Indigenous communities have particular avenues for reclaiming their rights, such as the United Nations Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous People (UNDRIP). Furthermore, anti-mining movements can work across multiple heterogeneous identities within communities, unifying various actors as a "strategy to contest domination" (37 p. 556) (44,99,100), but tensions and divisions can also arise as various actors with different interests come together (31,101). Moreover, at a broader level, mining threats are largely concentrated in poor and racialized communities, consistent with theories of environmental racism (10,24,64). In addition, the impacts of mining affect women in particular ways, often worsening gender inequality in communities (6–8,102). Communities are often treated as a homogenous unit in the study of conflicts – but they are not, (62,101) and it is likely that these heterogeneities have implications for community activism (15).

1.4.4. How communities organize

Various articles that described communities' resistance to mining discussed the key features of how and why communities organized against mining. They describe the strategies and tactics used by communities to educate themselves, voice their concerns, and advocate for their demands. How communities organize to resist, facing enormous power differentials and great adversities, is important to understanding how people defend their livelihoods and defy mining-related threats.

1.4.5. Tensions in resistance

Activists face various tensions – internally, in relation to others within the movement, and in their relations with other actors such as their alliances, the state, and the general public. These tensions can inform various aspects of activism, including the strategies chosen, the decisions made, and the unity of the movement. For example, some may adopt more radical stances, refusing to negotiate with mining companies and governments, whereas others can adopt more reformist stances, engaging in negotiations and discussions with pro-mining actors. Thus tensions in resistance were scoped in the literature obtained.

1.4.6. Gender and social movements

The literature was also scoped for the gendered dynamics of anti-mining resistance. Social movements are gendered processes, and must be actively construed and reflected upon as such to avoid the replication of societal oppressions within movements (2,103). A brief literature review on the gendering of social movements is provided here to guide the gendered analysis of anti-mining movements.

Even though social movements may lobby for progressive changes, their demands, composition, organization, and internal relations can in fact replicate intersecting societal

oppressions by gender, race, class, sexuality, religion, or culture (2,103–105). Multiple activists and scholars have highlighted the internal oppressions of women within progressive movements, including the civil rights movement (2,106,107), movements against structural adjustment programs in the Global South (106), and liberation struggles in several African and Latin American countries during which women revolutionaries discovered that once freedom was achieved, their gender equality demands were shelved (2,106,108,109). Similarly, the women's movement was duly criticized by black feminists, amongst others, for its lack of attention to diverse women's identities, including those of racialized and poor women (104,110). Such criticisms point to the importance of an intersectional understanding of and approach to social movements (111,112). Identities are inseparable and synergistic, and those existing at the intersections of oppressions by multiple marginalized identities cannot choose which part of their identity is in need of liberation (104,113).

Gender is an important dimension in social movements, even when movements do not appear on the surface to be "women's movements" (103,107,114). Often women's perspectives and the additional adversities faced by women in the movement are ignored, and gender equality is not prioritized in movements (109). Movements can reinforce gender stereotypes and oppression through multiple avenues, including leadership and organizational structures; tactics used for activism; internal relations that normalize gender inequalities; and divisions of labour (2,103,105–107,114). For example, women's roles in social movements have often been limited to domestic and supportive ones, such as food preparation and administrative roles, effectively excluding them from the political sphere and formal leadership (2,68,103,106,114). Aside from internal movement dynamics, the external demands and framings of issues can be articulated through a gendered lens, because issues of racial, economic, and environmental justice are also gendered issues (2,103,106,109,114). Intersecting issues necessitate intersectional critique, and analyses that forge and reveal the connections between injustices and oppressions can illuminate the intersections of issues (104,112).

Some authors explain the lack of gender justice in social movements by a "male bias" that underlies them (2,109). Even progressive social movement actors resist the uprooting of "deep structures" that prescribe a place and role for women in society (2,106,109,115); these constructs are so profoundly embedded at all levels of society that people subconsciously accept them rather than challenging them (107,109). Unless gendered deep structures are consciously countered, women's subordinate status within society can shape their status within social movements and women's political participation can be marginalized (2,105). Women's political activism is often seen as complementary, or worse – ineffective, inappropriate, and pejoratively emotional, with the political arena being reserved for, dominated by, and defined by "rational" men (103,114). Being politically vocal and engaging in activism can put women at risk of gendered violence (116). Women activists' own family or community members can also oppose and discourage women's participation in movements and politics (111). This has been referred to as the "double-bind" that women face in activism, challenging norms within political activism in addition to challenging general societal norms through the movement itself (114). These gender hierarchies within activism underlie the observation that most activist icons, aside from explicitly women's rights movements, are men (2).

Divisions stemming from internal oppressions within movements can weaken the movement's likelihood of achieving a goal by increasing vulnerability to de-legitimization and decreasing the unity or clarity of demands (15,107). It is therefore often in the best

interests of social movement actors to engage critically with their processes, internal relations, and goals to ensure equity, open participation, and representativeness is achieved (109). In addition to being strategic, intersectional approaches enable movements to better reach their liberatory potential for the diverse group comprising the movement (103).

1.5. Theoretical Framework

Critical social theory provides a broad theoretical lens with which to examine community responses to the injustices created by globalization, critiquing structures of power and oppression as well as mainstream economic, social, and environmental explanations of transnational mining. Other relevant and more specific theoretical frameworks falling within this lens include political economy and environmental justice.

Political economy is a framework that examines the political, economic, social, and historical dynamisms underlying the health of populations and communities, including the intersections of multiple social identities with structural factors (117). Environmental justice as a frame has evolved from epidemiological approaches highlighting distributional injustice of environmental benefits and harms, to a broader, qualitative view of justice that includes recognition of the inherent rights of individuals, and the right to participation in decisions regarding one's livelihood (24, 118, 119). Environmental inequities fit within broader social, political and economic systems that produce societal inequities 118. Because projects of justice are intimately related, Holifield et al. (2009) and Walker (2009) call for environmental Justice to be analyzed from critical race, feminist (in particular, ecofeminist), and Marxist theoretical perspectives, to achieve a "holistic social critique" (118, p. 596) that draws the connections between multiple oppressions. It's important to note that adopting a critical race theoretical lens dramatically shifts the focus of environmental justice from trying to prove and measure each instance of racial discrimination in the distribution of environmental harms and benefits to a structural approach that assumes racism is inherent in societal systems (118).

In the context of Canadian mining in Latin America, environmental justice issues and movements are informed by historically rooted processes of imperialism, socio-political contexts, and the global economic trends that have encouraged transnational mining. To elucidate these processes, this thesis project is informed by several theoretical frameworks broadly falling under critical social theory.

1.6. Thesis chapters

This thesis is written as a manuscript style thesis, and both chapters two and three are intended as standalone manuscripts. Therefore, each chapter contains its own introduction, methods, results, and discussion sections.

1.6.1. Chapter 1

In this introductory chapter, I have provided a literature review on Canadian mining in Latin America, documenting and contextualizing some of the problematic practices associated with mining that have given rise to community resistance to mining. I have characterized the extent of anti-mining activism in the Latin American region, and I have described the key themes that were scoped in the scoping review. Over the next two chapters, I will share the insights revealed through my scoping review.

1.6.2. Chapter 2

In chapter two, I present my complete scoping review, detailing the scoping methods and results. I provide an overview of the literature included in the review and the anti-mining conflicts represented in this literature. This is followed by an exploration of how communities organize against mining threats and the tensions that infiltrate anti-mining activism.

1.6.3. Chapter 3

In chapter three, I position anti-mining resistance movements as a case example in the study of gender and social movements. To that effect, I explore the gendered dimensions of anti-mining resistance in Latin America as revealed by the literature obtained in the scoping review, and I situate these findings within the broader literature on gender and social movements.

1.6.4. Chapter 4

In chapter four, I offer some concluding thoughts and reflections regarding the key findings and significance of this project.

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2. CHAPTER 2: Anti-mining resistance in Latin America: a scoping review

In this chapter, a scoping review of the literature on community resistance to Canadian transnational mining in Latin America is presented. After an introduction to the issue, the methods used to scope the literature are detailed. The results and discussion section begins with an overview of the literature reviewed and the mining conflicts encompassed in this literature. Then, the key themes are explored including the identities of resisting communities; features of community organizing such as motivations for resistance and tactics employed by communities; and tensions arising within movements and in relation to other actors. Together, these themes provide important insights into the nature of community resistance to Canadian transnational mining in Latin America.

2.1. Introduction

Canadian mining companies have been dominant players in transnational mining investment in several Latin American countries, and have also been implicated in significant mining-related social, environmental, and labour conflicts in the region. The burgeoning of anti-mining movements in Latin America over the past two decades has been accompanied by scholarly attention to the complex and multivariate nature of these movements. In this chapter, a scoping review of the published literature on community resistance to mining in Latin America is presented. The purpose of this review was to characterize the nature of anti-mining struggles in Latin America against Canadian mining operations, as revealed by the published literature. First, background information and context on Canadian mining in Latin America is provided, and the associated rise of socio-environmental conflicts is described. Next, the scoping methods are explained. Finally, the results of the review are presented and discussed.

2.1.1. Overview of Canadian mining in Latin America

The practices of Canadian mining companies in Latin America, and the Canadian government's role in supporting these practices, have been subject to increasing international scrutiny (1–3). Chief among these criticisms are the blatant violation of human rights and Indigenous rights in host countries, the severe environmental harms inflicted upon local ecologies, and the stark economic injustices associated with transnational resource extraction (4–7). The nature and extent of Canadian mining in Latin America prompts Gordon and Webber (2016) to aptly describe Canadian mining companies' practices as "predatory" as they prey on marginalized communities and exploitable environments (5). Various authors and mining-affected communities emphasize the imperialistic underpinnings of Canadian mining, as the Canadian state promotes the expansion of its economic dominance over much of the Latin American region and repatriates significant wealth (5,6,8–16).

In 2013, 57 percent of all mining companies worldwide were listed on the Toronto Stock Exchange and TSX venture exchanges, with many companies being junior firms involved in exploration activities (1–4,17). Compared to other countries' mining industries, Canadian mining has a large proportion of foreign investments outside Canada, with 54 percent of Canadian mining assets abroad occurring in Latin America and the Caribbean in 2016 (2,17). Canadian companies dominate in several countries, owning over 75 percent of mining properties in Peru, Colombia, and Mexico at various times since 2000 (3,5,18–20).

2.1.2. Global context

Since the 1980s, the global political economy has been characterized by international neoliberalism, implemented within the context of long-standing global inequalities and power differentials (12,21). In particular, countries of the Global South have been forced, either directly by powerful governments and international organizations, or indirectly by the demands of globalized capitalism, to open their economies and weaken governmental regulation to facilitate transnational investment (1–4,7,21,22). In the 1990's, structural adjustments were adopted in nearly every country in Latin America to create more "friendly" investment climates for corporations by diminishing labour and environmental regulations and citizen land rights (1,6,19,23–25). New forms of economic imperialism, enabled by the emergence of transnational corporations and low levels of international accountability, maintain the global dynamic of transferring wealth from poor countries to rich ones (6,26). These economic reforms, combined with technological advances that made the mining of low-grade deposits profitable, fostered a boom in transnational mining investment in Latin America beginning in the early 1990s (4,21,27,28).

2.1.3. Predatory practices of Canadian mining companies and the Canadian government

The predatory practices of Canadian mining companies have included the securitization of mining operations and subsequent criminalization of dissent towards mining, as well as the use of existing violence, repression, and conflict in host countries to disguise the violence perpetrated by Canadian mining companies through private security, military, and intra-community mechanisms (1,5,29). In addition, Canadian mining companies have been known to exploit communities' lack of education and poverty through unfair negotiations, deceit, and bribery to further mining interests (5,19,20,27). Taking advantage of lenient regulations and oversight in host countries, Canadian mining operations have employed sub-standard environmental techniques, and have disregarded laws, formal agreements, and informal promises pertaining to environmental and social practices (3–5,20).

Despite well-documented problematic practices, Canadian mining companies enjoy the full and unconditional support of the Canadian state (1,6,9,19,30). The Canadian government's foreign policy in Latin America has been largely directed by the interests of Canadian mining corporations (11,28). For example, the Canadian government has intervened politically in Latin American countries such as Guatemala, Honduras, and Peru to support right-wing pro-mining governments, regardless of their position on human rights (5,23). The Canadian government has also played a role in encouraging the securitization of mining investments, which often leads to state violence against citizens (1,5). Furthermore, the Canadian government provides considerable economic support to its mining companies, through subsidies, tax incentives, financing, investment, and the dictation of free trade to protect the rights of Canadian capital at the expense of human rights and environmental protection in host countries (4–6,28,31–33). Finally, the distribution of Canadian development aid has been tied to mining-related interests (6,15,34,35), such as the creation of mining codes in Colombia (36), Honduras (37), and Bolivia (1). By asserting economic and political control over Latin American countries, Canada is weakening the sovereignty of Latin American governments; weakened states are both an outcome of and a risk factor for predatory mining practices (23,38,39). At the same time, the Canadian government has repeatedly refused to regulate and hold its mining companies to account for actions abroad (4,28), hypocritically citing an unwillingness to interfere in the sovereignty of states (40).

The drive for profits and the enabling policies of the Canadian government result in egregious acts committed by Canadian transnational mining corporations, for which there are few or no repercussions. This has led to ongoing and devastating outcomes in host countries, including the mass and forcible displacement of marginalized communities; serious environmental health harms; the criminalization of dissent towards mining and subsequent violence against citizens; and the exacerbation of pre-existing racial, gender, ethnic, and economic inequalities.

2.1.4. Resistance and conflict

The extent of Canadian mining in Latin America and its associated injustices has elicited widespread socio-environmental conflict in the region (6,41,42). The Observatory of Mining Conflicts in Latin America (OCMAL) lists a growing total of mining conflicts in the region, with 245 conflicts registered as of April 2018 (43). The McGill Research Group Investigating Canadian Mining in Latin America (MICLA), focusing specifically on conflicts with Canadian mining companies, lists a total of 85 conflicts since the transnational mining boom began in the 1990s (44). The actual number of conflicts is likely larger than either one of these tallies (21, David Studnicki-Gizbert, November 10, 2017). These community-level conflicts have burgeoned into a heterogeneous region-wide anti-mining movement against immediate livelihood threats, as well as against environmental destruction, racial and cultural marginalization, and neoliberal economic development (42,45).

Anti-mining movements have been highly heterogeneous in the motivations, demands, composition, and strategies used by their participants. One key distinction in the types of anti-mining conflicts is based on two different kinds of capital accumulation: exploitation and dispossession (19,46–48). On one hand, workers have contested accumulation by exploitation of workers with labour conflicts centered on labour rights (19,21,45); these conflicts have arisen at Canadian mining operations in Latin America due to companies' disregard for occupational safety, decent pay, reasonable working hours, and the basic dignity of workers (5,18,21). On the other hand, accumulation by dispossession of surrounding communities' land, livelihood, culture, identity, and health has resulted in the relatively recent proliferation of eco-territorial conflicts based on Indigenous, land, and livelihood rights (19,21,25,42,45,47,49). The review undertaken here focused on eco-territorial conflicts between communities and Canadian mining companies, as these conflicts have arisen in conjunction with the transnational mining boom in Latin America.

A considerable amount of literature has explored various themes related to how communities organize against mining in Latin America. Most articles have explored a particular case, or a particular feature of a few cases. During initial literature review, two articles were found, which summarized all socio-environmental conflicts in particular countries - Ecuador (50) and Mexico (19). However, a region-wide systematic synthesis of qualitative themes on the topic was not found. Given the extent and nature of Canadian mining companies operating Latin America, there was an interest in what the published literature would reveal about the nature of community resistance to Canadian mining.

During a preliminary search of the literature, several important and common themes arose, which guided the themes examined in this review (Table 2.1).

Table 2.1. Key themes explored in scoping review

Theme	Rationale
1. Stage of conflict: exploration or exploitation phase of mining	Eco-territorial conflicts occurring with surrounding communities could be further divided into ones that take place during the exploration phases of mining versus ones that emerge during the exploitation stages of mining (25,51,52). These two types of conflicts tend to manifest differently, with resisting communities expressing different demands and positions towards mining, and utilizing different strategies accordingly.
2. Identities of resisting communities	The intersectional identities of activists, by factors such as race, ethnicity, Indigenous status, class, and gender, are an important dimension of anti-mining resistance for several reasons, including the concentration of mining threats amongst marginalized groups, the ways in which identities are used to construct and frame anti-mining activism, and relations amongst individual actors with differing identities within resisting communities.
3. Key features of how communities organize	Various articles describing communities' resistance to mining discussed specific strategies and tactics used by communities to voice their concerns and demands. How communities organize to resist, facing enormous power differentials and great adversities, is important to understanding how people defend their lives as they know it and fight mining-related threats and injustices.
4. Tensions within resistance	Activists face various tensions – internally, in relation to others within the movement, and in their relations with other actors such as their alliances, the state, and the general public. These tensions can inform various aspects of resistance on the ground.

2.2. Methods

A scoping review is an exploratory search and mapping of the literature on a complex and multivariate topic (53). The scoping review was determined to be the most suitable methodology for this review compared with other literature search methodologies because a) this topic involves complex contexts and is highly interdisciplinary, spanning subject areas such as geography, natural resources, business ethics, environmental rights and justice, development, global political economy, health, women's and Indigenous rights, Latin American studies, and social theory, b) scoping reviews are better suited to qualitative reviews, because they do not aim to make statistical or numerical conclusions (54), and c) no evaluation of individual study methods is required (53); the articles on this topic were qualitative and often based on ethnographic methods, which makes quality assessment both difficult and unsuitable.

The five steps of the scoping review framework proposed by Arksey and O'Malley (2005) were used to guide the methods in this review (53). An iterative process was maintained throughout, reflexively engaging with the themes that emerged in the process.

2.2.1. Identification of a research question

The overarching research question for this scope was "what does the published literature reveal regarding the nature of community resistance to Canadian transnational mining in Latin America?" The research sub-questions are as follows:

c. Who is resisting and what are their motivations, goals, framings, strategies and tactics?

d. What are some of the tensions that arise within anti-mining resistance?

2.2.2. Data sources and search strategy

In consultation with a university librarian, a search strategy was developed. Six databases were chosen; three were broad and multi-disciplinary (Academic Search Complete, Scopus, and Web of Science), and three were subject specific (Political Science Complete, SocIndex, and Hispanic American Periodicals Index [HAPI]). Four key concepts to be included in the search were identified: mining, conflict, community, and geographic restriction. Only Spanish-speaking Central and South American countries were included. Search terms were developed after consulting the literature for how ideas and concepts were being expressed; the keywords searched are displayed in Table 2.2. Three databases – SocIndex, Academic Search Complete, and Political Science Complete – included a thesaurus of indexed subject headings; these databases were searched by both keywords and subject headings corresponding to each of the keywords. For example, the keyword "activism" was searched in the thesaurus of the specific database, and all subject headings that were indexed in that database and related to the topic (e.g. "political participation," "direct action," and "collective action") were added to the search.

This search strategy was applied to all databases except HAPI, which did not allow for complex searches and required a broken down search. However, upon comparison with the results of the other database searches, no new articles were obtained from HAPI.

Database searches were conducted on November 11 and 12, 2017.

Table 2.2. Search concepts and synonyms

Concept	Synonyms/Search Terms
1. Geographical Restriction (Spanish speaking Central and South America)	(Central America*) OR (Latin America*) OR (South America*) OR Mexic* OR Nicaragua* OR Hondur* OR Guatemal* OR (El Salvador*) OR (Costa Rica*) OR Panama* OR Ecuador* OR Peru* OR Colombia* OR Ande* OR Bolivi* OR Venezuel* OR Chile* OR Argentin* OR Paragua* OR Urugua*
2. Mining	mining OR mine* OR extractiv*
3. Conflict	resist* OR opposition OR conflict* OR (environmental justice) OR (social movement*) OR activis* OR movement* OR justice OR struggle* OR controversy OR defender* OR defence OR anti-mining OR protest* OR (human rights*) OR mobilization OR mobilisation OR (environmental rights)
4. Community	communit* OR (civil society) OR grassroot*

2.2.3. Management of citations

Results from the database searches were exported to the Mendeley reference software for title and abstract screening. Citations from the various databases were combined into one folder and then the citation list was de-duplicated. Citation fields consisted of author, title,

publication date, journal, volume and issue, abstract, and keywords, which enabled title and abstract screening as well as comparison with key inclusion and exclusion criteria.

2.2.4. Selection of studies

The citation list was screened by title, abstract, and full-text according to the inclusion and exclusion criteria provided in Table 2.3. During the title and abstract screening, an inclusive approach was maintained to ensure that citations were not prematurely and unduly discounted. The University of Saskatchewan online library was used to access full-texts. Journal articles that discussed an eco-territorial conflict between a community and a Canadian mining company, occurring within the specified list of countries, were included.

Publications between the years of January 1, 1990 and November 12, 2017 were included in the review. The start date corresponds with the beginning of the transnational mining boom in Latin America. In addition, to err on the side of inclusion, the initial searches included all Spanish-speaking countries in Central and South America. Before beginning the screening stage, in order to delimit the study, the geographic criterion was refined. Included in the study were all countries in Central America and the geopolitically Andean countries in South America, namely Bolivia, Ecuador, Peru, Colombia, and Venezuela. Finally, although the searches included Spanish articles, at the screening stage only English articles were included, as the second reviewer was not Spanish speaking.

Two independent reviewers (Nikisha Khare and Lalita Bharadwaj) selected articles. The first comparison was made after independent screening by title and abstract. A large number of articles resulted from the searches, so there were several discrepancies at the title and abstract screening stage. The reviewers met and discussed each discrepancy and arrived at consensus regarding inclusion or exclusion, based on careful comparison with the inclusion and exclusion criteria, and maintaining an inclusive approach in unclear cases. The second comparison between the two reviewers was made after independent screening of the full text of citations. For each discrepancy, the first reviewer carefully re-examined the article and provided their justification for inclusion or exclusion. Upon review of the article, the second reviewer either agreed or disagreed with the justification regarding inclusion or exclusion. At this stage, there were very few disagreements, and the reviewers reached consensus about inclusion and exclusion of articles for the final list in the review.

Table 2.3. Inclusion and exclusion criteria for study selection

Inclusion and Exclusion Criteria for Database Searches
Mining: The case involved <u>mining</u> and not other forms of resource extraction (oil, forestry, etc.).
Mining Company: The conflict involved a <u>Canadian mining company</u>, which was defined as the company being headquartered in Canada. If the mine in the case had transferred ownership or undergone mergers and if at any time a Canadian mining company was involved, the case was included.
Conflict: There was some form of eco-territorial <u>anti-mining conflict</u> between a community and a mining company. Labour conflicts between mine workers and the company were not included. Generalized conflict between the community and the government, where a specific case of mining conflict is not discussed, was not included.
Publication Type: <u>Journal Articles</u>
Time frame of mining-related conflicts described in article: <u>January 1, 1990 – November 12, 2017</u>
Countries for inclusion: Mexico, Guatemala, Honduras, El Salvador, Panama, Costa Rica,

Nicaragua, Colombia, Venezuela, Bolivia, Ecuador, Peru
Language of article: <u>English</u>

2.2.5. Charting of data

Each article included in this review was coded using coloured highlights associated with key themes. All articles were qualitative studies, and information was therefore qualitatively coded by copying material into a Microsoft Excel sheet for subsequent thematic analysis. The following information was coded:

1. Title, author, journal, year of publication
2. Country, conflict name, Canadian mining company involved, products mined or prospected. If Canadian companies had local subsidiaries in host countries, the parent company was recorded.
3. Stage of conflict. Information on whether the conflict occurred during the exploration or exploitation phases of mining was noted.
4. Intersectional identities. Any information that described the resisting community's collective or heterogeneous identities, as well as how these identities affected or informed resistance efforts, was copied into the Excel document. For example, information on race, ethnicity, and Indigenous status was recorded. Information on socio-economic status and related livelihoods, such as "poor agricultural community" was also coded.
5. Community organizing.
   a. Information was coded on the community's grievances and motivations for resistance, the framing of issues used by communities, and the goals of the community in their resistance efforts. For example, if communities were concerned about displacement due to mining and framed their resistance with respect to Indigenous rights to land, this was noted.
   b. Information was coded on tactics or strategies employed by communities in their resistance efforts against the mining company. For example, if legal mechanisms were employed or communities engaged in protests, the details of these mechanisms were copied into Excel.
6. Tensions: Information was coded on the various tensions within resistance, affecting community organizing strategies and internal relations of movements.

The information coded from the articles emphasizes the perspectives and actions of anti-mining activists, and not other stakeholders.

2.2.6. Summary and synthesis of data

Finally, the results were synthesized and summarized. Because some specific conflicts were examined in several articles, the themes from these articles were consolidated by conflict. For example, the information on "motivations for resistance" from all articles discussing one particular conflict was consolidated. This approach was deemed to best answer the research question regarding the nature of community resistance to Canadian mining in Latin America.

2.3. Results and discussion

2.3.1. Studies included

After de-duplication, a total of 7,274 articles were obtained from the six databases. After title and abstract screening, 233 articles remained. Full-text examination yielded 61 articles that

met the inclusion and exclusion criteria and were included in this review (Figure 2.1). Amongst the 61 articles, the years of publication ranged from 2002 to 2017. The articles were published in diverse journals spanning a variety disciplines, including Latin American studies, development, geography, health, environment, and extractive industry (Figure 2.2).
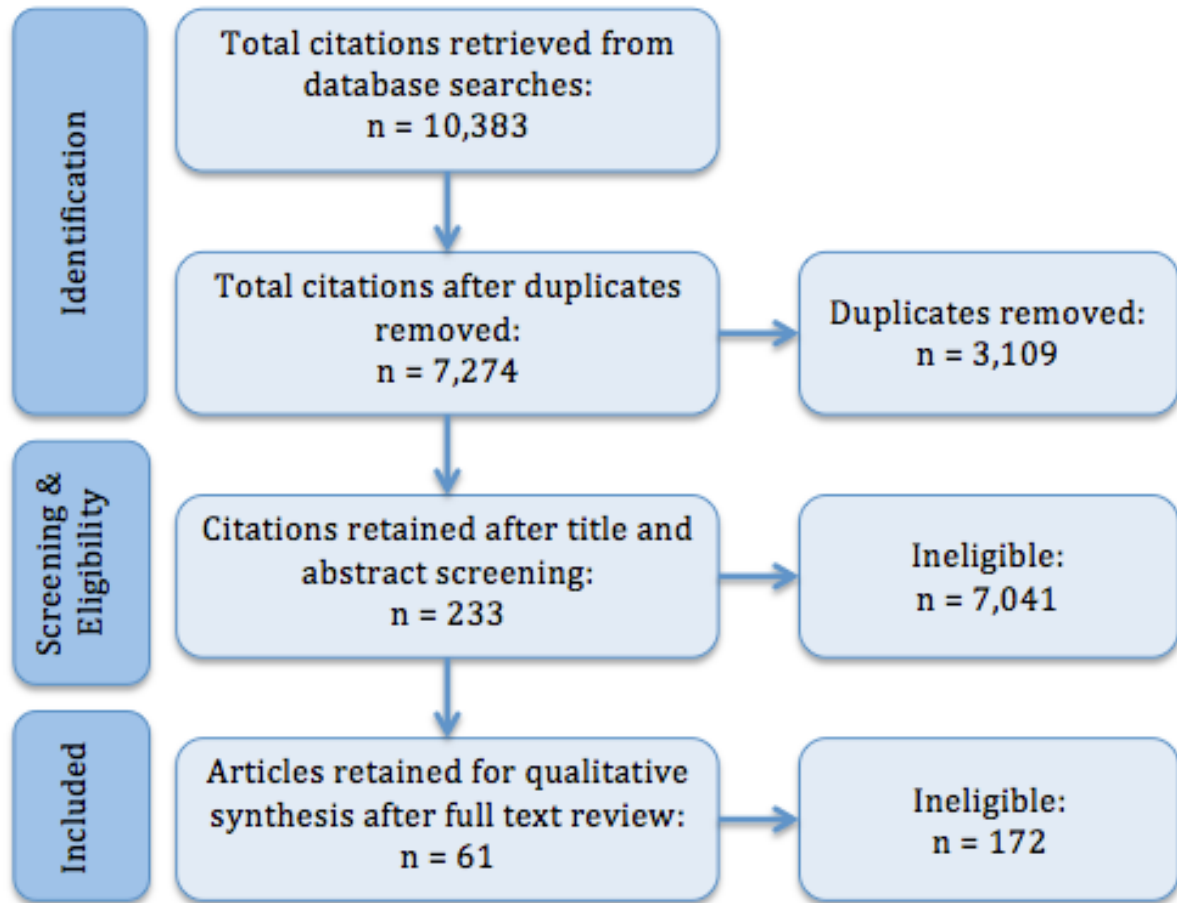
Figure 2.1 – PRISMA flowchart of scoping review process. PRISMA: Preferred Reporting Items for Systematic Reviews and Meta-Analysis (55).
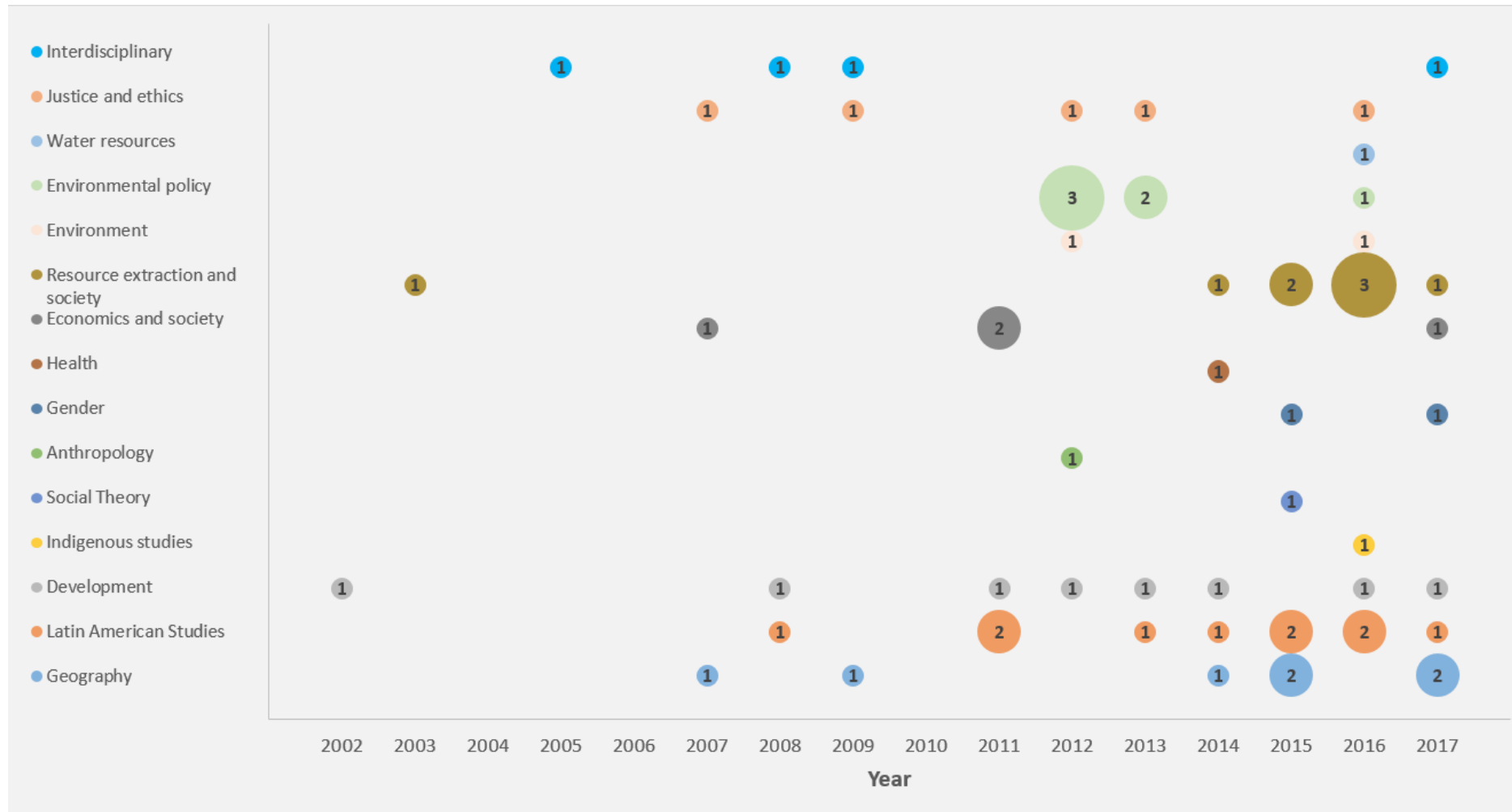
Figure 2.2 – Journal types and years of publication of 61 articles included in the review.

Table 2.4. Overview of literature included in the scoping review

Country	Number of articles	Conflict	Canadian Mining Company(ies) involved	Products prospected or mined	Number of articles
Guatemala	22	Marlin Mine (MM)	Goldcorp	Gold, Silver	18
		Fenix Mine (FM)	1. Inco 2. Skye Resources 3. Hudbay Minerals	Nickel	4
		El Tambor Mine (TM)	Radius Gold	Gold	1
		Huehuetenango region (HH)	Various mining concessions awarded to Canadian companies	Various	1
Ecuador	19	Intag region (IN)	Ascendant Copper	Copper	8
		Quimsacocha project (QM)	IAMGOLD	Gold, Silver Copper,	6
		Mirador Mine (MI)	EcuaCorriente S.A.	Gold, Copper	5
Peru	12	Tambogrande region (TG)	Manhattan Minerals	Gold, Copper	8
		Pierina Mine (PM)	Barrick Gold	Gold	3
		Antamina Mine (AM)	1. Noranda 2. Teckcominco	Copper, Zinc, Silver, Lead	2
		Santa Ana Mine (SA)	Bear Creek Mining Corporation	Silver	2
		Lagunas Norte (LN)	Barrick Gold	Gold	1
		Corani project (CO)	Bear Creek Mining Corporation	Silver, Lead Zinc	1
		Canariaco Norte project (CN)	Cadente Copper Corp	Copper, Gold, Silver	1
Mexico	6	San Xavier mine (SX)	1. Metallica Resources 2. NewGold	Gold, Silver	3
		Penasquito Mine (PN)	Goldcorp	Gold, Silver Lead, Zinc	2
		Chicomuselo municipality (CM)	Blackfire Exploration	Barite	2
		Wirikuta region (WI)	First Majestic Silver	Silver	2
		San Jose del Progresso municipality (SJ)	1. Fortuna Silver 2. Continuum Resources	Silver, Gold	1
Honduras	2	San Martin Mine (SM)	Goldcorp	Gold	2
		San Andes Mine (SN)	Aura Minerals	Gold	1
Bolivia	2	Challapata municipality (CH)	1. EMUSA-ORVANA 2. Castillian Resources	Gold	1
		Amayapama and Capa Circa mines (AY & CC)	Da Capo Resources	Gold	1
		Mallku Khota conflict (MK)	South American Silver Corp	Silver, Lead, Indium, Gallium	1
El Salvador	2	El Dorado (DO)	Pacific Rim	Gold	2
Colombia	1	Marmato (MA)	Gran Colombia Gold Corporation	Gold	1

2.3.2. Overview of conflicts

An overview of conflicts discussed in the literature reviewed is provided in Table 2.4. In the literature reviewed, conflicts in eight different countries were discussed. Guatemala was the country most examined, with 22 articles exploring four different eco-territorial conflicts with Canadian mining companies. Guatemala was followed by Ecuador and Peru with 19 and 12 articles respectively. A much smaller number of articles discussed conflicts in Mexico (six), Honduras (two), Bolivia (two), El Salvador (two), and Colombia (one). In total, the articles included in this review covered 26 different eco-territorial conflicts. Of the countries specified in the inclusion criteria, Panama, Costa Rica, Nicaragua, and Venezuela yielded no articles for inclusion. In Table 2.4, it should be noted that some articles discussed multiple conflicts in multiple countries, so neither column displaying article counts add up to the total number of articles included in the review.

Several different Canadian mining companies were involved in the conflicts represented in this literature. Where multiple Canadian companies are listed, some cases involved transfers of ownership of the mine over time and others involved co-ownership of mines. Products mined or prospected at these mines included gold, silver, copper, lead, zinc, gallium, indium, barite, and nickel, with gold being the most common commodity.

The MM conflict in Guatemala received substantial scholarly attention, with 18 articles examining this particular conflict. The IN conflict in Ecuador and the TG conflict in Peru were the second most discussed conflicts, with eight articles each. There was a large range with respect to the depth of analysis presented amongst the different conflicts. Some conflicts were explored in depth – that is, over the entirety of one article or over multiple articles – while other conflicts were explored very briefly, described only in a short section or a short paragraph of an article. Conflicts in the latter group include: LN, CO, CN, CM, SJ, SM, SN, CH, AY & CC, and MK.

With respect to two conflicts in Ecuador, the complexity of the history of various mining threats made inclusion and exclusion of articles difficult. The Intag region has faced three separate mining threats at three distinct times, with the second instance involving a Canadian mining company. The third mining threat was characterized by a marked shift in the Ecuadorian political context with the election of Raphael Correa and his "post-neoliberal," pro-mining government (56). Therefore, in articles discussing this third wave of conflict, the community conflict is described as being with the government rather than the mining company. However, since the IN conflict involved a Canadian company at one point, these articles met the inclusion criteria and were included. Where possible, data were coded with a focus on the second conflict with the Canadian mining company. Similarly, the MI conflict originally involved a Canadian company, but was later sold to a Chinese owner. The Mirador project is also part of Correa's post-neoliberal mining plan, and various articles describe different phases of the conflict. Again, all articles were included, and although the distinctions were not always clear, analysis was focused on the conflict with the Canadian company.

Over the next several sections, the results pertaining to the identities of resisters, the ways in which communities organize, and the tensions in resistance are presented. The analysis presented in the rest of this chapter is based on the total number of conflicts (26 conflicts) after consolidation of information from various articles on specific conflicts. Therefore, the total numbers in subsequent analyses add up to 26 conflicts rather than 61 articles.

2.3.3. Identities of resisters

The intersectional identities of activists are an important dimension in the study of anti-mining resistance in Latin America for several reasons. Communities' historically rooted identities with respect to race, Indigenous status, gender, class, and livelihood inform motivations for resistance, demands and framings of movements, as well as positions on mining and tensions between movement activists and other actors. Furthermore, anti-mining movements can work across multiple heterogeneous identities within communities, unifying various actors as a "strategy to contest domination" (7 p. 556) (25,57,58), but tensions and divisions can also arise as various actors with different interests come together (56,59). Moreover, at a broader level, mining threats are largely concentrated in poor, racialized, or Indigenous communities, consistent with environmental justice criticisms of environmental racism (5,60,61). Given the relevance of communities' identities to their anti-mining organizing efforts, most articles included a brief description of the community in which the anti-mining conflict was situated, providing varying levels of detail on socioeconomic status, race, and ethnic characteristics, as well as identities related to major livelihood activities.

Across the various articles, eighteen conflicts explicitly mentioned the involvement of Indigenous groups in resisting mining. Some of the other eight conflicts (TG, PM, LN, CO, AM, PN, CM, CH) could have involved Indigenous groups, but identities of communities or Indigenous involvement were not discussed by the authors of the articles. Nevertheless, the high representation of Indigenous people in these conflicts is consistent with the literature discussing how the marginalization associated with Indigenous identity in many Latin American contexts makes Indigenous groups particularly vulnerable to mining threats (37,62,63).

To further characterize the identities of resisting communities, conflicts were categorized as follows. Of the 26 conflicts in this review, eight conflicts (MM, FM, CN, SA, WI, SJ, CC & AY, MK) were described as involving primarily Indigenous communities. Three conflicts (HH, MI, SX) involved mixed communities of Indigenous and *mestizo/a campesinos/as*, but the resistance efforts were still based at least in part on Indigenous identity. Eleven conflicts (TM, IN, QM, TG, PM, AM, PN, SM, SN, DO, MA) were not described as being based on Indigenous identity, primarily involving *mestizo/a campesino/a* communities, although some communities included smaller subsections of Indigenous groups. In the other four conflicts (LN, CO, CM, CH), the identities of the communities were not discussed in the articles, some of which had very brief descriptions of the conflicts.

These categorizations are based on what is revealed in the published literature. Studies do not always reveal the heterogeneities within communities resisting mining. For example, most of the 18 articles discussing the MM conflict in Guatemala focus on two Indigenous groups resisting the mine. However, one article indicates that one town – San Miguel Ixtahuacan - had "mixed populations" of Indigenous and non-Indigenous people (16 p. 57). Another example involves the Intag conflict in Ecuador; most articles discuss resistance from the perspective of *mestizo/a* settlers of the area, but Davidov (2013) elucidates how this focus further obscures the devalued contributions of Indigenous communities to the resistance efforts (56). These examples demonstrate that racial and ethnic characterizations of resisting communities in the literature can be partial.

Greater attention to the heterogeneity of communities could reveal how intersecting identities shape resistance efforts as well as internal relations between groups. Several authors describe how Indigenous communities' resistance to mining is deeply rooted in their Indigenous

identities and worldviews (22,31,56,64). How are differences, if any, reconciled in resisting communities that comprise both Indigenous and non-Indigenous groups? Similarly, women, through their gendered roles and perspectives, tend to resist mining in different ways (59,65,66). Indigenous women's intersecting identities may also inform their activism in interacting ways (66). Perhaps internal oppressions based on race, gender, class, or other factors are at play, with the dominance of certain actors being replicated in the literature. These internal dynamics of communities have been explored by some authors in certain conflicts (13,56,59,64,67), but remain to be explored in the majority of anti-mining conflicts.

Because livelihoods were intimately tied to communities' identities and often were directly threatened by mining, most articles gave a description of communities' major livelihood activities. The large majority of conflicts (19/26) occurred with communities engaged in agricultural activities (Table 2.5), which is logical given that most mining operations occur in rural and remote areas and that mining poses serious threats to agriculture. These agricultural activities ranged from subsistence farming, to mid-size agriculture, to large-scale commercial agriculture within and between different communities. In one conflict (MA), the community was engaged in artisanal mining activities. In six conflicts (SN, SJ, WI, CO, TM, HH), the major livelihood activities of resisting communities were not discussed. In some cases, such as the TG and QM cases, livelihood activities were described with particular emphasis as being fundamental to communities' identities and their motivations for resisting mining (18,67,68).

2.3.4. Types of conflicts and position on mining

The majority of eco-territorial conflicts (17/26) discussed in this review occurred during the exploration stages of mining operations, with seven conflicts (PM, AM, LN, CO, PN, CM, AY & CC) occurring during the exploitation stages of mining (Table 2.5). The other two conflicts (SM, SN) served as instigators for a broader anti-mining movement in Honduras, but whether the specific community-level conflicts occurred during exploration or exploitation stages was not clear from the article. Amongst the seven exploitation conflicts, only two were explored in depth throughout the entirety of an article, while the other five were discussed very briefly with little detail within a broader article. It should be noted that if conflicts began during exploration stages and continued throughout exploitation stages with changing demands related to changing circumstances, the conflict was categorized as an exploration conflict, because this is how the conflict originated and informs the community's initial reactions and sentiments towards mining; however, when contexts change, demands and goals of anti-mining movements must adapt.

Conflicts could also be categorized by communities' broad position on mining – either a complete rejection of mining in all its forms or a conditional acceptance of mining. These positions largely corresponded with whether conflicts occurred in the exploration or exploitation stage of mining. In sixteen conflicts, all of which occurred during the exploration stage, the literature revealed that resisting communities expressed an outright rejection of mining (Table 2.5). The only exploration stage conflict in which the community did not express a complete rejection of mining was the Marmato conflict in Colombia. This artisanal mining community accepted the mining company as long as it did not construct an open-pit mine as was planned (18). In seven conflicts (PM, AM, LN, CO, PN, CM, MA), the literature indicated that communities took issue with the way in which mining was being conducted or the unfair compensation they had received, but did not reject mining altogether. In three conflicts (SM, SN, AY & CC), the position on mining was not clear from the articles.

Table 2.5. Key characteristics of community conflicts with mining companies

Major livelihood activity	Number of communities
Agriculture (subsistence, small-scale, commercial)	19
Artisanal Mining	1
Not specified	6
Stage of Conflict	**Number of Conflicts**
Exploration stage	17
Exploitation stage	7
Other	2
Position on mining	**Number of Conflicts**
Outright rejection of mining	16
Conditional acceptance of mining	7
Unclear or Not Applicable	3

These very different positions on mining shape the goals, strategies, and subsequently the outcomes, of communities' resistance. With most exploration stage conflicts rejecting large-scale mining altogether, usually one of the central goals of communities' resistance is stopping the mining company from continuing exploration or beginning exploitation. Some notable victories in this category include Intag in Ecuador (69), Tambogrande in Peru (70), Wirikuta in Mexico (64), and El Dorado in El Salvador (38). Although victories have been achieved at particular points in time, they are not necessarily permanent, and many communities have continued to face new mining threats from new actors as time has gone on.

It can be harder to define a "victory" in relation to exploitation stage conflicts, in which communities are usually aiming for reforms, necessitating negotiation and compromise. In regards to the Penasquito mine in Mexico, the author illustrates how negotiations led to some of the affected communities receiving greater monetary compensation than before; however, this compensation was far below the amount originally stipulated by communities, remained an insignificant proportion of the company's profits, and did not benefit all communities surrounding the mine (20).

In this review, the majority of the 26 conflicts were exploration stage conflicts expressing outright rejections of mining. Furthermore, compared with exploitation stage conflicts, exploration conflicts tended to be studied in more depth, over the entirety of an article or over multiple articles. Arellano-Yanguas (2011) and Penman (2016) consider the overrepresentation in the literature of conflicts in which communities articulate complete rejections of mining (71,72). In his discussion of mining conflicts in Peru, Arellano-Yanguas (2011) indicates that the majority of mining conflicts are in fact based on negotiations for fairer distributions of benefits and harms, and that these types of conflicts merit attention as well (71). Penman also indicates that most mining conflicts in Latin America are based on the distribution of benefits and harms (72). Exploration conflicts tend to be more emblematic because anti-mining communities often take a more radical stance right from the outset, rejecting mining altogether on environmental, economic, and social grounds and sometimes

challenging the broader neoliberal "development" paradigm (13,72). In contrast, conflicts during the exploitation stage tend to be reformist, attempting to alter the conditions under which mining occurs to more fairly benefit the community; in fact some communities eagerly accept mining at the outset, hoping for benefits and poverty alleviation (51,72). Perhaps this is a reason for the publication bias towards exploration stage conflicts in the scholarly literature.

2.3.5. How communities organize

In this section, the specifics of community organizing against mining, including motivations, framings, and tactics used by communities, are discussed.

2.3.5.1. Motivations and goals

Given the broad range of injustices associated with transnational mining, the diversity of communities affected by mining, and their varying positions on mining itself, communities exhibit a broad range of motivations, or reasons, for resisting mining. While the original intention was to categorize conflicts according to communities' most pressing concern, after review of the articles, this was determined to be an inappropriate approach because many conflicts voiced several, interconnected grievances. Amongst the 26 conflicts discussed in the reviewed literature, a combination of eight concerns motivated the resistance to mining (Table 2.6).

Table 2.6. Motivations for anti-mining resistance

Motivating Concern	Description
1. Access to land and threats of displacement	Various projects threatened to displace surrounding communities from their land, either directly as part of companies' plans to build the mine in the area, or indirectly through environmental alterations that change the productivity of the land (16,18,22,27,37). Once displaced, communities worried about losing their means of livelihood, and having to face grueling poverty in cities (16,22). The loss of territory has particular ramifications for Indigenous communities who have inhabited and been firmly rooted in place since time immemorial.
2. Threats to environment, health, livelihood, and food security.	Mining, especially open pit mining, always causes environmental contamination by leaching toxic chemicals into the environment, polluting the water, soil, and air (22,51,66,73,74). Moreover, companies often utilize sub-standard environmental protection technologies to cut costs, taking advantage of the lack of stringent environmental regulations and enforcement (4,51). In particular, threats to water were often the most prominent concern; in addition to the contamination of flowing and interconnected water sources, modern mining consumes enormous amounts of water, often depleting community water sources used for subsistence and agriculture activities (15,16,20–22,31,38,62,68,75–78). Communities expressed concern about direct health impacts, their livelihood and subsistence activities requiring water and fertile soil, the effects on trees and animals, and the long-term consequences for future generations (12,14,15,18,66,79,80). The pillaging of the nature is again of particular concern for Indigenous communities, whose spirituality encompasses a reverence of the Earth (13,16,64,81).
3. Lack of participation	Subsurface land rights, and subsequently jurisdiction for mining decisions, typically lie with national governments, and various amendments to mining laws and constitutional rights have further consolidated this power (13,19,31,38,47,68). This has left little space for communities to have a say in decisions that could drastically impact their lives, undermining democratic systems (13). Companies often carry out community consultations to meet the basic international standards requiring that surrounding communities be consulted. However, these consultations are usually biased to favour the company – touting potential benefits, omitting information on negative consequences, using deceitful tactics to obtain consent, and lacking any mechanism for participation. Through mining resistance, many communities were also fighting their overall exclusion, exploitation, and marginalization by demanding greater participatory justice, self-determination, and democratic space for their voices, particularly in decisions that directly affect them. Adopting a goal of increasing participatory mechanisms is slightly different than an anti-mining stance; participatory mechanisms would enable communities to say no *or* yes to mining.
4. Social impacts	Communities, having heard about or seen other mining-affected communities, expressed concerns about the social impacts of mining on their communities. Mining has created divisions in once peaceful and harmonious communities, introduced economic inequalities, altered gender power dynamics, and increased violence against women, alcoholism, and STIs (6,7,22,63,66,82–84).
5. Threats to	Indigenous communities articulate how their culture and spirituality are closely tied to their land and depend on collective,

culture	harmonious communities. By threatening to displace people, dividing communities, and contaminating the land, communities see mining as a neo-colonial attempt to erase Indigenous cultures and assimilate Indigenous people into Western culture (16,85). The potentially permanent annihilation of these cultures has caused some to term pro-mining policies as policies of "ethnocide" (16,22,86).
6. Lack of economic benefits	Neoliberal economic policies result in minimal royalties being paid by companies, and subsequently meager economic benefits to communities. The enormous profits amalgamated by corporations through resource extraction contrast starkly with the exacerbated poverty in surrounding communities. In addition, modern mining is not labour intensive, and jobs for local communities have been temporary, low paying, and few, especially in comparison to the number of livelihoods threatened (87). Communities protested these economic injustices and questioned whose interests are being served by mining "development" (67). Some communities who rejected mining altogether added economic concerns to their list of grievances, some advocated for fairer economic laws related to mining at the national level, while other communities demanded fairer compensation directly of companies.
7. Promises or expectations unfulfilled	Communities contested unfulfilled promises formally or informally made by companies. When mining companies are trying to obtain social license to operate from communities, promises of benefits are often made informally, and may not be honoured in formal legal agreements. In addition, several cases show that development and job promises are often not met by companies (20,27).
8. Violent Repression	With little room for participation, communities often utilized tactics of direction action, including protests and blockades to voice their concerns. However, they have all too often been met with violent repression and criminalization from police and military actors (31,67,86,88). Communities have demanded their right to protest and an end to the state violence and associated impunity inflicted upon them (75,89).

2.3.5.2. Framings

Framing resistance involves the strategic use of discourses to meaningfully represent the grievances described above for other actors, such as the government, the mining company, the general public, and potential collaborators and alliances (12). They also enable movements to focus their resistance and develop a shared narrative amongst participants (12). In the range of conflicts discussed in the reviewed literature, activists have used a wide variety of framings, corresponding to the many interrelated injustices associated with Canadian mining. Activists invoked discourses of sustainable development; environmental rights, conservation, and biodiversity; rights to healthy environments; rights to participatory democracy; anti-neoliberal stances; Indigenous rights to self-determination, consultation, territory, and culture; women's rights; and the right to dissent and peaceful assembly. Amongst communities that reject mining altogether, some cases are not-in-my-backyard cases, while others turn into broader struggles against extractive activities, neoliberalism, and oppression (13,31).

2.3.5.3. Tactics and strategies

Communities resisting Canadian mining companies have used several combinations of tactics and strategies to express their concerns and achieve their demands. The tactics documented in the literature are summarized into ten broad themes (Table 2.7).

Table 2.7. Tactics and strategies used in anti-mining resistance

Tactic or Strategy	Description
1. Legal mechanisms	Communities often try to make use of legal tools to have their rights recognized or achieve redress. This has taken the form of legal action in the host country where the injustices are occurring (75,90), in international courts (66), or in Canada – the home state of the companies (6). As of 2013, only seven cases from communities affected by Canadian mines around the world had been filed in the Canadian justice system, and all required transnational alliances with Canadian organizations that supported this process (6). Legal mechanisms are a commonly used tactic by many communities in anti-mining conflicts, including the Marlin, Intag, Fenix, Mirador, San Xavier, and Huehuetenango conflicts. Legal mechanisms have resulted in varying levels of success in different contexts.
2. Direct action	Most communities utilized some form of direct action, including marches, blockades, strikes, and protests. In some cases, these "contentious politics" have followed communities' attempts to engage in less controversial mechanisms for resistance with little success (57). Large power imbalances between communities and companies, as well as governments that are biased favour of companies, leave few other options for communities to be heard (71). Blockades have had tremendous significance, including the blockade by 25,000 protesters of a key Peruvian-Bolivian border in protest of the Santa Ana mine (62), the 42-day blockade of the Pan American highway preventing access to the Marlin mine (22,75), and the sustained two-year blockade of the El Tambor mine site (15).
3. Science	Distrusting companies' scientific studies and noticing environmental and health changes, communities have commissioned their own evaluations of environmental issues (7,12,22,76,86,91). The results of these studies have revealed issues with company environmental impact studies or confirmed the presence of contamination. Although these results have often been denied by companies (37,85), they have served as key impetuses and legitimizing forces for resistance, as documented in the cases of Quimsacocha (57) and El Dorado (38).
4. Participatory democracy	Participatory democracy tactics involve communities' ways of proclaiming their positions on mining, asserting their right to participate in and be consulted on decisions that will drastically affect their lives (13,37,92). With no formal processes enabling their participation, communities sign petitions, send letters, issue declarations against mining and for alternative development (18,70,90,93), and conduct local consultations, or referendums, known as *consultas* (13,37,79,94). Even though the results of these community-led *consultas* have often been ignored by national governments (33,68), they are powerful democratic tools that make questioning their legitimacy difficult (37,79,85). In their review of 68 mining consultations that have been held in Latin America between 2002 and 2012, Walter and Urkidi (2017) describe *consultas* as a "hybrid institution that combines formal and informal competences […] and different forms of power (e.g. legitimacy, networks, resources, trust) of social movements and local governments" (94 p. 12).
5. Education	A key step in the community organizing process was building a critical consciousness amongst community members about

and awareness	the nature and impacts of mining. Community leaders or supporting NGOs led educational campaigns to raise communities' awareness regarding their rights and the threats mining posed to their lives, often drawing on lessons from other cases (37,67,81). This information enabled the activists to better articulate their resistance, motivated sustained opposition to mining, and built awareness and support for the cause. Dissemination tools included meetings, workshops, door-to-door campaigning, pamphlets, posters, integration into school curricula, local radio, alternative press, documentaries, and social media.
6. Involvement in party politics	Movement actors have been elected to local political positions such as mayor, and have used this position to promote alternative development, community unity, environmental education, and the creation of institutional space for participation through which anti-mining activism can be enacted (7,57,92,95,96). In the case of El Dorado in El Salvador, anti-mining movement actors even became involved in politics at the national level (38).
7. Alternatives to development	Communities contest hegemonic narratives that construe them as impoverished and in need of development by actively exemplifying alternatives to mining and priding themselves as dignified and self-sufficient agents (76,86). For example, in response to mining threats in Intag, communities have initiated sustainable coffee and ecotourism projects (41,95). In the Quimsacocha case, a women's organizing group has worked to support women subsistence farmers in strengthening traditional livelihoods (67,89).
8. Everyday acts of resistance	Resistance to mining has resulted in the politicization of everyday actions and decisions within communities (65). Those against mining boycott company hearings, meetings, or events (31,94), refuse to accept mining royalties or charitable contributions from companies (7,88), and occupy or reoccupy land from which they have been or may be evicted (22,63,65,89). Low-level confrontations, decisions on who to support or from whom to accept help, and choices on where to buy goods and services all constituted political acts in communities divided by their position on mining (65,88). Jenkins (2017) argues that these sorts of everyday acts enable resistance to be "sustained over time" (65 p. 1446).
9. Creation of community	In many cases of conflict, the threat of mining has instigated the creation of community, and "offered possibilities to transcend gender, ethnic, class, and species boundaries" (97 p. 46). In the Intag region, different communities separated by various identities came together to resist mining (41,95). In Guatemala, the community of La Puya, which resisted the El Tambor mine, did not exist prior to the mining threat (15). Various surrounding communities came together, forming strong, committed bonds through resistance (15).
10. Networks and alliances	Communities have formed local organizations to consolidate anti-mining resistance, and then formed coalitions and networks with various local, regional, national, and international organizations to draw on their contacts, build awareness, and access technical, scientific, financial, strategic, or legal resources. Collaborations have been built across organizations focusing on different causes including Indigenous rights, environmental issues, and class-based struggles. In addition, the Church has been a strong proponent of anti-mining resistance in many cases, including the Marlin mine (7,92), Intag (45), Tambogrande (70), San Xavier (73), and El Dorado (38).

	Many communities build transnational alliances to raise awareness of their situation, build networks of solidarity, and gain access to information and resources. Often, transnational alliances enable communities to partially counter the enormous power differentials between them and the government or the mining company, by creating pressure through international scrutiny (22,70,71). Transnational alliances were explicitly noted in the literature in 15 of the 26 conflicts. Transnational tactics took three general forms. The first comprised alliances with international NGOs or NGOs in the Global North. Communities also formed regional alliances between mining affected communities within Latin American countries; through meetings, visits, or conferences, communities learned from each other, coordinated strategies, and built solidarity and collective resolve (7,41,45,89,92). Finally, communities have used international legal mechanisms such as filing lawsuits in Canada, as well as complaints with or requests for recognition from international establishments like the International Labour Organization, United Nations, Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, the International Finance Corporation, the World Bank, and Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development.

2.3.6. Tensions in resistance

In this section, tensions arising within anti-mining movements and between resisters and other actors are discussed. First, some of the insights revealed in the literature regarding radical and reformist stances in anti-mining resistance are explored. Then, the implications of these tensions for communities' activism strategies are considered. These deliberations are connected by a perennial tension that lies at the center of many forms of activism: whether to use the structures, institutions, and strategies within hegemonic systems to achieve progressive ends at the expense of reinforcing these systems, or to reject the hegemonic structures that are racist, sexist, exclusive, and entrenched with colonial practices and values.

2.3.6.1. Reformist and radical stances

Different political and ideological positions can be assumed by groups resisting mining. Some are willing to engage in reformist dialogue with authorities, while others take on a more radical stance, rejecting the power held by the centralized government over its most marginalized citizens and adopting a confrontational relationship with the state. Activists' positions have implications for the strategies, tools, and discourses used to enact their activism. These positions exist on a scale rather than a dichotomy, and can be fluid, changing over time in a context-dependent manner. For example, in Honduras, the anti-mining activists began by negotiating with the relatively progressive government that was in power at the time; however, after a new neoliberal government came to power, activists changed their strategy away from negotiations with the state and towards direct action and participatory democracy tactics (37). Critics of mining in Latin America usually share the viewpoint that governments need to have stricter rules and mechanisms of accountability in place to regulate foreign mining companies (22,68) – but whether their demands stop there depends on their stance.

Reformists typically argue for a fairer distribution of the harms and benefits of mining, through environmental, economic, and labour regulations. A reformist stance implies a conditional acceptance of mining if the government demonstrates the capacity to effectively regulate companies such that mining is done "responsibly." Although these goals still require significant work to achieve depending on the level of the government's progressiveness, they rely on technical solutions that are more in line with the neoliberal hegemony – and are therefore more likely to be granted (75). For example, a representative from the "post-neoliberal" Ecuadorian government touting responsible mining has stated that communities should use the means available to enact reforms within the system, but not question the system itself (98), deflecting attention from debates about the multiple and clashing values and worldviews that are not represented by the current "plurinational" government. Peru also positions itself as a mining country that engages in "responsible, modern mining," making it clear that modern mining practices have been reformed from previous egregious mining practices, and consequently making space for reformist demands (27).

In contrast, many communities express more radical rejections of mining in all its forms. In particular, Indigenous worldviews underscore a fundamentally different relationship with nature than Western worldviews. This relationship emphasizes reciprocity and a spiritual respect for the Earth, and mega-mining is entirely incompatible with these views (13,16,64). In Guatemala, various authors describe how mining is in stark contrast with the Maya cosmovision (16,22), informing communities' non-negotiable stance: mining would never be acceptable even if all the economic, environmental, and social issues at the Marlin mine were fixed by Goldcorp (85). Maya communities have boycotted company-led hearings in the

communities (94) and some have refused to accept royalties from the operating mine (7). Mining resistance has become about "transforming the universal structure such that the Maya political subject is no longer excluded," rather than reforming the current system to make room for Maya people (85 p. 16).

2.3.6.1.1. Cooptation

Under reformist stances, successful activism often leads to the institutionalization of demands, such as amendments to laws and processes and recognition of ideas and rights. However, various examples from the literature reviewed point to a key danger of institutionalization: cooptation (99). Cooptation involves the re-definition of a concept from its original or intended meaning, usually to suit one's purpose (99).

Hegemonic actors such as national governments have institutionalized radical, grassroots, and Indigenous ideas, only to keep aggressively promoting neoliberal agendas with more power than before. Concepts are coopted to meet hegemonic ends within a neoliberal framework, and these definitions are often accepted as truthful over the discourses of relatively powerless actors (77). Cooptation gives the public the illusion of inclusivity and liberalism, while deflecting attention from the deeper shifts in ideology and power demanded by communities and required to disrupt the colonial imposition of mining development. Cooptation "[limits the] transformative potential" (78 p. 408) of progressive ideas through the strategic "eradication of political difference" (85 p. 8).

Janzen (2017) explores these tensions with respect to hegemonic cooptation of multiculturalism in Guatemala. With the end of the civil war in the 1990s came the end of overt genocidal subjugation of Maya populations (85). While the tolerance of Maya identities was institutionalized through the peace agreements and constitutional reforms, their political and cultural identities were strategically separated such that Maya people did not threaten the hegemonic order; as Janzen (2017) puts it - "it became acceptable […] to dress, speak, and organize one's social life on the basis of Maya custom – insofar as this identity did not contradict the logic of the state and the capitalist economy" (85 p. 7). As has been shown by the many authors discussing Indigenous resistance to mining in Guatemala (13,66,85), cultural identities inform political resistance, and the separation of these identities has led to an "intensification of neo-liberalization" (85 p. 8) and an illusionary discourse of multiculturalism that continues to exclude the non-conforming voices of the marginalized. Similarly, in her discussion of Indigenous resistance in Peru, McDonell (2014) notes how "neoliberalism's cultural project entails recognition of a certain set of cultural rights, and vigorous rejection of the rest" (62 p. 115), clearly distinguishing between acceptable Indigenous identities and unacceptable – "radical," "political," "backwards" - Indigenous identities that obstruct extractive development (62,85).

In their review of anti-mining *consultas*, Walter and Urkidi (2011) illustrate how governments in Peru and Guatemala have initiated efforts to regulate, and effectively institutionalize, the community-led *consultas* (94). However, Indigenous groups in Guatemala are wary of potential cooptation of the *consulta*, which could result in limited community control over the traditional decision-making process and restricted participation perpetuating the exclusion of political subjects (94). Maya community organizations have asserted that, "the existing *consultas* simply needed to be respected, not 'regulated,'" demonstrating their anti-hegemonic stance that questions and distrusts the central power of the government (79 p. 243).

Lara *et al.* (2012) explore the contradictions arising from cooptation in Bolivia. The new constitution adopted in 2009 has emphasized plurinationalism and the rights of *Pachamama*, the Andean Indigenous Mother Earth deity (80). However, the overall attitudes, laws, and practices of the government still favour extractive processes, ideals, and relationships with nature, such that the protection of the rights of *Pachamama* cannot truly be achieved (26). For example, subsurface land rights remain with the government and continue to take precedence over surface land rights (100). Plurinationalism mandates the respect and co-existence of multiple worldviews, and by extension the true participation of Indigenous groups; how to achieve this harmonious state is less clear, particularly when worldviews about relationships with nature are fundamentally clashing vis-à-vis mining (80). As Lara *et al.* (2012) assert, a state "can hardly produce plurinationality when [it] identifies with only one form of socio-economic development" (80 p. 69).

Perhaps the most striking example of the dangers of institutionalization is exemplified with the government of Raphael Correa in Ecuador (101). His "post-neoliberal" government has emphasized responsible mining – in which companies pay fair taxes and royalties, meet strong environmental safety standards, and are socially responsible – as a national priority, touting the use of mining revenues for poverty reduction and other socialist policies (56,95). In the usual fashion, the criminalization and de-legitimization of those who oppose mining altogether has followed. This time, however, the government does so with far greater power and support, as they have coopted Indigenous concepts of *Pachamama* and *Buen Vivir*, adopted plurinationalism, and enshrined Indigenous rights in the constitution, thereby gaining the support of most progressive and reformist Ecuadorians – and in doing so, further isolating the anti-mining contingent (56,78). In prioritizing "responsible" mining, the government has redefined what constitutes *Buen Vivir* and the constitutionally recognized rights of nature, and these definitions are different from the original concepts demarcated by Indigenous groups who continue to oppose large-scale mining (41,95). The respect for autonomy, participation, Indigenous self-determination, and cultural diversity remain absent in Correa's "progressive" government (78). However, Indigenous people and organizations played a key role in Correa's election, and held hopes for his progressive agenda – and many still hope to hold him to account on his promises rather than overthrow his government (78).

2.3.6.1.2.   Internal relations

These debates and tensions have caused divisions within some anti-mining movements explored in this review. Velasquez (2017) discusses one example of such divisions in her study of women's resistance to mining in Southern Ecuador (59). According to the women's accounts, President Correa extended offers to some movement leaders to dialogue with the Minister of Energy and Mines, after recently responding to a highway blockade by criminalizing the protest and sending some activists to jail (59). While some groups were more disposed to consult with the relatively progressive government they had helped to elect, the National Coordinating Committee for the Defense of Life and Sovereignty (CNDVS) had a radical, Marxist stance, rejecting reformist negotiation with the state. One of the male leaders accepted this offer to unilaterally speak on behalf of the movement, leading to the fragmentation of the anti-mining activists based on differences in political ideology (59). These events led to the formation of the Frente de Mujeres Defensoras de la Pachamama, a women's anti-mining organizing group, who aligned with the CNDVS and also brought forward a gendered critique of the power inequities within the anti-mining movement under all-male leadership (59).

In the Marlin Mine conflict, Deonandan (2015) discusses how there were four organizations involved in anti-mining resistance of Mayan communities, but their agendas and positions varied (90). One organization, led by the Church, did not have Indigenous leadership or Indigenous framings for resistance while other three organizations clearly articulated their resistance in terms of protecting Maya worldviews and cultures (90). Two of the organizations take a reformist stance, expressing a conditional acceptance of mining on Indigenous land, while the other two organizations reject mining in all its forms, refusing reformist dialogue with the state (90). These ideological differences caused internal divisions within the anti-mining movement, weakening the consistency and overall strength of its demands (90).

In Honduras, Middeldorp *et al.* (2016) discuss how the movement became divided when the nation-wide anti-mining movement achieved a legal victory that deemed certain articles of the Mining Act unconstitutional but did not manage to achieve a complete ban on open-pit mining (37). One group decided to focus on reforms made possible by the legal decision, such as addressing issues of taxation and forced expropriation, but eliminating the more radical demand for a ban on open pit mining (37). The other group continued advocating for the ban, refusing to compromise on this key demand (37).

2.3.6.2.   Implications of tensions for resistance

In this section I examine some of the ways in which the tensions and ideological positions previously described infiltrate the tactics and strategies used by communities in practice.

2.3.6.2.1.   Scientific studies

By using scientific studies and independent evaluations of EIAs, communities contest the neoliberal discourse of science as a neutral, objective, value-free, and unbiased enterprise (70). Scientific studies for environmental impact assessments are privately commissioned by companies who need favourable results to appease populations and obtain permits, undermining the "neutrality" of the studies right from the start (51,57,70). In these ways, science is used by both actors as "ammunition in a larger debate about values, interests, and power" (70 p. 789). However, when communities utilize scientific studies, they are appealing to neoliberal forms of knowledge validation under which other forms of knowledge are devalued (77). In further appeal to hegemonic legitimacy, scientists for community-commissioned studies typically hail from the Global North (76,91)– perpetuating associations between modernity, experts, credibility, and actors from the Global North.

Because neoliberal governance privileges technical solutions over political ones and expert voices over community ones (66,70,75), it is clear that power shifts and participation can never be achieved under neoliberal governments. One way in which hegemonic actors delegitimize resisters is by denouncing them as non-experts rather than experts, and as being political rather than rational and objective actors (70). In addition, when complaints of contamination, illness, or cracked homes are brought foreword by communities, the neoliberal system denies connections between causes and outcomes, with "proof" and "causality" being nearly impossible to determine. For example, although the communities around the Marlin Mine speak their truths about impacts of the mine, their claims and subsequent request for reparations are denied because no official proof has been obtained (85). Similarly, communities living around the San Martin Mine in Honduras have voiced severe environmental health concerns, but Goldcorp has negated these claims (37). This is one of the ways in which neo-colonial structural violence enacts itself, as marginalized actors are "denied a way to explain one's suffering" (85 p. 12).

2.3.6.2.2. Legal tools

Similarly, legal tools are an attempt to use the system to achieve redress through proof of injustice, but they can shift attention away from the wider context and structures that enable the injustices to occur (63). In addition, the law can be a "pervasive means of reproducing patterns of domination and hegemony," imposing identities and selectively arranging complex situations into categories (33 p. 242). This process is entrenched in power relations and can replicate social norms, further excluding the marginalized subject (33). As North and Young (2013) and Imai *et al.* (2014) demonstrate, the legal field is clearly biased in favour of mining corporations, through trade agreements, imbalance of financial resources, and lack of transnational accountability (6,26,37). Guyol-Meinrath (2015) explores how the intense focus on the three lawsuits being filed in Canada against Hudbay Minerals by Maya Q'eqchi community members results in the fortification of current hegemonic systems, de-contextualization from ongoing violence against Maya people and neo-colonial development processes, and neglect of the needs and demands of the broader community, all of whom suffered harms beyond those represented in the three legal cases (63).

2.3.6.2.3. Consultas

Consultas are a unique, hybrid form of resistance. Communities that carry out *consultas* can seek legitimacy from Western democratic ideals, but *consultas* often also reflect pre-colonial Indigenous decision-making procedures (7,13,94). Various aspects and decisions about how the *consulta* will occur reflect these tensions, including whether the vote will be limited to registered voters or will be inclusive of all community members, whether secret ballot methods will be employed, and whether "credible" international observers will be brought in to observe the process (7,13,94). In Rasch's (2012) discussion of *consultas* in the Huehuetenango department of Guatemala, local customs informed decisions about how to conduct the *consulta*; notably, by not limiting participation to registered voters, Maya women were included in the process (13).

2.3.6.2.4. Transnational alliances

Transnational alliances have been an important movement strategy, mobilizing information, awareness, and financial and logistical support. In doing so, communities gain power by exerting pressure from the outside on national governments (both the host state and the home state of the company) to address injustices; this has been referred to as the boomerang model (33,102). Often, however, to get the support of transnational actors, communities must strategically broaden their claims to draw on hegemonic social justice discourses, which may not necessarily reflect communities' views or demands (12,76,102). This can disempower community agency, knowledge, and worldviews.

In the case of Tambogrande, Peru, a complex and strategic articulation of different framings enabled the effective re-scaling of the movement, appealing to local, national, and international audiences through different discourses (76). The resisters of Tambogrande were willing to "[transform] claims such that they correspond to hegemonic discourses" to garner the support needed to achieve their desired outcomes (76 p. 305). Although this limited the "possibilities of radically changing the macro political economy," their community was spared the harms of mining when the government caved to national and international pressure (76 p. 305).

As examined by Boni *et al.* (2015) in the Huichol Indigenous community's struggle to defend Wirikuta territory in Mexico, the community forged alliances with conservation organizations; using ecological discourses enabled the community to mobilize significant

support and resources from international organizations to stop mining in their sacred territory (64). However, conservation discourses do not capture the Huichol worldview, which emphasizes the interconnectedness, sacredness, and synergy between the land, human beings, and other living beings (64). For conservation organizations, sacred sites were simply "a means to achieve that higher goal" of biodiversity preservation (64 p. 771). In these alliances, the Huichol community strived to maintain the integrity and avoid the cooptation of their worldview, by incorporating biodiversity as a key facet of the region's sacredness (64). Ultimately, using hegemonic discourses of conservation resulted in a hegemonic response: the creation of a reserve under the government environmental agency – causing the Huichol people to lose their informal control over the territory (64). Similarly, in her discussion of anti-mining resistance in the Huehuetenango department of Guatemala, Rasch (2012) notes that despite apparent similarities between the Mayan cosmovision and the ecological perspectives on anti-mining resistance, tensions exist (13). The Indigenous perspective is inclusive of, but also extends beyond the conservation of nature, to the sacredness of the earth and the recognition of the Maya political subject in an anti-imperialist struggle (13).

With respect to the Andean Indigenous protests against the Santa Ana mine in Peru, McDonell (2015) further explores some of the hegemonic tensions existing with conservation-based transnational alliances (62). In Peru, a divide exists between the essentialized Amazonian Indigeneity of those that live tribal lifestyles in forests, isolated from technology and wearing feathers and body paint – and the Andean Indigeneity of those who practice agriculture and live in contact with modern societies. The latter is constructed as less authentically Indigenous by hegemonic actors, including the Peruvian government, which strategically reinforces these divisions to grant and deny rights to select citizens (62). In a similar fashion, international biodiversity and conservation organizations tend to support Amazonian Indigenous struggles. Notwithstanding the fact that Amazonian Indigenous groups tend to reside in biodiversity hotspots, these preferential alliances, privileging more "genuine" Indigeneities, reinforce racist stereotypes of the "noble savage" and "Indigenous primitivism" and utilize their images to be consumed by western audiences. McDonell (2015) offers these insights as one explanation for the observation that the Santa Ana mine protests, despite their significant size and impact and their focus on environmental concerns, garnered little transnational support (62).

Along similar lines, although the majority of actors in the Intag struggle against mining aren't Indigenous, Davidov (2013) descirbes them as being "adept at strategic primitivism;" the Intag case has garnered significant support from environmental and conservation organizations (56 p. 487). Arellano-Yanguas (2011), examining several mining conflicts in Peru, notes how environmental discourses are legitimizing, earning the attention of international organizations that "sympathetically support popular environmental struggles" (71 p. 629).

These examples demonstrate that hegemonic tensions and power dynamics exist not only between communities and pro-mining actors, but also within activist circles. The complexity of these tensions, and their significance in impeding the recognition of the agency and inherent rights of individuals, remains to be explored at various scales.

2.4. Conclusions

As demonstrated through the discussion of the results of this scoping review, anti-mining resistance in Latin America is a highly dynamic, complex, nuanced process, heterogeneous across differing contexts yet united by key features. Because mining perpetuates various

forms of injustice, anti-mining resistance is often a vehicle towards emancipation from broader forms of systemic oppression. It is also clear from this exploration of the literature that many areas remain to be further explored across a greater number and variety of conflicts, including how movement actors relate to each other, their alliances, and their opponents, as well as how ideological stances influence communities' constructions of activism, framings of resistance, and strategies used.

This review focused on the insights revealed in the published literature. An overview has been provided of the conflicts that have been represented in the literature, including the countries, the Canadian mining companies, and the communities involved. Insights regarding *who* is resisting mining, *why* they are resisting mining, and *how* they are resisting mining are provided, as revealed by various cases of conflict. In addition, the tensions within resistance, informed by ideological matters and impacting practical aspects of resistance, are explored.

Although this review characterized the nature of anti-mining movements according to the published literature, various other sources of valuable information exist on this topic. Given the community-level nature of this review, valuable research and information about community resistance to mining exists in the grey literature, such as the publications of various Latin American and Canadian advocacy organizations documenting these conflicts. Furthermore, this review was delimited to a subset representation of Latin America, including Central America and the geopolitically Andean countries in South America, but excluding the Caribbean, Argentina, and Chile, where the presence of Canadian mining companies is also significant. The exploration of the dynamics of anti-mining resistance in these regions is a potential area of future study. Finally, while this review focused on Canadian mining for several reasons, including the nature and extent of Canadian mining and the location of authors as concerned Canadian researchers, transnational mining is a global phenomenon with several countries of the Global North involved in a neo-colonial extractivist dynamic. And, mining itself is only one, albeit significant, example of transnational exploitation and dispossession within the broader neoliberal model that has characterized globalization. As extractive development continues, the conflicts, and the larger battles they represent, are ongoing. Thus, the critical engagement with and documentation of conflicts by scholars must continue.

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3. CHAPTER 3: Gender as a dimension of anti-mining resistance

In this chapter, I position anti-mining resistance as a case example in the study of gender and social movements. Using a scoping review methodology to obtain the literature, I lay out three key themes on the gendered dimensions of anti-mining resistance, and I situate these insights within the broader literature on gender, environment, and social movements. I highlight the importance of a gender lens in the study of anti-mining movements in Latin America.

3.1. Introduction

Gender is a fundamental dimension of social movements (1,2). The intersections of economic, social, and environmental injustice with gendered oppression, as well as the various historical precedents of internal gendered oppressions within social movements, necessitate gendered approaches to the study of social movements. While conducting a scoping review on anti-mining movements against Canadian transnational mining in Latin America, I was struck by the finding that only five of 61 journal articles included in the review provided a detailed gendered analysis of anti-mining resistance. In this chapter, I describe and analyze the gendered dimensions of anti-mining movements in Latin America as explored by the reviewed literature, suggesting the significance of its content, omissions, and blind spots. Such work provides an important case study in the gendered aspects of social movements, and is novel in the literature on anti-mining movements in Latin America – a literature in which there has been limited attention to the gendered dimensions of activism.

The overarching scoping review was conducted to scope and synthesize the published literature exploring the nature of communities' resistance to Canadian transnational mining in Latin America. Based on this literature, the aim was to understand how communities organize against mining threats and to characterize key insights pertaining to the internal dynamics of these anti-mining movements. The review focused on conflicts between communities and Canadian mining companies in countries of Central America and Andean South America. Consistent with the relatively recent proliferation of eco-territorial conflicts that accompanied the transnational mining boom in Latin America beginning in the 1990s, this review explored eco-territorial conflicts between surrounding communities and mining companies, and not labour conflicts between mine workers and mining companies. The scoping methods were guided by the Arksey and O'Malley (2005) scoping review framework (3).

I begin this chapter by providing a brief background on the ways in which social movements are gendered, highlighting the importance of intersectional approaches to the study of social movements. Then, to contextualize the anti-mining movements discussed, I provide information on Canadian mining in Latin America as well as the gendered impacts of the mining industry. After a brief outline of the scoping review methods that produced the articles in this study, I lay out three broad themes exploring the gendered dimensions of anti-mining resistance arising from the literature reviewed, which illuminate how women construct their activism in specific mining conflicts. Finally, I discuss these findings in relation to the literature on the gendering of social movements and call for future research to examine the heterogeneous unit of community in order to elicit intersectional dynamics in the study of anti-mining resistance movements in Latin America.

3.1.1. Gender and social movements

Social movements are deliberately organized efforts toward social change, often a means to achieve progressive ends by challenging power and injustices through "non-institutionalized

or unconventional strategies" (2, p. 6). Social movements usually comprise a heterogeneous group united by a particular cause or aspect of identity. However, even though social movements may lobby for progressive changes, their demands, composition, organization, and internal relations can replicate intersecting societal oppressions and power dynamics by gender, race, class, sexuality, or ethnicity (1,4,5).

Gender is an important dimension in social movements, even when movements do not appear on the surface to be "women's movements" (1,4,5). Women who form part of a movement not explicitly centered on women's rights are often asked to put their gender equality demands on hold in favour of "more pressing demands" (6, p. 288); however, this articulation fails to capture how "central gender inequality is to all forms of […] oppression" (6, p. 288) (7,8). The well-documented internal oppressions of women within various social movements not centered on women's rights (2,6,8,9), as well as the due criticisms of women's movements for their lack of attention to diverse women's identities (10,11), point to the importance of an intersectional approach to social movements (7,12–14). Identities are inseparable and synergistic, and are not the simple sum of race, sex, and class; those existing at the intersections of oppressions by multiple marginalized identities cannot choose which part of their identity is in need of liberation and which part can be put on hold (10,14).

In this chapter, I focus on gender as an anchoring identity amongst anti-mining activists' multiple and intersecting identities, including class, race, and Indigenous status, with the understanding that all of these socially constructed identity groups are heterogeneous. Gender is a social construct that permeates every thread of the fabric of our societies, at individual, relational, and systemic levels – made to privilege masculine-coded qualities and identities over feminine-coded ones (1,2,5). "Grounded in […] gender hierarchies and roles" (2 p. 97), social movements are also gendered processes, and must be construed and consciously reflected upon as such (1,2). Assuming a gender-neutral stance on social movements, which has often been the case in social movement theory, accepts men as the normal political actor (2,4,5,7,15), and fails to "[challenge] androcentric assumptions of social movement theory" (4, p. 629).

Movements can be gendered in a multitude of ways. The internal relations of movements can normalize gendered discrimination or harassment towards women participants (2,4,6). Opportunities for membership, leadership, and participation can also be restricted, reproducing gender inequalities and stereotypes (1,2,4,5,8,16). The true participation of women – that is, not having to conform to male-defined structures of organization and leadership – can be limited, and the division of labour within movement activities can reflect societal labour roles, restricting women's roles in social movements to domestic and supportive ones and effectively excluding them from the political sphere and formal leadership (1,2,4,8,16,17).

Aside from internal relations, the external demands and framings of issues also comprise gendered dimensions (2). Matters of racial, economic, and environmental justice are gendered problems (6,8) and can be framed through a gendered lens (1,4,5) and enacted through gendered tactics (2). Interestingly, gendered framings and tactics can both reject and embrace essentialized gender roles and stereotypes, drawing on societal masculinities (e.g., strength and power) and femininities (e.g., caring and peace) as politically relevant, strategically needed, or experientially derived (1,2,4). Intersecting critique of intersecting issues, and the "incorporation of women's liberation and gender equality into [a] movement's

political consciousness and objectives" (2 p. 136), enables the elucidation of connections between injustices and oppressions (12,14).

Authors have explained the lack of gender justice in social movements by a "male bias" that underlies them (2,6). Even progressive social movement actors can subconsciously accept – or resist the uprooting of – "deep structures" that stipulate a place and role for women in society (2,6,8,18). In addition, framings that don't challenge these deep structures, but instead are aligned with gender stereotypes, are more likely to be palatable for audiences such as the state and general public (1,4); thus, social movement actors may perceive, perhaps correctly, that the immediate demands of the movement are more easily met by distancing them from uncomfortable challenges to the deep structure of gender (1).

3.1.1.1. Gendering anti-mining movements

Various authors call for more scholarly attention to gendered analyses of anti-mining activism in Latin America, pointing to the issues with gender neutral approaches, especially considering the gendered impacts of the mining industry itself (19–24). More attention to the topic could reveal whether anti-mining movements are in fact attuned to gendered dynamics; are working to incorporate principles of gender equality with respect to internal processes and external demands; are operating amongst internal oppressions; or are exhibiting a combination of the three. Such research would highlight the agency and tenacity of women in resisting mining within violent structures, while also expanding a theoretical framework for intersectional approaches to broader social movement theory.

3.1.2. The case of Canadian mining in Latin America

In this section, I provide context on Canadian mining in Latin America and the associated injustices that have prompted the emergence of anti-mining social movements.

3.1.2.1. Overview of Canadian mining in Latin America

The practices of Canadian mining companies in Latin America, and the Canadian government's role in supporting these practices, have been subject to increasing international scrutiny (25–28). Chief among these criticisms are the blatant violation of human rights and Indigenous rights in host countries, the severe environmental harms inflicted upon local ecologies, and the stark economic injustices associated with transnational resource extraction (20,29–32). The nature and extent of Canadian mining in Latin America prompts Gordon and Webber (2016) to aptly describe Canadian mining companies' practices as "predatory" as they prey on marginalized communities and exploitable environments (30). Various authors and mining-affected communities emphasize the imperialistic underpinnings of Canadian mining, as the Canadian state promotes the expansion of its economic dominance over much of the Latin American region and repatriates significant wealth (30,31,33–36).

Canada is a significant player in the global mining industry, with 57 percent of mining companies worldwide being listed in the Toronto Stock Exchange and TSX venture exchanges in 2013 (26,27,29,37). Compared to other countries' mining industries, Canadian mining has a large proportion of foreign investments outside Canada, 54 per cent of which occurred in Latin America in 2016 (26,37). Canadian companies dominate in Latin America, owning over 75 per cent of mining properties in countries such as Peru, Colombia, and Mexico at various times over the past three decades (27,30,38,39).

3.1.2.2.   Socio-environmental conflicts

The extent of Canadian mining in Latin America and its associated injustices have elicited widespread socio-environmental conflict (31,40–42). These community-level conflicts have burgeoned into a heterogeneous region-wide anti-mining movement against the immediate livelihood threats associated with mining activity, as well as environmental destruction, racial and cultural marginalization, and neoliberal economic development (43,44). A considerable amount of literature has explored this mobilization against mining, including the strategies of resistance, community dynamics, and interactions between mining companies and the state (38,43,45–50).

3.1.2.3.   Gendered impacts of mining

Various authors have studied how mining is a deeply gendered industry, often worsening gender inequality through its negative impacts on communities, the distribution of its benefits, and the Western colonial and patriarchal ideologies underlying it (7,19,20,35,51,52). Women have very few employment opportunities in mining operations, and most positions that women occupy involve low-paying subordinate jobs (19,20,51,53,54). As men gain mining-related employment, money, and an associated sense of power, women face increased economic marginalization and a devaluation of their roles, causing women to lose power within family and community relationships and fear abuse or desertion if they assert themselves (19,20,22). Furthermore, women in mining-affected communities often experience increased gender violence, including domestic and sexual violence (19,22,27,31,53,55). Largely transient male workforces combined with increasing economic inequality between men and women can cause exploitative sex work to rise (20,22,31). Finally, in line with gendered tactics of colonization of the past, communities that have been criminalized for their resistance to mining have noted the use of gender-based violence to intimidate women, subsequently intimidating their families and communities (20,30,31,53).

Mining threatens areas of life traditionally stewarded by women, such as culture, spirituality, the provision of food and water, and the environmental health of families and future generations (20,22,35). If land is sold to mining companies, women can be excluded from the decision to sell or the compensation provided (19). More broadly, mining is one example of the gendered impacts of neoliberal development paradigms that exacerbate inequalities (7,8). Gender oppression intersects with the various economic, socio-cultural, and environmental injustices surrounding transnational mining (19), and the gendered impacts of mining "development" prompt inquiry into the study of the gendered dimensions of the resistance to mining.

Following a brief explanation of methods in the next section, I discuss the gendered aspects of mining resistance that arose from my review of the literature. Given the small scope of the literature on this topic, comprising only five articles, four authors, and two anti-mining conflicts, I do not intend to make any claims to truth or broad characterizations about the nature of gendered issues within anti-mining activism in Latin America. In addition, these articles do not draw comparisons between men and women, instead focusing on the experiences and perspectives of women involved in resistance to mining. Therefore, when I refer to a concept or issue as "gendered," I am not attempting to make comparisons between men and women, but rather to elucidate how women conceive of and construct their activism. I present a framework of three themes that could serve as a basis for examining gender in anti-mining resistance in future research.

3.2. Methods

This scope on the gendered dimensions of anti-mining resistance formed part of a larger scoping review on community resistance to Canadian transnational mining in Latin America. The overall scoping review methods were guided by the Arksey and O'Malley (2005) framework for conducting a scoping review, and are briefly outlined here (3).

3.2.1. Identification of a research question

The overarching research question for the broad scoping review was, "what does the published literature reveal regarding the nature of community resistance to Canadian transnational mining in Latin America?" The question specific to this scope followed as "what does the published literature reveal regarding the gendered dimensions of anti-mining movements against Canadian transnational mining in Latin America?"

3.2.2. Data sources and search strategy

In consultation with a university librarian, a search strategy was developed. Six databases were chosen; three were broad and multi-disciplinary (Academic Search Complete, Scopus, and Web of Science), and three were subject specific (Political Science Complete, SocIndex, and Hispanic American Periodicals Index [HAPI]). Four key concepts to be included in the search were identified: mining, conflict, community, and geographic restriction. Only Spanish-speaking Central and South American countries were included. Search terms were developed after consulting the literature for how ideas and concepts were being expressed; the keywords searched are displayed in Table 3.1. Three databases – SocIndex, Academic Search Complete, and Political Science Complete – included a thesaurus of indexed subject headings; these databases were searched by both keywords and subject headings corresponding to each of the keywords.

This search strategy was applied to all databases except HAPI, which did not allow for complex searches and required a broken down search. However, upon comparison with the results of the other database searches, no new articles were obtained from HAPI.

All searches were conducted on November 11 and 12, 2017.

Table 3.1. Search concepts and synonyms

Concept	Synonyms/Search Terms
1. Geographical Restriction (Spanish-speaking Central and South America)	(Central America*) OR (Latin America*) OR (South America*) OR Mexic* OR Nicaragua* OR Hondur* OR Guatemal* OR (El Salvador*) OR (Costa Rica*) OR Panama* OR Ecuador* OR Peru* OR Colombia* OR Ande* OR Bolivi* OR Venezuel* OR Chile* OR Argentin* OR Paragua* OR Urugua*
2. Mining	mining OR mine* OR extractiv*
3. Conflict	resist* OR opposition OR conflict* OR (environmental justice) OR (social movement*) OR activis* OR movement* OR justice OR struggle* OR controversy OR defender* OR defence OR anti-mining OR protest* OR (human rights*) OR mobilization OR mobilisation OR (environmental rights)
4. Community	communit* OR (civil society) OR grassroot*

3.2.3. Management of citations

The results from the searches were exported from the databases to the Mendeley reference software for title and abstract screening. The citations from the different databases were combined into one folder and subsequently the citation list was de-duplicated. Citation fields consisted of author, title, publication date, journal, volume and issue, abstract, and keywords.

3.2.4. Selection of studies

The citation list was screened by title, abstract, and full-text according to the inclusion and exclusion criteria provided in Table 3.2. During the title and abstract screening, an inclusive approach was maintained to ensure that citations were not prematurely and unduly discounted. Journal articles that discussed an eco-territorial conflict between a community and a Canadian mining company, occurring within the specified list of countries, were included.

Publications between the years of January 1, 1990 and November 12, 2017 were included in the review. The start date corresponds with the beginning of the transnational mining boom in Latin America. Before beginning the screening stage, in order to delimit the study, the geographic criterion was refined. Included in the study were all countries in Central America and the geopolitically Andean countries in South America, namely Bolivia, Ecuador, Peru, Colombia, and Venezuela. Finally, although the searches included Spanish articles, at the screening stage only English articles were included, as the second reviewer was not Spanish speaking.

Two independent reviewers (Nikisha Khare and Lalita Bharadwaj) selected articles, and discrepancies between the reviewers' selections were discussed, reviewed, and mutually agreed upon regarding inclusion or exclusion.

Table 3.2. Inclusion and exclusion criteria for study selection

Inclusion and Exclusion Criteria for Database Searches
Mining: The case involves <u>mining</u> and not other forms of resource extraction (oil, forestry, etc.).
Mining Company: The conflict involves a <u>Canadian mining company</u>, which is defined as the company being headquartered in Canada. If the mine in the case has transferred ownership or undergone mergers and if at any time a Canadian mining company was involved, the case is included.
Conflict: There is some form of eco-territorial <u>conflict</u> between a community and a mining company over a specific mining operation. Labour conflicts between mine workers and companies are not included. Generalized conflict between the community and the government, where a specific case of mining conflict is not discussed, is not included.
Publication Type: <u>Journal Articles</u>
Time frame of mining-related conflicts described in article: <u>1990 – 2017</u>
Countries for inclusion: Mexico, Guatemala, Honduras, El Salvador, Panama, Costa Rica, Nicaragua, Colombia, Venezuela, Bolivia, Ecuador, Peru
Language of article: <u>English</u>

3.2.5. Charting and synthesis of data

The final list of articles included in this review was coded in Microsoft Excel for qualitative information on the gendered dimensions of resistance. For the purposes of answering the research question pertaining to gender in this chapter, any information that discussed women's involvement in the movement was copied into Microsoft Excel for subsequent thematic analysis. Finally, these results were consolidated, summarized, and synthesized across the five articles.

3.3. Findings: The gendered dimension of anti-mining resistance in Latin America

Five out of 61 articles included in the review examined in depth how the internal dynamics of anti-mining resistance were influenced or informed by gendered identities (21–23,52,56). This relatively little attention paid to gender could indicate a lack of scholarly attention to the gendered dimensions of anti-mining resistance or an invisibility of intersecting identities within resistance movements that mirrors existing societal inequalities. While the resistance against mining exploitation may be liberating in many ways, these internal oppressions, if present, can be problematic.

Of these five articles, three were authored by the same researchers (21,22,56), all based on the same set of interviews with women-only groups of resisters in Ecuador and Peru. These groups of women anti-mining resisters have been involved in resistance to several mining projects, one of which involved a Canadian mining company in Ecuador (the Quimsasocha project). As much as possible, the themes of the Ecuadorian case focusing on the Quimsacocha project are discussed for the purposes of this review that centers on resistance to Canadian mining. The fourth article authored by Velasquez (2017) also discussed women's resistance to the Quimsacocha project in Ecuador (23), and explicitly examined the intersection of gendered identities with racial and class factors. Finally, the fifth article discussed the gendered dimensions of the conflict surrounding the Marlin Mine in Guatemala owned by Canadian parent company Goldcorp (52). Thus, overall, the gendered dynamics of resistance to Canadian mining are explored in only two socio-environmental conflicts. I would like to note here that shortly after I conducted my searches, Deonandan *et al.* (2017) published an article discussing the gendered impacts of mining and the gendered dimensions of resistance at the Fenix nickel mine in Guatemala (20). However, to maintain the integrity of my methods, this article is not included in my analysis.

In the Ecuadorian case, women formed an anti-mining women's organization called the *Frente de Mujeres Defensoras de la Pachamama* (FMDP) in response to the sexism and exclusion they faced within the mainstream anti-mining movement (21,23). They were composed of a diverse group of women who did not have a collective Indigenous identity; however, they did identify strongly with the Andean Indigenous Mother Earth deity, *Pachamama* (22,23). The women in Guatemala were a part of the broader anti-mining movement between the local Maya communities and Goldcorp mining company. I identify and discuss three broad themes of gendered dimensions of resistance that arise amongst the five articles: 1) the gendered adversities women face in their resistance, 2) the gendered narratives used to inform women's resistance, and 3) the gendered ways of resisting.

3.3.1. Gendered adversities in resistance

By engaging in activism, Ecuadorian women were challenging societal gender roles and norms that continued to exclude them from participation in politics, public affairs, and decision-making (21–23). Powerful forms of sexist, racist, and classist social control were at play in women's activism, making it more difficult to gain wider support from other

Ecuadorians (23). The violence, harassement, policing, and insults faced by women resisters were often gendered, drawing on long-standing tropes that characterize opinionated women who challenge the status quo as mad or hysterical, or pointing to the "backwards" nature of women land defenders by calling them *Pachamamas* derogatively; even the president of Ecuador used gendered insults to discredit the women's movement (21–23,56). Even if the insults themselves were not explicitly gendered, the ease with which women's activism was nullified, discredited, and insulted was related to their political marginalization within activism. Furthermore, verbal abuse – gendered or not – relied on classist and racist affronts characterizing activists as poor, drunk, ignorant, uneducated, backwards and lazy (23,56). Amongst members of the FMDP, some expressed that several community and family members did not support or actively discouraged women from their participation in activism (56).

While the women resisters were questioning their exclusion based on gender roles in the public sphere, they were not questioning their emphasized roles in the private sphere (23); in fact, they were embracing these gender roles as a motivation and strategy to resist, as will be discussed in the next section. Nevertheless, as stipulated by the gendered division of societal labour, women bear a disproportionate responsibility for domestic activities such as childcare, cleaning, and providing food and water, and these tasks are repetitive, quotidian, continual, and cannot simply be postponed (56). Therefore, it was particularly difficult for women to find the time to engage in activism, or to leave their responsibilities for a day to travel to resistance activities and solidarity events (56). This gendered obstacle constrained movement participation, and intersected with class-based obstacles, such as lack of money and resources to participate (56).

Velasquez (2017) in particular explored the intersections of the complex and ambiguous racial, gender, and class identities of women involved in the FMDP (23). Many of these women rejected the Indigenous identity imposed upon them in favour of *mestizaje*. The elite whites in the city of Cuenca, as well as the Ecuadorian state, represented the rural women of the area with their traditional dress, idealized femininity, and brown skin as icons of Ecuadorian culture, selling their image as a celebration of diversity and multiculturalism in Ecuador; their image has been reproduced in dolls, promotional materials, and souvenir items (23). This use of the folkloric, essentialized image further justified the exclusion and racialization of the real-life mestiza, rural, poor women from public participation in politics and education in universities. Their political participation was unwelcome, exemplifying neoliberal multiculturalism in which a tokenized diversity is celebrated as long as it does not interfere with the hegemonic order. In this way, neoliberalism separated the cultural and political identities of anti-mining resisters (57). Of course, cultural identities inform political identities. The separation of the two has led to a meaningless discourse of multiculturalism that gives the appearance of progressiveness while continuing to exclude the voices and meaningful participation of the marginalized, unless they conform to the status quo.

Through sustained anti-mining resistance, the women of the FMDP countered hegemonic narratives that objectified and commodified them as cultural figures and simultaneously denied their agency and voices. Within anti-mining organizing groups, FMDP women challenged gendered exclusion based on stereotypes of women lacking the ability to speak publicly, which denied them spaces to speak (23). Instead, through resistance, women built their capacity to speak publicly and, with their experiences and narratives, countered the exclusivity of speech as an activity for the educated and elite (23).

While various studies discuss the gendered impacts of the mining industry in Western economic and social terms (7,20,35,51,52), there is little exploration of the effects of anti-mining activism on women resisters. Jenkins and Rondon (2015) did explore the effects of resistance on the psychological and emotional well-being of women, pointing to both the resilience of women as well as their vulnerabilities – fear, trauma, and stress – within structurally violent contexts (56). A gendered analysis would make visible the additional adversities faced by poor, racialized women in their anti-mining activism, as well as their resilience, responses, and persistence amidst these adversities.

3.3.2. Gendered narratives in resistance

3.3.2.1. Empathy

In MacLeod's (2016) interviews with Maya women affected by the Marlin mine, women's empathetic qualities were demonstrated through the grievances they expressed, such as how "development" was causing people to lose the "capacity to feel what the other feels" and "people's hearts [were] growing cold" (52 p. 91); the women also expressed a questioning disbelief of the lack of empathy from the people of the company in causing suffering (52). These expressions illustrate the ways in which neoliberal economic organization shapes social fabrics in impersonal and callous ways, devoid of empathy and caring; this is in stark contrast to the emotive expressions of pain and distress elicited amongst the women due to the suffering of their communities, of animals, and of nature. Women's gendered roles as caregivers and protectors of nature cultivated their heightened capacity for empathy, which informed the gendered narratives and motivations for resisting large-scale mining (22). All five studies found that women drew on their gender roles and qualities to inform their resistance.

3.3.2.2. Caretaking roles

The women resisters of Guatemala and Ecuador emphasized their gendered roles as mothers and caregivers, their responsibility for raising healthy children, and their concern for future generations (22,23,52,56). These roles involved the provision of food through subsistence agriculture and the provision of water for consumption, cooking, cleaning, and bathing – tasks that were directly threatened by large-scale mining due to landscape destruction and excessive water use and contamination (22,52). In these ways, women's valuations of and commitment to the land stemmed, in part, from their specific gender roles. Furthermore, the scope of women's caring and responsibility extended beyond their immediate families to future generations, and those generations' ability to eat, drink, and live, also being threatened by large-scale mining (22,52,56). Finally, women talked about the health threats to their communities, through environmental pollution and loss of livelihood resulting in disease, community fragmentation, and poverty (21–23,52,56).

3.3.2.3. Economic roles

The economic roles women fulfilled in subsistence-based communities were threatened by mining. Women subsistence farmers in Southern Ecuador worried that the land would become infertile due to pollution and that they would lose their source of income and their valued role in providing sustenance (23). They emphasized this as a loss amongst women in particular, because women tend to be more connected to place and men can more easily migrate and obtain other jobs (23).

3.3.2.4.   Relationship to nature

Maya women in Guatemala emphasized that their empathy extended beyond other humans to Mother Earth. Through their closer relationship to nature, a connection based on giving life, they felt responsible for advocating for nature and all its living beings (52). The women expressed their grief regarding the illness or death of animals and trees caused by pollution and the drying up of water sources from mining activity (52). These narratives invoked essentialized ecofeminist narratives of women's intrinsic relationship to nature.

The women in Ecuador also invoked connections to the land and environment as gendered motivations for resisting mining and defending nature, although non-anthropocentric concerns were less explicit (22,56). These connections to *Pachamama*, who, as one research subject explained, "gives us wellbeing, sustenance," again stemmed from women's role as mothers and caregivers (22 p. 451). The connection with nature also served a strategic role amongst the FMDP: the common identity of motherhood helped the movement gain legitimacy by using societal gender roles to further their ends (22). In addition, it was their success in drawing parallels between women's roles as mothers and their duty to care for Mother Earth that enabled the heterogeneous group to develop a common identity and framework of resistance, working across the various intersectional differences amongst the women (23).

3.3.2.5.   Interconnectedness

The land was not only a source of livelihood, but also provided a base for culture and spirituality (52). As the women in both Ecuador and Guatemala reminisced, prior to the arrival of the mines, the social fabric of rural, subsistence-based communities was collective and united (21,52). These connections to land were also gendered, with women in these communities being the bearers of culture, spirituality, and social life (22,52). Jenkins (2017) further notes that women tend to be more anchored to their land, as their activities are often restricted to the local scale (21). This highlights the interconnectedness of spirituality, conservation, sustainability, culture, sustenance, health, economy, leisure and the direct relationship of all these aspects to the surrounding environment in the Indigenous worldview (52), distinct from the Western view that separates and silos these aspects of life.

The land also represented a connection between the generations of the past, the present, and the future (22,52). The land was construed as the inheritance left by ancestors, and as the legacy to be left for future generations (52). As mining threatened to destroy the fruitfulness of the land, the Guatemalan women express the shame that arises from their community's collective inability to care responsibly for this inheritance and their failure to provide anything but poverty for their children, who won't have anywhere to live or anything to eat without the land and its resources (52).

3.3.2.6.   Visions of development

Based on these interconnected gendered narratives informing anti-mining resistance, Maya women in Guatemala articulated their visions of "development," which are in contrast to the Western neoliberal development models based on economic progress indicators, individual achievement, and material accumulation (52). The women emphasized a collective society where there is "friendship, sharing, good food and health" (52 p. 93), and holistic education including cultural and spiritual education that preserves rather than destroys Indigenous culture (52).

Through the gendered roles women fulfilled, and the seemingly aligned threats of mining to these aspects of life, women's resistance in Ecuador (to the Quimsacocha project) and in Guatemala (to the Marlin Mine project) was carried out in a gendered way. The environment is essential to the gendered roles of caring and subsistence, and these strong and unwavering motivations for resistance, tied to a deep sense of identity and values, may help to explain women's sustained resistance and resilience over many years in the face of great injustices.

3.3.3. Gendered ways of resisting

In MacLeod's (2016) analysis, the women research subjects formed part of the broader anti-mining movement (52). In Ecuador, however, Jenkins (2015) and Velasquez (2017) studied a women-only mining resistance group (23,56). Only in the Ecuadorian case were the tactics of resistance discussed as being gendered.

Women's work – which has and often continues to be restricted to the private sphere – goes largely unrecognized and is perceived as insignificant or mundane (7). Jenkins (2017) described women's resistance as "firmly rooted in the women's daily lives and experiences," likewise restricted to the private sphere, and so it follows that these forms of resisting mining also go largely unrecognized and are seen as insignificant and mundane (21 p. 1442). Although the women participated in the more dramatic displays of resistance like protests and confrontations, it was the daily tasks of life that formed the basis for many of the women's acts of resistance, and these quotidian acts of resistance are integral underpinnings of the more visible tactics of resistance that have taken center stage in the literature and media (21). In her analysis, Jenkins (2017) renders visible and significant these forms of resistance. She includes such examples as low-level confrontations between pro- and anti-mining community members; choices on who to support and accept help from as part of communal lifestyles; and the continuance of productive, self-sufficient agriculture in order to challenge the hegemonic narrative of "Andean spaces as empty and ripe for exploitation" (21 p. 1454). In these ways, "everyday spaces [are politicized]" and are "intertwined with local, national, and global […] processes" (21 p. 1447). A gendered lens on the study of anti-mining movements could make space for various forms of resistance, including the active, yet undervalued, contributions of women to resistance efforts.

The women of the FMDP also engaged in protest, confrontation, and other forms of counterhegemonic resistance (23), but more research is needed to understand how these and other tactics of resistance are gendered – for example, who carries signs, whether children are brought to protests, who bears the brunt of criminalization, what kinds of tools are used, and so forth.

3.4. Discussion

Through this review, it is clear that there are significant lacunae in the study of the gendered dimensions anti-mining resistance. First, given the large number of mining conflicts in Latin America listed by various sources (40,41), and the fact that only two groups of women resisting mining are represented in this literature, a wider exploration of gendered dynamics in more anti-mining conflicts is needed to more broadly characterize anti-mining movements as gendered phenomena.

As examined in the introduction to this chapter, there are many ways in which the deep structure of gender can permeate social movements, including the gender composition of the movement and gendered divisions of labour within movements. The internal dynamics of movements can marginalize "other" political actors over the male norm, with women's

activism being seen as complementary, ineffective, or inappropriate and the political arena being dominated and defined by "rational" men (1,4). Movement goals can be gendered in ways that either explicitly or implicitly challenge or reinforce gender hierarchies (2). Central issues in social movements can be framed and analyzed in gendered ways (2). Tactics and strategies of resistance can be gendered, and gendered collective or individual identities as resisters can be actively constructed or passively incorporated into activism. Outside actors can make gendered attributions of resisters, using gendered stereotypes to discredit or legitimize women activists (1) and using gendered violence to silence women activists (58). The cases reviewed in this chapter have given glimpses into how these dimensions apply to anti-mining resistance, but more specific attention to some of these questions could help to clarify how these gendered dimensions manifest within anti-mining movements.

Many of the adversities faced by women anti-mining resisters are consistent with the "double bind" theory that describes the additional challenges women face in activism, such as the marginalization of their political participation. The double bind refers to how women activists who are a part of a social movement face not only the challenges associated with defying the status quo on the central issue of the movement, but also face the challenges associated with defying gender norms relating to domestic confinement and within political activism (2,15,59). Family members, often male, have withheld permission and actively discouraged women's activism due to their absence from the home and "transgressions" of gender roles, and women activists have faced abuse as a result (59). The case of the FMDP highlights the internal oppressions of women within the original anti-mining resistance movement, such as exclusion from leadership, unwelcome differences in political ideology, and stipulated divisions of labour that marginalized the women. These sexist internal oppressions led to the creation of the FMDP, members of which were met with sexist backlash from male activists and general society for this division of the movement (23). Finally, in other anti-mining conflicts where separate women-only groups do not exist, which was the case in the majority of the 61 articles examined in the full scoping review, it is as, or more, important to pay attention to the nuances of how gender infiltrates the internal mechanisms and processes of movements.

The findings also demonstrate how central gendered oppression is to understanding the injustices associated with transnational mining, including environmental degradation, the exacerbation of economic inequality, and the social impacts of mining. Such issues all require gendered critique, with women relying most directly on the environment and their connections to nature; facing greater levels of poverty, economic exclusion, and threats to their economic roles; and being most affected by the altering of the social fabrics of communities through neoliberal development.

Authors examining social movements through a gender lens have pointed out the grassroots and communal nature of women's activism, entrenched in the experiences stemming from their gendered socializations and roles (4,20). Various authors have also discussed how masculinist constructions of "legitimate" organization and leadership structures can result in the invisibilization of women's "lower profile" activism, consciousness-raising work, and community-oriented leadership, all of which form the foundations of sustained movements (2,16,20). Past gendered analyses of social movements also reveal that women make particularly significant contributions in the early stages of organizing, only to find that there is little or no room for them in formal structures upon institutionalization of demands (2,4,60). These insights bare relevance to community-based nature of anti-mining resistance found in Jenkins' (2017) research, with women's activism being rooted in their daily

endeavours and experiences, rather than in high profile leadership or institutionalization (21). Within the anti-mining movement literature, more research is needed to highlight "the vital contribution of these less visible strategies" of social resistance that "have been often neglected and devalued" (2 p. 107).

Furthermore, it has been suggested in the literature that the underestimation of women's political organizing capabilities can create structural opportunities for women's participation because they are perceived as less of a threat, and thus are not repressed or criminalized in the same way as men (2,4). Thus, processes of gendered social control can both limit and enable women land defenders; these dynamics remain underexplored in the anti-mining resistance literature. In Jenkins' research with women protestors resisting mining in Southern Ecuador, women did describe barbaric levels of state violence against them (22,56), and in an anti-mining conflict in Peru, women protesters were sexually assaulted upon detainment (56). However, more research is needed to investigate questions such as whether men and women are criminalized in different ways, and if so, whether this impacts their resistance in terms of actions taken, roles assumed, and risk-taking behaviours.

Several authors point to the preponderance of women around the world who have used motherhood and associated qualities of caring, nurturing, peacefulness, sensitivity, and humility as motivation and as framings for political activism (1,2,4,58,61,62). As discussed in the findings, the anti-mining women resisters all drew on essentialized roles of motherhood and caring, connecting this to their special relationships to mother nature. These gendered identities and constructions also intersect with Indigenous philosophies of interconnectedness and reciprocity with the land. However, although women drawing on feminine essentialized roles to inform their activism can create political opportunity by serving as legitimizing forces, it can also result in de-legitimization through the separation of feminine and masculine qualities and their perceived unsuitability and suitability, respectively, for political involvement (4). More research is needed to understand the dynamics of these framings. Does the essentialization of feminine roles in framing anti-mining resistance limit the potential for transforming gender inequalities by reinforcing women's domestic roles and limiting women's participation in the political sphere, or does it create opportunities for a re-valuation of the traditional roles of women as a way to contest the colonial capitalist patriarchy underlying extractive development? Although authors such as Einwohner (2000) have suggested that by drawing on essentialized roles, women also accept feminine qualities such as passivity, weakness, and dependence, this does not seem to be the case in women's anti-mining resistance (1). The women in the studied cases are claiming their roles actively and boldly, touting their self-sufficiency, independence, and emotional intelligence as essential qualities to long-term survival. These nuances demonstrate that intersectionality in the study of movements becomes more complex when extending the theory outside the Western context, as various factors can conflict with Western views of women's rights (12). The imposition of Western feminisms on non-Western societies can itself turn into ethnic, racial, or religious oppression, paralleling the colonial imposition of patriarchy upon societies in the first place (6,7).

Women involved in environmental justice activism often explicitly gender environmental issues, elucidating the linkage between women's and environmental rights (53). In the 1970's and 1980's, ecofeminism emerged as a framework that theoretically linked the subjugation of women to the subjugation of nature, through patriarchy, colonization, and neo-colonial economic domination disguised as "development" (11,44,53,63,64). Rasch (2012) briefly illustrates how these links have been drawn in anti-mining activism in the Department of

Huehuetenango in Guatemala, where Indigenous women discussed the connections between the liberation of their bodies and their traditional territory, both subjugated under ongoing patriarchal colonization that plunders the land and excludes Indigenous women (65).

Ecofeminists also point to the unjust extractive relations between the Global North and the Global South that ravage the lives of rural and poor women who rely on their immediate environment for food, water, and other subsistence provisions (63,66). These relations clearly pertain to this chapter's study of transnational mining exploitation: poor, racialized, women in mining-affected communities tend to have the least participatory power in mining-related decisions, but have more to lose and less to gain from mining than their male counterparts. The devaluation of women's work – often laboriously performed without time and labour saving technology (7,21,59) – can lead to the pejorative minimization of their trepidations about mining by mine supporters, mining officials, and state actors (53).

Through an ecofeminist framework, women's rights, Indigenous rights, environmental rights, and economic rights all converge in anti-mining struggles. In addition to being linked through exploitative domination, women and nature are related through both their biological roles as creators of life (essentialism) as well as their socially constructed roles of caretaking and contributing unrecognized labour to human society (social constructionism) (11,44,63). In Western feminist thought, a divisive dualism characterizes the two approaches – essentialism and social constructionism – to ecofeminism (11,63). Essentialists argue that women's innate connections with nature have been devalued in colonial patriarchy and need revaluing, through which the connections can become empowering. In contrast, social constructionists argue that the socially constructed and imposed relationships between women and nature require a deconstruction to disrupt the oppression of women. Each movement rejects key arguments of the other – essentialists objecting to the pejorative characterization of women-nature relationships and social constructionists arguing that essentialism justifies the overburdening of women with undue emotional and reproductive labour at best and the continued domination of women at worst (11,63,64). However, non-Western feminist thinkers such as Vandana Shiva have illuminated a duality between the approaches and have contested the categorical boundaries and subsequent polarization of approaches (66). A perspective that classifies the problem as all humans being too separated from nature through colonial development, rather than women being too connected to nature, divulges a path towards a sustainable way of being, allowing for simultaneous and intersectional critique of various forms of exploitation (66). Women's connections with nature and women's roles have been socially constructed throughout centuries, but this built knowledge and wisdom of how to care, share, and survive should not only be revalued, but also serve as a "foundation of a new paradigm that would change the current state of relationships between humans and nature" (44 p. 78).

In analyzing anti-mining activism of women in Latin America, in which context many women are Indigenous or ascribe to Indigenous philosophies, the impositions of Western boundaries of ecofeminist thought are inappropriate. Respecting women resisters as agents in their development, Jenkins (2015) calls for researchers (particularly from the North) to be attuned to the cultural and strategic nuances of essentialist narratives (22).

Finally, only one of the five articles studied took an explicitly intersectional approach to gendering anti-mining movements. In addition to gender, many mining-affected communities are composed of mixed racial identities stemming from complex histories of colonization – including Indigenous, mestizo/a, and afro-descendant populations, as well as differing class

relations (55,67). Studies on these intersecting identities of gender, race, and class would illuminate the complexity and dynamicity of anti-mining resistance movements, which go far beyond resisting mining itself.

3.5. Conclusion

Gendered perspectives are of paramount importance, because "filtering social movements through a 'gender lens' has the potential of broadening and deepening our understanding of resistance activities" (2 p. 21). Anti-mining activism against the injustices of Canadian transnational mining in Latin America offers a clear example of the necessity of feminist analysis in the study of social movements, as well as the current lack of scholarly attention to gendered dynamics in anti-mining activism. Critical reflections on the internal dynamics of movements are not meant to undermine social movements working towards a particular progressive goal, but rather to enhance their emancipatory potential through an intersectional approach and to avoid the replication of internal oppressions in the study of social movements. The cases presented in this chapter indicate that anti-mining resistance is, indeed, a highly gendered phenomenon.

One limitation of the review is the exclusion of the published Spanish literature, in which there may be further exploration of the gendered dynamics of anti-mining resistance. In addition, this review focuses solely on Canadian mining operations, which is only one player in global extractivist dynamics. This review was also delimited to Central and Andean South America, most notably excluding Argentina and Chile, in which there could also be exploration of gender dimensions of anti-mining resistance. Nevertheless, this chapter offers novel insights that draw together some important findings on the gendered dimensions of the anti-mining movement in Latin America, elucidating avenues of future research needed to address remaining questions.

What remains clear is that gendered oppression is one more way in which the neo-colonial practices of the Global North today mirror the gendered tactics of colonization of the past. The social movements resisting mining invasions are permeated by the deep structure of gender in complex, interacting, nuanced, and sometimes contradictory ways. These dynamics mandate scholarly engagement with questions of intersectionality, in order to consciously reflect upon and critique the deep structures that infiltrate anti-mining movements.

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4. CHAPTER 4: Conclusion

4.1. Conclusions and reflections

Anti-mining movements in Latin America are extraordinarily complex, dynamic, and nuanced phenomena. They are grassroots responses to the oppressions and injustices that are "killing people on a grand scale" (1 p. 26). What is particularly sinister about the situation is that "benevolent" and "peaceful" Canadians, through elected representatives or direct financial interests, are either passively enabling or actively perpetuating both horrific human rights violations as well as global patterns of injustice. A broad body of multidisciplinary literature has established the role of the Canadian government and Canadian mining companies in creating the enormously unequal arrangement that is transnational resource extraction.

In this thesis project, I have conducted a systematic qualitative scoping review, synthesizing the literature on anti-mining resistance across several important themes and providing a broad characterization of this burgeoning phenomenon as discussed by the published literature. Given the interdisciplinary and qualitative nature of the literature on this topic, the scoping review method provided an appropriate balance between systematic searching of the literature and exploratory mappings of qualitative information. The broad overall research question that guided this review allowed for a reflexive process, in which the initial search of the literature informed both the themes examined in the review and the inclusion and exclusion criteria used to screen articles. The data charting process enabled themes to be summarized not only in tables and numbers, but also through qualitative summaries that better capture the complexity of the topic. Finally, unlike other types of literature review methodologies, in scoping reviews, quality assessment of studies are not required; this suited the nature of the reviewed literature, which utilized a variety of methodologies from a variety of disciplines. Many studies were not written in typical formats and thus did not include specific and extensive methods sections.

I delimited this study to Central America and Andean South America, excluding other regions – notably Argentina and Chile – which may also yield rich data with respect to community resistance to Canadian mining. Furthermore, although this review focused on the peer-reviewed literature, much valuable research and information on the topic exists in books, community organization publications and materials, and other forms of grey literature. Finally, while Canadian mining is a significant player in the global mining industry, it is but one actor within a broad extractivist dynamic between the Global North and Global South.

In the critical study of social movements, researchers have examined not only the external dynamics of movements, that is, how communities organize as a unit to achieve certain goals, but also the internal dynamics within movements – the tensions that lead to divisions, the varying stances that arise within activist circles, and the constant frictions that infiltrate all aspects of activism. Over chapters two and three of this thesis, which were written as standalone manuscripts, I have synthesized the information pertaining to various key themes in the anti-mining literature.

The reviewed literature revealed a discussion of 26 conflicts between communities and Canadian mining companies in Latin America, with the majority of these conflicts occurring during the exploration phases of mining. Many of these communities expressed a complete rejection of this exploitative form of development, and some communities expressed a

broader rejection of the exclusionary nature of neoliberalism in which inequalities grow and individualism prevails. However, conflicts that occurred during the exploitation stage, in which communities typically assumed a less radical stance towards mining, remain underexplored in the literature.

Although much research has treated the resisting community as a homogenous unit, those researchers that did explore the heterogeneous identities within communities found significant intersecting, historically-rooted dynamics to be unpacked. For example, in several cases, the threat of mining united various groups that had been previously separated along lines of class, ethnicity, race, and livelihood. On the other hand, internal oppressions replicating societal oppressions were also described in some communities. In particular, gender within anti-mining resistance was not extensively explored across the various conflicts, but some authors have focused on women's resistance to mining. These studies have revealed that anti-mining resistance is, in a multitude of ways, a deeply gendered process, existing at the theoretical intersections of ecofeminisms, transnational feminisms, and Indigenous feminisms. The literature explored has made it clear that, through their gendered roles and experiences, women faced unique adversities in their daily lives as well as within anti-mining movements; expressed gendered motivations and framings of their demands; and enacted their activism in particular ways. Ironically, these internal oppressions within movements seem to be replicated by the lack of scholarly attention to heterogeneities within activism, which has created an important gap in the research, as outlined in Chapters 2 and 3.

The use of a diversity of motivations, strategies, and framings characterized the specific conflicts explored in the literature under review. Synthesis of the literature has elucidated various connections and tensions within these processes. Given the broad range of social, economic, and environmental effects resulting from transnational mining, set upon a historical backdrop of various forms of oppression and marginalization, communities have voiced several interrelated injustices that served as motivations for resistance and informed the movements' goals. In addition, movements were framed in diverse ways to appeal to various audiences. A broad range of community organizing tactics and strategies to voice and achieve demands have been documented in the literature.

The success or non-success of an anti-mining movement is dependent on a complex interplay between structure and agency. The political and economic timing and context are key factors influencing success of a movement, but so are the community organizing processes – the motivations, framings, and tactics – employed by anti-mining activists. The identities of resisters exist at the crossroads of structure and agency: identities are socially constructed and imposed upon people by hegemonic structures that maintain difference and inequality, but activists use their unique identities to inform their resistance and reclaim their rights. Indigenous status, class, livelihood, and gender identities have all informed and shaped resistance in unique ways, both actively and passively.

It is clear from this exploration of the literature that many areas remain to be further investigated across a greater number and variety of conflicts, including how movement actors relate to each other, their alliances, and their opponents, as well as how ideological stances influence communities' constructions of activism, framings of resistance, and strategies used. When comparing the 26 conflicts with tallies of conflicts recorded by OCMAL and MICLA, only a subset of conflicts was represented in the literature. Furthermore, anti-mining activism offers a clear example of the necessity of gendered analysis in the study of social movements,

and future research could address this current lack of scholarly attention to intersectional dynamics in anti-mining activism. As extractive development continues, these conflicts, and the larger battles they represent, are ongoing. Thus, the critical engagement with and documentation of conflicts by scholars must continue.

Solutions to this complicated global problem would necessarily be complex, dynamic, and multifaceted. The goal of focusing on community organizing in this thesis was to highlight the importance of the grassroots work that communities do to resist domination and oppression. Mining companies, policy makers, concerned Canadians, and other stakeholders must shift the way they conceive of marginalized groups in the Global South from passive victims to active agents capable of making decisions and creating powerful change. Although the UN Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) is an important legal and political tool for Indigenous communities affected by mining, there are also many primarily non-Indigenous communities affected by mining who do not have such internationally recognized rights that can be utilized in battles against mining companies and pro-mining governments. In addition, UNDRIP is not enforceable, and even countries that have signed UNDRIP have clearly allowed the violation of Indigenous peoples' rights as outlined in the declaration.

On the Canadian side, large battles against political and economic power are required to begin solving the problems associated with Canadian transnational mining. As discussions around climate change and sustainability gain traction, transnational extractivism can be a can be a part of conversations, including how to shift this unsustainable global dynamic that currently plays a major role in the Canadian economy. At minimum, while extractivism continues, the Canadian government can create regulation to hold companies accountable for acts committed abroad; conditions on financial support provided to its mining companies; and avenues for legal redress for people harmed by mining. Canadian citizens can become aware of how their money is being invested and lobby the Canadian government to invest ethically. Although these solutions don't address the larger issues associated with the imperialistic relationship between Canada and Latin America, they can at least help to prevent immediate human rights violations and environmental harms inflicted upon communities. Although top down approaches are an important part of the solution, they alone do not constitute a decolonizing, anti-oppressive method of solving the problem. Working to empower and amplify the voice and leadership of communities changes the way we think about working with and for mining-affected communities, allowing them to guide the top down policies that help alleviate their oppression.

Anti-mining movements provide a rich phenomenon upon which various areas of study and practice converge and interact, including health, development, environment, justice, social theory, Indigenous studies, economics, and politics. It provides fertile ground for the construction of new theoretical and practical understandings and alliances between these disciplines. More importantly, as acts of violence, dispossession, and exploitation continue at the hands of Canadian mining companies, individuals and communities in various corners of the Global South are being harmed in alarming ways. Cultures, livelihoods, and lives are being lost. Those defending their lives, against all odds amidst immense adversity, are asserting not only their basic human rights, but also their right to be agents in their own development.

The literature explored represents a promising exploration of community resistance to mining, opening various avenues for the application of social theory to a new field of inquiry.

As mining-related injustices continue, research that approaches the phenomenon from a critical viewpoint is urgently needed to better understand how agents in the Global South respond to top down economic development that stands to wreak havoc upon their lives. In the study of oppression and injustice, neutrality on the part of scholars is complicit with hegemonic systems that produce and maintain inequity. This is of particular relevance for scholars of the Global North who are concerned with the ways in which their countries are participating in the dynamics of globalization. Nuria, a mining resister in Ecuador in Jenkins (2015) research, stated, "we know that [mining] is only so that the corporations can carry on increasing their profits and nothing else. And the communities are left worse off than ever" (2 p. 455). In great numbers, people in mining-affected communities of Latin America have issued an unequivocal rejection of mining, which bears deeply on global discussions of exploitative and extractive industries, neoliberalism, neocolonialism, environmental destruction, and social movements.

4.2. References

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