

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

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Abstract

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

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

Résumé

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

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

Resumen

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

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

1. Introduction

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

2. Resistance to mining

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

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

3. Women and extractive industries

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

² Body-land territory, in English.

4. Methodology

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

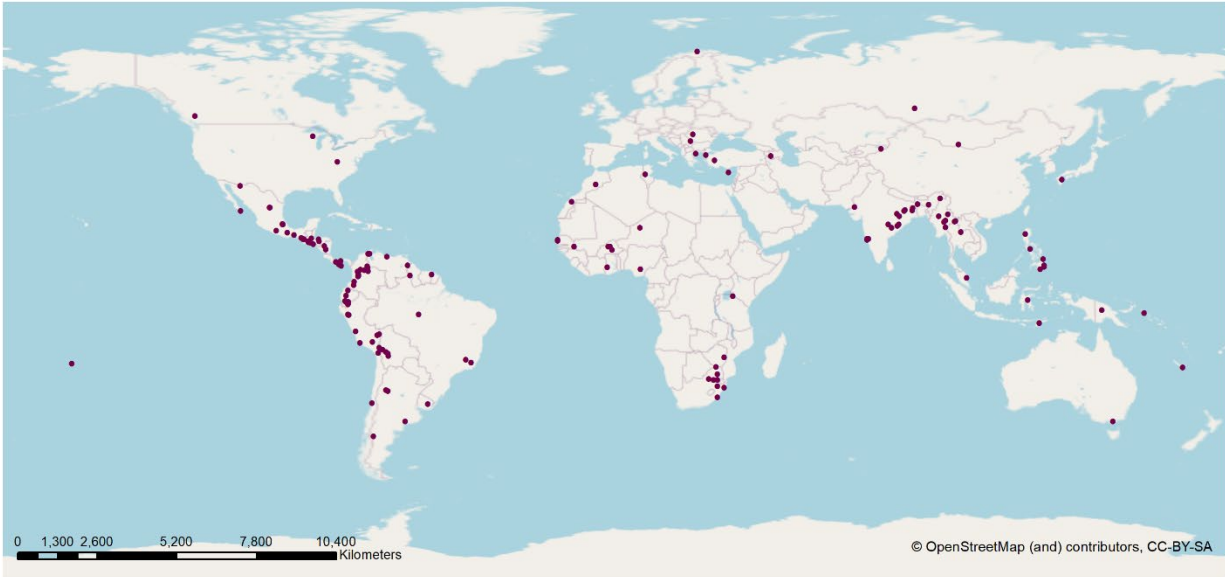


Figure 1: Geographical coverage of environmental conflicts registered in the EJAtlas, 2021 (n=151). Note that each dot represents one case.⁵

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

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

⁴ According to the supplementary material for Scheidel *et al.* (2020), the category "Women" in the Atlas is defined in the following manner: "Women collectives or women organizations playing a key role in the mobilization against the contentious activity, either because they are affected by specific impacts (health, labor, household conditions, sexual exploitation, discrimination, or murder), or because they lead the main narratives of resistance and transformation". See more at: <https://ars.els-cdn.com/content/image/1-s2.0-S0959378020301424-mmcl.pdf>.

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

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

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

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

5. Results and discussion

Impacts of mining projects on women

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Table 1: Categories of impacts felt by women.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Women's actions in resistance to mining

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

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

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

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

Table 2: Categories of actions carried out by women.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Scale of intervention and alliances

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

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

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

Patriarchal relations within opposition to mining

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

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

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

Women's activism and socio-political transformation

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

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

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

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

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

6. Concluding discussion

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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Appendices

Annex A - List of organizations

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

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

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

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

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

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

Annex B – List of female leaders

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

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

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

148	Judy Bonds	Leader against mountaintop removal coal mining in West Virginia, USA	Won Goldman Environmental Prize in 2003.
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Annex C – List of cases analyzed and sources of information

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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