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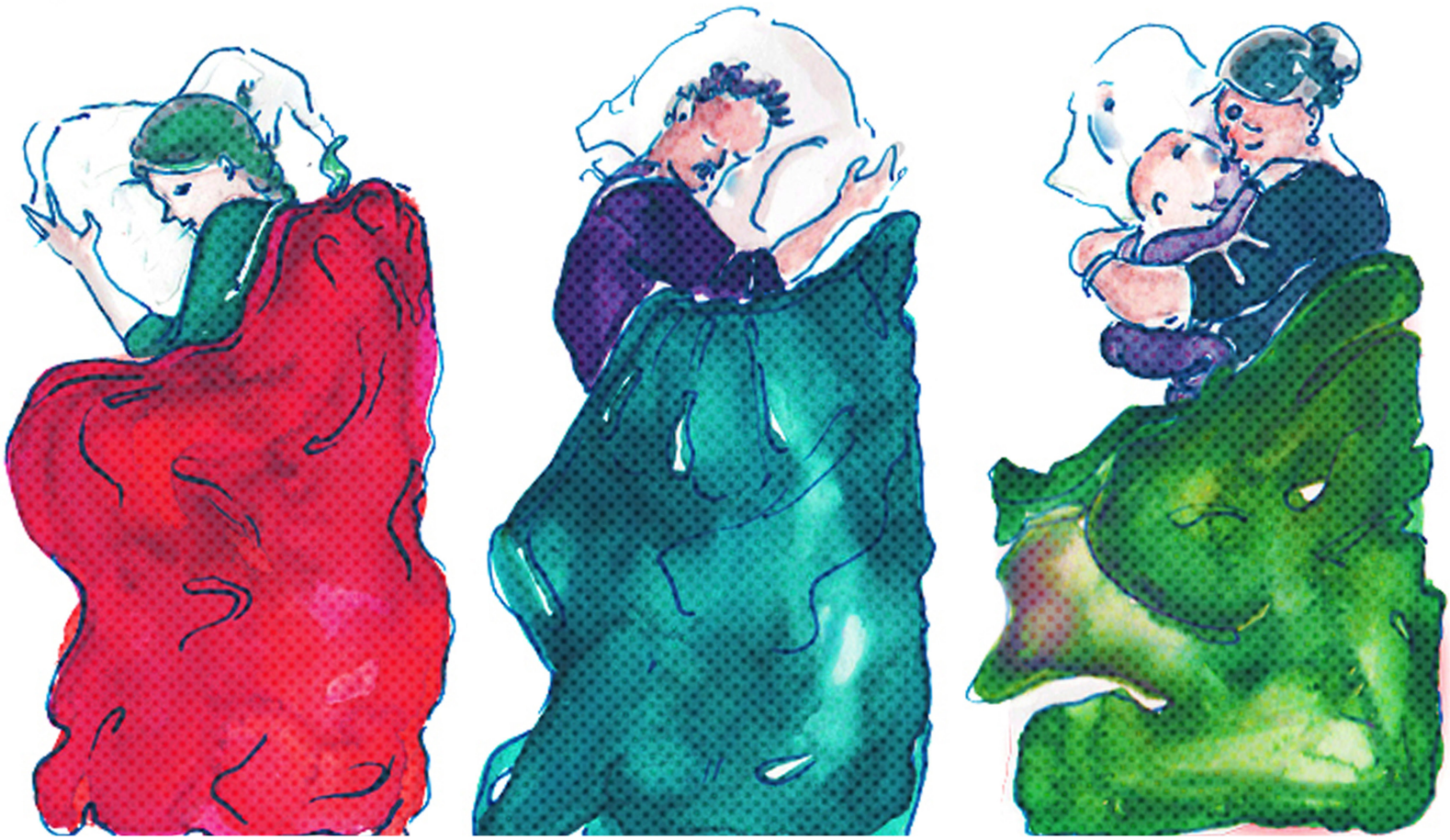
environmental justice



KOKILA BHATTACHARYA

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Volume 20

environmental justice

2017

Black PoeTree Saved My Life

MELISSA A. DEAN

Free our Heroes caged in prison cells.
When will we hear more Wedding Bells than gun salutes?
Black Power is on the rise again,
that strange fruit
Ready-ripe-juicy
Bittersweet roots
I rep three “hoods” Jane-Finch, Weston, and Parma Court
I’ve seen a lot a’ black men get dribbled by the courts.
Police playing basket-ball with our lover’s balls
White sheets stained red. We're not making love no more.
Naked as the day me born/a sheep in wolves clothing...
Get in bed with me guarantee you'll know me by mourning.
Tears stain my pillow cover for my lil’ cousin... murdered di day him dawtah born,
(I know she woulda loved him). Nuff poems ‘bout dis, hmhm but tell me sumin...
        yuh tink mi coulda write like dis/ if it neva happn?
Ghetto yutes seh free Kartel/I say free Buju Banton! And I say you can lean on me,
‘Cause I'm a strong black ooman. So listen to your HeArts... (We need you) don't fall apart.
Instead guh listen to Muta... He know what he talkin’ bout.
Listen Marcus Garvey ‘n Nikki Giovanni.
Like a child learns to listen to Daddy and Mommy.
        LISTEN to a lot of Pac and mix it with some Biggie.
And I say don’t forget to listen to Maestro and Michie.
Read scripture to Knight then sever ties with Ethridge.
‘Cause Crack kills a Haiku-- consists of better lines so instead write rhymes for leverage.
Black Fire EXI(S)Ts in our Souls because we made it through the Middle Passage.
I'm talking Black Liberation,
Your White guilt trip is only Collateral damage.
Corrupt governments/\contaminated environments
You ask me how dis one so long and I ain't even get started yet.
Tightrope walking, this journey is not for cowards.
Celebrate your lives now ‘cause no one knows their final hours. And,
Poetry saved my life...Though I've known great men who got up and died for this.
Like Baraka who willed his spirit to us poets and Dub poet Mikey Smith. This is why I write.
Lorde said “Poetry is Not a Luxury,” so I stay on the front lines.
‘Cause like a King I also Have a Dream!

Ask m'mom Lorraine, I been writing Black Power poems since preteen. Black is Supreme,
This hegemonic system will not ruin my self-esteem and self-worth.
I love you, me, and God first. We're a team which means this Love should not hurt.
Free my kings... Locked up for crimes police commit, and get away with it... Tired of this
Dats why this poem stands ground to ward off evil spies,
                                        see through all their lies,
                    and sever ties with fake allies.
                    Get it?   “Therapeutic Violence”
                    Credit: Fanon.
                    And all him write hand.
                    If I'm married to this stage then this poem is like my best man.
And I say rise and Occupy Black Thought, Nelson Mandela.
Since you left it’s been raining black sons. Be our Umbrella.
As we stand hand in hand by the exit of Stuart Hall.
Cornell West said Justice is what Love looks like in Public
So whether you’re out Walking while Black
                                                  ...Running while Black
Don't fall!
                    And whenever you choose to stand... Stand tall!
May the memories of Will ‘Da Real One’ Bell, Sean Bell, and Anthony Bell’s mother-
killed by police...
RIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIINNNGGG BELLS!
And YES, the time is always now to FREEEEEEEEEEEE our Heroes caged in prison cells
                                        We need to hear more Wedding Bells,
TRUTH
Black Power is on the RIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIISE again,
that strange fruit.
Ready-ripe-juicy
Bittersweet roots.
Ready,
Set.
Black Love
AIM!
Gun Salute
.

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[Warning: content discusses various forms of violence, oppression, and trauma (sexual, gender-based, racialized, colonial, etc.); readers may find content triggering]

Editorial Essay

BENJAMIN J. KAPRON FOR THE *UNDERCURRENTS* EDITORIAL COLLECTIVE

> The quest for environmental justice is a social, political, and moral struggle for human rights, healthy environments, and thriving democracies led by residents of communities most negatively impacted by economic and ecological degradation . . . Activists and scholars of environmental justice challenge the disproportionate burden of toxic contamination, waste dumping, and ecological devastation borne by low-income communities, communities of color, and colonized territories. They advocate for social policies that uphold the right to meaningful, democratic participation of frontline communities in environmental decision making, and they have redefined the core meanings of the "environment" and the interrelationships between humans and nature, thereby challenging and transforming environmentalism more broadly. (Di Chiro 100)

Theories of environmental justice invoke how efforts to act against the destruction of the natural world have never been disconnected from struggles for social justice. Based in a Canadian university faculty where significant work is being done to challenge both social injustice and environmental crises, the *UnderCurrents* Editorial Collective felt it important to focus a volume on reconnecting and regrouping environmental and social movements, and upholding Black women, Indigenous women, and Women of Colour's foundational role in environmental justice. As we note in our Call for Submissions for this volume:

> Over thirty years has passed since community activists gathered together and fought back against toxic dumping in their town of Afton in Warren County, North Carolina. The decades-long resistance that took place in Warren County marked the founding of the environmental justice movement in the United States, a movement that, to this day, is predominantly led by women of colour. The framework of environmental justice has since been adopted and adapted in activist and academic circles around the world. However, though environmental justice is a relatively new term, the idea is centuries old. As Agyeman et al. point out, Indigenous peoples on the land now called Canada have long been "articulating environmental injustices in relation to loss of land, Aboriginal title, and devastation of their traditional territories and the life forms they support" (7). (Ghorbani Nejad 73)

Drawing attention to the interconnected 'human' and 'nature' sides of environmental justice feels undeniably necessary. The Standing Rock Sioux's fight against the Dakota Access Pipeline is as much a fight against settler colonialism as it is a fight against resource extraction and environmental pollution. Lead poisoning in Flint, Michigan's water supply is yet another chapter in the legacy of systemic environmental racism. Closer to home, pipeline development in Canada reveals intersections of racism, settler colonialism, environmental destruction, and class where, for instance, Enbridge's Line 9 pipeline pumps tar sands bitumen through Aamjiwnaang First Nation—an Ojibwe community already facing the health impacts of living within Canada's "Chemical Valley"—as well as the highly racialized Jane and Finch community. A rise in right-wing populism, across the globe and in Canadian politics, is uniting and strengthening those who disregard global climate change to support unfettered capitalist development, with the xenophobic, white supremacist, misogynist, homophobic, transphobic "Alt-Right." And as Canada is set to celebrate 150 years since the confederation of the Canadian settler state—a celebration purportedly focused on themes of "diversity, reconciliation with indigenous peoples, the environment and youth" (Hannay)—Justin Trudeau's federal government has yet to take meaningful action on its promises to tackle climate change and reinvigorate nation-to-nation relationships between the Canadian government and Indigenous nations.

Across geographies and scales, the importance of struggling for environmental justice is becoming ever-more pressing, at the same time that the resources that allow us to do this work are under attack. During the production of this volume, teaching assistants, contract faculty, and graduate assistants—including the graduate assistants who worked for *UnderCurrents*, and many students who volunteer their time and work to *UnderCurrents*—went on strike for tuition indexation at York University: so increasing tuition fees would be matched by increasing financial compensation for graduate students, ensuring that support for graduate students would not be cut, underhandedly, by increasing tuition fees. Although the strike won protection for tuition indexation, a new university funding model subsequently cut virtually all of the graduate assistant positions, removing more than 600 students from the Canadian Union of Public Employees' local 3903—a move seen by many as union-busting. Many of these graduate assistant positions existed in York University's Faculty of Environmental Studies (FES), where *UnderCurrents* is housed. When previously every FES Master's student, with very few exceptions, was guaranteed a graduate assistantship, these positions upheld FES' vision and mandate for, ostensibly, interdisciplinary *environmental justice*—these positions supported initiatives for accessibility, community, and equity within the university; strengthened long-term relationships and partnerships with community organizations; and assisted the operation of arts-spaces such as the Crossroads Gallery, Wild Garden Media Centre, and *UnderCurrents*. Cutting these positions—part of the increasing neo-liberalization of the university—might be seen as an attack on environmental justice organizing as well. In the latter stages of the production of this volume, *UnderCurrents* lost its graduate assistants, forcing us to operate as a wholly volunteer collective, delaying the publication of this volume and raising questions about the viability of *UnderCurrents* going forward.

However, while our current circumstances may appear dire, the works in this volume illuminate how those who have been struggling for environmental justice remain strong and resilient—how, particularly, those Women of Colour, Black women, and Indigenous women, who gave rise to environmental justice in its academic conceptualization, and its earlier actualization, are not in retreat. As Melissa A. Dean says in the poem that opens this volume: "Black Power is on the RIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIISE again." Struggles for (environmental) justice have a long history and have momentum: we are not starting from nowhere in this work, we are not alone. And if we work together, and in solidarity across identities, positions, and geographies, we have much to gain. Maya Nye and Reena Shadaan's scholarly essay "Solidarity in Struggle" (accompanied by the artwork of Kokila Bhattacharya) highlights these themes, looking at the history of solidarity between Bhopal, India, and Kanawha Valley, USA: two communities who have, devastatingly, seen the consequences of unsafe conditions and operations in (Union Carbide's) chemical facilities, and who recognize that their struggles for environmental justice are not isolated, but globally interconnected.

Pieces in this volume look at violent intersections across structures of oppression: how sexual violence, racialized violence, colonial violence, etc. are intertwined with environmental violence. These topics are troubling and upsetting, and some readers might find them triggering.

Tina Garnett's poem "from the dust of their elder's bones" addresses how the ongoing legacies of settler colonialism and black slavery affect the lives of Indigenous and Black women, and particularly how mainstream services meant to 'heal' against trauma can re-victimize Indigenous and Black women when their methods for 'healing' are born out colonial and racist theorizations. Rachel Small's poem "Lot Eight / Lote Ocho" (of which, a spoken-word recording is featured on the *UnderCurrents* website) was developed out of Small's conversations with Guatemalan women fighting and surviving against intersectional violences, including sexual violences, created by Canadian mining companies. The poem asks how Canadians might act in solidarity—or more—with these women, both in holding these companies accountable for their actions, but also calling Canadians to question how we benefit from neo-colonial mining operations and the realities of settler colonial dispossession in Canada. An excerpt from Peter Hobbs' comic book "The Tale of the Sarnia Nose" highlights the racist and colonial hypocrisy of criminalizing Indigenous "smoke shacks" around Aamjiwnaang and Sarnia, Ontario, while the serious impact that industrial pollution in the area is having on human and environmental health remains largely unrecognized and unchallenged.

Carmen Umana K.'s "Cyborg Salmon" and Erica Gajewski's "Mercury, Water, PCB, DDT" call viewers to think about the boundaries of "humans" and "nature" in environmental justice, or the lack of any such boundaries—how human impact on the environment is increasingly ingrained in the very *being* of other beings. Umana K.'s life-size sculpture of an adult salmon, built out of metal and other materials, showcases how technological and social management of Atlantic Salmon in Lake Ontario make these fish "cyborgs," in Donna Haraway's conceptualization. And Gajewski's life-size drawing of a beluga whale, with chemical formulas and symbols covering the animal's body, calls viewers to contend with the extent of human impact on the environment when "[b]eluga whales . . . are so contaminated with toxins that their bodies, when they wash ashore, are treated as toxic waste."

In his scholarly essay, Dylan McMahon explores the Peterborough, Ontario iteration of Food Not Bombs as a not-easily-defined organization and sustained direct action, which responds to food insecurity, develops radical participatory democracy, and re-thinks the interweavings of capitalism, food, and human bodies. For McMahon, Food Not Bombs is a profound example of Mikhail Bakhtin's carnivalesque: a temporary imagined *and lived* subversion of dominant societal relations.

Jan Kucic-Riker addresses political and material facets of environmental injustice in relation to British Columbia Hydro's proposed Site C Clean Energy Project. Kucic-Riker demonstrates how 'environmental' initiatives are not immune from perpetuating settler colonialism and environmental racism. Although, as the name suggests, the Site C project is intended to produce "clean energy," concerns of local Indigenous communities—particularly the Treaty 8 First Nations—are not being sufficiently addressed in the project's planning, and the Treaty 8 First Nations are expected to face significant harms when and if the project is completed and becomes operational.

The volume closes with excerpts from Kathleen Brown's story, "City Disappearing," which turns towards personal and embodied questions of living amidst immense environmental devastation. As lovers Vera and Hartland awake to a flooding city, the piece leaves us to ponder where do they—and all of us facing lives increasingly underwritten by environmental injustice—go from here?

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Solidarity in Struggle

32 years on... From Bhopal, India to Kanawha Valley, USA

MAYA NYE & REENA SHADAAN

A message to the people of Bhopal: We are writing you from the shadow of the Union Carbide plant at Institute, West Virginia. We are residents, professors and college students who oppose MIC [methyl isocyanate] production in our community. Like you, we are people who need industry for jobs, and for the products that make our lives better. Like you, we now know that safety and health come first. May our common concern bond your community and ours for many years to come.

– Estella Chandler, People Concerned About MIC (now called People Concerned About Chemical Safety),[1] August 18th, 1985 (*Chemical Valley*).

The International Campaign for Justice in Bhopal (ICJB), a global coalition led by four Bhopal gas disaster survivors' groups and one Bhopal-based support group, uses the slogan, "We all live in Bhopal" to indicate the global battle against the toxic trespass of our bodies and environments by hazardous industries. This is of particular relevance in Kanawha Valley—also known as "Chemical Valley"[2]—West Virginia (WV). Kanawha Valley, and particularly the community of Institute,[3] shares a historic connection with Bhopal, India—the site of the world's worst industrial disaster—and as in Bhopal, residents have dealt with toxic emissions for decades.

In the following, we detail the separate, but interconnected, histories of these two landmark struggles. In doing so, we demonstrate that diverse communities facing environmental racism—like those of Bhopal, India and Institute, WV—have formed sustained relationships of solidarity through struggle. This solidarity is demonstrated through the exchanges of support for one another's local struggle, framed within the broader scope of the struggle for environmental justice. This transnational solidarity challenges the increasing power of multinational corporations (MNC's) within a neoliberal system—a system that undermines the health and well-being of (primarily racialized, Indigenous and/or poor) populations worldwide.[4]

Bhopal, India

In 1969, the Union Carbide Corporation's Indian subsidiary, Union Carbide India Limited, constructed a chemical facility in Bhopal, the capital city of Madhya Pradesh, India. The facility was 50.9% owned by the American-owned Union Carbide Corporation (Hanna, Morehouse and Sarangi xxiv). In effect, the parent corporation held ultimate decision-making authority over the plant's maintenance and operation. The purpose of the facility was to formulate and later manufacture pesticides for India's Green Revolution, marking a shift to the use of mechanized agriculture, GMOs, chemical-based fertilizers and pesticides (Morehouse and Mathur 27-28).

Union Carbide's US-based officials approved the utilization of untested technology ("Carbide's internal documents" 19-20), instituted cost-cutting measures that resulted in a slew of safety hazards, and hazardously stored methyl isocyanate (MIC) (ICFTU-ICEF 28-35)—a substance more toxic than phosgene (Rajagopal 24).

Notably, the facility was sited in the poorest subsection of Bhopal, known as Old Bhopal. Old Bhopal is comprised largely of daily wage earners, and migrants from rural areas (displaced as a result of the Green Revolution, and other projects) (Sarangi, "The movement in Bhopal . . ." 101). In addition, a large portion of the population identifies as Muslim and scheduled-caste Hindu—both of whom are marginalized in the Indian context (Hanna 6). ICJB community mobilizer, Hazira Bi—who resides in the severely impacted locality of Jai Prakash Nagar—notes, "When the gas leaked it poisoned the area close to Union Carbide... all the places where the poor live. There is certainly a reason why only the poor were allotted land near a dangerous factory like UCC" (Scandrett et al. 141).

Labour unions fought long and hard to improve the deteriorating safety conditions within the facility, and the routine exposure of workers to hazardous chemicals (Ranjhi 12). However, worker's demands were routinely ignored by Union Carbide's American and Indian officials. On December 26th, 1981, a maintenance worker named Mohammed Ashraf was killed. Ashraf, who was not provided with PVC overalls, was splashed with phosgene as a result of a malfunctioning valve. In a panic, he removed his mask, resulting in the inhalation of a large quantity of phosgene. Seventy-two hours later, Ashraf was dead (Chouhan 34). Absolving their responsibility, Union Carbide officials noted, "It is a matter of regret that because of unmindful removal of safety mask before decontaminating himself, Mr. Ashraf Mohd. Khan suffered exposure to toxic gas" (Chakravarty 13).

Ashraf's death did little to improve safety in the facility. In January 1982, a phosgene leak hospitalized 24 workers (none of whom had been ordered to wear protective masks), and in February 1982, a MIC leak impacted 18 workers (Eckerman 38). In May 1982, a safety audit found 61 hazards (30 major and 11 in the MIC and phosgene units); however, no action was taken to remediate these hazards (Hanna, Morehouse and Sarangi xxiv). In August 1982, a chemical engineer was exposed to liquid MIC, resulting in burns to over 30% of his body (Eckerman 38). In September 1982, Union Carbide dismantled the siren warning system to prevent the adjacent communities from being alerted to toxic leaks. A month later, a chemical leak resulted in the hospitalization of hundreds of residents in the neighbouring communities (Hanna, Morehouse and Sarangi xxiv). The MIC supervisor, who attempted to stop this leak, experienced major chemical burns, while two other workers were severely exposed (Eckerman 39). Following this leak, the workers' union circulated flyers in the adjacent communities, warning: "Beware of Fatal Accidents", "Lives of thousands of workers and citizens in danger because of poisonous gas" and "Spurt of accidents in the factory, safety measures deficient" (ICFTU-ICEF 35). Union Carbide's response was to ban all political and union meetings inside the factory, and soon after, they laid off union leaders (Eckerman 39).

Moreover, between 1983 and 1984, major cost-cutting measures were instituted. The MIC unit saw a reduction in staffing from twelve to six, and safety training was reduced from six months to 15 days. In addition, safety manuals were re-written to permit the shutting down of two safety systems when the plant was not in operation (ICJB, "What Happened in Bhopal?"). It is this blatant neglect of health and safety that led to the world's worst industrial disaster.

On December 3rd, 1984, 40 tons of MIC leaked from Union Carbide's Old Bhopal-based facility (Hanna, Morehouse and Sarangi 3). Approximately 500,000 people were exposed, and up to 10,000 were killed within three days (Amnesty, *30 years is too long . . .* 2). Recalling the night of the disaster, Resham Bi—a resident of the severely impacted community of Jai Prakash Nagar—notes,

Was it an unavoidable accident? Or an 'accident' at all?

Carbide acted in a rather peculiar manner, responding to the death of Ashraf Khan by intensifying their cost-cutting in the most dangerous areas of the plant. The workforce was halved. The crew of the MIC unit was slashed from twelve to six, and its maintenance staff from six to two. Safety training was reduced from six months to two weeks, reduced in effect to slogans (but the slogans were in English so the workers couldn't understand them anyway). There were so many small leaks that the alarm siren was turned off to avoid inconveniencing the neighbours. In case of repairs, old parts *were recycled instead*. Managers were still looking for things to cut. There was nothing left. **Or was there?** The Carbide bosses then remembered the three giant tanks of MIC. As a probable consequence all the safety systems failed to keep the deadly MIC from losing temper that night.

Kokila Bhattacharya

KOKILA BHATTACHARYA

> [P]eople started coughing, choking, and were feeling burning sensation in their eyes. Children started fainting... I felt like somebody was burning chili peppers... Many people died from my community. People have died due to cancer, and stomach diseases. Even today, people are suffering... I gave birth to two children after the disaster, they both were born dead.

Similarly, survivor-activist, Nafisa Bi, shares: "My sister's son... was one and a half years old then... There was... green foam coming out of his mouth when he died... I can't even talk about the bodies that I had seen at the station. There were many... When that scene comes into my mind, I get angry..."

Immediately after the Bhopal gas disaster, protests took place. Within a week, approximately thirty leftist, middle-class activists from other parts of Bhopal and India arrived in the impacted communities. These external activists founded structured movement groups, which focused on the short-term goals of relief and rehabilitation, and the long-term goals of justice and accountability. Although some local activists were involved in these early groups, the external activists played a dominant role. By the end of 1986, most of these external leaders had left Bhopal, resulting in survivor-led groups assuming much of the movement's leadership (Sarangi, "The movement in Bhopal . . ." 101-108).

Thirty-two years later, the struggle goes on, with survivors' groups—namely, (1) *Bhopal Gas Peedit Mahila Stationery Karmchari Sangh* (Bhopal gas-affected women workers' stationery union, formed in 1986); (2) *Bhopal Gas Peedit Mahila Purush Sangharsh Morcha* (Bhopal gas-affected women's and men's front, formed in 2004); (3) *Bhopal Gas Peedit Nirashrit Pension Bhogi Sangharsh Morcha* (Bhopal gas-affected destitute pensioners' front, which formed prior to 1981);[5] (4) Children against Dow-Carbide (formed in 1987); and (5) The Bhopal Group for Information and Action (formed in 1986)—continuing to lead the struggle, and demand "no more Bhopals" worldwide through their activist work. These distinct groups form the leadership of ICJB, which functions under the guiding aims of: (1) The precautionary principle; (2) The polluter pays principle; (3) Community right-to-know; (4) International liability; and (5) Environmental justice (ICJB, "Mission Statement and Guiding Principles"). Within these larger aims lie the goals of social and economic rehabilitation, healthcare and medical research, adequate compensation, environmental remediation, and legal recourse—all aimed at the State government of Madhya Pradesh, the Government of India, and the Dow Chemical Company (which bought the Union Carbide Corporation in 2001) (ICJB, "Campaign for Justice").

In the initial years following the disaster, Bhopali groups formed relationships of solidarity with American environmental justice (EJ) struggles. According to Pam Nixon—spokesperson and president for the Institute, WV-based EJ group, People Concerned About Chemical Safety—Bhopali survivors visited Institute, WV in 1989, while on a toxic tour of the United States. Satinath Sarangi, co-leader of the Bhopal Group for Information and Action, elaborates:

> In 1989 the Bhopal survivors/supporters' tour went to the toxic hotspots such as landfills, chemical and petrochemical factories and Superfund sites in 14 states... In an overwhelming number of places the victims of industrial pollution were people of color and poor white communities. The Bhopal group participated in several rallies, non-violent protests and media events in support of issues of environmental justice and the hosts, in turn, pledged to lend solidarity to the struggle in Bhopal that they said was their own. The exchange of solidarity between Bhopal organizations and EJ organizations in the United States continued for a little over two years...

According to Sarangi, relationships with U.S. based EJ groups proved difficult to sustain. However, the relationship between Bhopali survivors and residents of Institute, WV has proven most long-lasting, as is evidenced by the numerous occasions in which Bhopali survivors and solidarity activists have visited Institute, WV, and the ongoing commemoration of the Bhopal disaster by People Concerned (through film screenings, public discussions, and other events). Sue Davis, a long-time People Concerned member, shared one memorable action:

> I found out that [the chemical companies] sponsor this other [community safety] group... They sponsor them! ... We were intending to make our voice heard that night at their meeting... I had gone over there earlier, and I saw where they had their table up, and they had their easel for their display... So I told the janitor... "We'll need a table on this side too, and we need an easel over here too". I just let him think I'm part of the [company-sponsored community safety group]... and we took all of our Bhopal stuff. We took all the posters... We set up... right across from what the chemical people had... and I had pass-outs stapled together with all these facts to give to everybody... I took my old jogging suit... It was red... [and] had the United States flag on it... I had gone up and bought a skeleton... and I put him over there, and I said: 'They didn't tell him in time to evacuate', or something like that. He was my Bhopal person... and I had all this Bhopal stuff, and I had stuff about Dow... So when the people came, what could they say to me?... I wish they would've said something to me. I had a right to be there. I'm community. You're doing this under the name of the community. I'm community. So when the people came in... I said, "Here's your packet" [laughs]... I gave everybody that went inside our packet, and that's what you have to do.

We will now delve more deeply into the history of environmental racism in Kanawha Valley, and the community of Institute, WV, in particular.

Kanawha Valley, USA

Kanawha Valley, WV is known as "Chemical Valley," and for good reason. The chemical industry has been the prime driver of the region's economy for decades. This is rooted in the salt industry, which dates back to the Delaware tribe, and was later adopted by settlers in the region. Salt, and the presence of other natural resources, provided the necessary resources for a thriving chemical industry to develop (Cantrell 1-2). Union Carbide's presence in Kanawha Valley dates back to 1920, with the construction of the world's first petro-chemical facility in Clendenin, WV. By 1923, the company had leased 11 acres of land in South Charleston, WV (Union Carbide Corporation).

In 1936, Union Carbide found itself at the center of the worst industrial disaster in U.S. history—the Hawks Nest Tunnel Disaster in Gauley Bridge, WV. Due to silica exposure, close to 500 were killed, and 1,500 workers were left disabled (Cantrell 5). As in Bhopal, India, Union Carbide neglected safety measures. Further, Union Carbide actively sought Black workers to drill the Hawks Nest Tunnel, as "they were considered a cheap, pliable labor force" (Rose 38).

Did you rather your bundle of joy die in your arms than live a life benumbed?

Almost half of all pregnant women exposed to Carbide's gas spontaneously aborted. For women living within 1km of the plant, 43% delivered stillborn babies. Of 486 live births, 14% died in the first 30 days. In 1985, 1 in 3 babies survived. However, women's gynaecological problems were systematically denied and time and again ascribed as 'faking,' 'psychological,' or due to 'poverty' or 'poor' hygiene. Women have also spoken of indifferent doctors, large mouthed politicians, and predatory touts. Humiliation for all lurks in every nook and cranny.

'Yeh bhi gas kaand ka baccha paida hua hai,' (Here is another child of the gas tragedy). Bhopal's second disaster.

Kokila Bhattacharya

While the Bhopal gas disaster led to the questioning of chemical safety worldwide, it cast particular light on Kanawha Valley. In 1941, Union Carbide purchased a facility in Institute, WV (Agarwal, Merrifield and Tandon 11). Institute is a predominantly Black community, and home to the historically Black university, West Virginia State University. As Bullard contends, "African American communities in the South... have been routinely targeted for the siting of noxious facilities; locally unwanted land uses... and environmental hazards. People in these communities, in turn, are likely to suffer greater environmental and health risks..." (xv). In fact, the foundational work of the United Church of Christ's Commission for Racial Justice (UCC-CRJ) and Bullard, Mohai, Saha, and Wright contend that race is a prime factor in the siting of hazardous industries and waste, with the latter indicating, "racial disparities in the distribution of commercial hazardous wastes are greater than previously reported... [P]eople of color make up the majority of those living in host neighborhoods within 3 kilometers of the nation's hazardous waste facilities" (152). Aside from Institute, poor and working class white neighbourhoods also surround the Institute facility, a perspective of environmental (in)-justice that is common throughout West Virginia and Appalachia.

Importantly, UCC-CRJ's work led to the First National People of Color Leadership Summit in 1991, which, in turn, led to then President Bill Clinton's Executive Order 12898 on Environmental Justice (Orum, Moore, Roberts and Sanchez 4). While little has been achieved since this Executive Order, it is notable that EJ groups across the U.S., in harms way of chemical facilities, refer to the Bhopal gas disaster as a definitive moment in history, necessitating chemical policy reforms:

> For almost 30 years since the Bhopal disaster, chemical facilities, Congress, and a series of Presidential Administrations have neglected the potential for toxic disaster that millions of Americans—who are disproportionately Black, Latino, and low income—live with every day. While some companies have adopted safer alternatives, thousands of similar facilities have not. (Orum, Moore, Roberts and Sanchez 3)

Although Union Carbide's Bhopal, India facility was considered the "sister plant" of Union Carbide's Institute, WV facility, safety precautions were more advanced in the Institute facility (Agarwal). In fact, "Several weeks before deadly methyl isocyanate leaked from a Union Carbide Corp. plant in Bhopal, India, the company revised operating procedures at its Institute, WV plant to help prevent a similar accident

there" (Winslow 6). Nevertheless, Institute, WV has been ridden with toxic emissions for decades. "[R]esidents in the small, predominantly black, town... remembered frightening incidents... including an explosion and evacuation of the community in June 1954. Workers recalled a series of fires, explosions and leaks and their own exposures to MIC gas" (Agarwal, Merrifield and Tandon 11). Sue Davis, of People Concerned, shared her memories of the 1954 explosion:

> [W]e were sitting at the movie theater... and we were watching *Birds of Paradise*... [I]n *Birds of Paradise*, there was a volcano that erupted... [and] at the exact moment that that volcano erupted, they burst into flames over [at the plant]... We had no idea that they had something over [there] that could burst into flames or affect us in any way... [W]e didn't know what to do. You looked at the windows and everything outside was red... and we had no idea what it was... [T]he kids were running around saying, "It's the end of the world! It's the end of the world!"... Just pandemonium. It was terrible...

Notably, ICJB community mobilizer, Hazira Bi, recalls a similar sense of panic following the Bhopal disaster: "[W]e were running without any sense of direction... The children were groaning so much that we just picked them up in our arms and joined the masses of people. Believe me it seemed like the end of the world!" (Mukherjee 47).

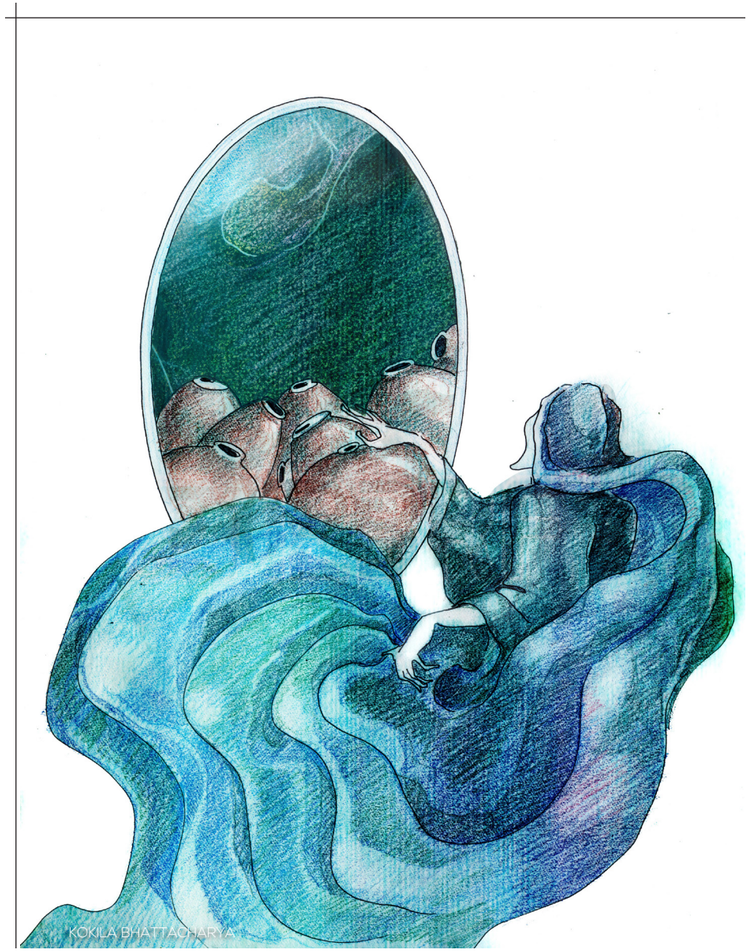
Institute, WV residents understood that MIC, which killed up to 10,000 Bhopalis (Amnesty, *30 years is too long* . . . 2) was being produced in their community. Further, it was revealed that Union Carbide's Institute, WV facility had leaked MIC 28 times between 1979 and 1984. Later, Union Carbide admitted to 62 MIC leaks (Agarwal, Merrifield and Tandon 11). In response, citizens' groups like People Concerned emerged. Sue Davis discussed the founding of the group and her brother, Warne Ferguson's, pivotal role:

> He got very upset after the Bhopal incident... He virtually founded [People Concerned], even though you had a lot of people who worked on that original committee... He went to Don Wilson, this young man that lives in West Dunbar... and said, "Don, we've got to do something". They, in turn, went to Ed Hoffman, who was at [West Virginia State University]... So, that's when it started, but it did start because of Warne. He was just upset about it, and he remained active until his health started failing...

While Union Carbide officials assured Institute, WV residents that MIC was being produced and stored safely, on August 11th, 1985, a cloud of aldicarb oxime, containing trace amounts of MIC and methylene chloride—a neurotoxin and suspected carcinogen—leaked from the facility. Union Carbide officials waited 20 minutes before informing authorities of the leak, resulting in the hospitalization of 135 residents (Fortun 60). Pam Nixon, spokesperson and president for People Concerned, recalls, "They said there wasn't [any long-term health effects][6]... [There were] so many chemicals... if it had been one particular chemical, you would have known... what the health effect would have been... I had respiratory problems. Immediately people were having respiratory problems... I was one of the 135 that ended up going to a medical clinic."

Following this leak, People Concerned organized a town hall meeting, attended by Institute, WV residents and Union Carbide's then President, Robert Kennedy. Residents voiced their anger and frustration. At the meeting, People Concerned member, Donna Willis, remarked,

> You fumble and stumble, and cause our lives to be turned upside down... It wasn't the emergency whistle. It was the fire whistle, and firemen were running to get a fire. As they ran for the fire, I was running out of Institute with my two kids. Trying to save the lives that I put here on earth, not for Carbide to take away! (*Chemical Valley*)



'Are we less than human?'

2005
Our fight for clean water and life. The government had sat for so many years on UC's cash [from the settlement] that the sum in the bank with interest had multiplied threefold.

Then they decided to give a lot of it to the state government, which had done nothing for us.

Entering the Gas Relief and ask to meet the minister.
We wait singing songs. Three truckloads of armed riot police turn up.
The cops are kicking out, hitting really hard with thick sticks. You are trying to get my children out of that place and see an activist dragged by his hair all the way downstairs and later beaten with sticks.

Kokila Bhattacharya

In 1986, Union Carbide's Institute, WV facility was acquired by Rhone-Poulenc, and later, Aventis CropScience, followed by Bayer CropScience. Despite changes in ownership, the Institute facility has continued patterns of fugitive emissions. In May 1993, a chlorine leak led to a shelter-in-place warning—a largely ineffective "safety" measure—for 1,000 residents (Ward, "Plant's History Rocky"), and in August 1993, residents again adhered to a shelter-in-place warning after an explosion at the facility (Associated Press). This explosion killed two workers (Ward, "Bayer Cited . . ."). In June 1994, untreated wastewater leaked into the Kanawha River, and in December 1994, a sulfur dichloride leak injured one worker. In February 1996, a toluene leak led to another shelter-in-place advisory, and in July 1997, a small amount of MIC was released from the facility. In October 1999, residents in a two-mile radius adhered to yet another shelter-in-place advisory following a phosgene leak, and in 2001, ten workers required medical care following a chloroform leak (Ward, "Plant's History Rocky").

For 26 years following the Bhopal disaster, Institute, WV was the only place in the U.S. that continued to stockpile such large quantities of MIC—as much as 200,000 pounds (CSB 142). On August 28th, 2008, there was another explosion in the same unit as the August 1993 explosion, 70 feet away from an above-ground tank containing 6,700 gallons of MIC (CSB 7). One worker died instantly, and another within two months. At this time, the company was owned by Bayer CropScience; and, regardless of the giant fireball and cloud of smoke, Bayer officials declared confidence that no MIC escaped the fenceline (Ward, "Bayer Knew MIC Monitors . . ."). However, a 2009 Congressional investigation, prompted by Bayer's secrecy, noted,

> Air monitoring devices designed to determine whether MIC has been released into the air were not operational on the night of the explosion. Video cameras positioned to capture the site of explosion did not record the time period of explosion because they had been disconnected from the recording unit. (U.S. Comm. on Energy and Commerce)

Additionally, plant workers were instructed to manually bypass safety procedures (CSB 1), as they rushed to resume operations following a maintenance shutdown. The Congressional investigation determined that "the consequences could have eclipsed the 1984 disaster in India" (Ward, "Congressional Report . . ."). The U.S. Chemical Safety and Hazards Investigation Board (CSB) recommended that the Kanawha Valley develop a prevention program as a result of the chronic issues with hazardous chemical releases (CSB 116).

In May 2009, Rachna Dhingra (co-leader of the Bhopal Group for Information and Action), along with Sarita Malviya (founding member of Children Against Dow-Carbide), and Safreen Khan (leader of Children against Dow-Carbide), visited the U.S. as part of the 25th Anniversary Bhopal Survivors' Tour. They met with groups across the U.S., in hopes of spurring U.S. governmental action to hold Dow Chemical, the U.S. based company responsible for the disaster, accountable. People Concerned invited the tour to Institute, WV, where community members gave the visitors a toxic tour of the "Chemical Valley," as they had done in 1989. Later that evening, the young Bhopali women shared their personal experiences at a forum held at the West Virginia State University in Institute. Both Khan and Malviya spoke of living near the Union Carbide site, and being forced to consume groundwater contaminated as a result of the polluting practices of Union Carbide. The young women highlighted an all too possible reality for residents of the Kanawha Valley, who, at the time, still lived in the shadow of another Bhopal disaster, 25 years later. As Malviya noted, "We have to learn from what happened in Bhopal. We fear that the company operating here, Bayer, will make a second Bhopal here" (Steelhammer).

In addition, members of People Concerned worked with ICJB to coordinate meetings with West Virginia Senator Robert C. Byrd's office, the CSB, and Senator Henry Waxman's office. Waxman was a California Democrat who in 1985 called for a U.S. government inquiry into the Bhopal disaster. This resulted in U.S. legislation regarding the accidental release of toxic chemicals in the U.S. (Agarwal). In these meetings, the Bhopali representatives, with their U.S. grassroots allies, sought a Congressional hearing on accountability for Bhopal. To date, no such hearing has occurred.

In August 2009, three months after Khan, Malviya, and Dhingra visited Institute, WV, Bayer CropScience announced a $25 million USD project to upgrade the Institute facility and reduce the MIC stockpile by 80% (Ward, "Bayer to Cut Institute . . ."). Further, in February 2011, Bayer announced its intention to restart MIC production at the Institute, WV plant (Hohmann). In response, impacted citizens (many of whom were members of People Concerned) filed a lawsuit to prevent the restarting of the unit, until safety measures identified by the CSB were put in place. The residents cited the Bhopal gas disaster as the catastrophic potential, and invited a prominent Bhopali survivor-activist, Sanjay Verma—who lost seven members of his immediate family in the Bhopal gas disaster—to testify as an expert witness on the effects of MIC, on behalf of People Concerned. The day before the trial seeking a permanent injunction began, Bayer retracted their decision to restart MIC production (ICJB, "Sanjay Verma, Bhopal Survivor, Tours the U.S."), and People Concerned about MIC became People Concerned About Chemical Safety. In March 2015, Bayer announced that it was divesting from the Institute, WV facility, and returning the site's ownership back to Union Carbide Corporation (Ward, "Bayer Sells Institute . . .").

Make sure your street isn't the next Bhopal, Chernobyl, Hiroshima, Kodaikanal, Kasargode, Eloor-Edyar

32 years on...

Thirty-two years later, the struggle continues, making ICJB and People Concerned contemporary EJ struggles. Survivors of the Bhopal gas disaster continue to lead a relentless fight for their rights to medical care and research, social and economic rehabilitation, adequate compensation, a toxic-free environment, and justice, accountability and recognition in the Indian and American courts. The Dow Chemical Company's acquisition of Union Carbide in 2001 complicated the struggle, as Dow Chemical vehemently denies all responsibility for the Bhopal gas disaster, despite inheriting Union Carbide's assets and liabilities (ICJB, "Dow's Liabilities").

As a result of the Bhopal disaster, approximately 25,000 people have died (Sarangi, "Compensation to Bhopal gas victims . . ." 118), close to 150,000 are facing chronic health problems (Amnesty, *30 years is too long* . . . 6), and at least 22 communities are facing groundwater contamination as a result of Union Carbide's polluting practices (Amnesty, *30 years is too long* . . . 10). Satinath Sarangi, of the Bhopal Group for Information and Action, notes that there is an increase in cancers and tuberculosis. This is in addition to a wide array of illnesses impacting diverse bodily systems (respiratory, ocular, neurological, neuromuscular, gynecological, reproductive, endocrine, and immune). Further, the disaster has had a significant impact on mental health (Amnesty, *Clouds of Injustice* . . . 14-17).

Similarly, in Kanawha Valley, the struggle continues. In January 2014, 10,000 gallons of crude 4-methylcyclohexane methanol (crude MCHM) leaked from a Freedom Industries' facility into the Elk River, polluting the water supply of 300,000 residents in Kanawha Valley, across nine WV counties (Orum, Moore, Saha and Sanchez 24), including Institute. Notably, crude MCHM was never adequately tested for human toxicity. In fact, in the United States, thousands of chemicals used in everyday products have not been tested. Of the 60,000 chemicals grandfathered in under the 1976 Toxic Substances Control Act (TSCA), only 200 have been tested for safety, and only five have been restricted. Of the 80,000 chemicals currently available for use in the U.S., the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) has only required a few to be tested for their safety (Safer Chemicals Healthy, Families). While a 2016 TSCA reform bill known as the "Frank R. Lautenberg Chemical Safety for the 21st Century Act" requires testing prioritization to include an assessment of disproportionate risk to vulnerable populations, its sluggish implementation pace means it will have little impact on already overburdened EJ communities. Such chemical safety legislation remains a focal point of the U.S. EJ movement.

Shortly after the 2014 Freedom Industries' spill, the International Campaign for Justice in Bhopal—like People Concerned in 1985—released a statement of solidarity, noting the similarities between the Freedom Industries' spill and the Bhopal gas disaster. Namely,

> The International Campaign for Justice in Bhopal... expresses solidarity with the communities of West Virginia that are facing a toxic nightmare. The Freedom Industries chemical spill and the Union Carbide Corporation's (UCC) chemical leak in Bhopal, India share many similarities, namely: (1) Unsafe design; (2) Unsafe location; (3) Failure to report to official bodies; (4) Denial of the leak by the Corporation immediately after the incident; (5) Inadequate information available on the leaked chemical and on an appropriate response, and; (6) Government's negligence in regulation. ("Statement of Solidarity")

History tells us that Bhopal, India and Kanawha Valley, USA are inextricably connected, and recent events demonstrate that the common concerns that first bonded these communities in 1984 continue to have relevance 32 years later. Both are marginalized communities, battling the toxic trespass of their bodies and environments, and the devaluation of their health and safety, which allows toxic facilities to be sited in their backyards.

In many ways, the 32-year relationship of solidarity between ICJB and People Concerned represents a transnational struggle, which aims to challenge the ability of multinational corporations and their colluders in government to pollute our (racialized, Indigenous, and/or poor) bodies, and the environments in which we live, work, and play. However, as allies and advocates, we must ask: What are the lived implications of such solidarity? Namely, what has it done to increase quality of life in Old Bhopal and Institute, WV, or address these communities' respective day-to-day struggles amidst routine toxic exposure? In other words, what are the implications, if any, on-the-ground? Survivors of the Bhopal disaster and residents of Institute, WV continue to contend with the toxic trespass of their bodies and environments decades later. These are vital questions to consider.

Still, Old Bhopal, India and Institute, WV teach us that distinct communities can form long-term bonds of solidarity over the shared experience of environmental racism. Such supportive networks can have significant meaning in the long-term, ongoing, and arduous battle for environmental justice—beyond the potential amplification of voice necessary in achieving movement aims and campaign goals. As Pam Nixon, spokesperson and president for People Concerned, shares: "I just want [Bhopal survivors] to know never give up. They're not in it by themselves. We're still fighting here, and we're gonna continue and for them to do the same."

"We picked up bodies with our own hands"

Every time we lifted one up it gave out gas.
The bodies had all turned blue, and had froth oozing from their mouths.

Eight trucks on duty.
120 bodies into one truck.
Filled and emptied each truck five times a day.
For three to four days.
4,800 bodies a day.

In some houses everyone had died.
They had transformed into morgues whose locks needed to be broken down.
The fear of a mass epidemic lingered about for three to four weeks as even carcasses of dead animals weren't disposed off.

Kokila Bhattacharya

Notes

[1] To avoid confusion, People Concerned About MIC/People Concerned About Chemical Safety will be referred to as 'People Concerned' throughout this paper.

[2] Editor's Note: "Chemical Valley" in Kanawha Valley, USA differs from "Chemical Valley" surrounding Sarnia, Ontario, Canada.

[3] Notably, Robert Bullard's (1990) groundbreaking work, *Dumping In Dixie: Race, Class, and Environmental Quality*, profiles Institute, WV and several other African American communities facing environmental racism in the Southern United States.

[4] Both Shadaan and Nye are solidarity advocates with the Bhopal struggle, while Nye is a former neighbouring fenceline resident of the Institute facility and former spokesperson of the Institute-based EJ struggle, People Concerned About Chemical Safety. As such, the article is written from the perspective of active allies of the Bhopal struggle, and, in Nye's case, an insider of the West Virginia struggle. In effect, some of the information presented in this article is based on our experiences of observing and participating in these movements.

[5] According to Balkrishna Namdeo of the Bhopal gas-affected destitute pensioners' front, "Social security pension scheme was initiated in the state of Madhya Pradesh in the year 1981. Our organization was formed to deal with the difficulties that the beneficiaries of this scheme (old, disabled, and widows) were facing... After the gas leaked in 1984... we decided to include the cause of the gas victims in our organizational agenda" (Scandrett, Mukherjee, Shah and Sen 122-123).

[6] Few studies have been done to understand any short or long-term effects from exposures in Institute, WV over the years.

KOKILA BHATTACHARYA

When Dow CEO Liveris is asked if he will clean up the city, where the drinking water of tens of thousands is poisoned by toxic wastes dumped by Dow subsidiary, he said:

"We don't feel this is our responsibility."

Kokila Bhattacharya

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from the dust of their elder's bones

TINA GARNETT

can you see me from behind your degrees
earned within the neo-liberal political science discourse,
earning letters after your name designating you as the expert on me.
what is wrong with me? asks my mandated trusted clinical healer. well...
your genocide wiped the plains free of the Indigenous people of this land.
with your toxic blankets, your liquid evil and your damning god –
who i never could find in your hot boxes
my Aboriginal sisters keep going missing and murdered and no one cares.
they say it's not on the radar; so no need for an inquiry.
we're still hunted by your men with guns; now they have badges- so it's legal.
our children still live without adequate housing or water,
but you hide those truths too behind your academic and political rhetoric and fancy reports.
your lies have re-written history; making you the good ones, and us the savages.
we never raped your women; you haven't stopped raping ours.
you stole our land to build your prisons, to house the savage Indians,
who dared to leave the parcels of land you reserved for us.
your invention of genocide is alive in the institutions that squashed our spirits and totems,
erasing them, and robbing us of our culture and language.
stealing our identities like you stole our land, for your camp grounds and back yards.
but we can buy your "Real Indian Sage" for $9.99 and not be charged taxes.

once you emptied the land from those that lived there,
you stole us from our homes, leaving behind our culture, traditions and beliefs
then beating our language from our bodies, ravaging our beings.
most of us chose to die, than live any longer beneath your boats,
where we filled small boxes, back to back, with our waste and our dead.
for those that survived the trip, they wished they hadn't.
thousands jumped to their watery graves; than live in their deaths another moment
trapped in your steel boxes filled with your laughter, and the stench of our suffering.
you brutalized our women, used them in experiments, put them in cages to show off their genitals, poke and prodded them with every phallic object at hand
you raped our mothers, our sisters, our daughters and wives,
you bred us like cattle then sold our young at your markets.
you took every woman we had and crushed them beneath your heel,
sure it would crush us all.
with your rod and bible, you created our hell.
now we are born with scars from the lashes of slavery.
Black women are born tired under the legacy of being a Strong Black woman,
for thousands who have come before them and died too soon from the master's tools.
branded with the labels of jezebel and matriarch; either is a bulls eye on their backs.
your slavery made us your whores, and mammies;
you want us to raise you and then you rape us in your bed.

So what wrong with me is, i am a stat in your system; ordered to attend healing sessions. how can healing happen, when we are the ones you built your systems on? our elder's bones are ground into your institutional structures. your euro-centric capitalistic misogynistic hetero-normative binaries killed our sacred 2-spirited people and burnt our spirit walkers. your systems are too white for our colours to exist in all their richness and splendor. stop telling me i'm being too sensitive and take it as a compliment when my mulatto exotic nativeness is referenced. i don't care if you're uncomfortable with the names i'm called by your people. your silent denial is too loud for me to be heard.

Cyborg Salmon

CARMEN UMANA K.

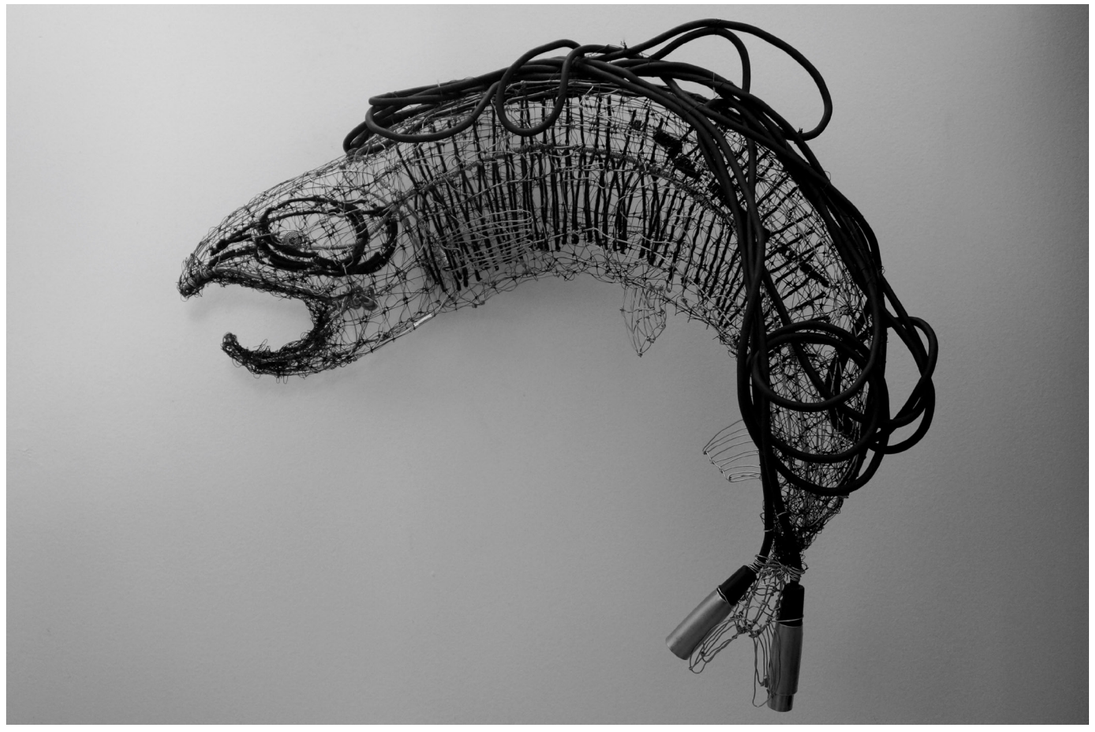
This figurative sculpture invites the viewer to reconsider the boundaries that presumably exist between organic life and artificial technology; nature and culture. By bending wires, tubes, thread, and netting into the body of an Atlantic salmon (*Salmo salar*), this work attempts to convey the species' biological dependence on the technical and social ingenuity that facilitate its existence in Lake Ontario and adjoining tributaries.

The Atlantic salmon that currently inhabit Lake Ontario are not genetically akin to the stocks that first entered Lake Iroquois, the primordial basin of Lake Ontario, by sea during the post-glacial period. Following their adaptation to freshwater, these early aquatic predators became a dietary staple for local inhabitants, and a predominant trade good for Wendat, Haudenosaunee, Seneca and Mohawk, Anishinaabe and other First Nations societies that later settled along the local shorelines. Moreover, their continued abundance facilitated the expansion of the town of York in the late 18th century, after the site's founding loyalists recognized the economic "potential of the country from a piscatorial" (Dunfield 1985: 74) perspective.

Throughout the following century, the region's Atlantic salmon population declined as a result of overfishing by commercial and recreational fisheries, and due to processes of land clearing that removed the species' spawning and nursery sites. Local dams and mills were also effective barriers that eradicated the species' standard prey and impeded their annual migration to spawning sites (City of Toronto, 2012). By 1896, these combined pressures caused the lake's Atlantic salmon population to be declared extinct; a status that was rescinded in 2006 when the Ontario Federation of Anglers and Hunters, in partnership with the Ministry of Natural Resources, initiated the 'Atlantic Salmon Reintroduction Program for Lake Ontario', also known as 'Bring Back the Salmon.'

While the Bring Back the Salmon project aimed to establish a self-sustaining Atlantic salmon stock in the region, it overlooked the artificiality of the stock's management and its biological dependence on human social and technological interventions. The salmon eggs, juvenile fry, and smolts that are released into local waters are genetically engineered to maximize the stock's diversity. Their rearing, transportation, and release are carried out by joint institutional and community programs. The constructed ecosystems that sustain the stock continue to be monitored and managed by habitat restoration projects. They are what Carolyn Glass describes as 'artificial progenies:' the products of hatcheries "that address the symptoms, but not the cause of fish decline" (2010: 47).

In reading Donna Haraway's persuasive essay "A Cyborg Manifesto: Science, Technology, and Socialist-Feminism in the Late Twentieth Century" I have come to observe how the image of the postmodern cyborg now extends to the salmon body. Atlantic salmon are, in essence, 'boundary creatures,' partially organic signifiers of an existent and imaginary cybernetic world "for which [humanity is] responsible" (Haraway 1991: 2). Their biological activities simultaneously operate as expressions of injurious anthropogenic contamination and technological ingenuity. In short, these creatures are "cybernetic organisms, hybrid[s] of machine and organism" (Haraway 1991: 149) whose "lived social and bodily realities" break down crucial boundaries and create the potential to re-imagine humanity's "joint kinship with animals" (Haraway 1991: 154).



Materials: metal wires, thread, plastic netting
Dimensions: 1'2'' x 6'' x 2'8'' (actual size of adult salmon)

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A "Feast of Fools"[1]

Food Security and the Carnivalesque in Peterborough, Ontario's Food Not Bombs

DYLAN MCMAHON

Counterculture movements in the 1960s and 70s dramatically reorganized the role of bodies within social frameworks and saw the internalization of political issues, both figuratively and literally. The political became the personal and quotidian moments of consumption became sites of resistance. As Warren Belasco suggests, in reference to the radical food movements that saw the expulsion of "Wonderbread" and the resurgence of home-cooked holistic foods, "[d]ietary radicalism could be lived 365 days a year, three times a day. If, as Leftists knew, the personal was political, what could be more personal than eating? And what could be more political than challenging America's largest industry, the food business?" (227). Food provides a dynamic vessel for engaging with politics and capital at both the gastronomical level (what we choose to put into our bodies) and the social level (how we arrange our bodies collectively and individually). The kneading, baking, and consumption of bread, for example, provide precious, intimate moments for expressing agency and resistance to systems of power. Belasco saw this.

This paper seeks to address both social and gastronomical resistances in the organization Food Not Bombs. I argue here that Food Not Bombs works to establish "autonomous geographies" and "autonomous food spaces" (see Am. Wilson), and creates spaces for the building of communities and 'togetherness' both outside and in opposition to hegemonic state logics including capitalism and the Canadian (but also, world) food system. In its efforts to do so, Food Not Bombs works to evoke the *carnivalesque* as a way of staging a political challenge to these systems and construct alternatives. The organization utilizes its *carnivalesque* stage to invert traditional consumption normalcies, resisting a normative *biopolitics* characterized by gastronomical sanitation and consumption-capitalism. These challenges to normalcy evoke alternative social realities through the direct action of actually performing these alternatives. These activities are discussed as potential alternatives to typical models of environmental justice.

To support this thesis, this paper first examines how environmental justice organizations seek justice, and examines the challenges that globalization and global capital pose for environmental justice activists (S. 1.1). Following this, the paper moves to a short discussion of the nature of food justice and food security concerns, focusing particularly on the entanglements of food systems in capitalism (S. 1.2). The paper then discusses the organization Food Not Bombs, first, through a review of relevant academic literature (S. 2.1) and, second, as an alternative to mainstream models of activism (S. 2.2), addressing how intersectional concerns arise within the Peterborough chapter (S. 2.3). In these discussions the paper relies heavily on ethnographic fieldwork—mainly loosely structured interviews—conducted with the Peterborough chapter of Food Not Bombs. The rest of the paper works towards addressing the primary thesis, first by focusing on the ideal of the carnival (S. 3.1-4), and later, moving on to the relevancy of this place within the biopolitical sphere (S. 3.5). The paper concludes by examining the revolutionary possibilities afforded by Food Not Bombs' activism (S. 4).

1. Environmental Justices
1.1. Addressing (in)Justice

Generally, environmental justice movements—and associated movements of environmental racism, classism, and equity—have sought to address and critique, at both grassroots-community and academic-policy levels, the (mal)distributions of environmental goods and ills including sustainable use of, access to, and decision-making over local and collective environments (Schlosberg "Defining Environmental Justice", "Theorizing Environmental Justice"; Shrader-Frechette). Environmental justice critiques have typically argued that maldistributions of environmental risks have been borne more heavily on lower-income or marginal communities as well as communities of colour. Associated with these critiques, but importantly separate, have been a body of critiques emergent from environmental racism (and also environmental equity) movements, which have argued beyond a politics of (mal)-distribution to address the larger forces of capitalism, colonialism, and white supremacy that have colluded to oppress communities of colour and communities of marginalized identities through spatialized racism (Pulido; Heiman; Miller, Hallstien and Quass; Scholsberg "The Justice of Environmental Justice"). which spatialities of hazards and resources are constructed, maintained, and challenged (Schlosberg; Walker). The second main conception of justice, the procedural frame, seeks to examine the capacity in which individuals are able to participate in the decision-making process concerning the (up- and down-stream) environments that they are implicated in (Scholsberg "The Justice of Environmental Justice" 84).[2]

Increasingly, environmental justice frameworks are having to adapt their analyses to consider globalizing phenomena. As Cheryl Teelucksingh has noted, traditionally, environmental justice frames have limited their analytical lenses to "fixed spatial configurations" between environmental hazards and marginalized communities (121). However, trans-, multi-, and international environmental phenomena, such as climate change, have forced these moments to cope with telescopic expansions of issues pertaining to both distributional and procedural (in)justice. For, regarding an issue such as global climate change, what scale are distributional inequalities dealt with if everyone is impacted in some way? When a crisis is global in scale and time dependent, who should be involved in the procedural aspects of addressing these phenomenon?

Food provides a dynamic vessel for engaging with politics and capital at both the gastronomical level (what we choose to put into our bodies) and the social level (how we arrange our bodies collectively and individually).

Importantly, Indigenous activists in Canada have identified a need for stronger awareness to the ways in which, in the pursuit of environmental justice, settler activists have the capacity to ultimately support colonial oppression by perpetuating settler-colonial logics of invasion, occupation, and attempts to 'transcend colonialism" (Agyeman, Cole, Haluza-Delay and O'Riley; O'Riley and Cole; Walia; James; Lawman and Barker 25-6 and 75-79). These concerns are important when considering the 'successes' and 'failures' of the environmental justice frame.

In both Canada and the United States environmental justice and its associated movements have addressed issues of justice from a variety of optics, however, predominately through examinations of *distributional* and *procedural* justice. The distributional conception of justice is attentive to the fact that material distribution of things in a society is a non-natural phenomenon, and therefore, it attempts to address the ways in

1.2. Food Systems and Security

Food is a wicked problem for traditional environmental justice frames. Food is *always* both local and global. To eat is to participate in a long chain of interdependence that necessitates the exchange of labour-capital, the opening of metabolic rifts, and extraction from cultures, nutrients, and bodies near and afar. While locavore activists have argued for the rooting of consumption practices in local food systems (as opposed to global ones) it seems doubtful that it is even possible to de-globalize local systems.

Ultimately, the issue of global entanglements boils down to a problem with the basic structure that supports the exchange of food both locally and globally: capitalism. The effects of capitalist exchange on the dynamics of the global food system are totalizing and pernicious, and for a full examination of larger issues such as 'the agrarian question', the maldistribution of food, or commodity chain analyses, I defer to others (Barndt; Akram-Lodhi; Akram-Lodhi and Kay; Wies). However, what we *will* retain our attentiveness to here is the notion that, as Barndt suggests, "[f]ood is primarily a medium for [the replication of capitalism's] production practices and accumulative motivations" (35). The intimate relationships between capitalist consumption, accumulation, and production, and contemporary food systems suggest that for food justice critiques to be effective they must address the normative systems that underlie the creation of food injustice *as well as* other types of injustice. Food justice activists must, then, find ways for "all persons [to obtain] at all times, a culturally acceptable, nutritionally adequate diet through local, non-emergency forms" (Gottlieb and Fisher 24) *while also* attempting to avoid dangerous entanglements with capitalism.

2. Food Not Bombs
2.1. Methodology and Literature Review

This paper attempts to comment on the ways in which environmental justice and food justice concerns are addressed by the organization Food Not Bombs. This paper has been compiled through three months of field research in the Winter of 2014, including participant observation and five extended interviews with individuals who frequented the Food Not Bombs Monday Community Feasts in Confederation Park, Peterborough, Ontario. Because of the inclusionary nature of the organization there were no exclusionary crite-

ria for the recruitment of individuals to research interviews, for, to exclude any participant in the organization based on any determining factor (sex, gender identity, ability, et cetera) would have gone against the fundamental structural and ethical elements of the organization itself. All interviews were recorded and transcribed by myself, and while I arrived to each session with a set of questions I used these only as ideas for where to take the discussion and not as a rigid guide. My conversations with various participants in Food Not Bombs focused primarily on the nature of the organization, its politics, consumption practices, and community dynamics. Quotes from these interviews have been used here extensively and verbatim to give voice to those who participate in Food Not Bombs. Participant observation was conducted weekly on Monday nights (from February to May). I conducted the primary research for this paper in my final year as an undergraduate student at Trent University as part of a course in Ethnographic Field Methods.

Food Not Bombs is an international, decentralized, non-hierarchical organization, which, through the autonomous and fully independent work of local activists in small collectives, serves meals (generally) comprised of gleaned foodstuffs once a week to whomever should need them, in as public a location as possible (see McHenry). As an organization, Food Not Bombs has been the subject of a small amount of academic literature seeking to examine alternative consumption practices to the dominant food system. Much of this scholarship has approached the organization in tandem with analyses of anti-capitalist do-it-yourself (DIY) economies. Ferne Edwards and David Mercer have provided a broad overview of the consumption practices of DIY communities, including practices of gleaning, dumpster-diving, and Food Not Bombs in Australia. Dylan Clarke has cogently argued that these consumption practices work to invert culinary normalcies—including those outlined by Levi-Strauss in his "Culinary Triangle"—by acquiring food through non-commercial and often illegal means; this operates as a sort of antithetical cleansing which makes the raw and rotten edible, and the thoroughly cooked and processed inedible (Clarke; see Levi-Strauss). Laura Portwood-Stacer has argued that this type of practice embodies forms of anti-consumption which "encompasses both abstinence from consumption *and* forms of consumption that are meant to signify opposition to consumption, even if the objective content of the practices seems to involve consuming something" (88).

Other authors have taken more of a political economy approach to the organization. David Giles' dissertation on Food Not Bombs situates the organization within the globalizing city as a reaction to emergent dynamics of urban waste. Nadine Changfoot focuses her attention on Peterborough's very own Food Not Bombs chapter, and has argued that the organization acts as a way for individuals to 'do good neoliberal citizenship' as a provisioning measure against increasingly neoliberal austerity measures in Ontario's social services system. Nik Hynen, on the other hand, opposes this logic and has examined Food Not Bombs as a reaction to the biopolitics of the social services system in America, which has rendered the poor a manipulable form of bare life. For Hynen, Food Not Bombs allows individuals of lower income to resist the survivalist logic key to Changfoot's argument, instead providing them with real possibilities of resistance. Amanda Wilson identifies the organization as forming anti-capitalist autonomous food spaces, but echoes the difficulties identified by Hynen that Food Not Bombs has experienced creating these spaces in the United States.

[A]cquiring food through non-commercial and often illegal means . . . operates as a sort of antithetical cleansing which makes the raw and rotten edible, and the thoroughly cooked and processed inedible.

2.2. Peterborough's Food Not Bombs and Mainstream Models for Activism

While Food Not Bombs engages in activities that address issues of distributive and procedural justice, and works towards assuring community food security, I am loath to write here that Food Not Bombs is an environmental justice movement or a food justice movement. Amanda Wilson has described the organization as a food democracy, "the idea that people can and should be active participants in shaping the food system . . . food democracy is about citizens having the power to determine agro-food policies and practices" (Hassanien in Am. Wilson 733). I think, perhaps, this is closer to the truth as the optics of justice in their mainstream form are seemingly too restrictive to describe the activities of the organization.

In my interviews, Food Not Bombs members consistently identified that their work operates parallel to other food security and left-activist circles. In Peterborough, the organization served as a "pillar of the activist community," or even its "heartbeat," and was identified as a central location for the creation of 'ally-ship' in activism as well as a space of social gathering (Rachelle; Myles). Key to this was not only Food Not Bombs' Monday Night Community Feasts and Wednesday Night Potlucks, which would invariably draw left-leaning activists and citizens, but also their involvement in local environmental and social justice activities through 'no pay catering.'[3] Despite these aspects of the organization, participants in Food Not Bombs consistently positioned themselves, as well as the work that they engaged in, as oppositional to mainstream activist models. As one individual noted,

> It's impossible for Food Not Bombs not to have some political dissonance with almost everybody else that we work with that deals with anti-poverty issues or deals with food justice issues, because our model itself is confrontational to the validity of other models, including the [non-governmental (NGO)] model, including the charity model, and certainly including our, like, dominant cultural model. (Rachelle)[4]

This dissonance can be considered on both a level of structural organization and praxis. As Hynen has shown in his study of 20 Food Not Bombs chapters in major American cities, the raison d'être of the organization is to challenge the power dynamics structurally embedded in poverty or equity activism. Participants in Food Not Bombs identified ways in which other organizations were limited by their reliance on capitalist-based funding relations. Several of the key organizers of Food Not Bombs in Peterborough identified funding as a key problem in the delivery of social services, with Myles noting,

> Okay we have social services, this is great, but also it's problematic, because these social services and agencies . . . and charities, basically commodify suffering and write off greed, in the form of tax receipts to corporations that give donations, right? And get a pat on the back and like a big tax break for like unloading, you know, tonnes of [charitable] fodder [laughs].

Further, Rachelle noted that chains of accountability in mainstream justice-based activism force groups to ensure that "funders are happy, especially . . . [with] public money," and this restricts their ability to address systemic problems in meaningful ways.

Lindsey, a neophyte to Food Not Bombs and student at Trent University, explained the basic struggle of describing the activities of Food Not Bombs to her parents who were unable to conceptualize activism outside of traditional models:

> I tried explaining this concept [of Food Not Bombs] to my parents but I couldn't really, like, make them understand. So I was like, "oh it's a charity", and they were like, "oh okay", you know and then... but it's not a charity . . . I guess [in] charities, you are always looking for money. Whereas, um, I mean, [Food Not Bombs] looks for resources—I suppose—so, you know, they'll ask "we need Tupperware containers", or, you know, "can someone help with dishes", or something, and then, I guess it's very organic.

[T]he raison d'être of the organization is to challenge the power dynamics structurally embedded in poverty or equity activism.

The entanglement of other organizations in chains of capitalist accountability and assuring funding for their programs restricted their ability to effectively engage in work that could seriously and critically challenge the status quo (Rachelle; Myles; Sarah). It was seen as an important issue that these other organizations engaged unproblematically with capitalist systems, when it was these very systems that Food Not Bombs sought to address in transformative ways.

The ineffectiveness of mainstream models of activism was further argued to be found in the microcosmic relations found in justice and charity organizations between those 'delivering justice' and those experiencing injustice. For those in Food Not Bombs critical of mainstream activist models, this relationship was always described in terms of the performative relationship between those 'asking for food' and those 'providing food' at a soup kitchen or mission (Rachelle; Michael). This power dynamic was seen as a key point of differentiation between Food Not Bombs and other originations, and was part of a larger embedded critique of class-dynamics,

> The line "beggars can't be choosers", is like, a classic one that I give to give that example of how classist and how poor-bashing the reality of how food programs tend to be. And that's not to erase the reality of class discrepancies, that's not to erase the reality of resource discrepancies . . . but just because I don't have as much resources this month doesn't mean I also shouldn't be able to make decisions, right? That doesn't make me stupider, it doesn't make me lazier, it doesn't make me any of the things that we, unfortunately, in an oppressive society, associate so deeply with low-income folks, right? (Rachelle)

Certainly, then, from these standpoints, Food Not Bombs disassociates and dislocates itself from typical justice and activist models. In order to understand how this organization fits into broader themes concerning the actual achievement of capital 'E', capital 'J', of Environmental Justice, we will consider its divergence in tactics. To get to this point, it is perhaps useful to dwell, for the moment, on some literature concerning intersectionality.

2.3. Intersectionality and Community Building

Literature on environmental justice suggests that the field of activism and research, as well as that of environmental racism, has a close attentiveness to the ways in which capitalism and socio-institutional logics like racism, colonialism, or white supremacy manifest in considerations of environmental or food problematics. Women of colour (particularly) have, through intersectional analyses, brought attention to the ways in which different individuals, placed in different social locations that correspond to their ever-present but always shifting multiple identifiers, are shaped and impacted by these larger systemic forces uniquely and unevenly. Intersectionality has provided a way for individuals to move beyond a politics of identity, and "theorize experience

at the individual level" (Smooth 11; Jordan-Zachery). In this sense, then, intersectionality "focuses on the integration of different structures of inequality resulting in a more developed picture of oppression and discrimination" (An. Wilson 2-3). Intersectionality has been key to the evolution of environmental racism research as well as an important point of reference against essentialism in the environmental justice movement (Taylor 49-50). Attentiveness to intersectionality is unequivocally important in the context of Food Not Bombs.

Peterborough has two major post-secondary institutions: Trent University (Symons Campus), an undergraduate university focusing on environmental sciences; and Fleming College's Sutherland Campus which has programs in environmental sustainability and environmental management, among others. Because of this, despite the fact that Peterborough's population trends towards being demographically older (Peterborough Social Planning Council), the city is flooded with young students between September and May each year. This, along with seasonal temperature changes, has significant effects on the people who access Food Not Bombs, as well as the nature of weekly meals. Participants in Food Not Bombs identified that community feasts in the summer (as well as Community Potlucks, which happen only in the summer) are attended more heavily, and by a wider variety of people, than meals during the winter months which are heavily attended by students (Sarah; Lindsey; Rachelle; Myles; Michael). Peterborough, generally, was noted by respondents to have quite significant disparities in socio-economic and racial indicators. The individuals I spoke to were attentive to this and Sarah, a student at Trent University, identified the complex nuances of intersectionality in Food Not Bombs eloquently,

> [T]he fact that [Food Not Bombs] is open to the public without restriction does cause restrictions for other people. Like, you know, we live in a really white town, and sometimes the whiteness can be so pervasive that all of us white people can't see it, and we're, like, we're wondering why we're so white, like, "why's everyone here so white... huh?" And maybe it's something that we can't see, but is as fucking clear as day to somebody who isn't white, right? So, maybe, you know, we doing things as far as having an anti-oppressive praxis, and practising having anti-oppressive praxis, or at least trying our best to. But nobody's perfect, and like, you know, we have a lot of shit that needs to be checked as, you know... is a person we meet a privileged person? Like, I've got a lot of shit that I need to check before I open my mouth. . . . [I]f me and my peers aren't being conscious about that, then we could be creating a theoretically accessible space that actually isn't accessible to some people, because of something that we can't really see, or choose not to, or have educated ourselves in how to see it, or... but we try, right? And like having an anti-oppressive, like, philosophy put into action is part of what we attempt to do, but it's also open to the public, and we can't control and don't really control what people are doing in that space too much. Like, obviously there's certain rules, like, you don't, you don't touch people, right? Like, always get consent first, but, like, there's no security guards. Like, the idea is that we all look out for each other, and if we see something that's fucked up going on, like, you know, ya sure get one of the organizers, but, like, speak up yourself, right? Or find somebody that, find anyone. If you don't feel comfortable, get your buddy to speak up, do something. We're all doing this together, right? We all need to be on the ball together to make sure that the space is as safe as possible for everybody.

Furthermore, as Rachelle, a long time organizer noted,

> [T]here are people who will say, you know, like, "there's too many strange people at the meal" because they are still in a place of feeling, like, you know... that much diversity is really intimidating to some folks. There's also a reality that, like, sometimes it doesn't feel awesome for, like, *young parents* with, like, *young children* to be in the same space with a whole bunch of schizophrenics and a whole bunch of people who, you know, are eating and having trials and tribulations which is sometimes something that happens in our reality, right?

[I]t is significant that in a city like Peterborough, where there are a plethora of missions and food banks, farmers markets, and locavoric options, individuals have continued to use the Peterborough Food Not Bombs for over a decade

During my time eating with Food Not Bombs, during a particularly cold winter in 2014, individuals accessing the service were primarily those who were either heavily involved in the organization of the weekly meals—for, while the organization was non-hierarchical (and it certainly was) there were unquestionably members who were more intensively involved than others—and individuals who were reliant on Food Not Bombs either for its food or its community, or both. As Lindsey described it, 'students' and 'locals' utilized Food Not Bombs in different ways. Amanda Wilson has noted in her examination of Food Not Bombs, that while there is usually a core group of individuals who are responsible for the organization of the meals, "the majority [of these individuals] were university students or middle class and white, who participated because they wanted to, not out of necessity" (734). In many aspects this structural element could be found in Peterborough, however, it would be inaccurate to suggest that the individuals who organized Food Not Bombs were of a specific economic background. Admittedly, in my research, I never asked any individual to self-identify their socio-economic position or identify themselves in any other way. However, when the temperature dropped to below negative 30 degrees Celsius, it became abundantly clear that there were specific individuals who did not miss meals and that qualitatively these individuals relied on the services of Food Not Bombs.

Although this is by no means a complete discussion of intersectionality, it draws attention to the fact that in Food Not Bombs there are, of course, a variety of discrete reasons for individuals using the services provided by the organization and a variety of ways the organization attempts to accommodate those who participate. However, this type of intersectionality, in the context of this paper, signifies and attempts to explain how individuals are impacted by capitalism and the Canadian food system by tracking their relations backwards through their use of a 'food security' organization. This is important, but only indicates the somewhat obvious. What I would like to devote the rest of this paper to is why it is important not that these individuals are using food security organizations, but why it is significant that in a city like Peterborough, where there are a plethora of missions and food banks, farmers markets, and locavoric options, individuals have continued to use the Peterborough Food Not Bombs for over a decade (which is the longest running Food Not Bombs chapter in all of Canada).

In her Cyborg Manifesto, Donna Haraway asks, "[w]hat kind of politics could embrace partial, contradictory, permanently unclosed constructions of personal and collective selves and still be faithful, effective—and, ironically, socialist-feminist?" (297). Her answer: a cyborg politics, a "disassembled and reassembled, postmodern collective and personal self" (Haraway 302). But what might a *cyborg community* look like? The third-dimensional intersections of intersectionalities; a community that moves in all directions at once and is inclusive and targeted, ambivalent and political. Haraway likes irony, and so it seems only fitting to answer her futurism with something medieval. In order to understand the ways in which Food Not Bombs engages in its own unique brand of environmental justice advocacy and food security work, we must look to the carnivalesque.

In order to understand the ways in which Food Not Bombs engages in its own unique brand of environmental justice advocacy and food security work, we must look to the carnivalesque.

3. "A place where the random and serendipitous can happen"[5]

3.1. "Food Not Bombs: Where goats are dinner guests and the food's all vegan"[6]

I arrive at small student house in downtown Peterborough where Food Not Bombs will be cooking its weekly meal. I'm early (I think), but arrive to a scene very much in motion. I'm greeted at the door by a middle-aged woman who identifies herself and asks me if I am here to help cook. I am. I enter, greeted by the heat of the kitchen wafting down the hallway and also a baby goat who scampers down the hall, curious but timid. Tonight, I learn, the goat is just along for the ride; our menu is all vegan. I'm put to task gleaning and chopping potatoes and amid a flurry of knifes and pounding rhythmic drum music, we prepare an all-vegan multi-course meal designed to feed at least 30 people in the span of a couple hours. We grab the goat, load the food into a car, and head to Confederation Park in the heart of Peterborough. Upon arrival, we wade through a snowbank and set up a tent and tables, and spread food throughout, inviting the community of Peterborough to come and eat with us. Individuals come and go, with passers-by entranced with the arrangement; for, as Sarah, a student at Trent, suggests to me, "[h]ow often do you see a tent in the middle of winter, right?" Occasionally these individuals come and eat, or grab a Tupperware to go. After dinner, in the freezing cold, those still around help tear down the tent, pack up the tables and benches, as well as any left-over food. Food Not Bombs vanishes into the night, dropping leftovers off at the local missions and heading home to wash dishes. All that is left is a footprint in the snow.

When approaching the Food Not Bombs' tent in the middle of the park, perhaps for the first time, it is hard not to notice that all of this action, all of the food served, all of the community engagement, is achieved in the looming shadow of Peterborough's City Hall; a silent watcher. Across the street stands the heart of the municipal government—by no means is this a coincidence.

3.2. Kaleidoscopic Optics

In Victor Turner's classic construction, society is imagined as an equilibrium between two "models for human interrelatedness, juxtaposed and alternating,"

> The first is of society as a structured, differentiated, and often hierarchal system of politico-legal-economic positions with many types of evaluation, separating men [*sic*] in terms of 'more' or 'less.' The second, which emerges recognizably in the liminal

> period, is of society as an unstructured or rudimentarily structured and relatively undifferentiated comitatus, a community, or even communion of equal individuals who submit together to the general authority of the ritual elders. (96)

elements of a society—there is a certain cyclicality to the process.

Food Not Bombs operates as a very specific kind of anti-structure. Herein, I would like to propose that we conceptualize the anti-structural work of the organization through the lens of the *carnivalesque*, a literary genre most notably elaborated by the Soviet literary critic Mikhail Bakhtin. In a sense, the use of the carnivalesque here operates as a sort of mythology, a 'metalanguage' held between the forces of reality, nature, poetry, and ideology (Barthes). As such, it works, on one hand, to unveil something that is not tangibly there, but rather can be felt only through contemplative participation. On the other hand, the carnivalesque operates in a very real sense—as a somewhat ironic way of conceptualizing the microcosmic effects of a variety of forces and interactions on a particular moment. Because, as we will see, it is a situated and participatory way of (re)conceptualizing reality it draws out the dynamics of power, capital, and oppression but also liberation and possibility found in quotidian or fetishized actions such as talking, eating, or being together. In this way, it provides an optic for addressing the central problem tasked on environmental justice: how to deal with the hazardous effects of the global on the local, as well as the capacity of the local to resist and affect the global. In a way, the carnival is a kaleidoscopic optic, one that borrows reality to create an image both more beautiful and more complex than that which is visible otherwise. It reconsiders simple acts, like eating, and makes it possible to see their revolutionary potential.

[T]he carnival is a kaleidoscope optic, one that borrows reality to create an image both more beautiful and more complex than that which is visible otherwise. It reconsiders simple acts, like eating, and makes it possible to see their revolutionary potential.

Typically, these categories are referred to as the structural (former) and the anti-structural (latter) aspects of society. For Turner, the borders of these categorizations are fluid, allowing individuals constant movement forward and backwards through structural and anti-structural spaces, movements he describes as "in and out of time" (96). For Turner, as individuals move from structural spaces, to anti-structural ones, they come to occupy a liminality: "[l]iminal entities are neither here nor there; they are betwixt and between the positions assigned and arranged by law, custom, convention, and ceremonial," they are "ambiguous" and "elude or slip through the network of classifications that normally locate states and positions in cultural space" (95). In liminal conditions Turner argues that unique forms of community are created, which he (as above) describes as *comitatus*, or otherwise, *communitas*. As noted above, this communitas "submit[s]" itself "under the "general authority of the ritual elders" (Turner 95), however, not in supplication. Rather, Turner identifies that the anti-structural-structural-communitas relationship operates dialectically. In this sense, although the structural must be the site in which the anti-structural emerges from, the anti-structural is a key force in shaping the total nature and dynamics of structural

3.3. The Carnival

In describing Mikhail Bakhtin, Michael Holquist draws attention to the fact that the somewhat obscure author "throws a weird light on our received models of intellectual history" through his untypical attentiveness to obscure language use and a theoretical frame that sees language as a set of normative and destructive forces constantly battling each other for supremacy over the social conscious of individual actors (Holquist xvii-xviii). Rather than a typology of language that postulates an additive structure of meaning, or as a passive structure that is formed, constructed, and evolves, Bakhtin's understanding of language is one which "ventriloquates"; its meaning is always in flux. It is acted into by individuals, societies, temporalities, and contexts, and acts back; it resists simple moulding and is capable of operating in a multitude of contradictory forms simultaneously (Holquist xviii).

Julie Cruikshank writes of the Soviet literary critic, that "Bakhtin concluded that there must be forms of resistance more effective than the violent replacement of one set of leader by another, and he looked to everyday spoken language for inspiration" (63). Key to these meditations on quotidian language use was his examinations of the carnivalesque. Bakhtin works towards a substantial theorization of the carnival first in his work concerning Theodore Dostoevsky (*Problems of Dostoevsky's Poetics*, first published 1963), but expands his conceptualization of the subject in his work on François Rabelais (*Rabelais and His World*, first published 1968). In *Problems of Dostoevsky's Poetics*, Bakhtin lays out the general structure of what he describes as "the problem of the carnival" or of "carnivalization" and "the carnivalization of literature" (122). As a literary critic Bakhtin's attention, here, is on the characteristics of the novel, but he identifies the essence of the carnival and its "emergence in the primordial thinking of man", as "one of the most complex and interesting problems in the history of culture" and accordingly, Bakhtin refuses to study the carnival specifically as a literary concept, but as a cultural phenomena which has had a significant and long-lasting impact on Euro-Slavic literature (Bakhtin, *Problems* 122).

In *Dostoevsky's Poetics*, Bakhtin describes carnival life as "life drawn out out of its usual rut,' it is to some extent 'life turned inside out,' 'the reverse side of the world' ('*monde à l'envers*')" (Bakhtin, *Problems* 122). He identifies four main tropes associated with carnival life (Bakhtin, Problems 123). First, Bakhtin describes a *free and familiar contact among people*. In a strikingly similar passage to Victor Turner's description of liminality and communitas, Bakhtin notes that the carnival does away with the "order of ordinary," first with the abandonment of hierarchical structures, and then also with "the forms of terror, reverence, piety, and etiquette connected with it" (Bakhtin, *Problems* 123). This process of levelling, as individuals enter the town square and join in carnival activities, allows those who would otherwise be restricted from discursively engaging each other to interact in "the outspoken carnivalistic world" (Bakhtin, *Problems* 123).

"[T]hese truly human relations" found in the carnival "were not only a fruit of the imagination or abstract thought; they were experienced. The utopian ideal and the realistic merged."

Secondly, and emergent from the first, the debasing associated with the carnival allows for the creation of *a new mode of interrelationship between individuals*, again echoing Turner, which is "counterposed to the all-powerful socio-hierarchical relationships of non carnival life" (Bakhtin, *Problems* 123). In this state, individuals are not only (as above) provided new ways of engaging with each other but shed the social taboos associated with profane speech forms. Here, "the latent sides of human nature . . . reveal and express themselves" (Bakhtin, *Problems* 123). It is from this position, that the jester becomes the "privileged arbiter of morals, given license to gibe at kings and courtiers, or lord of the manor" (Gluckman in Turner 104).

Following this process, the carnival, thirdly, becomes associated with what Bakhtin describes as *carnivalistic mésalliances*.[7] What Bakhtin is describing here is a genre of ironic and syncretic practices that are concerned with the muddling of categories. For Bakhtin, "[c]arnival brings together, unifies, weds, and combines the sacred with the profane, the lofty with the low, the great with the insignificant, the wise with the stupid" (Bakhtin, *Problems* 123). This is not only associated with the non-carnival statuses of those attending carnival life, but also a mixing of practices that seem oppositional or contradictory, such as seriousness and mockery. Natalie Zemon Davis has described some of these practices in her examination of 'Abbeys of Misrule;' sixteenth century youth organizations that mocked traditional authorities through satirical ceremonies—which featured 'authorities' with titles such as "the Prince of Improvidence" or "Duke Kickass" and where the highest of chiefs would sometimes be replaced with donkeys—but which also held important jurisdictional, judicial, and political roles within local communities. In this way we can consider the *carnivalistic mésalliances* described by Bakhtin to follow the logic that, as Davis suggests, "Misrule always implies the Rule that it parodies" (45).

Finally, and fourthly, Bakhtin associates carnivalistic life with *profanation*, which includes blasphemies. However, in a similar way to Turner's description of liminality's connections with death, wombs, or bisexuality, among others (95), carnival profanation is also linked to "bringings down to earth . . . obscenities linked with the reproductive power of the earth and body [as well as] parodies on sacred texts and sayings" (Bakhtin, *Problems* 123).

In *Rabelais and His World* Bakhtin mobilizes these characteristics into a discussion of the potential of the carnival. He notes that, "these truly human relations" found in the carnival "were not only a fruit of the imagination or abstract thought; they were experienced. The utopian ideal and the realistic merged" (Bakhtin, *Rabelais* 10). He places important stress on the way in which individuals come to participate and experience carnival life. Here, quoting at length, Bakhtin notes,

> [The] carnival does not know footlights, in the sense that it does not acknowledge any distinction between actors and spectators. Footlights would destroy the carnival, as the absence of footlights would destroy a theatrical performance. Carnival is not a spectacle seen by the people; they live in it, and everyone participates because its very idea embraces all the people. While carnival lasts, there is no other life outside it. During carnival time life is subject only to its laws, that is, the laws of its own freedom. It has a universal spirit; it is a special condition of the entire world, of the world's revival and renewal in which we all take part. (Bakhtin, *Rabelais* 7)

In *Rabelais*, Bakhtin reiterates the characteristics of carnival life expounded in *Dostoevsky*, expanding aspects of his previous description and placing increased emphasis on items like spectacle and inversion, which might already be considered within the play of *carnivalistic mésalliances* and the mockery of *profanity* (respectfully). As in the above quote he places emphasis on a *transformative* power, something in *Doestevsky* he describes as both "life creating" and an "indestructible vitality" (Bakthin, *Problems* 107). Davis has described the "liberation, destruction, and renewal" of carnival practices a force that, despite their proximity to and engagement with forces of structure, do not, unlike Turner's construction, "reinforce the serious institutions and rhythms of society . . . [but] helps to change them"

(49). For Davis, as for Bakhtin, carnival is not necessarily a route to further anti-authoritarian or anti-structural action, however, she notes that "the structure of the carnival form can evolve so that it can act both to reinforce order and suggest alternatives to the existing order" (Davis 69 and 74). Whatever it becomes, it seeks to "holds a socratic mirror to the world" (Davis 68).

3.4. Food Not Bombs; Carnival Communities Not City Council

> I'm pretty sure that the mayor or whoever, or I dunno, probably doesn't want to look out the window. (Lindsey)

Rachelle asks,

> how you get, like, a true citizens democratic voice too? That's part of what it is we're trying to stimulate, or that this movement is trying to stimulate, because we don't have town squares anymore, right? We don't have forums where, where people talk about real things.

Sited across the street from Peterborough's municipal government, Food Not Bombs occupies Confederation Park each Monday night in an attempt to make visible the need for local level governments to address food insecurity issues; "it says 'there is a need and it also says there are options'" (Myles). Individuals participating in Food Not Bombs overwhelmingly felt that their local government representatives were not willing to engage with the issues that were important to them, and were overwhelmingly critical of the Ontario provincial government and the Canadian federal government.[8] So, each Monday night, regardless of weather, they set up a large tent in the middle of Confederation Park and held their own town hall.

While, spatially, this positioning was clearly a parodic juxtaposition to the physical presence of City Hall, it also served functionally as an alternative to the politics of City Hall which holds one of its three weekly meetings at the same time as Food Not Bombs serves. Food Not Bombs worked to provide an anti-structural space in which individuals who were unwilling to participate in dominant politics could seek an alternative. As Michael noted,

> Instead of going into City Hall and complaining about things which [local politicians] don't really care much about—in my opinion—we basically are there to show [politicians] that there is a need for more organizations like this.

The inclusivity of Food Not Bombs, imperfect as it is . . . worked to create new carnivalesque socio-political spaces, and a "shared space of as-safe-as-we-can-make-it-vulnerability."

The creation of this alternative was not incidental, but explicitly intentional and extended beyond local fora for political discourses. As Myles noted, for him Food Not Bombs provides an opportunity to engage with non-capitalist economic models, which during his day job he was reliant on,

> It's, like, a fourteenth of a week that I actually get to engage in praxis, right? And act out anarchism, and act out anti-capitalism, and act out community building, and create spaces, create space that fertilizes that, sort of, alternative... that set of alternative models.

These alternative models took on an explicitly carnivalesque character. As noted above, Food Not Bombs—by its members' definition—*has* to be public. While a significant aspect of this rational has to do with making community meals accessible to as wide a variety of people as possible, it is also rooted in more performative aspects of direct action and 'street theatre' (McHenry 51). Particularly in warmer months, Peterborough's Food Not Bombs would incorporate increasingly performative actions: it would spatially expand from just a small fraction of the park to cover its entire expanse and members from the organization would invite spoken word artists, local visual artists, dancers, musicians, and whomever else wished to come contribute their craft to the process of 'doing food not bombs' (Rachelle; Myles; Michael; Sarah). This performative action invited a flood of carnivalization to flow from Food Not Bombs. Embracing Bakhtin's *free and familiar contact among people*, participation (in any way) is open to all. Without membership and without any requirement to participate, 'doing Food Not Bombs' could be as simple as eating, or as complex as picking up unwanted produce from farmers; "if you show up and help for five seconds or if you come and eat once in your life, you 'did Food Not Bombs,' right?" (Rachelle). Although, as mentioned above, Food Not Bombs could, by its very nature as a constructed community, exclude individuals who felt that it was not representative of them, as Rachelle noted,

> [U]nless someone's like, 'hey, I wanna bring my, like, fascist fan club to Food Not Bombs' [laughs], it's like, it's not even in anybody's, you know, like, description, to like, be able to say 'yay' or 'no' to something. 'Cause part of what we aim to create is an organic experience, that you know might have some people paying attention to try and make sure that people are comfortable. But [Food Not Bombs] does not belong to anyone.

The inclusivity of Food Not Bombs, imperfect as it is (for, it does not provide food to the entire city), worked to create new carnivalesque socio-political spaces, and a "shared space of as-safe-as-we-can-make-it-vulnerability" (Rachelle). As much as it is possible, Food Not Bombs would achieve this, bringing together—even on blisteringly cold nights—a wide variety of individuals from vastly different privileges and positionalities. Furthermore, the meals provide a safe space for individuals who otherwise were without community, or felt excluded from other communities in Peterborough, to find a weekly place to connect with others. Individuals who had disabilities, were economically-disadvantaged, had mental illness or substance abuse issues, or were mourning death, were all noted by participants as having used Food Not Bombs as a place to find a community to help them cope with difficult times.

On cold winter nights—when, to stay warm while eating, it was prudent to huddle in the small food tent—Food Not Bombs shifted from being a food security organization to truly realizing its capacity as an alternative political form. In evoking *a new mode of interrelationship between people*, community feasts would often feature intense but constructive conversations on pertinent political subjects. Not all those who attended participated in these, but all were welcome to, and debates were usually conducted in a manner that was accessible to individuals coming from a variety of backgrounds and knowledges. As Rachelle noted,

> We often have like teenagers and preteens, we've had children and we often had elders in the kitchen with us too, right? And that simple act alone of once a week having, like, five to six strangers of totally different ages, having a conversation that can start with a very simple, banal political point... the *perspectives* that people have from different angles, like, so many people don't talk to people ten years outside your age range of them, outside of certain relationships.

In this sense, Food Not Bombs worked to find new ways of exploring political ideas, and learning from others in a collective manner.

In both cases, as *free and familiar contact* and *a new mode of interrelationship*, Food Not Bombs has moved away from typical capitalist modalities of 'being together' and community construction based on collective commodity consumption, and worked to find ways in which to build communities, engage political attentiveness, and address food security issues through direct action, all the while outside of capitalism. Through the creation of carnivalized anti-structural, anti-capitalist spaces, which are for all intents and purposes free and open to all, Food Not Bombs engages in the creation of what Amanda Wilson has helped identify as autonomous geographies, "non-capitalist, egalitarian and solidaristic forms of political, social and economic organization through a combination of resistance and creation" (Chatterton and Pickerill in Am. Wilson 278). Through a praxis that has incorporated carnivalistic ethics, and helped allow for the creation of new community models, Food Not Bombs has carved out a generative space in which new food modalities can be imagined. In addressing Bakhtin's third and fourth characteristics of the carnival (*carnivalistic mésalliances* and *profanity*) this is where we turn.

Food Not Bombs has moved away from typical capitalist modalities . . . to find ways in which to build communities, engage political attentiveness, and address food security issues through direct action

3.5. The Carnivalized Biopolitics of Food Not Bombs

Amanda Wilson has argued, following others, for a post-structural political economy approach to food alternatives, which sees the hegemonic effects of capitalism as non-totalizing, and therefore also, permeable. In this construction opportunities for resisting and working countervalent to dominant normalcies, such as the Canadian food system, are possible through the creation of autonomous food spaces that weave through the cracks of capitalism's purported hegemony (Am. Wilson). For her, an 'autonomous' food system "brings considerations of power relations and equity to the forefront and situates food within the broader context of non-capitalist communities seeking to build relationships of mutual aid and non-market exchanges" (Am. Wilson 727). Food Not Bombs engages in these practices through carnivalisitic modes of reality that work not only to find ways out of capitalist systems, but also to actively stage debasements and transformations of normative structures through a biopolitics of inversion.

Fundamental to Michel Foucault's conceptualization of biopower is the presumption that "power is situated at the level of life, the species, the race, and the large-scale phenomena of population," and that the modern variant of this form of power is the "power to foster life or swallow it to the point of death" (Foucault 260-1). Following this, biopolitics concerns the way in which with the emergence of the idea of 'the population', the state's primary focus becomes the management of populations' biological functions, "transforming its politics into biopolitics" (Agamben 15). The function of food as both a metaphorical vessel for the consumption of state biopower and as a commodity to be supplied and withheld is essential to biopolitics.

Food is interlocked with, and imbricated between, larger systems of power, but is also in its essence an imaginative commodity. Individuals involved in Food Not Bombs were aware of this, suggesting that,

> Food has always been a good tool to blackmail people. I call it blackmail because it's not just overpriced it's not just greedy, it's basically at the point where it's blackmail. Basi-

cally, when someone makes 1000% profit on a banana that's more than greed, or profit, or profit margin; that 1000% profit margin is robbery, ripoff. (Michael)

and that,

> Food Not Bombs is a really literal analogy. They've been using food against us as a weapon for all of time. Every society politically, otherwise, food is this thing that everybody needs, so you can control people with it. It is the ultimate tool, therefore, that we can take back. (Rachelle)

Through a rejection of a biopolitics reliant on the creation of food-scarcity and the enforcement of gastronomical sanitation . . . Food Not Bombs opens up possibilities of profane ways of eating. It politicizes the most basic of the reproductive powers of the body

Because of this Food Not Bombs, while concerned with creating open community spaces, was, perhaps obviously, foremost concerned with feeding people in anti-oppressive ways. Food served at weekly meals was procured in the most anti-capitalist ways possible, largely through partnerships with local farmers who would donate food that they were unable to sell at Peterborough's Sunday farmers market because it was either aesthetically undesirable or partially spoilt. Although these practices do not avoid all capitalist relations, they allow Food Not Bombs to conduct their activities in a manner that is as resistant and non-contributive to capitalist systems as possible.

These practices of gleaning operate as a way for the organization to engage in a praxis of *carnivalistic mésalliances* and *profanity*. By practicing forms of culinary inversion (Clarke) Food Not Bombs works to carnivalize the act of eating through the performance each week of eating what under dominant (non-carnival) consumption normalcies is literally 'garbage'; waste food, unfit to eat due to partial spoiling or physical deformity. Laura Portwood-Stacer has noted, this "anti-consumption," through practices of consumption, is structured by a desire to subvert and resist capitalist food-chains (93). However, a complimentary but inverted process also occurs. By utilizing only gleaned foods, Food Not Bombs creates an *alternative hedonism*, or *aesthetic revisioning* (Soper). In this process, "the commodities," in this case capitalist commodities in general, "once perceived as enticingly glamorous come gradually instead to be seen as cumbersome and ugly in virtue of their association with unsustainable resource use, noise, toxicity or their legacy of unrecyclable waste" (Soper 580). There is no Wonderbread at Food Not Bombs meals.

Through a rejection of a biopolitics reliant on the creation of food-scarcity and the enforcement of gastronomical sanitation through the maintenance of codes of purity in eating, aesthetically or otherwise, Food Not Bombs opens up possibilities for profane ways of eating. It politicizes the most basic of the reproductive powers of the body through the performance of culinary inversion and eating 'bad food' and 'rotten food' in ways that are healthy and delicious. These practices encourage not only critiques of the carefully managed logics of dominant ingestion, but also an attentiveness to the ways in which acts of consumption are always in conversation with capitalism. As Sarah describes,

> It brings us back to our relation to food as humans, you know, and not consumers. So, this food that farmers have lovingly donated, that may aesthetically... it might not look pretty, right? ...To buy. But you can eat it. It still serves you the same nutrition, it gives you the same amount of energy so it's, kind of like, reshaping the relationship to food also, and breaking down the consumer-commodity based relationship . . . I grew up as a consumer and Food Not Bombs has helped me kind of interrogate that relationship. . . . It's feeding people, and it's breaking down those false, imposed relationships that are founded, or grounded, in commodity or consumer-based relationships.

4. "One fourteenth a week..."[9]

> I fantasize about doing Food Not Bombs and then it just catching and, like, everybody just ceasing to engage in this bullshit system. And all of a sudden, you know, people just stopped going to work at the call center, and like, people stop going to work on their computer, and they just, like, get together and organize how the hell are we going to take care of ourselves and actually look after what life is about, right? Which is about food, air, water, shelter, meaningful action, right? It's pretty basic. There's so much other bullshit that goes throughout our days that has nothing to do with acquiring, you know, clean air, food, water, shelter, and meaningful action, right? Most of it is like meaningful action that we do because we are afraid of dying poor, and alone, right? And like, it's either a carrot on a stick or a gun to our heads, right? Like, why do I have to work? Why do I go to work every day? It's out of fear. And I want to... I would love to see that just dissolve. And Food Not Bombs, you know... one fourteenth of my week that gun is not against my head. (Myles)

The carnival, like all things, must come to an end. Food Not Bombs, like a carnival, exists only ephemerally. However, in the short few hours when it is sited in Confederation Park, across from Peterborough's City Hall, Food Not Bombs has the effect of evoking an entirely new reality between individuals. Food Not Bombs creates a carnivalisitic sense of the world by shrinking the normative forces of capitalism, neoliberal politics, and the global food system into a microcosm: consumption. In this singularity, it challenges these forces, and many others, and attempts to seek out alternatives through a grounded praxis deeply informed by the spectacle, inversion, and communality of the carnival. It grapples with these forces and by its very fact of existence, challenges the notion that their oppressive nature is totalizing. Food Not Bombs, as an embodied politics, imagines totally partial, but totally liberatory alternatives.

In this sense, Food Not Bombs engages in environmental justice insofar as it seeks the provisioning of alternatives to oppression. However, the organization does not engage in typical modes of procedural or distributive justice. It cannot. Instead it works to challenge the normative fields in which these, and other forms of justice, are fought for by refusing to engage with or recognize the institutions that hold power over the deliverance of justice. In doing this, Food Not Bombs works to create alternative, autonomous spaces outside both capital and state in which real alternatives and 'ways-out' can be live-tested. Food Not Bombs does address issues of procedural and distributive justice, among others, but it does so in a way all its own. It engages the serious and important systemic critiques central to environmental justice work, but does so not in the hope that the faulted system might see its way to enlightenment, but rather as a way of identifying how utopian alternatives might succeed.

"[W]hat we are actually going for is creating an opportunity for people to see that they might want to live a different way, that they might want to share, that they might want to self-liberate in all kinds of different kinds of ways"

> I don't believe it's the will of our city council, I don't believe it's the will of the Wynne government, and I sure as heck don't believe that it's the will of the Harper regime to empower people to share or to reclaim lives in ways that are more empowering, or to do anything, but be cogs in an economy until they are no longer useful, basically, right? So that is what corporations do, and that is what states do at all levels from your municipal government up; it's just their mandate. And getting pissed at them for it doesn't make much sense either. . . . I come from a background of, like, real strong belief in diversity of tactics and I believe that people need to disrupt and stop bad things from happening sometimes, right? That said most of our energy, if it's not being placed in a position of self-liberation is actually being given over to our oppressors. And I believe that philosophically, I believe that tactically, and I believe that politically, that we need to at least spend 50% of our time not complaining how bad they're making it for us, but making our own lives good. And that's a huge difference of model that Food Not Bombs engages in than pretty much every other food model that I've seen. . . . Without, you know, forcing anything upon anyone whatsoever, what we are actually going for is creating an opportunity for people to see that they might want to live a different way, that they might want to share, that they might want to self-liberate in all kinds of different kinds of ways that happens, in, a not prescribed way, but in an organic way when you just claim space and give a basic resource out. (Rachelle)

But when or how do these alternative realities become realized? As identified in the epigraph to this section, even for the most dedicated of 'Food Not Bombers' the type of anarchistic praxis that the group participates in is not possible every day of every week.

In his *Ten Theses on Politics*, Jacques Rancière writes that "[a] political demonstration is . . . always of the moment and its subjects are always precarious. A political difference is always on the shore of its own disappearance" (39). For Rancière, the insurrection of the political into the sphere of the (police-) structural functions as a charge against a hegemonic ordering of what is allowed to be made sensible and visible within a society. Food Not Bombs is all *dissensus*, without the hope or desire for *consensus* (Rancière).

We live in a world of little revolutions. Of every-day imaginative potentialities; small acts of hope in dangerous times. The ephemeral, in-your-face carnivalesque reality that Food Not Bombs evokes each week is just one such revolution; that small moment in which there is no 'gun against your head'. It is a realization of an alternative in a double sense: both realization that there are alternatives, and the enunciation of them. Shedding normative biopolitics, and structures of togetherness predicated on capitalist consumption, Food Not Bombs *eats together* in a way that outside their small carnival seems impossible.

We would do well to consider the imaginative possibilities that the carnivalesque affords us in revolutionary contexts. Its fluid ambivalence, capacity for inversion, and the muddling of borders is a robust way to conceptualize geographies of resistance and out of them build inclusive anarchic communities. When we begin to consider that which is both more abstract and more complex we find our path forward.

Notes

[1] "[T]he Feast of Fools at Christmas time . . . a choirboy or Chaplin would be elected bishop and preside while the minor clergy burlesqued the mass and even confession, and led an ass around the church. By the late fifth teen century this topsy-turvy saturnalia was being slowly banished from the cathedrals, and apart from it, virtually lathe population recreations were initiated by lay-

men. They were not, however, official affairs in the sixteenth-century French city; that is, city governments ordinarily did not plan, programme and finance them . . . Rather the festivities were put on by informal circles of friends and family; sometimes by craft of professional guilds and confraternaties; and very often by organizations which literary historians have called 'societies joyéuses' or 'fool-societies'" (Davis 42-3).

[2] Various authors include discussion of justice through the frames of: recognition (Schlosberg); creativity and restoration (Draper and Mitchell); and responsibility (Walker). For our purposes here we will retain our attention to only distributive and procedural forms.

[3] During the time that I was conducting research on Food Not Bombs the organization catered Trent University's Students Association for International Development Community Movement Conference "Skyscrapers to Slums: The Dynamics of Urbanism" as well as "Seedy Sunday" an annual seed exchange event hosted by Nourish Peterborough. These activities are typical for the Peterborough chapter of Food Not Bombs, and while the organization is ostensibly happy to provide 'no pay' services, they are often provided with an honorarium. These honoraria are actually key to the function of the organization and are used to purchase items that the origination is unable to otherwise procure through non-capitalist means, such as spices and cookware.

[4] The co-founder of Food Not Bombs, Keith McHenry, has written what is ostensibly a 'how-to' book on Food Not Bombs, and indicates in it that, "Food Not Bombs has never been considered a charity" (16). I have limited the use of this book in this paper, and am not reliant on it here, because Food Not Bombs is not structured by any central authority, and so while McHenry's description of 'how-to' do Food Not Bombs is contextually important it does not necessarily reflect the ways in which the grounded operation of Peterborough's chapter is conceptualized. McHenry indicates this, identifying in his somewhat paradoxical "Principles of Food Not Bombs" that "Food Not Bombs has no formal leaders or headquarters, and every group is autonomous and makes decisions using the consensus process" (16).

[5] Rachelle 2014.

[6] Field Notes, February 17th, 2014.

[7] *mésalliances*: "marriage with a person of inferior social position."

[8] At the time of research Peterborough's Member of Parliament was Dean Del Mastro (Conservative); the Premier was Kathleen Wynne (Liberal); and the Prime Minister was Stephen Harper (Conservative).

[9] Myles 2014.

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Research participants have had their names changed to pseudonyms in order to maintain their anonymity. However, Rachelle and Myles have elected to not use pseudonyms.

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Lot Eight / Lote Ocho

RACHEL SMALL

This piece was submitted as a spoken-word poem. A recording can be found on the *UnderCurrents* website: http://www.yorku.ca/currents
Special thanks to Ruben Esguerra, audio engineer on the recording.

[Author's Note - Content warning: this poem discusses sexual, gendered, and other forms of violence.]

Dedicated to the women of Lot 8 who are fighting like hell for justice not only on their land in Guatemala, but who have brought their historic fight into Canadian courts as well.

This poem is about Lot 8.
A community where we have sent our Canadian companies
in search of the nickel, the gold in the ground;
companies like Inco, Goldcorp, Hudbay
all determined to do away with
anyone there who's in their way
no matter how long they have been there, lived there
no matter whether they have anywhere else to go
to grow maïs frijoles platano
to sow the seeds for the plants that feed families.
This in Guatemala, a country where we have already so heavily left a mark
infamous euphemisms
like free trade, like structural-adjustment programs
adjusting exactly how we're re-colonizing these lands.

This poem is about Mayan families.
Those who have survived, have lived through
30 years of genocide started by a US sponsored coup
that Canada played a part in too. Guatemala,
a country where memories of the massacres are only beginning to fade
where justice has never been done so people see their neighbours' killers
every single day.

This poem is about Mayan Q'eqchi'.
Who now face a whole new slew of
Canada's best kept secret, these mining companies
who they've found have gone so far as to name their town.
And I guess it's true, that when the name you give a town
is a number – lote ocho, lot eight - and when you demarcate, delineate
the borders of a place with mineral exploration trenches
it becomes easier to designate people
as property.

And so, Lot 8 became quickly one of many communities
evicted illegally by a Canadian company arriving unexpectedly
with the police, private security, what looked like half the Guatemalan army
over 700 men with guns
who burned their homes, crops, lives to the ground
raining tear gas canisters
gunshots drowning out the sound of the town
screaming
mourning
disbelieving
what they were seeing
what was happening.

But Lot 8 had nowhere else to go
and so, after this eviction, this attack
the community had to come back and start rebuilding.
And 8 days later the men with guns came back too
only this time the town men were off in the fields
and the police, army, security found only women and children in the town.

And I feel like you know what I'm going to say
what the army, the police, the private security hired by our Canadian company
did on that day
January 9th, 2007.
But I promised Elena Choc Quib that I would repeat how 8 men
beat her
raped her
left her unable to move on the ground
and how she never gave birth
to the child she was eight months pregnant with at the time.

And I wish I hadn't heard the same story
from Irma Yolanda Choc Cac
or ten other women in the town.

Maybe this poem is about solidarity
Because if it's the Canadian company, the police, and the army
who have raped you then who the hell do you have to turn to?
I can't face that the only thing I could stand up straight
and say in Lot 8 was
lo siento
I'm so sorry.

Can't face that all I could promise after all I'd been shown
was that I would tell their stories when I got back home.
And so.
I'm telling you.

But maybe I'm not done.
Because I kind of want to send fliers to all the nice
Canadians tourists who visit Mayan ruins
to let them know that every day our companies
ruin Mayan communities
with our mines. And with the community testimonies
activists have been gathering for years
I want to plaster the walls of the Toronto homes
of mining company execs. I want photos of
the whole community of Lot 8
whose names they won't hear
who they will never meet, but who were forced to learn their
company's name, to be some pawn in their twisted investment game.
And with these faces and places and stories for wallpaper, posted in Toronto
visibly, publically, let them dare to keep talking corporate social responsibility.
And let's instead, for just a second,
access some humility, speak honestly. Because
I want to call it as I see it
and if this isn't a new generation of colonization
then I don't know what the hell this is.
Or maybe these systems of raping and razing and segregating,
creating euphemisms like "community resettlement",
do have another name. Maybe that's what our country calls
"international development".
And I do believe this is development work
if the worth we're developing
is Canadian stocks.

You know, maybe this poem is actually about Canada.
Because I think we should take stock
of our country and the companies of our nation that run
70% of mines and mineral exploration around the world.
And maybe we should ditch the reputation, the idealization
of us as a peaceful nation. And maybe let's go personal for just a second,
cause leaving aside the colonial myth, the legend,
how many of us can truly say that we live where we do legally
on lands that were not stolen?

Because colonization is not just
about conquistadors and conquest,
about residential schools or corrupt governments,
about multinational companies and our investments.
It's about the millions of people on this land
like me
who are pursuing
our own freedom
our own wealth
our own dreams
at the expense of and subsidized by Indigenous people.
Their lands,
their cultures,
their communities
and their bodies.
Whether we know it or not.

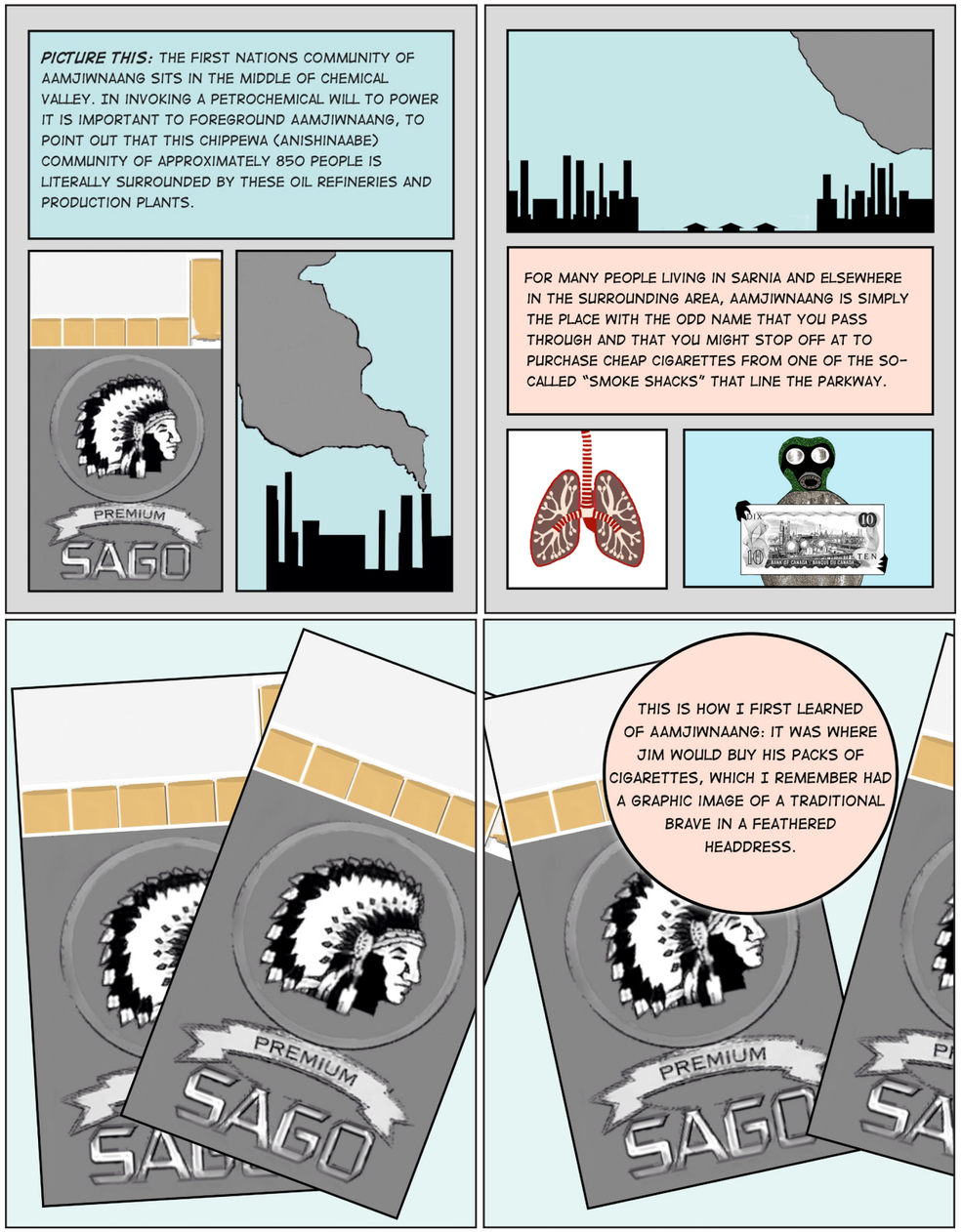
So let's stop talking like we're being generous
handing out hand-outs or development charity
and simultaneously handing-off responsibility
to this or that ministry, or agency
for what we are doing.

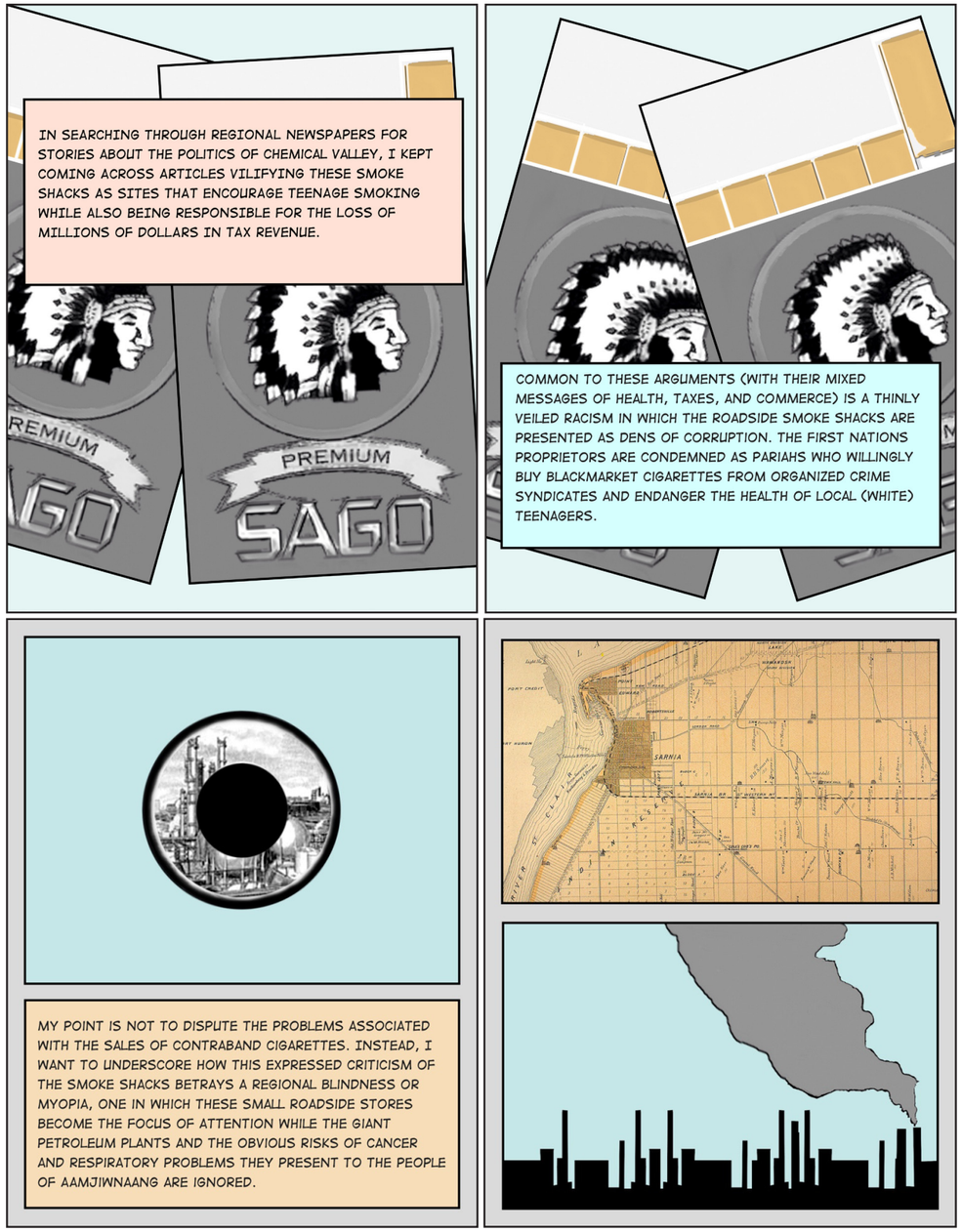
And beyond the size of our metaphoric ecological footprint,
or whatever is trendy to quantify and analyze in this moment
I would suggest we focus for just a second on
where the hell we're walking.

Excerpt from

The Tale of the Sarnia Nose *(a toxic comic book)*

PETER HOBBS





The Tale of the Sarnia Nose is one of three comic book chapters that appear in *Chemical Intimacies and Toxic Publics*, Hobbs' 2016 dissertation. This text mixes archival research, ethnography, and comic book drawings to produce a creative hybrid: part political critique, part environmental activism, and part artist publication.

The Treaty 8 First Nations and BC Hydro's Site C Dam

JAN KUCIC-RIKER

The Site C Clean Energy Project is a proposed dam and hydroelectric generating station on the Peace River in northeast British Columbia, seven kilometres southwest of the city of Fort St. John. The proposed site—within the Peace River Valley—is home to BC's Treaty 8 First Nations with an approximate Aboriginal[1] population of 2500-3000 people (T8TA, "Treat 8 Communities"). The project's proponent, BC Hydro, received environmental approval for Site C from the federal and provincial governments on October 14, 2014 (BCEAO *Conditional Environmental Assessment Certificate Granted: Site C Clean Energy Project*; CEAA "Government of Canada's Decision on the Environmental Assessment of the Site C Clean Energy Project"); however, the project still requires an investment decision from the Province and regulatory permits and authorizations before it can proceed to construction (BC Hydro, "Multi-Stage Evaluation"). The Treaty 8 First Nations are opposing Site C, having filed a lawsuit on grounds that the project would have a devastating impact on their traditional land and thus violate their treaty rights (Keller).

The struggle between the Treaty 8 First Nations over the future of their land and the Peace River Valley is emblematic of broader struggles for self-determination, recognition of Aboriginal rights and title, and environmental justice in Canada. In what follows, I attempt to unpack some of the contentious issues surrounding Site C and draw attention to the First Nations strategies for resistance. By examining the Treaty 8 First Nations challenge to BC Hydro's Site C dam through an environmental justice lens, I argue that the project represents an inequitable distribution of environmental costs and benefits between the Province and the affected First Nations communities, and undermines the right of First Nations peoples to maintain and strengthen their own institutions, cultures, and traditions, and pursue development in keeping with their own needs and aspirations as outlined in the United Nations Declaration of Indigenous Peoples (art. 20).

I will begin by providing a brief background of the history of Site C, including an overview of previous development on the Peace River, a summary of the project's key components and their anticipated environmental impacts, and the rationale for building the dam. In the next section, I discuss the First Nations perspective of the project—as well as any differences of opinion amongst the Treaty 8 First Nations—and their experience of consultation, dispute settlement, and their subsequent legal challenge. Lastly, I attempt to draw parallels with previous First Nations court decisions and discuss the potential for the case to set a legal precedent regarding how Canadian courts balance issues of resource development, public interest, and First Nations land claims.

Finally, it is necessary to disclose that as this is an ongoing story the discussion included herein is by no means exhaustive nor are the positions of prominent actors in any sense fixed. It is also necessary to acknowledge that while this study employs environmental justice as a foundation for analysis, it represents only one of many ways to approach and explore the subject of First Nations rights and self-determination in Canada. Similarly, as a means of delineating this study, I focus specifically on the stories of Aboriginal communities and their opposition to Site C; while the proposed hydroelectric project would have extensive effects on a range of groups beyond Aboriginal peoples, these impacts are beyond the scope of this paper.

History of Site C

The W.A.C. Bennett Dam at the head of the Peace River Canyon was the first hydroelectric facility built on the Peace waterway. Completed in 1967, the dam is one of the world's largest earthfill dams,[2] and impounds BC's largest reservoir, Williston Lake (BC Hydro, "W.A.C. Bennett Dam"). Williston Lake, which in reality is an artificial reservoir, formed when the W.A.C. Bennett Dam caused parts of three rivers—the Finlay, Parsnip, and the Peace—to flood; its creation destroyed habitat, changed the immediate climate of the area, and compromised biodiversity (Loo 901). In addition to flooding 140,000 hectares of forested land and blocking the east-west migration of the now endangered mountain caribou across the Rocky Mountain Trench, the creation of Williston Lake also affected some 40 or 50 members of the Tsay Keh Dene First Nation; the Sekani peoples, then known as the Ingenika, were relocated to new reserves when it became clear their settlements and traplines near Fort Grahame and Finlay Forks would be inundated by the reservoir's waters (Loo 901).

The Peace Canyon Dam was constructed thirteen years later and twenty-three kilometres downstream from the W.A.C. Bennett Dam at the outlet of the Peace River Canyon (BC Hydro, "W.A.C. Bennett Dam"). Before construction of the Peace Canyon Dam was completed, the search for an appropriate site for a third dam had already begun. Following exploratory surveys, the government identified five potential sites—Sites A, B, C, D, and E—between the Peace Canyon Dam and the Alberta border as suitable for generating stations (BC Hydro, *Peace River Site C hydro project: An option to help close B.C.'s growing electricity gap* 22). In 1967, geological reconnaissance determined that Sites B and D were unattractive due to unstable geology, while Site A would require the removal of significantly more overburden, leaving Site C and E as the only viable options (22).

After a 1976 feasibility study, surveyors deemed Site C the topographically and geologically preferable location for another earthfill dam. However, whereas the W.A.C. Bennett and Peace Canyon Dams were uncontroversial at the time of their construction and were planned and built with little to no public debate, growing awareness of the environmental impacts of hydroelectricity and new expectations regarding public input into decision-making created concern about the BC energy planning regime (Dusyk 875). Therefore, in 1981, the provincial government referred BC Hydro's application for an Energy Project Certificate for Site C to the newly created British Columbia Utilities Commission (BCUC) for review. Following a two-year assessment of the project's justification, design, impacts, and other relevant matters, the BCUC released its report in 1983 concluding that:

> An Energy Project Certificate for Site C should not be issued at this time. The evidence does not demonstrate that construction must or should start immediately or that Site C is the only or best feasible source of supply to follow Revelstoke in the system plan. The Commission therefore concludes that an Energy Project Certificate for Site C should not be issued until (1) an acceptable forecast demonstrates that construction must begin immediately in order to avoid supply deficiencies and (2) a comparison of alternative feasible system plans demonstrates, from a social benefit-cost point of view, that Site C is the best project to meet the anticipated supply deficiency. (BCUC 10-11)

With respect to the impacts on First Nations communities, the BCUC found that "while the impacts of Site C on a provincial scale may be small, they could be significant to the native population in the region" (BCUC 19). The BCUC also suggested that impacts on First Nations communities be monitored and that if, for instance, adverse impacts on hunting were identified, "then measures to compensate in kind be implemented; *monetary compensation will not suffice* [emphasis added]" (BCUC 19).

[T]he [British Columbia Utilities Commission] found that "while the impacts of Site C on a provincial scale may be small, they could be significant to the native population in the region."

In the wake of BCUC's denial of the application, BC Hydro revisited the prospect of proceeding with Site C throughout the 1980s until they decided to suspend engineering and other work in March 1991 as opportunities for demand-side management and gas-fired generation became more attractive ways of meeting demand (BC Hydro 23). It was not until 2004 under the Province's Integrated Electricity Plan (IEP) that BC Hydro tabled Site C again as a potential energy development option (BC Hydro, *Integrated Electricity Plan: Summary* 29).

The proposed Site C earthfill dam would measure just over a kilometre in length and rise 60 meters above the riverbed with a rated capacity of 1,100 megawatts, producing 5,100 gigawatt hours of electricity annually. The Site C reservoir would run for 83 kilometres, flooding 5,500 hectares of land, and double to triple the width of the current river (BC Hydro, *Environmental Impact Statement: Executive Summary* 10). The estimated capital cost of the project including construction and development costs, inflation, contingencies, and interest accrued over the course of the seven-year period needed to complete construction would be $7.9 billion (BC Hydro, "Cost Estimate").

The revival of the Site C proposal began with an outline of a five-stage approach, beginning with a feasibility review, followed by a consultation and technical review, an environmental and regulatory review, acquisition of permits and regulatory approvals, and finally construction. The feasibility review took place between 2004 and 2007, in which BC Hydro declared: (1) that the anticipated magnitude of the Prov-

ince's electricity gap[3] was significant enough that Site C should continue to be examined as a potential resource option; (2) that no project characteristics were identified that would render Site C unfeasible; and (3) that Site C would offer sufficient overall benefits relative to alternatives to make it an attractive electricity option (BC Hydro, *Peace River Site C hydro project: An option to help close B.C.'s growing electricity gap* iv). Given the above findings, BC Hydro encouraged moving the project on to Stage 2.

Following provincial approval of Stage 1, consultation took place over a period of a year between December 2007 and December 2008, during which time BC Hydro initiated consultation and engagement with 41 Aboriginal groups consisting primarily of Treaty 8 First Nations in BC (BC Hydro, *Stage 2 report: Consultation and technical review* 44). The approach and conclusions of the consultation and technical review differed markedly between BC Hydro and the Treaty 8 First Nations. In response to First Nations raising grievances related to past BC Hydro projects in the area and the cumulative effects of past and current projects on the region including those from the mining and oil and gas sectors,[4] BC Hydro submitted that consultation would be "ongoing" with "a greater focus on impact assessment, mitigation, and accommodation" (46) if the government accepted its recommendation to move the project into the environmental and regulatory review phase. In contrast, the Treaty 8 First Nations' report claimed that BC Hydro had not made best efforts to complete the consultation process as agreed and documented in the Stage 2 Consultation Agreement, the purpose of which was to include the identification of potential impacts, and accommodation and mitigation options, prior to any decision being made on whether the assessment should proceed to Stage 3. The Treaty 8 Tribal Association asserted that,

> There have been excessive delays in providing the results of the reports and studies to the Treaty 8 First Nations, delays in responding to written questions regarding potential impacts of the proposed project and delays in allowing the commencement of the TLUS [Traditional Land Use Study]. Collectively, these delays have prevented the Treaty 8 First Nations from fully participating in the Stage 2 Consultation Agreement on the basis of free, prior and informed consent and, accordingly, the only conclusion that can be reached is that efforts have been inadequate and commitments under the Stage 2 Consultation Agreement remain unfulfilled. (T8TA, *Treaty 8 First Nations report on stage 2 consultation 14-15*)

Several burial sites, ceremonial areas, medicinal plant harvesting zones, and teaching areas are at risk of being irrevocably lost due to flooding from the Site C reservoir.

The Treaty 8 Tribal Association, consisting of a council of five of the eight[5] BC Treaty 8 First Nations Chiefs, also questioned BC Hydro's decision to conduct Stage 1 without any involvement of First Nations and to have made significant progress on Stage 2 (including the completion of the public pre-consultation, which outlined how stakeholders wished to be consulted and about what topics) before engaging with the Treaty 8 First Nations at all (2). Together, these factors led the Treaty 8 First Nations to register their strong objection to BC Hydro for having made a recommendation to the provincial government to proceed to Stage 3.

The provincial government accepted BC Hydro's recommendation and authorized the Site C proposal to move to environmental assessment. The review process began in 2011 and concluded on October 14, 2014, when the Canadian Environmental Assessment Agency (CEAA) and the British Columbia Environmental Assessment Office (BCEAO) granted approval to the proposal (BC Hydro, *Environmental Impact Statement: Executive Summary* 2). In addition to shouldering an increased burden from generalized environmental impacts such as soil erosion, loss of agricultural land, habitat fragmentation and alteration, loss of wildlife, and reduction in fish health and survival (CEAA, *Volume 5, Section 39: Complete Lists of Mitigation and Follow-up Measures*), First Nations groups also faced specific cultural losses due to their immediate and deep-rooted relationship with the land. Several burial sites, ceremonial areas, medicinal plant harvesting zones, and teaching areas are at risk of being irrevocably lost due to flooding from the Site C reservoir. Moreover, the CEAA admits that these type of damages are not amenable to mitigation or compensation measures.

At the time of writing, BC Hydro is awaiting a decision from their Board of Directors and the Province to secure regulatory permits and funding before they can proceed to project construction. In the following section, I examine the project's impacts and opposition to the development of Site C more closely through the perspective of First Nations communities. I also attempt to differentiate between the perspectives, positions, and strategies of the Treaty 8 First Nations in negotiating compensation, engaging in direct action, or litigating.

Uneven Burdens and the First Nations Response

From its formal emergence in the early 1980s in the United States, the environmental justice movement focused on the existence of inequity in the distribution of environmental "bads." The concept illustrates that not only do some communities receive more environmental risks than others, but goes on to ask why those (typically racialized and/or marginalized) communities were devalued in the first place (Schlosberg 39). In the Canadian context, part of the answer may lie in the way environmental justice fits into existing policy paradigms. Geographer Michael Buzzelli notes that the Canadian identity and collectivist ethos of fairness and social welfare built on a foundation of progressive taxation is ill-equipped to account for or measure "environmental deficits" in the way it does socio-economic inequalities between individuals, households, neighbourhoods, and communities. The unpriced, spatially uneven, and often unfair character of environmental quality is also complicated by environmental justice's emphasis on distributive justice over absolute pollution reduction (Buzzelli 7).

Further resource development such as Site C only stands to exacerbate environmental stressors in a region that is already experiencing enormous and widespread changes due to a convergence of industrial interests in the area. In their study of the Peace River region, the David Suzuki Foundation & Global Forest Watch calculated that physical changes from logging, mining, oil and gas development, water withdrawals, stream crossings, large-scale hydro development, and urban and agricultural conversions take up one fifth of the Peace Region landscape. If this is expanded to account for the effects on wildlife populations, over two thirds of the region would be classified as what Dane-zaa elder May Apsassin refers to as "broken" country for wildlife and the communities that rely on them (2).

In the case of Site C, there is a strong case that Aboriginal communities carry a disproportionate burden from environmental risks and that the damages from these risks are typically of a higher magnitude than those facing the general population. The report of the Joint Review Panel[6] on Site C found—in disagreement with BC Hydro—that the project would have significant adverse effects on fishing opportunities and practices for the Blueberry River First Nations and the First Nations represented by the Treaty 8 Tribal Association (CEAA, *Report of the joint review panel: Site C clean energy project* 314). Site C, however, would not significantly affect the harvest of fish and wildlife by non-Aboriginal people (iv). Part of the reason for this discrepancy is that First Nations treaty rights include the right to hunt, fish, and trap for preferred species such as bull trout, Arctic grayling, and mountain whitefish—most of which would be lost—while the species that stand to benefit have been introduced to the ecosystem and are of little interest to them.

Flooding from Site C would alter or destroy many of these traditional fishing grounds; thus, knowledge of fishing grounds, preferred species, and cultural attachment to specific sites would be lost. The Site C reservoir would also produce changes in hydrology and sedimentation, which would alter the composition of fish species through habitat loss and disruption of migration routes (126). Moreover, the panel raised health concerns over increased methylmercury levels in fish and fish-eating wildlife since it is primarily First Nations that depend on them as a food source (221). In contrast, the economic stability of the sport fishery is not so dependent on numbers of fish harvested as it is on "maintenance of opportunity and expectation" (131). The Joint Review Panel found that no mitigation measures short of stopping development existed to safeguard First Nations fishing opportunities, whereas measures to support recreational shoreline use, boating access, and water-based navigation could all serve to buoy fishing opportunities and mitigate the effects of construction on changes in public fishing areas for non-Aboriginals.

The panel, again in disagreement with BC Hydro, also found that the project would likely cause significant adverse and cumulative effects on hunting, non-tenured trapping, and traditional uses of land, all of which predominantly impress upon the livelihoods of Aboriginal peoples. The multitude of disagreements regarding the environmental impacts of Site C between Aboriginal groups and BC Hydro are telling of whose voices are privileged and how the concerns of various parties are weighed. For instance, the rationale for Site C rests on the claim that it would supply electricity that British Columbians need and would pay for, at a lower combination of price and external costs than any other alternative; however, the provincial government has refused to tender an independent assessment of BC Hydro's projections. The BCUC, which typically makes such assessments, has been blocked from doing so by the provincial government, which passed an Order-in-Council and a provision in the *Clean Energy Act* that exempted Site C from this customary regulatory review (Johnston).

The Treaty 8 Tribal Association conducted its own analysis of alternatives to Site C and concluded that "the superiority of Site C in relation to the alternatives has not been demonstrated" and that "Site C is not a cost-effective solution to meeting BC Hydro's forecast needs for additional energy and capacity."

The Treaty 8 Tribal Association conducted its own analysis of alternatives to Site C and concluded that "the superiority of Site C in relation to the alternatives has not been demonstrated" and that "Site C is not a cost-effective solution to meeting BC Hydro's forecast needs for additional energy and capacity" (Raphals 41). Treaty 8 Tribal Chief Liz Logan wrote that "BC Hydro has not

taken seriously clean energy alternatives...nor have the concerns of the communities and stakeholders impacted by the project been properly assessed." The Canadian Geothermal Energy Association also objected to BC Hydro's predilection for further damming of the Peace, arguing that compared to Site C, geothermal could offer more jobs spread throughout BC and First Nations, provide electricity at a lower cost and with fewer environmental impacts, and provide planning flexibility to follow the actual demand growth in the provincial system (295).[7] Other critics insisted that a variety of geographically dispersed intermittent clean or renewable energy sources such as run-of-river, wind, small-scale hydro, or solar would be capable of dispatching power more reliably and beneficially than fewer and less diverse power sources like the proposed hydroelectric megaproject (294).

In this sense, Site C is simply the latest project in a long series of resource development plans in the Peace region, an area already crisscrossed with pipelines, fractured by clearcuts, and strewn with petroleum and natural gas well sites and facilities. While some Treaty 8 First Nations were initially willing to discuss mitigation and compensation measures with the BC government, this changed as more information became available. "Now everyone is opposed,"[8] said Chief Roland Willson of the West Moberly First Nation (Lavoie). Blueberry River First Nations is one of the communities that originally agreed to negotiate an impact benefit agreement (Pynn), but following public hearings and the BC government's approach to evaluating Site C in isolation from the cumulative impacts of all the other industrial activity in the area, the band backed away from the talks. Negotiations broke down after the band requested that the Province set aside 8,100 hectares of land from development, to which the Province countered with a guarantee to protect 2,900 hectares on condition that the band give up its claim to treaty rights on all the other land in their traditional territory (Hume).

Early opposition to Site C amongst Aboriginal communities took the form of protests such as the Peace River Environmental Association's "Paddle for the Peace" and the Yellowstone to Yukon Conservation Initiative's "Focus on Peace" campaign. Following the Joint Review Panel's judgement that BC Hydro "has not fully demonstrated the need for the project on the timetable set forth" (306), Fort Nelson First Nation Chief Liz Logan and West Moberly First Nation Chief Roland Willson visited Ottawa with Grand Chief Stewart Phillip, head of the Union of BC Indian Chiefs, to lobby against Site C in September (Stodalka). Nonetheless, a month later CEAA and the BCEAO gave Site C environmental approval.

In response to the decision, the Doig River, Prophet River, West Moberly, and McLeod Lake bands filed a judicial review against Site C, claiming that the Ministry of Environment failed to consider the effects the dam would have on First Nations treaty rights (Stodalka). The judicial review will determine whether the Ministry of Environment failed to adequately consider the potential impact of Site C on First Nations, thus violating their treaty rights. If the Province goes ahead with development before the review is over, the First Nations litigants say they will seek an injunction to halt construction (Stodalka). The Mikisew Cree and Athabasca Chipewyan of Northern Alberta have also joined their Treaty 8 counterparts in legal action challenging the government's failure to consult them properly and consider the downstream effects of Site C on the Peace Athabasca Delta (CBC News).

Site C is simply the latest project in a long series of resource development plans in the Peace region, an area already crisscrossed with pipelines, fractured by clearcuts, and strewn with petroleum and natural gas well sites and facilities.

Previous Court Descisions and Implications for Canadian Environmental Law

Former Chief Stewart Cameron of the Saulteau First Nations, speaking on the significance of Treaty 8 said:

> Whether they were written or not, we know what the true spirit and intent of Treaty 8 is to us...for hunting, fishing, trapping, yes, but it goes way more than that also. It's a way of life, mode of life, [a] meaning that's [in] the land. It's related to the land...Our language is related to the land. Our teachings come from that. Our way of life, our laws come from that, from all of this. (125)

Cameron's statement highlights that Aboriginal treaty rights represent more than mere permits to hunt and fish. Indeed, they must be viewed in the context of the fundamental place of land in their culture, including rights to occupy the land and to secure the continuity of traditional knowledge.

The Mikisew Cree First Nation v. Canada, 2005 SCC 69, decision provides support for Cameron's claim that the words in the Treaty are to be "interpreted in the sense that they would naturally have been understood by the Indians at the time of signing" (para. 29). In relation to Site C, this means that any adverse effects on Treaty 8 First Nations must be considered under the scope of their traditional territories and "not on a treaty-wide basis" (para. 48). The rationale for Site C therefore remains just as tenuous as it was three decades prior when the BCUC reported that the losses First Nations would incur posed a serious threat to their way of life and "could not be compensated for" (BCUC 277).

Anna Johnston of the West Coast Environmental Law Association argues that the significant environmental and social costs that would be borne by the residents of BC's Peace region could only be justified by an unambiguous need for Site C's power, something BC Hydro has not satisfactorily demonstrated according to the Joint Review Panel. Thus,

> The test for whether BC Hydro should be allowed to build with Site C, then, is an "unambiguous need" for the energy it would provide. Without conclusive proof that BC will need Site C by the time it would start operating, the dam's approval cannot be justified. (Johnston)

As the proposal for Site C stands at the time of writing, going forward with the project would undermine not only the role of meaningful consultation and accommodation but also the premise of Aboriginal title more broadly.

With respect to Aboriginal title, the recent Supreme Court judgement in Tsilhqot'in Nation v. British Columbia, 2014 SCC 44, can prove instructive. The Court found that Aboriginal title confers ownership rights including, "the right to decide how the land will be used; the right of enjoyment and occupancy of the land; the right to possess the land; the right to the economic benefits of the land; and the right to pro-actively use and manage the land" (para. 73). Furthermore, "incursions on Aboriginal title cannot be justified if they would substantially deprive future generations of the benefit of the land" (para. 86). BC Hydro's Site C proposal is not justified on the basis of a compelling and substantial public interest considering, (1) that BC Hydro has not fully demonstrated the need for the project on the timetable set forth (CEAA, *Report of the joint review panel: Site C clean energy project* 306); and (2) that alternative resources could provide adequate energy and capacity until at least 2028 (299, 304).

The Delgamuukw v. British Columbia, 1997 SCC 1010, decision also affirms the content of Aboriginal title described in the Tsilhqot'in Nation case. Here, judges arrived at the conclusion that Aboriginal title encompasses "the right to exclusive use and occupation of the land held pursuant to that title for a variety of purposes" (para. 117). Accordingly, justification for infringement upon Aboriginal title must be consistent with the special fiduciary relationship between the Crown and the Aboriginal peoples (para. 162). This suggests that the Crown has a duty to involve Aboriginal peoples in decisions taken with respect to their lands, which in most cases will be significantly deeper than mere consultation.

Considering the outcry from First Nations communities has centred on the government's disregard for the conclusions of the Joint Review Panel, there is good reason to believe that BC Hydro's Site C proposal has taken consultation for a mere formality on the way to doing what they intended all along. This is also evidenced in the tension between First Nations requests to complete a comprehensive cumulative assessment and allow for their formal participation in the decision-making process before moving forward with the development of Site C (T8TA, "First Nations declaration concerning the proposed Site C dam") and BC Hydro's insistence that further consultation and accommodation would be forthcoming contingent on approval to move Site C along the development process (BC Hydro 6).

[T]here would be significant adverse effects on fish and fish habitat, rare plants, wetlands, wildlife habitat, traditional uses of land by First Nations, and on cultural heritage resources for both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people.

With the threat of permanent destruction for swathes of Aboriginal territory in the Peace River watershed, compensation in-kind for the construction of Site C is not possible. The panel report made clear that there would be significant adverse effects on fish and fish habitat, rare plants, wetlands, wildlife habitat, traditional uses of land by First Nations, and on cultural heritage resources for both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people (CEAA, *Report of the joint review panel: Site C clean energy project* iv). Bearing in mind these effects in the context of permanently flooding 5,500 hectares of land across an 83 kilometre stretch of the Peace River and its tributaries makes any justification for Site C fly in the face of deference for future generations. At best, Site C should be a last resort, one that should be visited only after pause for thought is given to examine whether better policies may lead to better alternatives.

Site C's implications for Canadian environmental law and justice include questions over how public goods are squared with treaty rights, and the degree of jurisdiction governments hold over aboriginal lands. Another contentious issue is around the notion of "veto." BC Environment Minister Mary Polak has upheld that the government's obligation "is meaningful consultation [and] accommodation where it is appropriate—we don't believe that constitutionally there exists such a thing as a veto" (Stueck). However, what of cases such as Site C, in which accommodation cannot begin to offset the social and cultural losses incurred by Aboriginal peoples. In this sense, we are preserving a myth that "meaningful consultation" amounts to nothing more than a process—a series of boxes to check off. Meaningful consultation must allow for room to say "no." Likewise, it is entirely fanciful to think that no damage exists which cannot be compensated or somehow accommodated. At play is a fundamental clash of values, an incommensurability between price and dignity, making a living and making a life. While many of these questions remain

to be hashed out in courts, Canada's Aboriginal peoples continue to make clear that putting a price on nature, on one's livelihood and cultural heritage, diminishes not just one peoples but us all.

At play is a fundamental clash of values, an incommensurability between price and dignity, making a living and making a life.

Addendum

On July 7th, 2015, the BC government issued two dozen permits to BC Hydro granting them rights to timber removal, road construction, and site preparation, which constitute the first phase of construction of the Site C dam. In response, the West Moberly and Prophet River First Nations filed an application for injunctive relief to enjoin BC Hydro from undertaking any work pursuant to the permits until their petition was heard and determined. However, in August, Justice Sewell ruled against their claim writing that he was satisfied "that the petitioners were provided a meaningful opportunity to participate in the environmental assessment process," and that the process as a whole did provide the petitioners with "a reasoned explanation as to why their position, that the project should not proceed at all, was not accepted" (Hume). He also found that the government had "made reasonable and good faith efforts to consult and accommodate" First Nations.

Construction of a work camp expected to house 1,800 workers when it opens early next year is currently underway and BC Hydro has awarded a $1.5 billion contract to the Peace River Hydro Consortium[9] as its preferred partner in the project (CBC News). For now, a coalition of First Nations groups led by President of the Union of BC Indian Chiefs Stewart Phillip is urging the new federal government to take action to stop Site C. Grand Chief Phillip noted that while their legal challenge was rejected in Federal Court this summer, the West Moberly and Prophet River First Nations will ask the Trudeau government to drop federal government opposition to an appeal of that decision.

Notes

[1] It is necessary to differentiate between the usage of "Aboriginal" and "First Nations" in this paper. I use Aboriginal as an all-encompassing term that includes Inuit, First Nations, and Métis, whereas "First Nations" refers to Aboriginal peoples who are neither Inuit nor Métis.

[2] An earthfill dam, also referred to as an embankment dam, consists of numerous layers of compacted earth that form an impervious barrier across a waterway and impound a reservoir behind it.

[3] The electricity gap was calculated based off the 2007 BC Energy Plan's (BC MEM) objective of achieving energy self-sufficiency by 2016 as well as having an additional 3,000 gigawatt hours of capacity by 2026. BC Hydro's forecasted data show customer demand at approximately 75,000 gigawatt hours with a supply of only 55,000 gigawatt hours in 2026 (BC Hydro 2).

[4] For more details on industrial interests in the Peace Region, refer to the David Suzuki Foundation's report Passages from the Peace (2013).

[5] The five First Nations represented by the Treaty 8 Tribal Association are Doig River, Halfway River, Prophet River, Saulteau, and West Moberly First Nations (T8TA). Blueberry River, McLeod Lake, and Fort Nelson First Nations make up the other three Treaty 8 First Nations in BC.

[6] The federal and provincial governments appointed the Joint Review Panel, which was chaired by individuals with academic and professional backgrounds. While the voices of First Nations peoples were prominent at the public hearings, they had no representation on the panel.

[7] BC has however put policy constraints on the development of geothermal so that only independent power producers may develop it; as a result, BC Hydro has invested little in geothermal exploration, research, and engineering (CEAA 308).

[8] Refer to signatories of the *First Nations Declaration Concerning the Proposed Site C Dam* (2010).

[9] The consortium is comprised of Acciona Infrastructure Canada, Samsung C&T Canada, and the Petrowest Corporation.

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Mercury, Water, PCB, DDT

ERICA A. GAJEWSKI

Beluga whales living in the St. Lawrence River estuary are so contaminated with toxins that their bodies, when they wash ashore, are treated as toxic waste. They are exposed to industrial pollution from the Great Lakes region, which empties into the St. Lawrence. Using the chemical formulas and symbols for mercury, PCB, DDT, and water allowed me to depict the primary toxins found directly in this animal's watery habitat. These chemical structures render scientific information and knowledge visible, which highlights the impact that we, as a species, have in the environments and the lives of other animals.

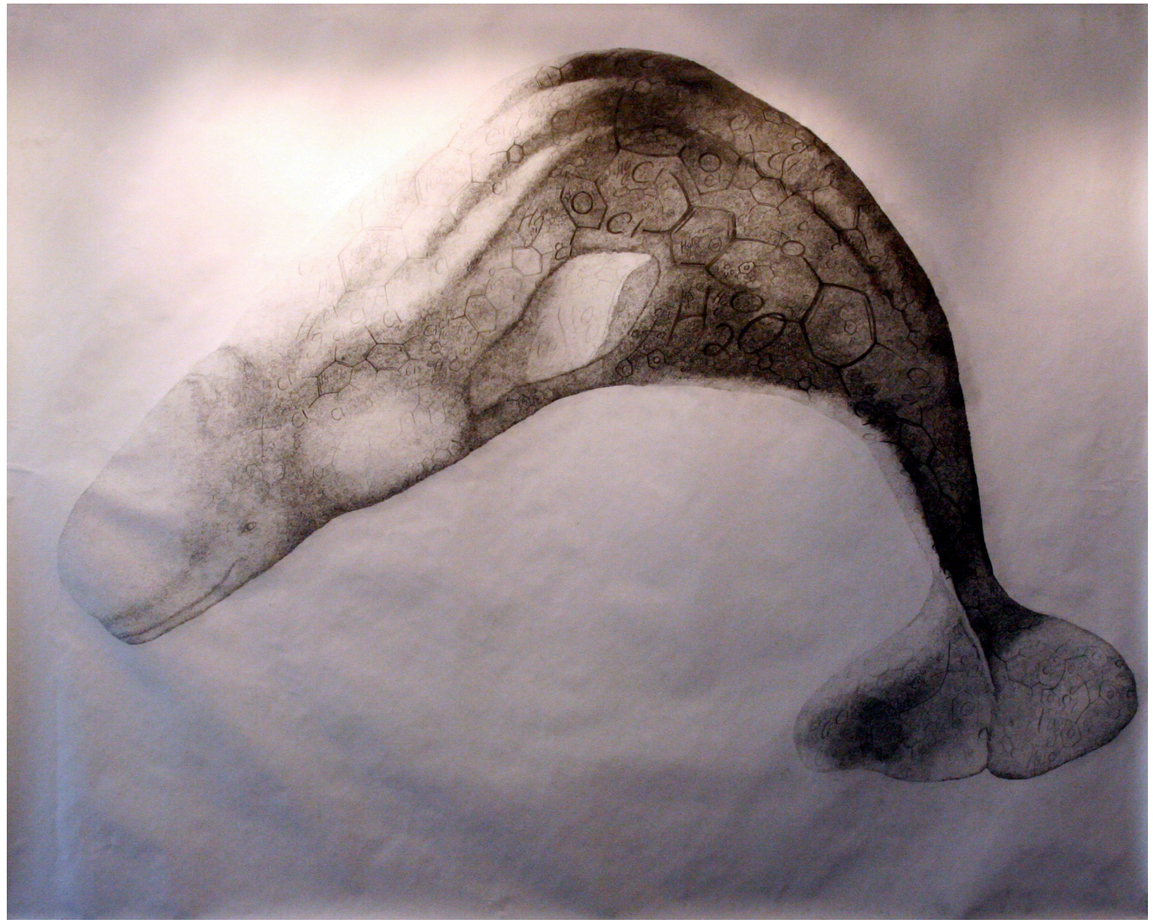
Artist Statement

My work documents the loss of other animals, records the last vestiges of their lives, and highlights the significant ways in which our lives, human and other animals, are bound and entangled.

Earliest known images by our human ancestors are found on the walls of ancient caves and the subjects often depicted are those of other animals. From this point onward animal subjects have been visual themes for a myriad of human cultures. Through time the changing relationships between humans and other animals, from magical integration, balanced existence, subjugation, exploitation, sentimental attachment, and marginalization, have been represented through our art. These stories archive our cultural interpretations, observations, beliefs, and assumptions about animals.

Recent contributions in art are expanding, challenging, diverging, and repositioning animal subjects; posing new questions, and examining futures in which we are inextricably linked.

In this context I work to see, understand, and draw awareness to their lives. Each of my works commemorates a specific animal—that I honour, that I want people to see and to remember. This piece is part of a body of work that explores the concepts stated here, and focuses specifically on animals endemic to Canada suffering from the impacts of human activity.



Media: Graphite on Paper
Dimensions: 108'' x 144'' (actual size of adult beluga whale)

Excerpts from

City Disappearing

KATHLEEN BROWN

Calgary, Summer

The flood came while they were in bed,

rain drops on the windows refracted the city lights on their covers.
Their bodies were turned away from one another,
the storm chucked torrents but the fight they had
the night before was heavier water in the room.

A redtailed hawk winging in the damp boreal forest.

They sweated through the sheets, the summer night no cooler for all the moisture in the air. Hartland's breath was interrupted several times an hour by the damp tar settled in his lungs. Vera breathed through her mouth. They were sharing the same dream, a dream about a bird in a storm, though neither would remember the dream when they were woken that night. Reflections from flashes of lightning intersected the division in the bed between them.

A hawk wing spiraling in the storm.

Hartland stirred in his sleep, wrapped his arm around Vera's waist - his subconscious reconciliation. In the heat, his body was a soggy sleeping bag. *Heavy leaf mould on the forest floor.* He pulled at Vera's hair with his right hand in his sleep. His stroking screefed her night aside, she stirred, but did not wake. She moved her right leg between his, his thighs anchored her into him, his body attempting to erase the uncertainties that had surfaced the night before.

Hawk slow dances over the bank of the river,
the scent of the river disordering
is heavy and thick, mud and pine and wet horse,
the sweat of glaciers.
Fish bark in air. The slick thrumming
of slugs in the rotting layers of the wooden basement.
The river soaks the underground.

Hartland lolled in Vera's sleeper hold, and then a clutch in his throat triggered his nightly disruption. He coughed, a pack tonguing havoc - wolves, the bracket of his body coaxed to haunch into a straight line on his side. Vera, awake, rubbed his back, kissed him in the space between his shoulder blades. She licked the curves of his rib cage. Her spit glistened on his back, the rain fell and the shadows of the rain coursing down the bedroom windows played on Hartland's back: a shadow show of storm, his back became a mountain of rain. The dream tattered, loosened, dissolved.

Feathers graze in air above the forest, below wet paper splits the story in two currents.

The rain fell, and the city was a tent where they lay together with the others, all sleeping. The rain fell. The river was a caliper for havoc. The rain stalled, then fell faster. Vera's timid finger lipped Hartland's mouth. If only she could stop his cough and calm the spasms in his lungs.

Vera was coming to light. This storm not like any other storm. She forayed down a trail out of sleepiness, she studied the landscape of shadows on their bedroom wall. Her sinewy sigh. The rain gutted all doubts about her husband, about who they were to one another. If only she could lick his breath clean, erase their despair. Get pregnant. Hartland didn't care. Hartland wasn't going anywhere without her by his side, no matter what.

The future and the present collided, Vera swam up from dreams in the past tense. Hartland heard the alarm before Vera, or Vera heard the alarm before Hartland. It didn't matter. She remembered that he woke up, shot to sitting in bed, and in an instant pulled her into his chest, held her tightly against him while he listened and assessed. The chorus of the storm quieted his cough.

The sirens wound up from street level, seventeen floors through the doors and the windows. They were transfixed by the sounds of the city in distress, sat in the bed. Hartland had his arm around her shoulder, and Vera was looking at the man she loved and Hartland knew her, knew all of her. And they were right with one another but everything else was wrong.

The reliability of architecture and the consistency of routine were upended in seconds. Turmoil. The city could never be the same. The river had burst her banks and the river would touch everything, down to the core. The city would come to know submergence. Some of her citizens would not break the surface.

The river is surging. She is a rapacious, seething wyvern.
A skirmish into the flood plain.
Over the banks the river flies
below the pummeling rain
forcing summer back to spring.
A babble of purls, the river relaxes
into a brutal gallop.

The alarm clawed at their bedroom door no choice but to heed. Hartland scrambled out of bed, pulled on his pyjama pants. He ran to the window and glimpsed the surge and the swell of the Bow in the distance. A bathtub overflowing, no stopgap. Early morning workers were crowding and spreading at intersections, parting into lines, clusters, singularities. His gaze was riveted by the brown water - through the fly of the tent of the city: flood.

The streets and railtracks jawed at the edge of the river's deviation, the river ready to run her true course. The river was running away, running on, and on. She was endless. She braced herself at corners as though she had elbows, she forced the forest on Prince's Island to puts its head between a copse of knees. No tree was ever bent like this from Chinook wind.

The river anatagonized the city, crooning. *Thar she blows*! heaps of full garbage bags surfacing like a herd of pilot whales, lost Mustangs spyhopping rorquals. So wet this sudden and unexpected rush hour. *Shuuuuuuuuush*. Liquid tectonic.

The river finetuning destruction. Corrupting embankments, pulling up trees, coiling around pilings and pillars. She slapped at lumber as though matchstick cheeks, she shoved the weight of daily commute down Macleod Trail. The drag of debris. The river made this four lane highway into a rude, wet trench – a child playing in a backyard, playing god with toy cars..

Vera left the bed to stand beside Hartland. They looked out at the end of the world. Fire trucks made their way through half-flooded streets and stopped at building entrances to take on passengers. People were leaving apartment buildings with plastic bags full of belongings, half-dressed in yesterday's clothes. A group of female office workers waited in smart suits at a bus stop, heels and black flats. They waved at a fire truck, hoping for a lift. The buses could not possibly run on schedule. Water filled the dip in the streets that passed under the rail line between 9th and 10th Avenue Southwest. Vera would not be able to go to work that day, to drive through Mission by the Elbow. She knew she did not have to call in. This was disaster.

"We should get dressed. Turn on the news." Hartland's voice firm, certain.

Vera moved to the living room, and tried turning on the television set, but no image appeared. She switched on a lamp, then moved into the kitchen and opened the fridge, tried switching on the stove.

"The power is off! We can't stay here, H."

Vera went back to their bedroom to dress. Hartland appeared in the doorframe of the walk-in closet with the lilac pillar candle from their bedroom dresser. The flame quivered in the wake of his stuttering breath. The sun was rising by that point, Hartland outlined in an orange halo.

"If the power's out, the elevator's not working. I'll go. Let me go down and see what's happening. We're safe up here. The river isn't going to flood us out at 17 stories."

"Everyone's evacuating though. I'll come with you. We should stay together."

"You're safe here. Look, come to the window. There's no getting past 10th to the North, Macleod Trail is a river and there's no way to know what it's like to the south without going down, but if it is blocked then we'd be coming right back to the apartment anyways."

"Did you take your heart pill?" Vera stood her ground, decked out in moss hiking pants, and pink collared golf shirt. An outfit that Hartland would make fun of her for wearing under any circumstances. Vera pulled on a hiking jumper and turned to face Hartland. "I don't smoke and I don't have a heart condition. I'm going down and you're going to wait here. Our phones still work. I'll call you once I figure out what's going on."

She kissed his mouth quick, opened the door to the hall, the hall a gaping jaw.

"If I don't hear from you in thirty minutes I'm coming after you!"

The last of Vera visible in the dark hall is her pink shirt as she leaves Hartland behind.

Book Reviews

A Canadian Climate of Mind: Passages from Fur to Energy and Beyond.

By TIMOTHY B. LEDUC. McGill-Queen's UP, 2016. $34.95 CAD

REVIEWED BY BENJAMIN J. KAPRON

In *A Canadian Climate of Mind*, Timothy B. Leduc sets out to envision paths out of our current climate crisis. He takes up the metaphor that we are currently traversing through a length of rapids—a *climatic longue sault*. And just as venturing successfully through rapids requires knowing how to engage with water, rock, and also spirit, "we are being awakened to the realization that we are part of something much bigger than our modern minds have been able to appreciate. It is not simply that the surrounding world is becoming more uncertain today, but that those changes are asking for significant shifts in how we mind relations" with each other and the more-than-human world.

Finding inspiration in the coureurs de bois, Leduc imagines how Europeans arriving on Turtle Island could have respected and aligned themselves with Indigenous peoples, and acted humbly and responsibly in the face of more-than-human nature. Leduc describes how ancestors, ceremonies, Indigenous knowledge systems, and the land itself can connect us to better ways of minding relations. Two traditions of thought particularly influence Leduc' s project: the ecology of mind tradition, which Leduc primarily takes up via John Livingston; and the Haudenosaunee Good Mind tradition, which Leduc has learned about from William Woodworth Raweno:kwas (Mohawk), who learned about it from the late Peace Chief Hadajigrenhta Jacob Ezra Thomas (Cayuga). Braiding these traditions allows Leduc to see how "[a]cting with thankfulness and reverence is vital to recognizing that our ' intelligence is the property of the universe' . . . To energize good ways of minding relations, we may have to relearn how to be responsive to ever-changing climates that remind us of our ancestral relations and duties."

The book opens with Leduc pondering an inscription on the Howard Tomb in Toronto's High Park, which raises dual themes of severance and reverence. Our current moment is shaped by a multitude of ecological and colonial severances that have separated us from each other, the more-than-human world, and even aspects of ourselves. But against these severances is the continuing possibility for reverence: for experiencing and reconnecting with the spiritual and numinous presences that surround us.

Situating himself in High Park grants intimate, embodied, and lived qualities to Leduc' s writing, which continue throughout the book. The chapters proceed with Leduc describing his experiences on the shores of Lake Ontario, Ashbridges Bay, and the Humber River, before heading down the Saint Lawrence River/Kaniatarowanenneh, stopping at Long Sault, Île-aux-Hérons, Kahnawake, and Lorette. He travels across the Atlantic Ocean to investigate the Notre-Dame de Chartres cathedral in France, and then returns to the labyrinth and ravines of High Park. Leduc shares the ideas and insights that arise for him in these places, the histories and ancestors that he encounters, and brings them into conversation with diverse theories, making the text personal but also richly academic. For readers working for environmental and social justice in Toronto, Leduc does a great job of situating this city as a deeply natural and Indigenous place, historically and continuing today.

A few of the many theories that Leduc engages are Gregory Bateson's analysis of dependence on fossil fuels being akin to alcohol addiction; Jane Bennett's discussion of the humans and nonhumans whose actions in assemblage led to the 2003 Northeast blackout; and Catriona Sandilands' work on queer melancholia and grievability. Leduc also puts a particular focus on finding Christian examples that he can connect with the ecology of mind and Haudenosaunee Good Mind traditions. He highlights the ecological practices and beliefs of Saint Columba, Saint Dionysius, and Saint Francis of Assisi. He describes how Saint Kateri Tekakwitha, "the first native American saint," retained aspects of her Haudenosaunee traditions and understandings following her conversion to Catholicism. And Leduc ties Notre-Dame de Chartres to Haudenosaunee and Wendat creation stories to imagine Notre Dame de Turtle Island, where the Blue Virgin and Black Madonna respectively take up parallel positions to the Haudenosaunee Creator Teharonhia:wako/Sapling, and Sawiskera/Flint, a destructive force and figure. Braiding together these different theories and understandings allows Leduc to see where severances exist that do not need to, where histories could have proceeded in different ways, and where we can combat these severances by now minding our relations in good ways. Latter chapters of the book also address how Haudenosaunee Condolence and Thanksgiving ceremonies may provide inspiration for the healing and renewal that many people will need in order to overcome these ecological and colonial severances.

Striving for environmental justice and combatting the climate crisis are, for Leduc, fundamentally spiritual projects. While Leduc invites readers into his conversations with his own familial, cultural, and scholastic ancestors, he also compellingly encourages readers to (re)connect with our ancestors, to find our own ways of (re)minding our relations. What Leduc makes exceedingly evident is that we are not alone in this work and we are not starting from nowhere: we have ancestors, ceremonies, and the land itself on our side.

BENJAMIN J. KAPRON is a PhD student in York University's Faculty of Environmental Studies, exploring how he might inform his decolonial praxis, as a settler, through understanding Land to be a decolonial agent and teacher. He'd like to thank all of the Lands and waters that he has lived with, and give a shout-out to the Odenabe/Otonabee River, which he grew up with.

A Line in the Tar Sands: Struggles for Environmental Justice.

Edited by TOBAN BLACK, STEPHEN D'ARCY, TONY WEISS and JOSHUA KAHN RUSSELL. Between the Lines, 2014. $25.95 CAD

REVIEWED BY JACOB MCLEAN

This fine collection belongs in the pockets of activists on the job: at a downtown rally or behind one of the many blockades resisting fossil fuels across the country and the globe. From the small details, such as the provision of a long list of excellent websites about the tar sands (partially reproduced below), to the overall structure, especially the editorial focus on the voices of front-line activists, every aspect of this book lives up to its stated goal of being useful to activists. The achievement of that goal should not come as a surprise; of the four editors, three of them (Black, D'Arcy, and Russell) are notable for having managed to carve out careers that synthesize theory and practice. Black, for example, is an associate editor for the beloved Toronto-based *Upping the Anti*, described on their website as "a journal of theory and action." D'Arcy, meanwhile, is the author of *Languages of the Unheard: Why Militant Protest is Good for Democracy* [reviewed in this volume]. And, finally, Russell is co-author of *Organizing Cools the Planet*, and has a blog called "praxis makes perfect." Rounding out the editorial quartet is Tony Weis, an Associate Professor in Geography at Western University whose research focuses on the ecological impacts of agriculture.

The book is divided into three parts. Part I, "Tar Sands Expansionism," concentrates on the machinery which drives growth in the industry. The chapters include an analysis of the tar sands in the context of the history of petro-capitalism (Carter, Chapter 1); a study in the Canadian state's efforts to lobby foreign governments to bend to the interests of tar sands investors (Engler, Chapter 4); and an interview with migrant justice activist Harsha Walia, wherein the lesser-known story of "in-sourced" migrant tar sands workers is given much-needed attention (Walia and Russell, Chapter 7). The chapters in Part II, "Communities and Resistance," feature the voices of activists from directly impacted Indigenous communities in Alberta, such as that of Melina Laboucan-Massimo of the Lubicon Cree (Chapter 10), and Crystal Lameman of the Beaver Lake Cree (Chapter 11). We also hear from U.S.-based activists struggling against Keystone XL (Chapters 16 & 17). If Part II predominately features dispatches from the front-lines of tar sands activism, Part III, "Future Prospects," looks to take a bird's-eye view and asks, 'where are we going and how do we get there?' Answers about where we might go after petro-capitalism include Ojibwe economist Winona LaDuke's prescription of "building an economics for the seventh generation" (Chapter 21), a proposal seemingly congruent with Greg Albo and Lilian Yap's coy but crucial question, "[s]olar communism, anyone?" (Chapter 27).

One of the book's key through-lines is the continual linkage made between the tar sands and settler-colonialism. In their introduction, for example, Black et al. demonstrate how Indigenous rights, especially the right to "free, prior, and informed consent" (FPIC) as laid out in the *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* (UNDRIP), are being "trampled on by the expansion of the tar sands." Later on, Didikai Métis spoken word artist and anti-Line 9 activist Sâkihitowin Awâsis states unequivocally, "[t]he tar sands industry is a form of colonization, both in the sense that it disproportionately affects Indige-

nous communities and in the sense that it coercively plunders resources from Indigenous lands." Despite the heaps of documentation provided in this volume that show the tar sands' violation of Indigenous rights, there is an optimistic thread throughout the volume that accompanies the sobering reality of petro-colonialism.

For example, Clayton Thomas-Muller, the prominent environmental activist and member of the Mathias Colomb Cree Nation, guides the reader toward what he calls "the Native rights-based strategic framework." Building on his first-hand experience organizing in opposition to fossil fuel development, Thomas-Muller asserts, "there ha[s] not been a major environmental victory won in Canada in the last thirty years without First Nations at the helm asserting their Aboriginal rights and title." This optimism—the belief that we *can* stop the tar sands with a broad Indigenous-led social movement—permeates the book, and is perhaps this book's greatest gift. The book encourages us to develop solidarity between our various groups (e.g., between trade unions and environmentalists, and between anti-sexist, anti-racist, anti-colonial, and anti-capitalist movements) and to ally ourselves with those nations, like the Unist'ot'en, who are moving "beyond token recognition [of their rights]" (McCreary, Chapter 14) such as that offered by the Canadian state, and are instead asserting their land title through direct action. It is this powerful through-line which stresses the importance of solidarity and anti-colonial alliances that, I think, makes this book the finest to-date on the tar sands.

Hoping that this review of such an activist-oriented book might contain some of the usefulness of its subject, I have included below an abridged version of the book's list of websites belonging to organizations battling the tar sands:

- Defenders of the Land
  www.defendersoftheland.org
- Healing Walk
  www.healingwalk.org
- Honor the Earth
  www.honorearth.org
- Indigenous Environmental Network
  www.ienearth.org
- Keepers of the Athabasca
  www.keepersofthewater.ca
- MI CATS
  www.michigancats.org
- NRDC Pipeline and Tanker Trouble
  www.nrdc.org/international/pipelinetrouble.asp
- Oil Sands Truth
  www.oilsandstruth.org
- Pipe Up Against Enbridge
  www.pipeupagainstenbridge.ca
- Rising Tide North America
  www.risingtidenorthamerica.org
- Tar Sands Solutions Network
  www.tarsandssolutions.org
- UK Tar Sands Network
  www.no-tar-sands.org
- Unist'ot'en Camp
  www.unistotencamp.com
- Utah Tar Sands Resistance
  www.tarsandsresist.org
- Yinka Dene Alliance
  www.yinkadene.ca

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Beautiful Trouble: A Toolbox for Revolution.

Edited by ANDREW BOYD and DAVE OSWALD MITCHELL. Between the Lines, 2014. $25.00 CAD

REVIEWED BY ROMANDA SIMPSON

Climate change. Systemic racism. Poverty and homelessness. What can society do to navigate these intense and challenging situations in a way that moves us towards the ultimate ideal of a just and healthy world? For those new to the 'cause', the answer may just be found in *Beautiful Trouble: A Toolbox for Revolution*, which sets out to identify "the core tactics, principles, and theoretical concepts that drive creative activism, providing analytical tools for changemakers to learn from their own successes and failures."

Beautiful Trouble is formatted in a similar fashion to popular travel guidebooks, with side columns highlighting key points, case studies, and further insights. This easy-to-read layout makes it comfortably familiar and easy to navigate, offering bite-sized, accessible tidbits that are relevant and relatable to the fast-paced 'I want information now' generation of today. Readers can pick the book up, open to any page, and have an immediate takeaway. However, this means it's not a great read front to back; it's a slow digestion text that might best be used for reference or inspiration. Unfortunately, desiring to be hip and modern, the font selected for in-text sections is too light, making it distracting at best, or impossible to read at worst.

Acknowledging the tech-age, the clever editors have addressed the limitations of the traditional paperback book by creating a collaborative website where community organizers can add modules of their own. This not only keeps *Beautiful Trouble* relevant and updated, but ensures new ideas, principles, and lessons from activists on the ground can be shared, in recognition that our world and context is ever-changing.

At a time when we are facing what some people call the biggest crisis to ever face humankind, there is a need for a massive revolution to achieve social and environmental justice in our world. The broad range of tactics included in *Beautiful Trouble* ensures that any activist, from someone who would never want to be called an 'activist,' to someone willing to put their life on the line for justice, can find a place and suitable action to take in the struggle for social and environmental justice. The authors also found a reasonable balance between inspiring activists and cautioning about the very real consequences of actions.

The content of *Beautiful Trouble* is comprehensive, with adaptable concepts and principles woven together and demonstrated with extensive case studies. Each tactic is connected to relevant theories, principles, and case studies so that the reader can clearly see the interplay between them and draw connections. If readers want to delve further into components, insights, and resources for further reading are provided. While I enjoyed the overall layout of the book, I disagreed with the order in which the three primary sections were presented: Tactics, Principles, Theories. While tactics are fun and motivating to read, I would suggest that starting with principles or theories would have better laid a foundation.

As a compilation of numerous authors, who are all community activists, *Beautiful Trouble* treats the reader to a multitude of voices and sectors, yet the editors do a great job of keeping a consistent tone throughout the book. Overall, *Beautiful Trouble* can offer insights to those new to social activism, or re-inspire those already in the trenches. Don't count on it as the be-all end-all, but it's worth having in any organizer's repertoire.

ROMANDA SIMPSON completed her Master's in Environmental Studies at York University, specializing in environmental education. She has a BA in Sociology and Anthropology, a Diploma in Sustainable Community Development, and has worked in various non-profit organizations in community engagement, social and environmental justice, and the sharing economy. She loves the outdoors and recently was a crew member in the Clipper Round the World sailing race.

Languages of the Unheard: Why Militant Protest is Good for Democracy.

By STEPHEN D'ARCY. Between the Lines, 2013. $24.95 CAD

REVIEWED BY ERIKA HENNEBURY

When is a riot helpful to democracy? When is it dangerous? Drawing a line from civil disobedience to armed struggle, Stephen D'Arcy persuasively unpacks the historically and legally loaded concept of violence and its role in militant protest.

D'Arcy, an activist and political philosopher, specializes in normative democratic theory. In *Languages of the Unheard*, D'Arcy develops a normative theory of "what militancy is like when it is done well." His conceptualization of 'autonomous democracy' is a radical, anti-capitalist variation on deliberative democracy that preferences 'voice' over 'vote' and the capacity to constructively air grievances in the public realm. D'Arcy expands upon the shared political philosophical territory of Marx and Bakunin in developing the primacy of 'agency' or 'self-emancipation' in social movements. He advances the argument that agency is not only the means, but also the end of the struggle for democracy.

Dismissing the commonly held belief that violence is morally unjustifiable in democratic protest, D'Arcy engages the reader with thought experiments presenting scenarios of acceptable force, such as defending a child from harm. The current discourse on protest movements against anti-Black police violence (e.g. Baltimore) exemplifies the questionable assertion that violent protest is never justifiable. D'Arcy rejects the current Western cultural fixation with pacifism, offering instead a set of four principles that can be used to assess a choice of forceful militant action against a 'democratic standard': Does violence create new opportunities to resolve grievances? Do those directly affected have the agency to respond/react meaningfully? Does the action enhance the power of the people to self-govern? Can the action be defended according to democratic values of 'common decency' and 'common good'?

The book's title is drawn from a January 1968 speech by Martin Luther King, Jr. in which he stated, "a riot is the language of the unheard." In D'Arcy's view, militant protest is the attempt of marginalized people to gain a 'hearing.' This term carries both performative and legal implications. D'Arcy envisions 'natural law'—following King's "Law of God"—as a publicly negotiated practice, rather than the exclusive realm of government. This higher sense of 'natural law' suggests a greater moral authority; to disobey unjust laws, or laws that interfere with justice, is to be true to the 'natural law.' Taking instruction from King's principle that "we ought to be more devoted to justice than to order," D'Arcy argues that maintaining 'order' is worthwhile only when and if justice has been upheld. If order is unjust, the thinking follows, it should be opposed. If militant protest helps to advance grievances in the public realm, militancy can be seen as a "particularly rigorous form of fidelity" to the democratic ideal, not a rejection of it. In this sense, justice can be regarded as a discursive public process of contestation and deliberation rather than cloistered and absolute.

D'Arcy suggests that the historical importance of the riot outweighs its legal construction. The legal definition emphasizes crimes 'to person and property.' It was constructed to control crowds and discourage political and labour dissent through state violence. In D'Arcy's view, riots can be a temporary "exit" or "withdrawal from attributing authority to the legal order," through which there is hope that silenced voices will be harder to ignore. D'Arcy cites the March on Washington, Days of Rage, and Stonewall as examples of democratically significant riots that advanced the cause of justice where advocacy and debate was not enough.

In his discussion on the 1990 land defence at Kanehsatà:ke, D'Arcy gets to the heart of two of Canada's most pressing issues: environmental justice and racism. *Languages of the Unheard*

has specific resonance in recent years, in the midst of heightened police violence and injustice against Black youth in Canada (e.g. carding) and the U.S. (e.g. police shootings of unarmed black men), the release of the Canadian Truth and Reconciliation Report, and the white supremacist terrorist attack on a congregation in Charleston, South Carolina. As Bill C-51 threatens to silence First Nations and environmental groups, severely limiting their right to dissent, the role of militant protest becomes even more relevant in the face of "intransigent elites and unresponsive systems of power."

Languages of the Unheard offers a discursive theory of justice that is instructive to socio-environmental activism and scholarship. Extending the military 'responsibility to protect (R2P)' principle to the 'right to rebel (R2R)' against systemic violence, *Languages of the Unheard* encourages the reader to embrace militant protest as a civic virtue under 'natural law.' D'Arcy dismantles the 'liberal objection' that militancy is coercive, arguing that we should be more concerned with coercion by systems of injustice than with the movements that aim to counter it. This book is recommended for anyone interested in socio-environmental justice, deliberative democracy, and radical change. It has special significance to Canadian academics and activists right now, as we struggle towards reconciliation, against the continuing violence of colonization, and to divest from fossil fuels.

ERIKA HENNEBURY is a recent graduate of York University's Master in Environmental Studies Planning program. Erika is a Strategic Programs Grants Officer for Toronto Arts Council, and is a member Planners Network and Friends of the Green Line.

Red Skin, White Masks: Rejecting the Colonial Politics of Recognition.

By GLEN SEAN COULTHARD. U of Minnesota P, 2014. $22.50 USD

Reviewed by DYLAN MCMAHON

When Taiaiake Alfred writes, in the forward to *Red Skin, White Masks*, that Glen Coulthard "is a leading voice of the new Indigenous Intelligentsia," it is not an apathetic patronage to the author's work; it signals a transformation in the discursive landscape of Indigenous politics in Canada. It is the acceptance of a new battle to be waged against the continued colonial oppression of Indigenous peoples, a battle in which the above two authors figure centrally in the vanguard.

Red Skin, White Masks can be understood as a historical mediation and a revolutionary manifesto. Coulthard characterizes the history of Indigenous politics in Canada as consisting of two colonial epochs. The first period, which lasted from the moment of European contact until the White Paper in 1969, saw Indigenous/non-Indigenous relations framed in the language of 'the Indian Problem,' in which "state power [was] geared around genocidal practices of forced *exclusion* and *assimilation*." In the second era of Canadian colonialism, Coulthard argues, the language of 'recognition' has sought to "'reconcile' Indigenous assertions of nationhood with settler-state sovereignty via the accommodation of Indigenous identity claims in some form of renewed legal and political relationship with the Canadian state." Ultimately, however, Coulthard's argument is premised on the assertion, "that instead of ushering in an era of peaceful coexistence grounded on the ideal of *reciprocity* or *mutual* recognition, the politics of recognition in its contemporary liberal form promises to reproduce the very configurations of colonialist, racist, patriarchal state power that Indigenous peoples' demands for recognition have historically sought to transcend."

The great strength of Coulthard is his ability to situate these claims in a rich theoretical body. Marx's primitive accumulation thesis figures centrally, and the book provides an anti-colonial critique of the temporal constraints and unilinear cultural and economic developmentalism of Marx, as well as a rich discussion of the applicability of Capital to Canadian settler-colonialism. However, Coulthard's use of Marx is not revolutionary and serves more as a theoretical lens with which to examine the role of capital, dispossession, and land in colonial hegemonies, than as a sustained critique of the German philosopher.

It is the Martiniquais author Frantz Fanon who provides the most compelling buttress to Coulthard's discussion of liberal recognition politics in Canada. Fanon's attentiveness to the always-multiple and corrosive ways in which the colonial authority works upon its *Other* is what so vibrantly colours *Red Skin, White Masks*. Fanon's central contribution is, as Coulthard suggests, that he "showed how, over time, colonized populations tend to internalize the derogatory images imposed on them by their colonial 'masters,' and how as a result of this process, these images, along with the structural relations with which they are entwined, come to be recognized . . . as more or less natural."

It is this imposition of a 'psycho-affective' attachment to colonialism onto colonial subjects that is most central to Coulthard's discussion. When approaching the Dene Nationalist movements of the 1970s and '80s, Coulthard argues that Indigenous involvement in state-led land-claims processes have, through the language of capitalism, re-oriented a struggle that was once for the cultural reproduction of Indigenous 'grounded normativity' into a struggle that is for land "as material resource to be exploited in the capital accumulation process." Following this, Coulthard argues that in contexts where the state is positioned as a privileged authority or mediator on social disputes—focusing particularly on legal challenges to legislative gender discrimination and discourses on 'reconciliation'—it is presumed that the Canadian state is objective, nonpatriarchal, noncolonial, and legitimate, making transformative justice unlikely for colonized peoples. For Coulthard, appeals to recognition of Indigenous difference are implicated, in these different cases, in a hegemonic engendering of the neoliberal, sexist, and racist grammar of state- and settler-colonialism, further normalizing these logics. Throughout *Red Skin, White Masks*, Coulthard provides an extremely detailed examination of the historical contexts, legislative backgrounds, and theoretical concerns from which his critiques arise. His use of Fanon is fluid, and his ability to excavate the intricacies of the failings of liberal recognition politics in multiple contexts is compelling.

The final chapter of *Red Skin, White Masks* presents the theories, the minds, the movements, and the praxis needed to re-vision Indigenous politics in Canada. Coulthard's "Five Theses on Indigenous Resurgence and Decolonization" are, perhaps, the most decisive element of the work. They operate as companions to Alfred's *Wasáse* and Leanne Simpson's *Dancing on Our Turtle's Back*. These texts collectively have nurtured the development of a 'third discursive moment' of Indigenous politics in Canada. They provide a manifesto for the post-recognition movement towards resurgence. Coulthard's essential message can be found here: (1) the Indigenous movement needs direct action; (2) it needs to reject capitalism; (3) Indigenous dispossession is continuing in urban spaces through gentrification and needs to be fought; (4) gender equity is essential to resurgence; (5) and resurgence will be reliant on the ability to transcend the Canadian state and form institutions beyond it. These are bold goals, but they are certainly compatible with Idle No More. And for Coulthard this is much of the point: he sees Idle No More as the vehicle of change. While Coulthard is not concerned with whether these goals are practically possible, he understands Indigenous resurgence as fundamentally prefigurative. In this sense, deliberative negotiation with states, which is central to the recognition-based political model, is fundamentally incapable of mobilizing these counter-hegemonic theses.

Those familiar with recent scholarship on Indigenous political philosophy will find that *Red Skin, White Masks* provides a precise elaboration of arguments that have become well-established in the last decade or so. Coulthard is aware of the reiterative element of his work. Yet, while the book certainly follows a well-worn line of criticisms, Coulthard's vibrant injection of Frantz Fanon into this discursive terrain provides a much needed reflexive tool for Indigenous political struggles. Fanon's insights, as read by Coulthard, are as relevant now as they were during the Algerian War of Independence. *Red Skin, White Masks* canonizes the claim that the recognition model of political discourse offers only further subjugation for Indigenous peoples. The book attempts to implicate itself in the minutiae of Canadian Indigenous peoples' quotidian experiences, but extends well beyond them. It is essential reading for the idle and those Idle No More—for those who wish to understand Canada.

Safe Space: Gay Neighborhood History and the Politics of Violence.

By CHRISTINA B. HANHARDT. Duke UP, 2013. $27.95 USD

Reviewed by RIO RODRIGUEZ

This necessary intervention and Lambda-award winning book is an incredibly systematic collection and analysis of American LGBT activist history, though it also functions as a call for contemporary activists to build critical movements; movements that refuse to define safety through a push for gay territorialization, privatization, and increased criminalization in the name of gay protection.

Hanhardt argues that various—sometimes messy, contested, diverse and overlapping—forces of multiple LGBT activist interventions, since the 1960's, have brought us along a trajectory of claims to LGBT civil rights protection, but also to claims to gay neighbourhood protection. This territorialization of gay space was developed through various micro and macrocosmic social, political, and geographic factors in which cities have shaped our LGBT movements but those very movements have also shaped cities. Ultimately, Hanhardt puts forth that LGBT neighbourhood protection rhetoric has recently served to justify neoliberal privatization and anticrime agendas which reinforce race and class divides on a very real social and spatial level. "*Neoliberalism has reshaped U.S cities like New York and San Francisco in ways that foster hypersegregation and exploitation: the privatization of public services, corporate tax breaks, attacks on tenant protections, the expiration of mandates for low- and middle-income housing, public subsidies for private market-value construction, and the mass expansion of security forces are but a few of its policies.*" As is developed in the book, these neoliberal processes are something that LGBT activists have maintained a fraught relationship with, and not one of simply opposition, but also of complaisance.

Focusing on several neighbourhoods in San Francisco and New York City, Hanhardt effectively opens this conversation with the example of a 2002 rally in Manhattan's Christopher Park, in which community residents, retail merchants, and politicians organized a demonstration called "Take Back Our Streets!". In essence, this action was called to demonstrate residents' united opposition to the presence of non-residents (comprised of LGBT youth and trans women of colour), people who frequented the neighbourhood but were considered to be outsiders and whose actions were considered to be a threat

to the quality of life, private property value, and personal security of residents. Hanhardt uses this as a starting point to fundamentally ask: how did we get here? What historical trajectories led to the overlap of anticrime rhetoric and LGBT activist rhetoric, with both groups simultaneously making exclusionary and criminalizing demands?

Indeed, the history that led to such a moment includes various activist organizations with hugely divergent goals, analyses, and tactics. Hanhardt traces the ways that over the last 50 years, neighbourhoods like San Francisco's Castro and New York's Greenwich Village came to be understood as gay enclaves, and she particularly uncovers how movements of various, sometimes disjointed, activist collectives and coalitions responding to violence effectively functioned to define various kinds of criminality within those neighbourhood enclaves. Beginning with the 1960's, Hanhardt uncovers how predominantly white homophile activists in San Francisco's impoverished Central City and Tenderloin neighbourhoods attempted to acquire support from federal anti-poverty programs throughout the era of Lyndon B. Johnson's federal War on Poverty. Homophile activist groups made attempts at building coalitions across race, and also employed comparisons of homosexual marginalization to racist oppression, in order to garner recognition on a broad social scale. Hanhardt explores these as examples of early attempts at coalition-building, and of defining homosexuality and homophobia within the growing national context of psychologizing pathologies such as poverty and vagrancy. Moving into the 1970's, Hanhardt analyzes activist responses to anti-gay violence ranging from the Lavender Panthers in San Francisco's Tenderloin, the Butterfly Brigade in the Castro, and the Society to Make America Safe for Homosexuals in New York's Chelsea neighbourhood. Each of these groups used tactics ranging from non-violent interventions and public education, to stationed street patrol teams, to armed and dramatic publicity stunts. Hanhardt believes that the publicity gained through safe street patrols throughout the 1970's was one of the factors leading to the territorialization of gay neighbourhoods and a politic of protection. By tracing several under-researched histories of activist interventions surrounding themes of safety, Hanhardt uncovers vibrant histories that includes multi-issue organizing by Lesbians Against Police Violence and Dykes Against Racism Everywhere, and analyzes both activist groups that question, trouble, or reject the promise of protection from the state, as well as groups that helped to give rise to what Hanhardt calls "militant gay liberalism" which "combined the militancy and countercultural performativity of gay liberation with a gay-focused, reform-oriented agenda."

Hanhardt's analysis of the 1980's and 1990's argues that the atmosphere of activism was drastically changed by the emergence of Hate Crime Laws, something which was fought for in collaboration with the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force and the Anti-Defamation League, which was interestingly a Zionist institution. By tracing this history, and the history of the National Gay Task Force's Anti-Violence Project (a multifaceted project that included research, advocacy, phone-lines, and publicity), as well as national advocacy for hate crime regulation and documentation, Hanhardt argues that a shift occurred in LGBT activism during this era, in which demands for increased criminal punishment came to be understood as tools of LGBT justice-seeking.

Lastly, Hanhardt explores the interactions between F.I.E.R.C.E (an organization of young queer people of colour whose acronym stands for Fabulous Independent Educated Radicals for Community Empowerment), Greenwich Village residents, and the Hudson River Park Trust. When renovations, closures, and curfews were implemented in preparation for renovations of the Christopher Street Piers in 1999, F.I.E.R.C.E began a campaign to resist displacement and demand planning involvement in the changes to what had become a vital and irreplaceable community site for them. The campaign included the centering of experiences of queer youth of colour. Eventually the group gained active involvement in planning decisions and was even invited into the Hudson River Park Trust and various municipal commissions. Though the story has often been framed as a success for democratic involvement of queer youth voices in planning (regardless of their not being technically considered neighbourhood residents), Hanhardt suggests that the extent to which this will continue to be seen as a success story cannot be fully predicted, because while a temporary rejection of the proposed curfew had been won, F.I.E.R.C.E.'s planning proposals had been dismissed, and the future results of neoliberal planning on LGBT youth community remains unknown.

Fundamentally, Hanhardt calls out a traceable trajectory that has brought ironic historical turns, paradoxically leading the LGBT movement to a place where the fabric of a mainstream LGBT rights rhetoric includes a misguided support for territorialization and protection of gay neighbourhoods (as places of niche retail and private real estate). Demands for increased enforcement and punishment of quality of life laws and homophobic hate crimes support the active exclusion, targeting, and criminalization of people who face extensive systemic violence. In just one of many examples, Hanhardt argues that the Uniform Land Use Review Procedure was a method initially developed to empower low-income residents to have some control over private development in Greenwich Village, and yet these very boards were then being used to justify the displacement of low-income youth of colour. She poignantly argues, that "it is more important than ever to emphasize LGBT and queer interpretive activist modes that might not only seek affirmation—by the state or counter formations—but also learn from and act alongside those individuals against whom the mainstream LGBT movement has so systematically defined itself."

Toronto's quickly gentrifying Gay neighbourhood, the Church/Wellesley district, has made various attempts to erase and displace those who loiter, sleep on the streets, who embody unwanted characteristics of race and class, or who otherwise fall outside of the definition of LGBT respectability and inclusion. These include, but are not limited to, the removal of Toronto's public meeting space known as "The Steps" in 2005, which seemed to host too many of the wrong kind of people, and the short-lived existence of the "Maitland and Homewood Safety Association" which was organized in 2008 to use policing, harassment, and traffic restrictions to prevent cars from entering Homewood Avenue at night, effectively attempting to run trans sex workers out of the neighbourhood where they had worked for years. Hanhardt further argues: "Although I assert that mainstream LGBT political discourse has substantively transformed the category of anti-LGBT violence from the social to the criminological, and that this shift was grounded in privatized claims to neighborhood, the process was neither foretold nor total." Indeed, multi-issue LGBT organizing and resistance persist, and the timeless activist call for urban justice; "Whose Streets?" remains a question under constant negotiation amongst various local forces. What is certain is that locally and abroad, we have inherited a disjointed legacy of a movement, and as people who feel connected to an LGBT movement we must understand the historical and political context in which we seek safety and belonging, or else risk calling for systemic violence in the name of gay safety.

RIO RODRIGUEZ is a queer latinx educator and health worker whose work is based in queer, trans and POC communities. Río's Master in Environmental Studies from York University examined key moments in Toronto's gay village history, highlighting how urban planning has promoted white gay safety while displacing and criminalizing queer and trans bodies of colour. Rio currently spend their time in nursing school, working as a reproductive health educator, and leading radical walking QTBIPOC walking tours of the Church-Wellesley Village.

Contributors

Kokila Bhattacharya, 23, is a freelance visual artist/illustrator and artivist. She has been involved with many issues—the Bhopal Carbide disaster being the principal one. She has kick-started quite a few campaigns and has exhibited around India. Kokila co-runs a co-working space in Bhopal and facilitates workshops around gender & alternate sexualities. She previously worked with the Remember Bhopal Museum and was featured on India's first Environmental reality show. Currently coordinating a project called 'Youth for Children,' she is also associated with a few youth organizations. Nihilism remains her unwavering muse. Music, dance, poetry, and intersectional art are vital elements in her work. She is keen on collaborating with journalists and activists to visualize socio-political/environmental issues as a part of 'Eyes Wide Shut' independently.

Kathleen Brown writes fiction, poetry, and plays. She has conducted poets' theatre works with Erin Robinsong, Oana Avasilichioaei, Greg Debicki of Woulg, and the PataGraduates. She currently lives in Alberta with her partner and their new son—who is her most amazing poem ever!

Melissa A. Dean (aka The M.A.D. Poet) is an award-winning dub poet, community arts professional, youth mentor, curator, and scholar. Through art, Dean works tirelessly to re-imagine the black experience and rebuild the black community, one mind, one heart, at a time. On November 6, 2011, Dean was honoured with the Canadian African Caribbean Unsung Heroes Award in Youth Arts and Entertainment. The Award ceremony was held at the Jamaican Canadian Association (JCA) headquarters, in tribute to Marcus Mosiah Garvey. As Education Artist-in-residence at the Art Gallery of York University (AGYU), Dean curated the award-winning group exhibition "Lost and Found: (Finding) Hidden Beauty in the 'Hood"(OAAG, Public Program Award). She also created the innovative "If We Ruled the World" Youth Mentorship Program (OAAG, Education Award), which worked to find creative ways of incorporating youth voice into the Urban Planning decision-making process. Dean completed her Master in Environmental Studies at York University, with major research work entitled "Learning for Liberation: Critical Black Poetry Pedagogy and Transformative Education."

Erica Ann Gajewski received an M.F.A and B.F.A from the Savannah College of Art and Design, in Savannah, GA. She is presently engaged in doctoral studies at York University in Toronto, where she continues to explore the intersection of animals, art, and environmental thought. Her artwork highlights the entanglements between human lives and the lives of other animals. Each work is a testament to an animal life, created in an attempt to see, think about, consider and remember them.

Tina Garnett is 6th generation Canadian Black; her roots in Canada began at the Great Lakes Black Settlement in Collingwood, Ontario, in 1831. She has been developing equity based programs and services for two decades. As a co-founder and executive director of a northern rural aboriginal youth organization, she challenged the systemic and systematic historical and current oppression that exists for Aboriginal communities. Tina's work with sexually exploited Aboriginal women led her to clearly identify her commitment to equity and inclusion work. It was this cutting edge work that led the way for her future anti-racist and anti-oppression work for marginalized communities in Ontario. Upon returning to Ontario, she continued to work with vulnerable communities and individuals, who are further marginalized because of their converging political locations and identities. Most recently she returned to academia in pursuit of her Master in Environmental Studies; with a specialty in creating culturally safe trauma services for Indigenous and Black women. Tina balances her work by finding joy with her children, grandchildren, and her partner.

Peter Hobbs is a Toronto-based academic-artist. He is a recent graduate of the PhD program in Environmental Studies at York University.

Jan Kucic-Riker completed his MES from York University in 2015. He currently works as a researcher at the University of Sydney. His research interests include the political economy of environmental problems, postdevelopment theory, and critical perspectives on economic growth. Jan can be reached at j.kucic@hotmail.com.

Dylan McMahon is a graduate of York University with a Master in Environmental Studies. His research has focused on the 'extractive imaginary' and the ways in which resource development and settler-colonialism intersect in Northern Ontario's 'Ring of Fire.' He currently lives in Ottawa where he helps implement and negotiate treaties.

Maya Nye is currently a doctoral student in the Department of Occupational and Environmental Health Sciences at West Virginia University's School of Public Health. Her research is guided by her experiences growing up in West Virginia's "Chemical Valley," and investigates the systemic barriers faced by vulnerable communities who are disproportionately impacted by environmental burdens and their struggle in obtaining health equity. She holds a Bachelor of Arts degree from Antioch College and is the former Executive Director of People Concerned About Chemical Safety, a 33-year old community organization dedicated to the health and safety of all of those who work, study and reside within the vicinity of toxic chemicals.

Reena Shadaan is a doctoral candidate in the Faculty of Environmental Studies at York University. Her work explores environmental justice broadly, and in particular, gender and environmental racism, gender and environmental health, and reproductive justice. Since 2013, she has been a Coordinating Committee member of the North American solidarity tier of the International Campaign for Justice in Bhopal (ICJB)—an environmental justice and corporate accountability campaign that is led by survivors of the 1984 Bhopal gas disaster, and seeks justice for the ongoing disaster in Bhopal, India.

Rachel Small is a community builder, artist, wordsmith, and facilitator. She spends much of her time working within environmental justice movements, and, more specifically, has been working in solidarity with communities impacted by Canadian extractive projects in Latin America for nearly a decade. She organizes in Toronto with the Mining Injustice Solidarity Network and Breaking the Silence, and has an Master in Environmental Studies from York University.

Carmen Umana K. is a Master's candidate in the Faculty of Environmental Studies at York University with a background in fine arts, history, and anthropology. Her research examines the links between how freshwater is understood and valued, and how it is used and managed. By bridging her fine arts training with academic pursuits, Carmen hopes to continue experimenting with creative mediums both within collaborative research methodologies and within a future PhD program.

Nature, digital collage by Zayn Wiwchar, 2016
More work can be found at http://www.facebook.com/InterestingDomain/

Upcoming *UnderCurrents*: Memories and Futurities

Memories can be personal, collective, historic, generational, intergenerational, multigenerational, etc. Memories affect, solidify, dissolve, and (de/re)construct identities, and they can provide direction for challenging, dismantling, and uprooting colonial, sexual, racial, environmental, and ecological violence, trauma, oppression, and dominance. Therefore, memories can connect to actions and movements that imagine, prefigure, and celebrate transformative futures, such as Black Lives Matter-Toronto's tent city and the occupation of Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada offices by Indigenous activists. Volume 21 of *UnderCurrents* seeks to explore such interweavings of "Memories and Futurities."

UnderCurrents is interested in featuring both creative and scholarly work, including essays, poetry, photographs, visual submissions, video, audio, mixed formats, and more. All are welcome to apply. We especially encourage submissions from applicants who are Indigenous, Black, people of color, women, LGBTQ2+, people with disabilities, poor, and/or otherwise on the margins.

Possible perspectives, themes, and intersections include, but are by no means limited to:

Memory:

- Personal, Collective, Historic, Generational, Intergenerational, Multigenerational, etc.
- Archives and Records – Production and Institutionalization of Memory
- Ecological Memories, Changing Environments in our Lifetime (coastal, wilderness, parks, forests, etc.), and Climate Change
- Genetic Memory; Embodied Memory
- Hidden, Disappeared, and Marginalized Histories and Memories
- Identity (Formation), Representation, and Resilience
- Impacts of Colonialism, Imperialism, Displacement, Migration, Diaspora, etc.
- Life History
- Positionality; Situated Knowledge, Personality (Character, Temperament)
- Remembering and Forgetting
- Species Memories (animals, plants, local, foreign, etc.)
- Trauma: Sexual, Racial, Colonial, Environmental, Ecological, etc.

Futurity:

- Afrofuturisms and Black Futurities
- Denials of Futurity (e.g. Queer and Nihilist Anarchist critiques)
- Feminist Futurities
- Indigenous Resurgence and Survivance
- Oral/Aural Culture and Storytelling
- Prefigurative Politics and Movements
- Queer Futurities
- Transformative Futures: Anti-Colonial/Decolonial, Anti-Capitalist, Anti-State, Anti-Patriarchal, etc.
- Artistic, Poetic, Literary, Performative, and Fictional Imaginations
- Hegemony, Power, and 'Truth'
- Methodologies and Research Practices of Remembering and Imagining
- Time and Temporality

Although we frame "Memories and Futurities" in certain ways in this Call for Submissions, we wholeheartedly welcome submissions that diverge from this framing. Features can address diverse ideas around memories, futurities, presents, or any-and-all interconnections of these themes. If you are unsure about whether your work fits the framework of the volume, or if you are interested in joining the *UnderCurrents* collective, please e-mail us at **[currents@yorku.ca]** with any questions.

Please see submission guidelines at:
http://currents.journals.yorku.ca/index.php/currents/about/submissions

Would you, my friend, want to breast-feed your child with poisons
such as 1,3,5 trichlorobenzene, dichloromethane, chloroform,
lead, mercury, and trichloroethene—
a chemical that has been
shown to impair foetal development,
that was found at levels
50 times higher than EPA
safety limits?

—**Kokila Bhattacharya**

KOKILA BHATTACHARYA