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Women and Water

GUEST EDITED BY KIM ANDERSON, BRENDA CRANNEY, ANGELA MILES, WANDA NANIBUSH AND PAULA SHERMAN

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CANADIAN WOMAN STUDIES is a feminist journal which was founded with the goal of making current writing and research on a wide variety of feminist topics accessible to the largest possible community of women. During our thirty-seven years of publication we have attempted to create a forum in which all of us—not only university women—can exchange our ideas, personal experiences, expertise and creativity. By demystifying our communications with one another we are actively working towards serving as a middle ground between the scholarly and the popular, between theory and activism.

We welcome experiential articles and essays; book, art and film reviews; and creative work. Our key criteria for accepting material for publication are clarity, interest to the various and diverse lives of our readership, and thematic relevance. While we do not restrict our always-expanding sense of what makes a contribution "feminist"—we strive for a presentation of different perspectives—we will not publish writing that is sexist, racist, homophobic or in any other way discriminatory.

We particularly welcome French-language contributions and manuscripts in both languages that deal with issues pertaining to the lives of women of colour, Aboriginal women, immigrant women, working class women, women with disabilities, lesbians, and other marginalized women.

LES CAHIERS DE LA FEMME est une publication dont le but est de rendre *les Études de la Femme* et des mouvements féministes, tant sur le plan de la recherche que de l'écriture, accessibles au plus grand nombre possible de femmes. Au cours des trente-sept années de notre existence, nous avons tenté de créer une tribune où nous pouvons toutes—non pas exclusivement les universitaires—échanger nos idées, nos expériences personnelles, notre compétence et notre créativité. En démystifiant les rapports entre nous, nous voulons servir de lien entre l'académique et le populaire, entre la théorie et le mi-li-tantisme.

Nous encourageons la soumission d'articles et d'essais dans les domaines reliés aux arts, des critiques de livres, de cinéma ou d'exposition, ainsi que de courtes oeuvres de fiction et des poèmes. Les critères de publication portent principalement sur la clarté d'expression et l'intérêt que peut susciter le sujet choisi tout autant que la recherche et l'originalité des thèmes traités par l'auteure.

Bien que *CWS/cf* n'oeuvrent pas sur un terrain limité en qui concerne une publication dite féministe, nous visons à élaborer dans des sphères qui respectent les différentes perspectives des études de la femme. Il est entendu que nous ne publierons pas de textes sexistes, racistes, anti-gais, ou discriminatoires.

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Women and Water

Book Reviews

Front Cover

KateBrown, "The Meeting," 2014, 8" x 10", acrylic on canvas.

Back Cover

KateBrown, "Unicorn at Large," 2014, 8" x 10", acrylic on canvas.

KateBrown grew up in the Village of Clarkson, Ontario. She earned her MFA from the School of Visual Arts In New York and now divides her time between her Creative Reserve Studio at Lilac Hill in Huntsville, Ontario and New York City. <www.KateBrownArt.com>.

Artist statement: *Four years ago when I began to work in my forest studio, like a character from a fairy tale wandering into the woods, I entered into the unknown. After more than twenty years working on large installation pieces which you can see and read about at www.KateBrownArt.com, I set about to return to abstract painting with the knowledge that I had gained from installations. I began to make tiny clay tear catchers like the ones I had seen in theTibilisi museum in Georgia many years before. These are small vessels designed to capture the tears of a lover as a relic of their being. In fairy tales, tears are also the catalyst for the miraculous — at the touch of tear, still things move, dead creatures awaken, new things are created. My journey had begun. I started to think alot about drops and the word 'drop' and how it is used — how drops use gravity and how women use gravity to give birth. Today, when a new cd is launched they say it is 'dropped' — the creation has been born. These thoughts then stirred fond memories of being a little girl feeding injured birds with an eye dropper, and then ... the Drop Paintings began.*

Editorial

This special issue is grounded in the widespread recognition that water is the source of life.

In an Anishinaaabeg context, *Nibi* (water) is sacred, and women have particular responsibilities and knowledge in relationship to it. As guest editors, we recognize that mainstream academic scholarship and settler society in Canada typically do not recognize the sacred connection between women and water and life, nor is there an awareness of the traditional knowledge that Indigenous communities and social movements are seeking to recover and restore as a necessary element in their survival and the survival of Mother Earth. Brutal practices toward the environment are continuing processes of patriarchal colonization that began millennia ago with the earliest attacks on Indigenous earth-based cultures. Indigenous women and communities around the world today continue to bear the brunt of the destruction and are at the heart of the resistance. We have thus centered both the traditional Indigenous knowledge and resistance to the destruction within this collection.

We further highlight women's visionary recovery and resistance in many communities globally, as we wanted to produce a journal issue which would deepen our understanding of the destructive forces and values we face and celebrate the rich variety of powerful resistance and deep alternatives everywhere. Overall, in this work, we honour women's special relationship to water, traditionally and in daily life today. The articles represent diverse voices and approaches, but collectively address the growing concern for the depletion and commodification of freshwater, pollution of oceans, lakes, and rivers, decreased water-based biodiversity, and increased use and abuse of water by companies involved in the extractive economy taking place across the world. The opening of Canada and the rest of the world to the life and spirit denying extraction business has had disastrous effects on health, economies, and cultures, especially in poor, Indigenous, and peasant communities which are organizing in resistance. Profiling the innovative and powerful frameworks and responses on the part of women worldwide is an expression of hope.

Ce numéro spécial des Cahiers est déterminé à soutenir la reconnaissance universelle de l'eau qui est source de vie

Dans le contexte Anishinaabeg, *Nibi* (l'eau) est sacrée et les femmes ont une connaissance et une responsabilité spéciales envers elle. Les éditrices invitées ont reconnu que les chercheurs ordinaires ainsi que les premiers habitants du Canada ignorent ce lien du sacré entre les femmes et l'eau, et ne reconnaissent pas le savoir traditionnel des autochtones et des mouvements sociaux qui veulent retrouver et restaurer l'eau, cet élément vital pour leur survivance et celle de la Terre-Mère. Les pratiques brutales envers l'environnement se situent dans le continuum de la colonisation patriarcale qui a débuté il y a des millénaires avec les premiers assauts à la culture autochtones. Les femme autochtones et leurs communautés dans le monde font toujours face à leur disparition et sont au coeur de la résistance. Le savoir traditionnel des autochtones et leur résistance face à la destruction de leurs peuples sont donc au premier plan de ce Cahier.

Nous ferons la lumière sur les femmes et leurs projets visionnaires qui ont résisté et ravivé plusieurs des communautés autochtones, nous voulons dans ce numéro approfondir notre connaissance de leurs valeurs et les forces destructrices qui nous font face et célébrer la variété des mouvements de résistance et les alternatives qui surgissent dans le monde. En fait, nous voulons honorer la relation très spéciale des femmes avec l'eau, traditionnellement et quotidiennement. Les articles représentent des approches et des voix diverses mais collectivement ils orientent leurs angoisses face à la déplétion et à l'accessibilité de l'eau pure, de la pollution des océans, des rivières et des lacs et de la biodiversité en péril sans oublier l'usage immodéré des compagnies qui utilisent l'eau pour l'exploitation du gaz dans le monde. Malgré que le Canada et d'autres pays aient été plus ouverts à la vie et à l'esprit, on nie que cette fracturation ait eu des effets désastreux sur la santé, l'économie et les cultures, spécialement chez les communautés plus pauvres, les autochtones, les paysans qui organisent leur résistance. Exposer les structures solides et innovatrices et les réactions des femmes dans le monde, est l'expression d'un message d'espoir.

KIM ANDERSON, BRENDA CRANNEY, ANGELA MILES,
WANDA NANIBUSH AND PAULA SHERMAN

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CWS/cf encourages unsolicited manuscripts. Because each issue of the journal is devoted to a specific theme, please write or call to get a list of proposed issues for the forthcoming year as well as a copy of our style sheet. In general, articles should be typed and double-spaced, with notes (kept to a minimum) following the article; please send two hard copies of your submission, along with electronic copy, and a brief biographical note (20–50 words) and abstract (50 words) of your article. Articles are refereed through a blind review process. We give preference to articles of 10-12 pages (2500-3000 words) which are previously unpublished. If possible, submit photographs and/or graphics to accompany your work.

CWS/cf reserves the right to edit manuscripts with respect to length and in conformity with our editorial guidelines; any substantive changes will be made only after consultation with the author.

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Pegi Eyers, "Spirit of the Flood," 2012, mixed media, 18 x 24 inches. (See page 14 for more about Pegi Eyers.)

First Nations Water Security

Security for Mother Earth

SHERI LONGBOAT

Le problème persistant pour plusieurs Premières Nations au Canada se traduit par le manque de sécurité autour de l'eau du à une implication limitée de la gestion de l'eau. Le savoir traditionnel des Anishinaabekwe peut prendre en charge une approche équilibrée et sa protection en suggérant des principes qui reconnaissent, maintiennent et établissent des relations socio-écologiques essentielles.

How can First Nations perspectives and Indigenous[1] knowledge enhance water security? In this paper, I investigate the inter-relationships between First Nations and Western approaches to water, and the opportunities and barriers to collaborative water governance to support First Nations water security. I focus on the ways that traditional Anishinaabe perspectives on water within the Great Lakes region can support water security by providing important guiding principles that recognize, maintain, and make paramount critical social-ecological relationships that are necessary for more responsible natural resource and environmental management practices. Interviews with five Anishinaabe Elders conducted in 2010 and 2011 form the basis of the paper, and document sources fill gaps and elaborate on the themes and elements that emerged from the interviews. In several instances, included are comments from government actors and water "experts," so-labeled for their extensive knowledge and experience with both Indigenous and Western approaches to water. The names of those who participated in the research are excluded to maintain the confidentiality assured during data collection. However, I do wish to acknowledge and express my deep sense of respect and gratitude for the honour of listening to the Elders and for learning from their water wisdom.

Chi-miigwetch; Niawen'kó:wa to all that contributed; without you this paper would not be possible.

Background

The concept of water security is an emerging paradigm gaining increasing attention in the natural resources, academic and policy arenas. Commonly defined as "sustainable access on a watershed basis, to adequate quantities of water of acceptable water quality, to ensure human and ecosystem health" (Norman et al. ii), water security requires a balance between resource protection and sustainable use, and is an important component of social and economic development. For First Nations, access to safe water is not only essential for contemporary needs but is also critical for the preservation of a traditional way of life. However, the lack of water security or the inability to access the quality and quantity of water required for basic human needs is a persistent problem for many First Nations in Canada. Approximately 92 of the 617 First Nations communities across Canada are under a drinking water advisory (DWA) due to confirmed or suspected microbiological or chemical contamination in their drinking water.[2] While some DWAs last only days, others persist as long-term advisories (Health Canada).

First Nations concerns for water extend beyond drinking water and relate to access to territories to maintain a traditional way of life, protection of water within traditional territories, and involvement in "the decision-making processes that affect their lives, lands and waters" (McGregor i). For First Nations, water is a sacred gift, the life blood of Mother Earth, and all water, not just water for human

use, needs protection (see, for example, Chiefs of Ontario 2008a, 2008b; Union of Ontario Indians). Through Indigenous ceremonies, laws and protocols, First Nations have exercised inherent responsibilities to fulfill obligations to the Creator to ensure clean water for all living things since time immemorial (Chiefs of Ontario 2008c). However, water governance in Canada today, defined as the processes and institutions[3] for making decisions that affect water (de Loë), is a shared responsibility between the federal and provincial governments, and First Nations are limited in the extent to which they can exercise these inherent responsibilities. First Nations are generally excluded from water decision-making, lack meaningful involvement in water governance, and water pollution and degradation continue to impact all aspects of the their way of life (Union of Ontario Indians).

For First Nations, water is a sacred gift, the life blood of Mother Earth, and all water, not just water for human use, needs protection. First Nations have exercised inherent responsibilities to fulfill obligations to the Creator to ensure clean water for all living things since time immemorial.

At a time when natural resource and environmental management call for more participatory, ecosystem-based, and integrative approaches, recent activities indicate a shift toward greater water collaboration among multiple levels of governments and First Nations. One of the guiding principles of the 2012 Great Lakes Strategy, crafted to protect and restore ecological health, is the explicit recognition of the spiritual and cultural relationship First Nations maintain with the Great Lakes. Also, the proposed 2015 Ontario Bill 66, Great Lakes Protection Act, contains provisions for the inclusion of traditional ecological knowledge and First Nations participation on the Great Lakes Guardian Council—a forum that will establish priorities, partnerships and funding measures. Furthermore, the 2014 renewal of the Canada-Ontario Agreement on Great Lakes Water Quality and Ecosystem Health contains for the first time an Annex for engaging First Nations which includes collaboration on the delivery of the agreement and support for traditional knowledge projects. While the substantive and procedural effectiveness of these and other initiatives to include First Nations and their knowledge within water governance require further investigation using both Western and First Nations measures, it is evident that a policy shift toward great collaboration is beginning.

The Crown's obligations to consult and accommodate[4] First Nations on activities that may impact their treaty and Aboriginal rights (practices, customs and traditions) including inherent rights of self-determination and self-governance is a critical driver that will influence future water policy, and whose affects with respect to water are yet to be fully realized. This complex bundle of rights is intricately connected to water security, since many depend on access to water resources and an abundant clean water source. In the international arena, instruments such as the 2007 United Nations Declaration of Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) and the 2010 Declaration of The Human Right to Water further strengthen this legal argument, and perhaps more significantly indicate a global recognition and commitment in support of Indigenous rights and involvement in decision-making. As First Nations water governance opportunities expand in Canada, so too will the challenges associated with the harmonization of Western and Indigenous approaches. This raises some very practical policy development and implementation questions. What are First Nations perspectives on water and how can traditional knowledge support water security?

Anishinaabe Relationship with Water

For the Anishinaabe, water, or *Nibi* in the Anishinaabemowin language, includes "the rain waters, waterfalls, rivers, streams, creeks, lakes, mountain springs, swamp springs, bedrock water veins, snow, oceans, icebergs, the sea" (Chiefs of Ontario 2008c 1). From the traditional perspective, water is highly respected and revered for reasons far greater than its physical properties. For the Anishinaabe, water is life; it is the Anishinaabe lifeline and the bloodline of Mother Earth. The Anishinaabe have an innately deep connection to water to which they are mutually and spiritually bound. Water itself is believed to have a spirit; it is an entity unto its own, with a consciousness. The Elders communicated how the spirit of water gives life, it nourishes, it cleanses…. In its essence, "water is medicine for us" (Elder 5).

I believe that water is our lifeline. Without water we

can't live for very long. We can live without food, we can live without a lot of things but we cannot live without water. Water to me is just—it's our lifeline. (Elder 1)

From my perspective and teachings, water is spiritual. It is part of who we are, it is part of why, it is what binds the natural world with life. (Elder 4)

In exploring this perspective on water, I was reminded that through traditional knowledge and teachings the Creator has given the Anishinaabe the ways toward a "good life"—harmonious living with nature, which means taking care of the water and all things on earth.

The perspective is fundamentally of our traditions and teachings and how life is and how the well-being of creation itself and how nature has naturally occurred or evolved. (Elder 4)

The traditional Anishinaabe relationship with water involves beliefs and philosophy rooted deeply throughout the traditional institutions because water permeates every part of the Anishinaabe way of life. The Anishinaabe "respect the water and how it brings life for us and there are teachings around that in terms of how to protect it" (Elder 1). Traditional teachings provide the informal and unwritten rules which guide the Anishinaabe interactions with water and all of creation. These rules are transmitted through the traditional Anishinaabe stories whose meanings provide the lessons toward the Anishinaabe way in life.

Through Indigenous perspectives and philosophies and through our own rituals and teachings that we understand and be respectful of the stories—but not just stories … but the realization of this life. (Elder 4)

Traditional teachings and stories also tell of water responsibilities and appropriate behavior for Anishinaabe interaction with water. For example, the Anishinaabe Creation story reinforces the powerful cleansing role of water and expresses the enduring relationship the Anishinaabe have with water.

Each of the Nations has their own creation story and water was always part of those creation stories. So water has been with us and in a relationship with us since time immemorial; its forever. And even in our creation story when the giant flood came, that's what the Creator used, he used the water for cleansing, so that tells me that's what water does for us, it cleanses out who we are. So we drink. (Elder 5)

"Creation stories are the means by which cultural communities ground their identity in particular narratives and particular landscapes" (Johnston 2). The Anishinaabe creation story speaks to the significance of the spiritual connections to land, water and animals. The version presented by Darlene Johnston describes how, for the southern Great Lakes Anishinaabe, the centre of creation is in the strait between Lake Huron and Lake Michigan on Michilimackinac Island. As the story goes, after the big flood, the original human beings were created from the corpses of the first animals or "the First Ones" who formed the land around the Great Lakes. The story tells how after the animals created the land, they moved to places where the land and water would provide for them, from these locations the animals died and the original human beings were born. The creation story thus details a basis for the innate connection and responsibilities to traditional lands and water, and also the spiritual relationship the Anishinaabe have with their animal relatives, which is a fundamental part of the clan system and traditional governance.

For the Anishinaabe, the knowledge of natural systems is embedded within the traditional teachings, which emphasize rules as reminders of their position within the world. Water is understood to be one of the four original sacred elements along with the wind, fire, and the earth that are interconnected and bound together on Mother Earth. Human beings are children of Mother Earth and she provides the water that nourishes the earth which in turn provides for her children.

I'll go back to our teachings about the Earth…. The Earth is really our first mother and the water is her veins and everything about the earth is nourishing. The water nourishes the food that we need. It grows the plants so that they are healthy. (Elder 5)

Ecological relationships such as those between water and plants and the linkages to human health are also a significant part of the traditional ways. The Elders spoke of the significance of water in the context of the sacred plants. Tobacco, sage, sweet grass and cedar are considered the four sacred medicines the Creator gave to the Anishinaabe to be used for ceremony and healing (Beaver). Each sacred element has a role and their functions together contribute to human health.

We need our plants. We need our plants healthy because—Elders talk about plants that are here and are meant to be in this area for these people. And what if the plants are not getting the nourishing, the nourishment that they need to be strong and to thrive in a healthy way? So if

our plants, if our land base, if our water is not healthy we are not either. The plants can't do what they're meant to do; we can't do what we're meant to do. (Elder 5)

The Elders frame their teachings on the interconnectedness of water and Earth's creatures in relation to the Circle of Life and the cycles of nature. For the Anishinaabe, the Circle of Life is represented by the Medicine Wheel which is used for teaching about the Anishinaabe place in the universe and the relationship to all things. The Medicine Wheel offers vast teachings about the interrelationships between its four quadrants which represent different "concepts" such as the four basic elements and seasons, the sacred animals and medicines, and the stages of life and direction of human growth (Kemppainen et al.). It is through the context of the circle of life that future generations are taught the Anishinaabe practices and customs. The youth receive oral teachings from the Elders who share their wisdom about the sacred world, their place within it, and the inherent responsibilities. These social relationships are critical for the transfer of knowledge and cultural perseverance.

Life goes in a circle. From baby, toddler, youth, adult and Elder…. So when the Elders and youth are interconnected, it's apparent that the knowledge is shared. And vice versa when the youth are mentored by the Elder, the youth are mentoring the Elders. Both characters of an Elder and youth have to symbolize each other in a relationship to teach and share and focus on the importance of those teachings. (Elder 4)

Women have an important connection to water as the givers of life and play a vital role in the circle of life. It is during the stage of birth that the personal relationship with water is believed to begin.

You've got to remember that you are first introduced to water in your mother's womb…. You've got to remember that. That's how important water is to us. That's life. That bag of water protected you in your mom's womb. That's the whole start of it, right there. (Elder 1)

Men's and women's specific responsibilities and knowledge related to water are important for protecting and maintaining the Anishinaabe relationship with water. The Anishinaabe believe the spirit of water is related to the feminine aspects of creation, nature and spirituality: "So the water is definitely feminine according to our teachings" (Elder 5).

And so there's a gender difference in the knowledge that you get from water, from a man, and from a woman… there is gender difference in the knowledge that people can hold. (Expert 4)

We [women] talk about the different forms of water that water can teach us about change and each of the different seasons. We talk about the water that comes from the sky. We talk about the water that comes from here, your eyes. We talk about the breast water. We talk about the cleansing; the blood water that women have and that nurturing time. (Elder 5)

"The role that we [women] have … [is] caring for the water and speaking for the water and praying for the water that it always stays healthy and maintains us because without water we would not live. Without water, Mother Earth wouldn't survive, our four-legged and our two-winged friends would not survive."

Anishinaabe women are the "Keepers of the Water," and attached to this role are the responsibilities for conducting ceremonies to honour the water spirit.

The role that we [women] have … [is] caring for the water and speaking for the water and praying for the water that it always stays healthy and maintains us because without water we would not live. Without water, Mother Earth wouldn't survive … our four-legged and our two-winged friends would not survive. (Elder 3)

Ceremony, the "set of relationships with the spiritual world from which we learn the teachings that guide our behaviour as Anishinaabe" (Lee 1), is an important aspect of the Anishinaabe culture. Water is a part of many Anishinaabe ceremonies and ceremonies and songs are dedicated to honour water. For example, in the spirit of reciprocity, fishermen conduct a ceremony by offering tobacco as a sign of thanks and respect, and a part of the traditional way of life is daily thanksgiving to the Creator that includes water and all that she sustains.

There's a place for it at the beginning of our ceremonies—ceremonies don't begin until you bless the water. And then our songs. We have songs dedicated to the water on the Earth. We talk about the different forms of water, that water can teach us about change, and each of the different seasons. (Elder 5)

A particularly significant water ceremony is the Moon Ceremony, which honours Grandmother Moon who watches over the water on Mother Earth. As one elder detailed, the Moon Ceremony also tells of the sacred way for cleansing water.

Women get together and have their ceremonies, their Moon Ceremonies when it's the full moon, so that it gives you an order; an ordered time in creation to do that. So when you're honouring the moon, you're honouring the feminine, you're honouring the woman. Water is so much a part of that ceremony, so that the moon controls the tides of the water. So we take water with us, that medicine because that's what it is, its medicine for us. So we'll take that water, a little bit of water in a bigger jar and we'll hold that up and we'll go through ceremony and we'll ask for creation to cleanse it and then we'll put that into a larger container and drink from that for the whole month. And when that comes down, we come back, you do that again. So that tells us that there is a sacred way to have the water cleansed. We use that water say if we're not feeling well, if we're sick. That tells us the water is very key to assisting in our health and the purity of it. (Elder 5)

The critical linkages between sacred water cleansing and the significance for Anishinaabe health are further revealed. Water is a medicine used for healing and if the water is unsafe, the physical, emotional, mental and spiritual well-being of the Anishinaabe is greatly affected.

To talk about water within the traditional Anishinaabe context means to talk about relationships, the circle of life and the interconnectedness of all things. In the traditional view, water security is not looked upon in the context of water for human and society needs, rather, water security is seen as it relates to Mother Earth. Water security means security of water for Mother Earth.

When we talk about security of water, we're talking about security of water for who or for what? That leads me to say it's the security of water for Mother Earth. It's not for the people or the deer or for the industry; it's for Mother Earth. When that context becomes the focus then all the other things become incorporated into it, in that circle… If we're going to secure it I think on a fundamental basis it's wrong to secure it for people. What we should be doing is securing it for Mother Earth. (Expert 6)

Guiding the Anishinaabe relationship with water, with Mother Earth, and with all of creation is a spiritual connection that manifests within the beliefs and informal rules that emanate from a higher order. Water is life and there are no formal written rules that define this relationship with water. At an early age, through oral tradition, the Anishinaabe are taught their role and responsibilities as caretakers of Mother Earth. It is believed that through a life of honoring the sacred gifts of creation, by practicing the teachings and conducting the ceremonies, the spiritual relationships and natural order of the universe are maintained. From this perspective, water security involves respecting water and enabling it to fulfill its role to provide for Mother Earth, and in doing so, she will provide for all her creatures, including humans. Conversely, insecurity of water results when water cannot perform its natural role because of disrespect or mistreatment from pollution or withdrawals which alter the natural character of water.

Anishinaabe Approaches for Water Security

Anishinaabe approaches can support water security by providing important guiding principles that recognize, maintain, and make paramount critical social-ecological relationships and support a balanced approach to resource protection and sustainable use. The Anishinaabe worldview, or cognitive model for how the world is seen, places value on water as a life-giving entity, and from this emanates codes of behavior for the appropriate relationship with water. Through ceremonies and songs, the relationship with water and all of nature was maintained which ensured that all of creation could conduct their responsibilities. There is a general belief that the Anishinaabe worldview may contribute in the development of a water ethic that places value on the protection and preservation of freshwater above all other priorities.

I think Indigenous people have their traditions and their points of view, and the Elders have a lot to teach everybody on what some of those fundamentals are again. (Expert 1)

Interviews with the Elders highlighted a powerful moral code that guides Anishinaabe relationships with creation. The Anishinaabe traditionally managed their relationship with water and maintained spiritual relationships by following the "Seven Grandfathers"—messages from the Creator to the Anishinaabe for human conduct with all of creation (Beaver). The gifts of respect, wisdom, love,

bravery, honesty, humility and truth are arguably the most significant teachings of Anishinaabe tradition. The moral code embedded in these teachings could provide guiding principles in support of current water security ,and I offer an example below (see Table 1) to illustrate the potential for how the Seven Grandfathers might guide the development of written water security principles.

While there are clearly strengths of Anishinaabe principles to support current water security, the implementation or harmonization of these teachings and ways of knowing into formal water governance is not without challenges. Fundamentally, there is a difference in values systems between First Nations and Western cultures that is evident in the institutions that govern their respective relationship with water and nature. Generally speaking, traditional First Nations principles value water as an autonomous living being with a spirit and rights of its own, whereas Western institutions regard water as a resource, a commodity, where ultimate value is subscribed to its economic potential, rather than its life-sustaining character. These opposing views can create barriers to the recognition of the benefits Indigenous knowledge provides. To overcome these challenges, First Nations require a strong collective voice to actively communicate the positive contributions traditional knowledge systems and practices offer.

> *First Nations have to be able to articulate that they have something unique and sustainable to offer the situation. Like your value added to the whole process. Not only are you integral to it because of Aboriginal and treaty rights and because there's treaties that demand a certain kind of relationship, but also that First Nations can actually contribute to the process rather than be some impediment to the process or some problem to be solved.* (Expert 1)

Cultural diversity, the large numbers of First Nations, and the breadth of their knowledge also pose challenges that will require First Nations ability and willingness to articulate traditional knowledge in ways that can be translated into formal policy for implementation at an operational level. Government water actors are bound to policies and procedures founded in legally binding state legislation and regulation that do not easily incorporate Indigenous approaches grounded in oral tradition.

> In water—the inherent right. That's something that's talked about—I have an idea what the inherent right to water is. I'm just not too sure how you start talking about incorporating those discussions into legal regulatory regimes or programs. The approaches too—if

Table 1: ***Seven Grandfathers and Water Principles***

Truth—to recognize the work of the creator in all things
- Value water in all its forms and all its uses

Humility—to know that each of us is part of creation and that all people are equal
- Equity of all people, equity of nature → nature's rights to water

Respect—to take care of all things the Creator has given on Mother Earth
- Respect water and all of nature, and one another's views and ways

Wisdom—to seek and share knowledge
- Use water wisely and consider all forms of knowledge for decision-making

Honesty—to speak right of things – not to lie, cheat or deceive
- Accountability and transparency of actions, decision-making and motives

Love—to care and help one another
- Commitment to collaboration and shared benefits

Bravery—to be ready to face all things that are hard to do
- Address immediate problems, new conflicts, and resistance to change
- Shortest/quickest route is not always the best path for sustainability

each First Nation had the same approach it would be easy. (Federal 4)

Furthermore, existing federal instruments, and new land and water-related legislation purported to support First Nations economic, social and cultural development do little to support or encourage First Nations traditional perspectives.

First Nations Land Management Act, Self Government Act, or Indian Act bylaws—you don't really see promotion and enhancement of traditional knowledge and philosophies and ethics. (Expert 3)

Another area that presents significant challenge for traditional knowledge integration is the conflict caused by differences in the source of authority for rules and laws. Western approaches to water obtain their legitimacy from formally written laws that have roots in a long history of British statutes that evolved from common law. Western laws emphasize the concept of rights, and disputes are mediated through court intervention that draws on previous rules and decisions. Conversely, First Nations traditional approaches are founded on customary law and involve "responsibilities" rather than "rights." Responsibilities to take care of water for Mother Earth come from the authority of the Creator. While First Nations now speak of "Aboriginal rights," these are Western terms used to assert the protection of responsibilities within Western law. Traditional First Nations approaches address water responsibilities rather than legal requirements, and the connection between rights and responsibilities is not clear (Expert 4).

The way that we look at this is the concept of responsibility. I need no lawyer to tell me my responsibilities. I know when I'm not doing it because I've been taught all my life what my responsibility is. And most native people even in Canada today still have those traditional teachings going on and still understand what their responsibilities are, even though sometimes we neglect them, but we're only human too. (Expert 4)

For First Nations, traditional responsibilities are very powerful institutions; when applied to water they can support water security far more than formally written laws.

The other side I would say the concept of rights is always based on the minimum; the minimum level of protection that the society will adhere to. It never works to the maximum and that's where the conflict comes in because if you're talking responsibility you always have to do more than the minimum. (Expert 4)

Despite these challenges, there is a sense that an era of collaboration is on the horizon. Traditional knowledge instructs the Anishinaabe to be prepared for a time when Indigenous and Western people must come together and work together on activities that protect and preserve Mother Earth. The teachings tell of a time when the dominant society will see how their ways have negatively affected the environment and come to realize their relationship with water is unsustainable. The Anishinaabe Seven Fires Prophecies have foretold that eventually the "light-skinned race" will be given a choice between two paths; one is the path to destruction and the other to eternal peace, love and brotherhood (see, for examples, Benton-Banai, and Beaver). If they choose to take the latter path of a spiritual relationship with Mother Earth, and approach the Elders with respect and sincerity, the Anishinaabe Elders will fulfill their responsibility and aid those who seek their guidance along this journey (Beaver).

There'll come a day when they will come back to us and say "how do we take care of it?" So one of our responsibilities is not to forget; our responsibilities to remember to do those ceremonies, those activities to keep those things of higher value like water close to our hearts and our bodies. And when they come back and ask us, one of our responsibilities is, we have to teach them. So they will come back. It's just a matter of when and how. (First Nation Organization 1)

Conclusion

Traditional Anishinaabe knowledge tells us that water security or the delicate balance between sustainable use and resource protection is ultimately achieved when water institutions that structure our relationship with nature are designed to support the security of water for Mother Earth. If we respect and enable Mother Earth to fulfill her role, in turn her natural character (e.g., form and function) will provide secure water for all of creation. To articulate Indigenous knowledge into water policy requires that governance processes are inclusive of First Nations interests, and institutions value and incorporate traditional knowledge and ways of knowing into practice. This paper has just touched upon the potential for harmonization of Western and Indigenous approaches to water based, for example, on the Seven Grandfathers. Further research that looks in greater detail at opportunities within specific water laws, polices, and procedures is needed to proactively create a more collaborative approach that ensures future water security for all.

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[1]I use the terms Indigenous, Aboriginal and First Nations interchangeably to be consistent with the source or more importantly the original context. "Indigenous" refers to the living descendants of pre-colonial inhabitants who may be Indigenous peoples, nations, or communities (Anaya 2004). "Aboriginal" and "First Nations" are terms created by the dominant colonizing society to describe Indigenous peoples (Phare 2009).

[2]Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada recognizes 617 First Nations as of June 5, 2014. For updated figures see http://pse5-esd5.ainc-inac.gc.ca/fnp/Main/index.aspx?lang=eng. Health Canada reports 92 First Nations communities across Canada are under a Drinking Water Advisory as of February 28, 2104. For updated reports see http://www.hc-sc.gc.ca/fniah-spnia/promotion/public-publique/water-eau-eng.php.

[3]Institutions are "the rules of the game in a society" that guide human interaction (North 3). Specifically, environmental institutions are conventions, norms and legal rules that structure the relationships between people and nature and their access and use of environmental resources (Vatn 2005).

[4]In Canada, *Haida Nation*, *Taku*, and *Mikisew* are landmark rulings where the courts held the provincial and federal Crown have an honourable duty to consult and accommodate Aboriginal interests where proposed activities may interfere with proven and potential Aboriginal and treaty rights.

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ABOUT THE GUEST EDITORS…

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TENDAI R. MWANAKA

We Wait And Linger, a little

When we were little, stars
The sun, the moon and darkness
Stayed longer as they
Cradled us, as we played

As we grew older
The sun became hotter
Hot we were, in failure
Anxieties and disappointments

And the moon, frail
Faint, it was a grown up
Hiding in the dark skies
Inside houses that were our jails

Now, as we lie isolated
In darkness, immeasurable
Its soft tide pulling us in
We wait and linger, a little

Tendai R. Mwanaka was born in Zimbabwe. He is the author of several poetry books, including Voices from Exile *(2010) and* Playing to Love's Gallery *(2014). He is also the author of two novels,* Keys in the River: Notes from a Modern Chimurenga *(2012) and* A Dark Energy *(2014), and a collection of essays,* Zimbabwe: The Blame Game *(2013). His short fiction, essays, poems and visual art have published in over 100 magazines, journals, and anthologies around the world.*

Pegi Eyer's artwork appears on pages 5 and 70:

As an Independent Curator, **Pegi Eyers** has developed exhibition projects with artist collectives and arts organizations, and has been employed as an Arts Publicist and Fundraiser. Her acrylic and oil painting, mixed-media assemblage, handbound artist's books and intricate "cut paper" pieces have been exhibited in multiple galleries, solo and group shows. She lives in the beautiful Ontario countryside near the eclectic city of Peterborough. "My creative vision is connected to the sacred iconography of the Divine Feminine, and to express Her many forms in paint and mixed media." Currently, she is writing a prose poetry series as inspired by the themes of women's empowerment and matriarchal history: Celebrating HER! Images that Empower Women and Honour the Divine Feminine. Visit her website: <www.lyssanda-designs.com>.

Women Talking About Water

Feminist Subjectivities and Intersectional Understandings

LEILA M. HARRIS, JYOTI PHARTIYAL, DAYNA NADINE SCOTT AND MEGAN PELOSO

Dans cette étude basée sur des discussions tenues par des groupes de femmes à travers le Canada sur les défis et intérêts au sujet de l'eau, nous avons reconnu que dans le contexte actuel au Canada, les femmes sont véritablement connectées avec les peuples, les humains ou tout autre forme de vie. Elles reconnaissent que l'eau est implantée socialement, intégrant les questions de justice sociale, écologique et intergénérationnelle en relation avec les changements complexes des paysages riverains. A l'évidence, leurs propos sont dans une perspective genrée, mais nous avons aussi trouvé un mouvement au-delà du genre qui nuance la compréhension intersectorielle, des liens essentiels entre les genres, la classe et l'ethnicité sont fréquemment mentionnés.

In her recent provocation, *Feminist Subjectivity, Watered,* Astrid Neimanis suggests that water enables and foregrounds key points of connection between our bodies and our environments, and between all living things. Given that we are mostly water, and our bodies are fundamentally altered by the water we intake, focusing on water is analytically and politically useful to understand the deep connections that bind us to each other, and to the broader natural world. This understanding, Neimanis argues, allows for a reinvigorated feminist subjectivity that is attuned to the intricate interconnections between our bodies and our surroundings, and the ways that we are embedded in complex social, political, and ecological systems and relationships.

Our work, based on diverse focus groups with women across Canada regarding water concerns and challenges, offers evidence of the ways that women in the contemporary Canadian context talk about water to demonstrate that they are indeed attuned to connections among people, as well as between humans and other life. The types of subjectivities we witness among the women interviewed recognize the social embeddedness of water, integrating questions of social, ecological, and intergenerational justice in relation to complex and changing waterscapes. While our evidence certainly illuminates a gendered perspective, we also find movement beyond gender to highlight a nuanced and intersectional understanding, frequently articulating key linkages between gender, class, and Indigeneity.

Drawing from feminist scholars, including frameworks common to feminist political ecology, our approach foregrounds the "gendered and relational quality of embodied environmental experience" (Banerjee and Bell 7). Further, our findings support Damayanti Banerjee and Michael Bell's notion that "the dialogue of social difference at a gendered moment immediately seeks to make connections with other moments of social difference…" (7). We find this understanding useful to enrich our appreciation of the conceptual bases many women rely on in understanding and speaking to water issues and concerns, particularly as women are often at the forefront of water related resistance and mobilization (see, for examples, Shiva; Bennett et al.), even as they are often marginalized in water policy and governance debates.

We begin with an overview of our methods and site selection before turning to the findings. While we do not have the opportunity in this short paper to draw extensively on the focus group discussions, we highlight several key themes that emerged—notably those related to the ways that women demonstrated a socially embedded, justice-oriented, and intersectional appreciation of water.

Methodology

Focus groups aim to create an open interchange, with the purpose of achieving a higher level of understanding regarding what participants see as critical to their interests in regards to a particular issue. In this case, our objective was to promote flexible dialogue surrounding relationships to water. In contrast to individual interviews, focus groups allow convergent and divergent opinions and experiences to come to the fore. Through coding and analysis, it is then possible to identify thematic patterns and outliers at the center of public discourse.

Focus group site selection

Six focus groups were conducted with women in the Canadian provinces of British Columbia and Ontario in 2013. As Gemma Dunn et al. point out, British Columbia (BC) and Ontario share important similarities and differences in terms of topography, water access, as well as historical developments and current water policy . Our aim in including sites across both provinces was to gain a broad appreciation of diverse women's perspectives in the contemporary Canadian context, while taking account of commonalities, differences, and tensions that might exist. Within both provinces, specific communities were selected from among those who are currently facing water-related challenges, including issues that have recently been highlighted in the news media. For instance, in one community there had been contamination of potable water source; in another a novel water treatment and delivery system had been introduced; and in another there was a proposal for an increased private sector role in water management.

Located on the western coast of Canada, the province of British Columbia is often perceived to be rich in freshwater endowments. Currently, British Columbians are among the largest consumers of water in the world (BC, 2010). This is in part due to the fact that many residents in metropolitan areas currently do not pay separately for their water based on usage, though water metering is currently being introduced. BC is also presently updating its nearly century-old water legislation, with recent approval (2014) of *The Water Sustainability Act*, which includes introduction of pricing, groundwater management, and other key elements. Highlighting the importance of water to BC residents, a 2010 survey by McAllister Opinion Research found that 91 percent of respondents in the province considered fresh water to be the province's most precious resource.

In the wake of highly-publicized water contamination issues (most notably the 2000 Walkerton drinking water crisis), Ontario re-structured its water governance regime over recent years towards an emphasis on watershed protection and local participatory involvement (Hania). Challenges persist across the province, including tensions related to the introduction of public-private partnerships (P3s), as well as the large proportion (almost 50%) of First Nations reserves under long-term boil water advisories (Chiefs of Ontario, 2015, a situation also true in BC). Thus, while Ontario is at the forefront of water governance innovation, it also exemplifies ongoing challenges.

Focus group structure and analysis

A total of 38 women participated across six focus groups. In most cases, focus groups were set up in partnership with community organizations (including women's groups, environmental organizations, or community centres), which facilitated the recruitment of a broad range of local residents. We also partnered with a First Nations organization in each province to gain an enriched appreciation of Indigenous women's perspectives both on and off reserve. Recruitment occurred through a combination of advertisements posted in centers, through an organization's website or blog, as well as through craigslist, and/or through word of mouth.

Focus group participants spanned 18 to 65 years of age. Employment status and profession included students, teachers, government representatives and retirees, among others. Ethnic and economic diversity was not explicitly targeted due to the open method of recruitment (with partner organizations). As well, comprehensive personal data was not required of the participants. That said, based on the responses given, there was clear diversity of income, ethnic identification, and geography across the participants. .

One person moderated all BC focus groups and another moderated the Ontario discussions, guided by a shared script of questions. The themes covered included experiences and relationships with water, health and well-being, roles and responsibilities linked to water use and management, and water marketization and pricing. Our objective was to cover a variety of water-related topics through prompting while also inviting improvisation and sharing by participants. In this way, we were able to explore the key frames that women deploy to respond to, and make sense of, on-going water governance shifts as well as current concerns and senses of water affecting their communities. Consistent with general focus group guidelines, and also aiming to encourage a diversity of ideas while permitting all voices to be heard, five to nine participants were present in each discussion.

The research team determined codes as they emerged from the transcripts, using an inductive process to allow patterns and themes to emerge. In turn, we discussed and resolved discrepancies, and developed a revised coding

structure. At this point the transcripts were read again and recoded, allowing for consistency in analysis across our sites. In the end, there were a total of 54 codes used to capture major concepts and themes from the focus groups. Apart from inability to generalize and other concerns related to focus group methods, other limitations included possibilities for selective recruitment through our study design. As well, it is important to keep in mind that while our groups were aimed at participants from the general public, one focus group in each province involved advocacy groups and participants involved in water policy and research. The modest compensation provided to offset lost work hours and/or transit costs ($40) may have also been attractive to some women, but not others.

Key Equity Dimensions Highlighted

The first major theme that emerges from the transcripts is the ways women's narratives demonstrate a socially and ecologically embedded understanding of water. By this we mean that women did not describe water governance challenges in abstracted technical or scientific language, but often highlighted social and natural interactions as key to the concerns they discussed, or their own personal biographies related to water. Related to this, a second major theme that emerges is that women highlighted equity and justice as key to their water-related understandings. As we noted in the introduction, gender was certainly present in these discussions, but women's narratives frequently emphasized class (or poverty), Indigeneity, and intergenerational equity. We devote the bulk of the remaining discussion to elucidating this socially-embedded,justice-oriented, and intersectional approach to assessing water governance challenges.

Social Embeddedness of Water

Before proceeding to provide examples, we would like to emphasize that we are not suggesting that this socio-naturally embedded appreciation is due to a "natural" or inherent connection between women and water. Instead, more consistent with feminist political ecology, we expect that women's labour-related practices, and specific gendered roles, education, or positionalities, are largely responsible for this appreciation and sensibility (cf. Harris; Ressureccion and Elmhirst). This is also not to deny the strongly held belief of Indigenous peoples and others that women do have distinctive and unique connections to water, including women's role as life-givers and caretakers of families and of water (see, for example McGregor). As we discuss throughout the analysis below, we also consider that the gendered nature of poverty, labour, social reproduction, and other key social processes are in part responsible for women's unique perspectives on water use, access, and conditions. This was indeed part of our impetus for seeking out women's specific perceptions related to water challenges in Canada.

"[A]s a First Nations person who grew up in the northwest coast … the natural resources and everything that comes from the water, the salmon, the mussels, the clams, is part of our culture and if we didn't have that, a lot of our culture would go and that's why you see all these protests."

As one example of perspectives that accent linkages both between people and between humans and the natural world, one woman (aged 35-40 years old) from Kamloops, BC described her understanding of water as linked to her Aboriginal identity, and connected to her own economic decision-making:

> *[A]s a First Nations person who grew up in the northwest coast … the natural resources and everything in there that comes from the water, the salmon, the mussels, the clams, everything that comes out of there is part of our culture and if we didn't have that a lot of our culture would go and that's why you see like all these protests and stuff up there regarding the Enbridge pipelines and development.*

A non-Aboriginal, 40-45-year-old woman from Chilliwack, BC highlights her frustration with the rejection of an embedded conception she sees in much of Western thought:

> *I don't know why we human beings think we're exempt from the web of life… I've been contemplating how world views play and all of this lately and where we're at in western society with this sort of attitude of just like total entitlement in a culture founded on dominance of other cultures and other species and landscapes and control of natural landscapes.*

Many other participants expressed their socio-naturally embedded appreciation of water with simple statements such as "Everything is linked to water" (35-40 years old woman, Thunder Bay, ON) and "Water is a part of us and everything around us the way it ebbs and flows—water is everywhere, it doesn't care for the borders and boundaries" (55-60-year-old woman, Nobleton, ON). Recalling Neimanis' notion of a reimagined feminist subjectivity related to water, here we see a strong sense that many women appreciate the role of water in connecting us, to each other, and to the broader natural world. This embedded appreciation, we argue, is also strongly linked to the frequent emphasis on specific vulnerabilities, as well as broader justice or equity concerns that were strong features of our discussions.

Equity Dimensions of Water Governance Challenges

Participants recognized that there are many who are particularly vulnerable to water-related changes, including impoverished populations, elderly persons, those with disabilities, and First Nations women. Highlighting income, for instance, participants expressed concern with pricing-related changes, particularly for those on fixed incomes: "I'm on a pension. If they put the price of water up, oh, what do I cut down on? That's just how it is on a pension, you know, you have to make decisions what you spend your money on," (60-65-year-old retired teacher, Chilliwack, BC). Income and poverty was also highlighted in discussions of water habits, as many agreed consumption is influenced directly by income. For instance, a 30-35 year-old woman from Vancouver, BC shared her concern:

> *I think that's a huge concern especially for people who are on a low income, for people who are seniors. So yeah, then it's going to be oh yeah, of course, like we have a dishwasher and we can afford to run it but that's because we're both doctors.*

As well, women in Vancouver, Nobleton and Guelph, ON discussed conservation and cost-related incentives that may not benefit lower income households, particularly if those households already use less water than their higher income counterparts. A 45-50-year-old woman from the Vancouver focus group illustrates this point through her personal experience: "I think circumstances, financial circumstances, determine how much water you use because at the moment I'm living in a cheaper apartment so I don't have a dishwasher. I don't have a (clothes) washer. I don't have a dryer. So right away I would be using less than someone in [a higher income area] for example."

Concern with vulnerable and low-income populations also was raised to highlight the imperative that government, corporations or other entities should be doing more to protect water as a broader common good (from overuse, contamination, or other threats). For instance, it was expressed that those with money could protect themselves, and buy what they needed to ensure their health (e.g. buying bottled water if needed): "People who can afford to buy water fare better." Along these lines, women in the Chilliwack and Guelph focus groups discussed the use and installation of water filtration systems in higher-income households, and the ability to buy bottled water in times of scarcity. Many times over there was general frustration, highlighting that often lower-income people are not given due consideration, or are implicitly considered less worthy of high quality water. This sentiment was clearly expressed by a woman in the Vancouver focus group: "If you make no money or you make under a certain income level, you don't deserve water. That's just ridiculous."

Related to the understanding of poverty and related equity concerns, women at all sites also suggested that water quality was generally poorer in low-income neighborhoods (a fact born out in many environmental justice studies such as Debanne and Keil, and clear from many works on First Nations water quality such as Phare or Boyd). Women also recounted their own differentiated experiences with water quality, for instance, when living in different parts of town. For example, this woman's description from the Chilliwack group was met with vociferous agreement:

> *But even going back to the different experiences like … chlorination. People who could afford it were able to buy water filtration systems for their homes… And people who couldn't, they're on chlorination. So there's definitely classes. It's very real here in Chilliwack definitely apparent that we've got poorer neighbourhoods.*

A 35-40-year-old woman from Thunder Bay shared differences she has noted in water taste across neighborhoods:

> *Even here in the city of Thunder Bay the water itself like at my household you can't really taste the chlorine. I went over to the east end over the bridge … and I took a sip of water and it was just like pure chlorine. So again from one area of the city to the other there's a big difference and we're still paying the same, it's supposed to be the same quality of water.*

Women also drew on other life experience, highlighting differences based on income, when they were renters versus homeowners, or to suggest the specific vulnerability of students who are frequently exposed to aging infrastructure.

Considering Indigeneity

Water issues are pronounced for First Nations people in many parts of the country—so much so that several commentators refer to water access and quality in Canada as a "two tiered system" (Christensen, Phare and Goucher, and Mascarenhas). Over the past year, there have been as many as 135 Drinking Water Advisories in effect in 90 First Nation communities across Canada, excluding British Columbia (Health Canada). Consistent with these realities, Aboriginal participants raised concerns related to water infrastructure and funding cuts. For instance, a 60-65-year-old woman from the Thunder Bay focus group shared her frustration related to her own reserve community:

> *I took the water training course and we talked about the legislation in that and we've been trying and trying to be as par with the provincial level but aren't even near there. And then they go, "Oh, we're cutting the funding in water." Pardon me? Aren't we supposed to have the same quality as every other Canadian in Canada?*

Noting intersections between Indigeneity and poverty, a 40-45-year-old Aboriginal woman living off-reserve in Vancouver shared:

> *They can't afford it. A lot of people on the reserves they're on fixed incomes because there's no opportunities over there. So when their water goes out they have to just rely on whatever is in the tap and take care of it themselves.*

Another participant from Vancouver talked about the conditions experienced at the reserve in Fort Simpson, BC:

> *Yeah, they still have a bad system over there. Especially during the winter time and stuff they're constantly on boiled water alert. Constantly…. And nobody would be able to afford bottled water over there. They're just boiling their water and letting it settle.*

Apart from the key challenges faced by these communities, participants also shared the wisdom and importance of Indigenous knowledge and management practices. A 30-35-year-old Aboriginal woman from Kamloops stressed the Aboriginal perspective and belief system and its incongruencies with the dominant perspective on water: "Yeah it's important when you're Aboriginal. We really are the protectors. I think we want to protect, but it's not in our control. Which means the relationship is different." Related to this, a 60-65 Aboriginal woman spoke to the importance of respect:

> *I guess we were brought up in our ways of respecting. Our religion is … based on respect, on respecting people, [respecting} Mother Earth, and respecting others and ourselves. So, again, when the values and morals are instilled in you, it's just a matter of respecting. We don't abuse it.*

There was general frustration, highlighting that often lower-income people are not given due consideration, or are implicitly considered less worthy of high quality water.…"If you make no money or you make under a certain income level, you don't deserve water. That's just ridiculous."

Taken together, these remarks suggest the ways that traditional perspectives and knowledge could be useful in Canadian water policy—a theme also underscored by a 20–25-year-old Aboriginal woman from the Thunder Bay group: "Maybe they need to look at it the way we look at it. Tradition isn't in the policy. And the people with the knowledge aren't really there to get it in."

Intergenerational Concerns

A final theme that speaks to the embedded, intersectional, and justice-oriented appreciation of water was the common invocation of intergenerational equity—the idea that we inherit the Earth from previous generations and have an obligation to pass it on in reasonable condition to future generations (Collins). Many highlighted this concern when speaking about family and the future (bringing in for instance, women's specific roles as mothers and care givers). A participant from the Kamloops focus group mused: "Really gives you something to think about for the future. If I have to pay for water I will. Like for the future generations to have good clean water then that's what we have to do." Others also expressed anxiety and concern about the implications of climate change or changing water governance and infrastructure practices

for the future. Among them, a 30-35-year-old Aboriginal woman from the Thunder Bay focus group noted: "Just seeing all the world issues with water and flooding. So as a mother I'm concerned in the long run what's going to happen, just the stories that we hear on the news, what we see with our eyes and what our elders are telling us." Another Thunder Bay participant discussed changes she has observed:

> *And myself like I grew up with water, like a lake, swimming in it and now it's like I look at the water and I don't even want my kids to go swimming in it compared to like a long time ago like I used to jump in there. Now you see like a film on top of the water. I don't want to think how bad it gets next.*"

A 50-55-year-old woman from Nobleton shared similar worries: "…like our Great Lakes they're going down. Every year they go down…. There's not going to be any more fresh water. So like it's scary." Finally, a 45-50-year-old woman from the Chilliwack group highlighted concern for the future: "It's going to be I believe one of the great issues of the future… water supply and access to water, clean water particularly. It's already being experienced all over the world so it's going to come home."

In such narratives, we see a common focus on women's role as caregivers, mothers, or "keepers of the water," all accentuating an interest in preserving water quality for the children and future generations. A mother from the Thunder Bay focus group succinctly summarized this: "Just having kids makes you more aware." Pregnancy and reproduction came up multiple times, signaling a critical window when the women were, or when they believe that women should be, more vigilant about water quality. For instance, an Aboriginal woman from the Thunder Bay focus group expressed concern about health effects from exposing a fetus to any toxin:

> *…if our kids are drinking that polluted contaminated water we're putting ourselves at risk for defects in children. Like we've always been taught about the importance of not drinking alcohol while you're pregnant but there's also like drinking poisoned water too and there could be chemicals in it that we don't know; it has effects on us*.

A 25-30-year-old woman from the Kamloops focus group shared:

> *At my house it tastes weird and it smells bad. And some times of the year it smells worse than other times. So I just buy my water and I don't want to give my son, my baby water from the tap that smells gross. So I just buy it.*

When women felt they had not successfully protected children, they also discussed feelings of worry and guilt. For example, the following statement by a 40-45-year-old woman from Chilliwack was met with high agreement:

> *What's really happening is that we're made to feel guilty. We have to buy all these things, low water, you know. Everything has to be eco-friendly. But sometimes you can't—not for me, not even my kids sometimes. It's always the buy good/feel good and the little guy pays the price.*"

Or, as another 30–35 year old mother from Thunder Bay commented: "So that's another issue there, potential issue with our water. I want to protect my kid, my family. Can't protect when it's big like that though. I can't keep my kid safe you know, like a mom wants to."

With all of these examples, it was clear that any discussion of water concerns and challenges was highly attuned to key vulnerabilities and inequities, including those related to income inequality, or an intersectional appreciation of Indigeneity, poverty, gender, age, or other dimension. While we are not surprised by these findings, as it was precisely what we expected a focus on women's position and experience would highlight, we nonetheless find the clear intersectional and justice orientation of our participants to be important, and instructive for several ongoing debates in the realm of water policy.

Discussion and Conclusions

Documenting women's specific water concerns and subjectivities has the potential to intervene in interesting ways in long-term debates related to the value of feminist approaches in the environmental realm. As Bannerjee and Bell explain, there is frequently a rejection of focus in environmental work on women in efforts to avoid essentialist or romantic views of the connection between the feminine and the "natural" world—a critique which has been levied against certain strands of ecofeminist studies (see, for example, discussion in Sturgeon; Sandilands; and Scott). In our study, engaging with women's voices did not lead to a narrow focus on gender, nor to the articulation of an essentialist "woman's perspective." Instead, women gave voice to complex subjectivities and nuanced, intersectional understandings of the justice and equity concerns raised by changing waterscapes and water governance regimes.

Adding to these discussions, we suggest that this positionality and women's subjectivity related to water emerges from women's specific societal, political, and economic positions. As such, women's water-related subjectivities emerge in relation to labouring practices (including practices of mothering or reproductive labours, or due to the fact

that gender, race, and poverty are often tightly coupled). For Canada, statistics show that women's incomes have grown steadily over the past four decades. Yet, women's incomes continue to be only about 2/3 of men's, and this trend holds across every province (Statistics Canada, 2008; 2013). As well, women are more highly represented in precarious, part-time, and poorly paid employment. These are precisely the reasons why a focus on women's specific understandings of water serves to highlight specific vulnerabilities and concerns that might accompany changing water pricing regimes, shifts in water quality, or associated challenges. We argue, in concert with others, that this orientation is important to highlight, particularly to counter techno-centric and economistic mainstream approaches common in water policy circles, and given that women and other marginalized groups and knowledges are often excluded from these discussions. Following Ahlers and Zwarteveen and related debates in feminist political ecology, we argue that a feminist approach can provide tools to decipher meaningful connections that otherwise might remain hidden within mainstream policies (including, for example, those related to neoliberalism).

While the connections between women and water, or between operations of difference, inequality, and power have long been strong themes found in work focused on the Global South, less research has focused on these issues in industrialized contexts such as Canada (Reed and Christie). Based on the rich insights revealed by the women in our focus groups, we endorse the idea that there is a strong need for more work on gender and water governance, as well as other intersectional approaches to inequality, difference, and changing socio-natures, including in contexts for the global North.

In closing, we note that our analysis related to women's narratives of contemporary water challenges in Canada gives life to elements of the new feminist subjectivity articulated by Neimanis—one that considers an embodied and embedded politics of location, as well as an intersectional approach that considers multiple axes of social difference and inequality. We learn that the lived experiences of women in several contexts in Canada, and their particular perspectives on water challenges, bolsters the proposition that "bodies are neither fully autonomous nor discrete, but rather always becoming in webs of mutual imbrication" (Neimanis 25). Our focus highlights a strong sense of mutuality and interconnection—albeit one that does not derive from a flat or essentialist notion that women are inherently connected to water. Quite the contrary, women's water-related narratives from diverse sites in Canada cement key moves in the broader feminist literature towards an intersectional and nuanced appreciation of social, political, and ecological interconnections and challenges.

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ILONA MARTONFI

Moorgraben

Where did they all go?
There are no graves.
Not a door, or hinges.
Grass and weeds.
Doors of cattle cars pushed open:
trains arrive Auschwitz.
Daily march from camp.
We stood out on the moor,
sinking up to our knees in cold mud.
Guards with dogs and guns.
By the mass grave— a pond.
Ditches, Moorgraben, and bog.
Bridge across the river.
Mosquitoes. Yellow ochre clay.
And did you pick wild nettle?
Ash threaded through with birch roots.
Earth, turf roofs.
Five days after
the train left our mountain village.
Men, women, and children
in cattle wagons.
Rejza, my daughter.
Electrified barbed wire fence,
by the pond— green frogs.
Cottonsedge, red cranberry.
Grass and weeds.
Where did they all go?
There is nothing —
Not a door, or hinges.

Ilona Martonfi is the author of three poetry books, Blue Poppy *(2009),* Black Grass *(2012), and* The Snow Kimono *(2015). Ilona has published in* Vallum, Accenti, The Fiddlhead, *and* Serai. *She is the founder/producer of The Yellow Door and Visual Arts Centre Readings, and the co-founder of Lovers and Others. She is also the recipient of the Quebec Writers' Federation 2010 Community Award.*

HOLLY DAY

The Things That Come Back When you Finally Have Time

After she was moved to the nursing home, my grandmother
began having reoccurring nightmares of being chased,
held down, raped, again and again. The night nurses had to keep
changing her medications so that she could sleep through the night
quietly, without dreams

so she wouldn't wake up the other residents. "Your grandmother's
had a hard life," said her social worker when we came to visit.
"She's a strong woman." She went on to tell us
that years before, before my mother was even born, that my grandmother
had been attacked by a neighbor, that there had been this huge
controversy regarding whether my grandmother was a slut
just asking for it, and had been leading the much-older man living next door
since she was thirteen, fourteen

or if the man, an upstanding member of the community, who ran
the only grocery store in town, really was some sort of monster
some leering thing that hurt little girls. In the end, my great-grandparents
dropped the charges against their neighbor to keep things quiet, put up
a 7-foot-tall wooden fence between the properties, just tall enough
that they couldn't see the man as he went about his yard
that he couldn't look over the fence into theirs. My grandmother

went away to work on the family farm in Wisconsin, attended the tiny
Catholic school attached to the neighboring parish
and when she came back, after high school,
the incident was never discussed again.

Sixty years later, she's having nightmares about being attacked
telling strangers about the rape we never knew about, so doped up
she doesn't recognize her own children, her grandchildren. "She can't
do without the medication right now," says the social worker
when we express concern about her rapid decline, the way
she falls asleep in her chair when we visit as though exhausted, how sad she looks.
"All we can do is hope the dreams go away
once she feels at home here."

Holly Day is a housewife and mother of two living in Minneapolis, Minnesota who teaches needlepoint classes for the Minneapolis school district and writing classes at The Loft Literary Center. Her poetry has recently appeared in The Worcester Review, Broken Pencil, and Slipstream, and she is the recipient of the 2011 Sam Ragan Poetry Prize from Barton College. Her most recent published books are Walking Twin Cities and Notenlesen für Dummies Das Pocketbuch."

JANE EATON HAMILTON

E. Coli, Walkerton

Water scours the pots. Water relieves heat waves
We drank from a sweating pitcher
The body is 90% water
On that hot afternoon her ankles swelled, and then—
When he said, "I love you, Mom"
he was telling her that he once floated happily in her water

Water falls from the skies
Through hell
Water rises cataclysmically
Don't throw out the baby
Water freezes at 0 degrees C
Water plunges over rocks and down hillsides
You're in hot water now

Water is the biggest international resource
Water is a solvent
Oil is immiscible in water
Water is tasteless and odourless
In Tanzania, children run to Jeeps begging for water
People are dying of thirst
in Haiti, the water is malarial
Women carry water jugs on their heads
You take to mah jongg like a duck to water
Many creatures swim in water
Water is a simple pleasure in a shower
You are wet behind the ears
Noodles boil in water

A child can live three days without water
Salt water is 71% of the globe
Water boils at 68 degrees C
Still water runs deep
Water is a chemical compound with the formula H20
Water can be solid or vaporous
Hydrology is its study

He would have told her
blood is thicker than water
if she hadn't been so sick
He would have said I'm sorry
But water was what he cried
when they wheeled her away

Jane Eaton Hamilton is the author, most recently, of "Love Will Burst into a Thousand Shapes." She has twice won first prize in the CBC Literary Awards (2003/2014).

ILONA MARTONFI

Clamdigger

Knowing the times of low tide
go to the flats when the tide is down
all you need is a rake

once the tides are low
go to the Hyannis Mall bookstore
across from the Holiday Inn
the air-conditioning

in the parking lot, seagulls
etched into sand

buy a book
on abusive relationships,
Getting Free

your youngest, only six
a young boy
three teenage daughters.

All you need is a rake
once the tides are low
build a sandcastle
collect mollusk shells

take coloured photographs
beach, sand dunes, seaweed algae

hide the book in your bag
under blue cotton jeans

read it in the hotel room
when he is at the indoor pool

in the evening go out for dinner
at Villa Vecchione on Main Street
beside the Pauper's Cemetery

pink wild roses
grey-shingled cottages.

Ilona Martonfi is the author of three poetry books, Blue Poppy *(2009),* Black Grass *(2012) and* The Snow Kimono *(2015). She is the founder/producer of The Yellow Door and Visual Arts Centre Readings, and the co-founder of Lovers and Others. She is also the recipient of the QWF 2010 Community Award.*

The Guardians of Conga Lagoons

Defending Land, Water and Freedom in Peru

ANA ISLA

Les gardiens des lagons Conga dans la région du Cajamarca rapportent un mouvement de justice environnementale qui a débuté en 1999 contre Yanacocha, un site minier à ciel ouvert de la Newmont Mining Corporation, Buenaventura et la Banque mondiale. Ces corporations avaient décidé d'un nouveau projet vers Mina Conga, ce qui a poussé le mouvement à intensifier son activité en 2011. Cet article montre comment la société civile a pris la défense de la terre, de l'eau et de la liberté. Les agriculteurs, les femmes et les autochtones ont participé à la lutte et ont frappé sur deux fronts. D'abord pour la défense de la terre, ensuite pour la lutte pour l'eau et la liberté. Ce qui a occasionné des poursuites de la police, la présence des militaires, un persécution fiscale, des détentions illégales la prison et la mort.

Exploitation of mineral resources since colonial times, has reduced the concentration of mineral resources in both quantity and quality. What remains are dispersed particles in low concentrated areas, which are rocky, icy, forested, and mountainous, and which make it impossible to extract minerals using traditional deep-pit mining methods and technologies. Therefore, open-pit mining is the current technological method available. Open-pit mining removes entire mountains, forests, and glaciers, with the aim of finding rocks with gold, silver, and other metallic and non-metallic minerals. Open-pit mining uses dynamite to kill the surface matter (e.g. forests, mountains, glacier covers, lakes, jalcas or springs water sources 3,000 metres above sea level). Moreover, its heavy machinery eliminates biological diversity (e.g. flora, fauna, and micro-organisms); and scars the landscape with the creation of giant craters. The shattered rock, combined with a cyanide and water mixture to remove gold, destroy ecological cycles and contaminates ecosystems, poisons the hydro resources, and pollutes the atmosphere due to the release of poisonous substances, thereby affecting all life. This process, known as lixiviation, has a strong impact on communities that live close to mining operations, as it also competes for water and energy. Cyanide lixiviation contaminates permanently, as it continues leaking into the land, water, air, etc. Changes brought by this chemical cocktail are seldom in the mind of governments or mining corporations. Abandoned mining projects, all over the world, leave a legacy of permanent water contamination from cyanide, metals, and non-metals.

In 1987, *The Brundtland Report* (World Commission on Environment and Development) entangled the international debt crisis with the ecological crisis, and suggested "sustainable development" as a means to eliminate poverty and to contain environmental disaster. At the Earth Summit in Johannesburg in 2002, mining was defined as sustainable development. The advocates of the Global Mining Initiative as sustainable development were the International Chamber of Commerce, the World Business Council for Sustainable Development, and Business Action for Sustainable Development. Thirty mining corporations and several NGOs—among them the International Union for Nature Conservancy, Conservation International, and others—sponsored this initiative. A key tactic of mining supporters is to portray mining as a way to bring investment, create jobs, and reduce poverty. In the sustainable

development (SD) paradigm, despite on-going debates and search for alternatives, economic growth remains a dominant paradigm. Development theory rests on a binary world in which subsistence economies are constructed as "undesirable" and "undignified" (Esteva). In fact, the ongoing destruction of subsistence economies is the central element in development.

Moreover, the neoliberal agenda also established globalization as an open field for corporations in which there are no legal, social, ecological, cultural, or national barriers. Bilateral free-trade treaties and agreements such as NAFTA, signed between 1995 and 2010, institutionalized neo-liberal reforms by reducing tariff and export taxes on investments. Private-sector-friendly legislation and codes regarding the rights of foreign investors were incorporated into free trade agreements, providing additional legal protection to corporations for suing governments that rescind permits for operations.

However, pressured by Indigenous activists, since 1989 the International Labour Organization Convention 169 has recognized the ancestral rights of Indigenous populations. Despite the fact that the Convention was signed by many Latin American governments, these same countries are ignoring it or are nullifying its effects (Rodriguez-Pinero Royo). In addition, "in 1999, the International Finance Corporation (IFC), the financial arm of the World Bank, created the position of Compliance Advisor Ombudsman to monitor obedience with the social and ecological conditions attached to World Bank finance" (De Echave 20). Furthermore, the United Nations General Assembly in July 2011 recognized water and sanitation as human rights, and it has an official forum on water as a vital 'commodity'. The Council of Canadians encountered the definition of water as commodity and built a movement of global scale under the slogan *Water is Life* that created an Alternative World Water Forum (Forum Alternatif Mondial de l'Eau [FAME]).[2] It fosters The Blue Planet Project that promotes "water justice based on the principles that water is a human right, a public trust, and part of the global commons."[3] Nevertheless, such initiatives continue to be only partially successful because mining can rely on unregulated conditions and voluntary compliance as the only means of ensuring corporate respect for environmental and human rights.

During the 2002 Earth Summit in Johannesburg, in the absence of a global regulatory system or international legal systems to hold multinational corporations to account for their operations in the periphery, multinational organizations were forced to address the social and environmental repercussions of the expansion of mining, and propose partial solutions. As corporations were confronted with rural and Indigenous community upheavals, they began to formulate their own regulation strategies referred to as corporate social responsibility (CSR). At the Earth Summit, in Johannesburg, CSR was added to the multi-stakeholder negotiations (MSN). The multi-stakeholders (which include governments, NGOs, and businesses) have come to realize that close relations with the communities (e.g. women, youth and children, Indigenous peoples, local authorities, workers and trade unions, scientific and technological communities, and farmers) are crucial for their operations. The concepts of CSR and MSN foster the notion that corporation and community interests are compatible (that it is a question of dollars and cents), and that each member of a community supposedly has a common interest, represented by the venture (mining), in fair negotiations. Catherine Coumans argues that in a deregulated framework there is no community right in the periphery to reject mining investments, and therefore the most tragic outcomes of mining projects occur when rural communities refuse to become stakeholders in what they perceive as the plunder of their Indigenous lands and resources (31).

In South America, the most appealing countries in terms of attracting investments in extractive resources are Peru, Colombia, Ecuador, Bolivia, and Chile because of the large land tracts Indigenous people occupy. Consequently, Indigenous peoples and peasants' local economies are under attack. For millennia, these communities have exercised control over the land, water, and livelihood that corporations now want to expropriate. Enforced by the Johannesburg Earth Summit and deregulation, communities have had little success in their efforts to get mining corporations to uphold basic concerns about their right to know the impact of the projects, and their right to reject them. Therefore, they increasingly find themselves face to face with the violence of mining operations. As a result, communities are forced to mount a political struggle for their territories as mining operations are transforming their physical, social, economic, and cultural environments. Even though the costs for local communities are high, they have no choice but to take on their own governments and mining agents, and their international backers (i.e., the World Bank, First World governments, new laws, tribunals, middle-class investors and their pension plans, lobbyists, and political parties).

The Guardians of Conga Lagoons, an environmental justice movement in the sense used here, is about recognition that Peru's economy is based on agriculture and livestock production. They understand that the future of their families will be

determined by the water quantity and quality produced by the *jalcas* (springs) at the top of the mountains. This article brings to the forefront a nucleus of resistance to mining as sustainable development by women and men, peasants and Indigenous people of Cajamarca in Peru, caught in the middle of a confrontation to defend the land and water as common, and freedom. This article will also highlight the environmental racism exhibited by a multinational corporation and in the functioning of the Peruvian state. Ecofeminists argue that racism denies the essential humanity of people. Indigenous people, similar to women, are naturalized, their land labelled "unoccupied" or "unused," and thereby easily appropriated by those who claim they can make it "productive." In this way, suffering and death are rationalized in the name of progress (Mies; Salleh).

On the one side, Yanacocha Gold Mining Corporation shifted the social and environmental costs of mining extraction onto local communities on the grounds of their existing on the periphery, being peasants, and being Indigenous. On the other side, the Peruvian state under Fujimori administration (1990-2001) passed a series of measures in favour of mining investment such as ending restrictions on remittances of profits, providing tax stability packages to foreign investors, guaranteeing mining companies exclusive control of land use, and facilitating entry to mineral deposits, among other advantages. Alan Garcia, President of Peru (2006-2011), unabashedly summed up the racism of the State when he called Indigenous people "Perros del Hortelano" and stated that Indigenous people are "not first class citizens" (*Democracy Now*). Garcia's administration embarked on territorial reordering, invented new decrees and derogated laws that supported ancestral land claims and rural communities (Isla). His administration ignored socio-environmental conflicts and established relationships with mining corporations based on bribery. Corporations benefit from corruption expressed on the *obolo minero* (one cent payment) (Campodonico). *Obolo minero* stipulated that mining corporations should pay 3.75 percent of their profits in royalties. Since this payment was voluntary, several corporations made no contribution whatsoever. If taxes had been paid, instead of *obolo minero,*, the government would have received billions of dollars more than what was collected by passing this hat. During the last presidential elections in 2011, the new president Ollanta Humala promised to change the racist state politics that deny social justice and destroy nature. In Cajamarca, referring to the Conga Mining Project, he promised to respect the community decision of "no mining." Instead, after the election, he gave this mining a green light and went after anti-mining communities with bullets and bombs, leaving Cajamarca's population feeling betrayed, but not necessarily disempowered. These "invaded" communities understand that civil unrest is the only option left to those who do not want mining in their locality.

Communities have had little success in their efforts to get mining corporations to uphold basic concerns about their right to know the impact of the projects, and their right to reject them. Therefore, they increasingly find themselves face to face with the violence of mining operations.

Defending Land: The Case of Yanacocha Gold Mining

Yanacocha began operating in 1992, in the region of Cajamarca, in Northern Peru. It is owned by a partnership between the Peruvian mining group Buenaventura, Newmont Mining Corporation of Nevada (US), and the International Finance Corporation of the World Bank.

Yanacocha mining operations has already produced environmental liabilities due to the disproportionate use of space and the unpaid socio-environmental damages. Professor Jose Perez Mundaca (*Conflicto Minero*), documented the struggle between Yanacocha mining and the people in Cajamarca. He shows that Yanacocha has brought several negative changes. Socially, Yanacocha turned the city of Cajamarca into a camp for the mine, transforming the city into an entertainment area for miners, and creating social conflict. In the rural areas, it impaired the environment of the peasants by buying their land and/or rendering it infertile due to contamination. Economically, the mining company enjoys exorbitant profits due to the high quality of the ore deposit, low costs of production, and tax exemptions. For instance, Yanacocha production costs are extremely low due to the use of state infrastructure (roads) among other things. For 2001, Chip Cummins estimated this cost at 85 dollars per

ounce of gold, compared to the 212 dollars in expenditure that same year, for Newmont in Nevada, United States. Politically, Yanacocha creates an economy of enclave, where decisions are made in the U.S. as its product destination is the foreign market. Its influence has penetrated most of Peru's institutions and organizations, such as ministries municipalities, NGOs, Chamber of Commerce, universities, and the Catholic Church. Geographically, the open-pit system means the removal of huge amounts of land mixed with huge amounts of cyanide, at river and lake sources. Not only was the ground removed and the water contaminated, several hills and lagoons were literally demolished. Environmentally, Yanacocha, due to its magnitude and its location at the source of several streams of regional importance, has generated considerable negative impacts on drinking water, watershed resources, and supply of water for irrigation. The hydrology is rain-fed, nourishing high-altitude grasslands *jalcas* (lakes at an altitude between 3,500 and 4,000 metres above sea level), as well as alpine lakes and wetlands, or bofedales. These lakes and wetlands are the sources of all the streams, rivers, and drinking water for the surrounding areas, including most of Cajamarca's 250,000 residents.

These impacts of Yanacocha mine have generated general resistance that began in Cerro Quillish.

The Guardians of Cerro Quillish: First Stage of Environmental Justice Movement 1999-2010

The first stage of the conflict occured in the immediate rural surroundings of the mineral deposit, such as Porcón. This town is located at km. 14 of the highway, and Yanacocha mine is at km. 24. But if you draw a straight line between the two, the mine is four or five kilometres away from Porcón. People from this town can hear the miners working 24 hours a day. The main actors during this first stage of resistance against the mining corporation were the farmers that the company bought land from at undervalued prices, who initiated a struggle for fair payment for their land and their incorporation as workers to the mine.

Nelida from Porcón says,

> *My father was one of the landowners in Quilish. He did highland agriculture. In 1997, he sold 23 hectares of land for S/. 3,900 (CAD$ 1500). This represents S/. 169 (CAD$ 65) per ha. He was forced to sell his property to the mine because he was informed that if he did not sell the land the state was going to confiscate it without paying him a cent. When he sold the land, the company told him that they would give him work. The mine employed him for three months at minimum wage, and then they fired him.*

She adds,

> *Mining authorities have identified the families who are against mining. They call us backwards, because they say we oppose investment and progress. To capture the opposition, the mine has two strategies. First, some people, including women, are employed for a few months, then they are fired. When they are dismissed, they distance themselves from the community and do not want to participate in the struggle, because they are ashamed of having sold out to the mine. Second, the miners believe that the mountains are not alive and are there to be crushed. However, for us, a mountain means a lot. It is our protector, our guardian, it is what gives us water, medicine, and it is our company.... Miners do not realize that by destroying our mountains, they are devastating us as well as themselves.* (Nelida).

This struggle intensified in June 2000 when, in a small town called Choropampa, 151 kilograms of liquid mercury spilled over a 40 kilometre wide area, contaminating three mountain villages, including Choropampa. Some young people began picking the mercury up with their hands—to disastrous effect. Campesinos learned that contamination kills. "More than 900 people were poisoned from the spill" (Cabellos and Boyd). In an effort to push the company to take responsibility for the health damage, headed by the town's mayor, the villagers blocked the road that connects Cajamarca to Yanacocha. After negotiations between the mine and the community, some Choropampa residents signed individual compensations. Others sued Newmont in the United States Federal District Court in Denver, in 2001 (Johnson and Caceres). Years after the mercury spill in the villages of San Juan, Magdalena, and Choropampa, the health of the population has not been restored, nor do they have adequate medical care (GRUFIDES).

Professor Perez *(Conflicto Minero)* recounts that during the peasant struggle in Porcón, Marco Arana, a parish priest of Porcón, Nilton Deza, a biologist of the UNC, and Reinhardt Seifert, a German engineer resident in Cajamarca organized the environmentalist association ECOVIDA in 1999. It led the anti-mining opposition. Cerro Quilish became the focus of conflict as it feeds the Quillish, Porcón and Grande Rivers. The struggle was intensified after the mercury spill. Since 2001, the opposition against Yanacocha has become a movement in which varied forms of struggle defend health and life from its contamination. The move-

ment organized local, provincial, and regional standstills in defence of the environment; it resorted to a legal and judicial lawsuit against Yanacocha mine after the mercury spill; and municipal ordinances were passed to protect the hills. For instance, the Provincial Municipality of Cajamarca declared Cerro Quilish as a Protected Area; committees advocating the protection of the area at different levels were organized, such as FARC (Frente Amplio Regional de Cajamarca), FDI (Frente de Defensa de los Intereses, Ecologia y Medio Ambiente de Cajamarca); congresses were organized to discuss the environmental impacts and sustainability such as First Departmental Congress in Bambamarca (Primer Congreso Departamental); new roles for old organizations appeared such as *rondas campesinas*; pilgrimages to the aquifers hills threatened by mining were organized; professional bodies such as the College of Physicians, Biologists, and Engineers declared themselves against mining; Sunday speeches were organized in the atrium of the Cathedral of the city of Cajamarca.

Nongovernmental organizations (NGOS), such as Asociación de Defensa y Educación Ambiental (ADEA) (Association for the Defence and Environmental Education), hired specialists to assess the Environmental Impact Study (EIS) of Yanacocha, in particular the water sources in Quillish and Porcón Rivers. This study found "iron and aluminium" beyond the values allowed by the General Law of water for human consumption, agriculture and livestock (Perez, *Conflicto Minero* 153). Regarding water contamination, Nelida says,

> *Women are very aware of the water problem, because we are in the kitchen, we have to do laundry, and if there is no water we have to find it somewhere for the animals and the family. We know that polluted water is linked to infertility in women and animals. Women can no longer have children, if they do, some of them are ill. For instance, there is a six-year-old child who was born stunted. The* cuys *(guinea pigs) and the cattle are sometimes stillborn or born deformed. Two years ago my uncle had a cow that her offspring came out deformed as the head of a duck and was stillborn.*

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With the publication of the results of the EIS, ADEA and other environmental groups pressured the central government authorities to take corrective actions and threatened the government with a departmental strike. This confrontation has escalated since 2011 when the owners of Yanacocha hoped to extend their mining project to what has been denominated Conga Mining.

Conga Mining Projects

Conga Mining project is several times larger than the initial Yanacocha mine. The Conga project is presented as one mine project though it proposes the installation of nine more mining projects in this region.[4] Plans would consume 3,069 hectares of land to extract the gold and copper that lies beneath, and would affect between 3,000-16,000 hectares of fragile mountaintop wetlands including numerous lakes, rivers, and marshes that supply the region's drinking water (Bernard and Cupolo, March, 2012). According to Newmont, "The Conga Project in Peru involves surface mining of a large copper porphyry deposit also containing gold that is located 24 kilometres northeast our Yanacocha Gold Mine..[5]

The grabbing of land and water are inseparable. According to Fidel Torres and Marlene Castillo, in the immediate area surrounding the operations of the Project Conga, close to 700 *jalcas* (springs), 96% with flow rates important for agricultural and human use, have been documented. Of these, 398 (59 percent) are between 3,500 and 4,000 metres above sea level; 133 (19.7 percent) between 3500 and 3000; and 145 (21.4 percent) between 3000 and 2500 metres above sea level. There is a complex system of underground water flows connected with the above ground water that makes up the aquifer in the area. *Jalcas* or spring water sources are common spaces controlled democratically by peasants living in the area who use the water and are organized in *Junta de Regantes (Collective Association of Water Users)*. They maintain the ecological health of the aquifers and the equitable distribution of its benefits around the knowledge of the dynamic of the water. This social pact

is respected by its membership, and it is around this community knowledge that the environmental justice movement is organized.

According to the Internacional Institute on Law and Society, this mega-project would directly affect peasant communities and Ronderos Campesinos, which apply to them the rights and benefits that correspond to the Indigenous peoples, by constitutional and legal mandate (Constitution, arts. 89, 149; 4th DFT) Law of Ronderos Campesinos, art. 1; Convention 169 of the ILO on Indigenous and tribal peoples in the countries independent; United Nations Declaration on the rights of Indigenous peoples; and doctrine and jurisprudence of the IACHR. (IILS 1)

Professor Wilder Sanchez maintains that:

> *The Conga project is unworkable because it is located at an altitude ranging from the 3,700 to 4,262 meters above sea level, at the headwaters of five river basins: 1) Jadibamba River; 2) Chugurmayo River and 3) Chirimayo River (both tributaries of the Sendamal, which is attached below with the Jadibamba, originating La Llanga River); (4) Chaillhuagon River, which feeds Rio Grande and Chonta River; (5) Toromacho Creek, which feeds the Pachachaca River and Llaucano River. Three large river basins will suffer severe impacts: the Rio La Llanga, of Celendín, which irrigates the Valley of Llanguat and flows into the Marañón; of the Llaucano River, which irrigates the valleys of Bambamarca and Chota, and that of the Cajamarquino River, which irrigates the valleys of Cajamarca, Llacanora, Namora, Matara and San Marcos.*

Further, he states: "The corporation's plans to drain and extract gold from two of the most important lagoons and use three lagoons as a landfill of tailings and substances toxic.

Since the majority of people in Cajamarca fiercely oppose this six billion dollar project, the Peruvian national police and the Peruvian army—on orders from the central government—have heavily oppressed their resistance. As a result, they have suffered: declaration of emergency, police and military presence, repression, harassment, tear gas, burning of camps close to the lagoons, police monitoring, fiscal persecution, attacks, illegal detentions, blows; the death of five people, including a minor, and leaving a *rondero* paraplegic and another without sight.

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Defending Water As Common – ¡*Conga No Va!*

Professor Jose Perez (*Agua-Procesos*), argues that until 1980, the highlands and *jalcas* were commons, that is, open to common use for grazing livestock and subsistence agriculture. The impact of peasant agriculture was minimal because they use organic fertilizer. However, between 1987 and 2007 there was a loss of 75,454 ha. of *jalca* mainly due to two factors: 1) the expansion of agricultural and livestock derived by the demand of multinational factories of milk (PERULAC now INCALAC, and GLORIA S.A.); and (2) the mining area of Yanacocha, which removed several thousand hectares of land in the area of the jalca. It mixed water with cyanide degrading the soil, and contaminating the water. All these processes have meant greater pressure on the soil with damaging effects on the environment in general and water in particular. In addition, reforestation projects by the international cooperation through the planting of eucalyptus and pine trees created new water problems. Instead of sowing water, eucalyptus consumed water from the *puquios* (smaller areas of fresh water) and *jalcas*. Finally, since 2000, they now plant trees that are native species. FONCODES has also built reservoirs to store water and CARITAS has built family wells.

So how will Conga mining affect water quality and quantity? In an interview with Professor Wilder Sanchez, he states that:

> *Conga Projects will draw at least six million tons of wetlands (similar to marsh or swamp) that today occupy 103 Ha., thus destroying the water sponge that stores water from rain and mist that filters it slowly to the lakes, streams, and groundwater that give rise to the springs. Since there are several mining projects, the cumulative impact of craters*

will destroy the groundwater and seriously alter the normal flow of the hydro-geological system; due to its huge depth will cause the disappearance of the springs and other lakes in the surrounding area, and contaminate groundwater with sediments, heavy metals and acid water infiltration between the rocks removed.

In addition, the water can be contaminated with chlorine by-products. Chlorine is used to treat gold mine wastewater and remove cyanide, which helps extract gold from mining ore in a process called heap leaching. The city's water treatment systems are currently inadequate to remove these by-products, which can include the carcinogen THM (trihalomethane).[6]

Professional and community knowledge added to the protests. On September 29, 2011, a strike took place in eight rural areas (Namococha, Quengorio Alto, El Alumbre, Corralpampa, San Antonio, and others); on October 14, 2011, another strike took place, this time in Encañada; then the Cajamarca Regional Government called to a Regional Stoppage on November 9, 2011; and on November 24, 2011, several other strikes were organized in the Region of Cajamarca.

As the protests increased, conflicts emerged at every level of government. At the national government, Conga has removed two Government Prime Ministers: Lerner and Valdez and several Ministers and Vice-Ministers because they confronted the protest with bullets which created national unrest.

In this national disagreement, the region of Cajamarca elected as Regional President a Communist Party Patria Roja leader who had not been corrupted or intimidated by Yanacocha. His policy defends the headwaters of watersheds, prohibits mining operations, guarantees the right to defend the water resources, and supports the defence of ecosystems as commons. In an interview registered by Bernard and Cupolo ("Cajamarca"), the vice-president of Cajamarca region said:

In June of 2011, we (the Regional Government) visited the lagoons on the Conga site to do a general overview of the land and found its ecosystems to be too fragile for mining activities. Shortly after, we reviewed the environmental impact study (EIS) that approved the project in 2010 (during Alan Garcia administration) and found serious deficiencies. As the protests became more and more frequent, we felt obligated to respond to our resident's concerns and represent their voice so we put together the 036 regional ordinance.

But on April 17, 2012, Peru's Constitutional Tribunal ruled against Ordinance 036. The court said Cajamarca government officials overstepped their powers by making regulations against the mining project (Bernard and Cupolo "Cajamarca"). Following this decision, the central government and the corporations demanded prison for the regional president of Cajamarca.

The water struggle in this region is at every level. Interviews with women in Cajamarca city told me that their home in the city only has running water for as little as a few hours per day due to ongoing mining in the headwaters of the Rio Grande. They have to wake up before three or four a.m. to collect water if they want to cook or take showers. Therefore, water pollution has made women play an important role in the process of *Conga No Va!* despite the fact that women in the mountains, did not have a tradition of participating in the protests. The defence of water, in the year 2012, made visible the participation of the peasant woman, the professional women, and the Sisters of St. Francis. For instance, on June 19, 2012, pregnant women from the region marched on the streets against Conga mining.[7] These women have been playing central roles in deflecting confrontations. During moments of tension between the police and the men, they physically put themselves in between the two to stop the violence. In other situations, women rescued their men from the hands of the police.

The Guardians of the Lagoons: Second Stage of the Environmental Justice Movement 2011-2014

Patria Roja facilitated the work of ecologists organized in ECOVIDA. In the rural area, this political party provided the critical mass through their teachers' organizations—SUTEC (Sindicato Unico de Trabajadores de la Educación de Cajamarca)—and its organization of *ronderos campesinos.* SUTEC and ECOVIDA created the "Front for the Defence of the Interests, Ecology and Environment in Cajamarca" (FDI stands for Frente de Defensa de los Intereses, Ecologia y Medio Ambiente de Cajamarca) and organized the First Departmental Congress in Bambamarca. At this congress, Nelida from Porcón, who attended it, says,

Campesinos in the countryside, who survive mainly through agriculture and cattle rearing, have reported high levels of animal deformities, huge amounts of fish washing up dead, a severe water shortage leaving them unable to irrigate their crops, skin deformities on themselves and their children, and unusually high rates of cancer and birth defects.

As new groups joined the struggle, FDI changed into FUD (Frente Unico

de Defensa de la Vida y el Medio Ambiente de Cajamarca), then several other struggle fronts were organized, among them Frente de Defensa de Cajamarca (FDC), Frente de Defensa Ambiental de Cajamarca (FDAC). These organizations educate, organize and mobilize the people to defend their rights.

Since October 8, 2012, Bambamarca's *ronderos* (a peasant institution that provides security in rural areas) are taking care of the lakes of Mamacocha, Mishacocha, Laguna Negra, and Laguna Seca, while in Celendín, peasants, ronderos and teachers are guarding lakes of Perol and Azul.

The teachers in Celendín and *ronderos* in Bambamarca are the backbone of the environmental justice movement in the region. I conducted several interviews with them in Bambamarca and Celendin.

In Bambamarca, Eddy Benavides, president of the Frente de Defensa de la Provincia de Bambamarca (FDPB) (Defence Front of the Province of Bambamarca) stated:

> *I represent FDPB in the Frente de Defensa de Cajamarca (FDC), which is a conglomerate of organizations that defend the natural resources and the water resources. We are well organized, well prepared and cannot be stopped by anyone. You know why? Because apart from the consciousness that we have acquired, we have deep wounds that were caused by the Socabón (deep-pit) mining in Hualgayoc, 50 years ago. These corporations have environmental liabilities as two rivers (Tingo Maigasbamba and Arazcorge Hualgayoc) are dead, and there is a lack of water. Now we only have two living rivers (Yaucano and Pomagon) that come from the lakes of Conga. But in spite of that, the Government has accepted two new open-pit mining projects in our area. The amount of water used for leaching is enormous. Water for mining is like blood to the body. In essence, our fight is for the defence of water, life, and the future of our peoples. So, we are not going to surrender ever. This struggle is emblematic in Bambamarca.*

My first question was about what are *rondas campesinas or ronderos*. Benavides commented that:

> *The birth of the* rondas campesinas *was in Quillamarca–Chota and one year later in San Antonio, and Bambamarca. RCs in San Antonio is the second iteration throughout Peru.* Rondas campesinas *are legally recognized in the Constitution. Rondas started more or less 36 years ago in order to stop the* abigeato *(land and livestock theft). The role of the* rondas campesinas *was to bring justice to the rural community. Justice was a result of a discussion of the case directly by the claimant and the respondent in front of* ronderos. *The application of justice is fast and free, because it is community justice. In an hour we solved land disputes that had sometimes taken several years in courts. But there are times that the case should go to the Prosecutor. In the countryside, rondas campesinas expanded to resolve issues of injustice, be it land, deaths, violence against women etc. With the destruction of land and water, a new role for the rondas campesinas emerged. The peasant is very intelligent Benavides says, whereas, if before "the role of the RCs was to exterminate the small thieves (*abigeos*), now our role is to capture and punish the big thieves (miners)."*

Benavides argued that FDC knew of the possible destruction of the lakes, but that the rest of the peasants did not know. He sustains that:

> *Conga was going to complete the looting performed by Yanacocha if, the peasants and ronderos did not go to the lakes. It was only when peasant and ronderos got to the lakes and saw the great wonders we have, that we finally understood. We now have a better reading of how mining destroys the water heads. And this awareness makes peasants and ronderos travel to all the villages to inform and build this solid popular mass.*

In Bambamarca, *rondas campesinas* have provincial, district, zonal, and base committees. I interviewed three Bambamarca women *ronderas*, who actively participated in all sorts of things, from counting how many people there are in each town (demographic work), supervising government programs to determine whether they are working properly (i.e., food programs), to solving violence against women and organizing the patrol schedule. The agendas of men and women *ronderas* are the same, but women have emphasized legal issues to defend land, pensions for children, escaping domestic violence, and to seek allies. The role of women in the Assemblies is to bring order and punish the guilty. The women have argued that the men in Bamabamarca have changed. Before *rondas campesinas*, the men in their homes and the police on the streets were sexist. They were afraid of both. Since women entered the ranks of ronderas, men in their households say, "Go to your organization and I will stay here with the children. When you return let me know what agreements you made." In this sense, the women's lives have become more equitable in their homes as well as on the streets, as they now work in cooperation with the police and the

judicial system. Barbarita says:

> *Las Ronderas are organized from Bambamarca city to small villages in order to defend their community. Our authority comes from the community assembly that elected us.* Ronderas *are women from 16 to 60 years of age. Women* ronderas *patrol nightly with men. We do not have weapons. We walk with sticks and a penca to punish the bad of society. We never attack but we do defend ourselves.*

Barbarita, articulates that…

> *[S]ince November 24, 2012, the* Ronderos/as *are taking care of the lakes to prevent the mining industry from starting any of its work. The miners are building two Reservoirs—Chailhuagon and Perol—to stop us from using our lakes. On the day miners come and bring their machinery all the farmers stop working and go up to surround the lakes. The lakes are almost 4,000 m. above sea level and it is cold there. We take turns to look after them. In an organized manner, we have installed ourselves around the lakes with plastic tarps that cover us from the rain and night. Since a number of members have to work every day for their livelihood, each Wednesday about 40 community members from each community go to the lakes and come back on Sunday. Others leave on Sunday and return on Wednesday. So, all the members of the different communities are involved in the care of our lakes. The women in general are responsible for cooking the food, either* fiambre*-style or communal pot. But the purchasing of food is taken care of by all community members. By taking care of the lakes, the peasant wins, gains authority and earns respect. For us water is life. We will win, because this fight is for justice, so that we can leave a future for our children. The Rondas are united and it will be very difficult for the miners to defeat us. They know that we are in the thousands.*

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Maria adds:

> *For women, the* rondas *have been our university where we learn. Women were the most devalued being until we joined the* rondas. *We did not know how to read or write, we did not have identification (DNI), and we were not registered as citizens anywhere. We would die and it was not known who had formally died. With the support of men, in our organization of* rondas campesinas, *women have learned to speak, defend themselves, and gain authority.*

Maria argues:

> *Since ronderos declared mining as stealing, and as an activity against nature and people, we are more active. For instance, when the mining industry entered Huambamarca, which is a livestock area, we organized and seized their cars and personnel. In one car, we found some mining personnel. We made them do rounds, without shoes, for five hours, from hamlet to hamlet. They were carrying signs that read we are miners, delinquents; we killed the waters, children, and pregnant moms. At the end of the walk all those workers vowed to never return to this town.*

As the mining dispute grows, the Peruvian government wants to seize the *Ronderos'* functions. For instance, the Ministry of the Interior has taken the power of some *rondas campesinas* away through the Ley de Rondas. The government has been trying to neutralize the autonomy of the *rondas campesinas.* But, in Bambamarca, the government and the corporation have not succeeded in fracturing the rondas and they continue to be autonomous. However Edy Benavides says not to confuse *Rondas* in Cajamarca as "currently there are two types of *rondas*:

> 1) The real *Rondas Campesinas* led by people who have *rondado* or were born in peasant communities; and
> 2) The false *ronda* such as the *Federación de Rondas Campesinas* organized by the mining companies and it has no history. They are working with the government, particularly the *Ministerio del Interior*. (Benavides)

I also interviewed ten members from the Plataforma Inter-institucional Celendina (PIC), who are teachers, musicians, and peasants. Milton Sanchez states that:

The organization of the guardian of lagoons was not easy. The mining company argued that Bambamarca only wanted more money from mining. To learn more, we went to Bambamarca where we were told that they were not going anywhere if we do not first resolve the boundary problems. Since Bambamarca is the major force, we went to FDAC for help. This organization proposed encounters to discuss mining in our backyards. A first encounter took place in Celendín. At least 50 leaders from all provinces of Cajamarca met in the Parish House, where we wrote our First Manifesto, "The Charter of Celendín." It prohibited mining activities in the area of Pozo Seco, Lagunas de Alto Peru in San Pablo; Minas Conga in Celendín; Mogol, El Vaquero, El Clarinero, Colesmayo in San Marcos; Tantahuatay in Hualgayoc; La Zanja in Santa Cruz; La Shacsha in Baños del Inca; Cerro Negro and Quillish in Cajamarca (San Pablo Declaration, November 20-21, 2011). At this meeting, we also decided to have meetings in every town so that people would become familiar with the problems.

Sanchez adds that:

The second meeting was in San Marcos, in March 2011. People in San Marcos said, "our rivers also are born up above, thus it is also our struggle." At this meeting, we decided to contact the Regional President, who had been in office for three months. We sent two letters that the Regional President did not respond to. Consequently, we decided to convene ourselves and go to the Regional Government. Upon the arrival of 80 leaders, we sat in the Auditorium. The President refused to meet us, but the Regional Vice President, who is from Celendín, came out to meet us. He told us that the President was in Chota Province, but when he heard we were going to occupy the place and that we would not move until the President met with us, he arrived in five minutes. The Regional President, Gregorio Santos, was a rondero in San Marcos. A rondero peasant said to him, "Goyo, remember when we took care of the lakes in San Marcos? Remember we slept there and watched the stars together?" He remembered the episode and agreed that we had to do an inspection of the lakes. We went to do an inspection of the watersheds with the Regional Vice President [described above]. Then we requested a review of the EIA, which reveals details on what they will do to the headwaters of the watershed.

After this episode, we had the Third Interprovincial Encounter in Bambamarca, where eleven out of thirteen provinces attended. There Gregorio Santos, the Regional President of Cajamarca, realized the magnitude of the movement and formed a Frente de Defensa Regional (FDR) with members of his party. Milton Sanchez stated:

In Celendin, we were only three members aware of the Conga Mining Project. Celendín is where more than 90 percent of the Conga project could take place. To expand the knowledge, we decided to have a forum. After the forum, in February 2011, PIC [Inter-institutional Celendín Platform (ICP)] was born. As the forum was a success, all in Celendín, including newspapers, began to talk about Conga. The Ronda Campesinas in Celendín joined after learning the experiences in Hualgayoc.

"When we left the tent we saw in the hills hundreds of people from different villages that had come walking to reject the project. But they were intimidated by the amount of police that they had never seen. We returned home indignant."

Sanchez recalled their first encounter with mining authorities in Encañada, a province of Cajamarca, during its first EIA presentation.

The mining company released their first EIA in an assembly. For it, corporations took the workers and their families in dump trucks and trucks. On one platform of a tent was located the staff of the Ministry of Energy and Mines, and the mining executives. In another tent there were their workers. Over a thousand police surrounded the two spaces of the auditoriums where there were about 5,000 people attending. Without an

invitation, 17 of us arrived in a van to the assembly. Government and corporation personnel tried not to let us in the auditorium where the authorities were located. But we prevailed. I was allowed to ask one question to the mining company. And the question was what do you mean when you say that the lakes will be moved? The response was that the lakes were going to be moved from one place to another. When we left the tent we saw in the hills hundreds of people from different villages that had come walking to reject the project. But they were intimidated by the amount of police that they had never seen. We returned home indignant.

Sanchez continued with his account:

With the help of GRUFIDES and the regional government, we learned that the lakes would disappear and become open pits; other lakes would be converted into their landfills; that the dimensions that they referred to were enormous and they would destroy our water. We started to ask why would mining commit such cruelty against nature and people. After this information, we went to the lakes, we photographed them, and we put them on the Internet. When we became familiar with the lakes we realized that they were part of the ecosystem in which we live, that we were interconnected, and we began to love our lakes. That's where magically the lakes were born, because we do not have snowcaps, we have jalcas. *We learned that what one does not know ones does not defend.*

He further commented,

The work we did had negative effects on the mining project. When the company released its EIA in Celendín it realized that its acceptance level had dropped dramatically, and it start giving backpacks, jackets, hats, and caps in the schools. (M. Sanchez).

The movement initiated another regional strike. Meanwhile the offensive from the central government against the protests increased. On December 3, 2011, the central government decreed a State of Emergency in four provinces (Cajamarca, Celendín, Hualgayoc, and Contumaza). The following day, on December 4, the government sent their Ministers to talk with the five provinces. Sanchez informed us that:

Prime Minister Valdez came first to say who could come in to talk and who could not. In Celendín, we decided that if any of us were unable to talk in there nobody would go in. In the end, we all were accepted and went in. As a representative of the Platform I made three points:
1) To review the EIA,
2) To do an audit of Yanacocha,
3) That Conga should be presented as nine projects in the Headwaters of the Watershed, instead of one as it is presented. Thus, we want to know what will be the impact of the nine projects, not just one.

The government rejected any discussion on these three points. Here government representatives say the first thing you need to do is to finish the strike. We responded that we do not make decisions; that we only represent the will of the people. Thus, we requested time to go to the lakes to ask our constituents opinion. The government rejected our proposition, instead it says that if we did not sign an Act of Surrender would invoke a State of Emergency and we were not allowed to leave. At the end of the negotiation, we were allowed to leave, and we hid. Since we could not do anything from hiding, we made contact with the Congressman of Cajamarca and requested a session in the Congress. Wilfredo Saavedra from FDAC and I from PIC went to the Congress. On December 6, 2011, we got five minutes to expose the issue, and to explain what Conga meant for us. Upon leaving the Congress, the press surrounded us to ask questions to Saavedra to whom the government gave leadership and had directed its attacks, because he was in jail accused of terrorism, and the government wanted to equate the water movement with terrorism. When we advanced half a block, State Security came and took us to the DIRCOTE (National Counter Terrorism Security). We spent ten hours in DIRCOTE until ten Congressmen came and stayed with us until they let us go.

The National March for the Water, and the Second Regional Strike

Cajamarca region rose up in defence of water, its economy, its dignity, and aspirations. The Marcha por el Agua (March for Water) was convened to take place on February 1st, 2012, by the Fronts of Defence against mining, by men and women of the city and the countryside, from Celendín, Bambamarca, San Marcos, San Pablo and Cajamarca, and from other inland areas of Cajamarca. Marco Arana, director of GRUFIDES, led the protest. A national announcement was made to join the Conga movement because the conflict had taken on national dimensions. People were mobilized in other regions such as Cuzco, Arequipa, and Piura.

The March demanded the following from the central government of Peru:

•respect for the rights of peoples, to prior and informed consultation in strict observance of the 196 International Convention of the ILO;
•compliance with international treaties and national laws, with respect to the conservation of fragile ecosystems;
•protection and conservation of the headwaters of the basin, as water springs and sources;
•return of powers of municipal and regional institutions to regulate mining activities on a large scale and available to the territory;
•recognition of water as a human right;
•requirement to not have anymore, open-pit mining, and, worse, with cyanide and mercury.

Eddy Benavides stated:

In Bambamarca, we began the March for Water from the lakes. People were joining as the march passed by the districts affected by mining (Choropampa, Chilete, Yonan (Tembladera) and the Village Ciudad de Dios). By the time the march arrived at the border between Cajamarca and La Libertad, thousands of women and men from other regions, such as Amazonas, San Martin, Piura, Lambayeque, and Ancash gathered together and marched toward Lima, the Capital city. We arrived to Lima, on February 10 in what we called ten wonderful days of solidarity.

Milton Sanchez stated,

In Celendín about 3,000 [people] were brought together for the March. People in Cajamarca were waiting for us to join the march to Lima. We arranged strategies, we thought the police at some point was going to bomb us, so people had to reorganize themselves by looking for the location of the flags of their villages. In one town, Celendín's flag broke. I stood in one place while a lady sewed the flag. While I was waiting the people from all walks of life started asking about our struggle. By listening to what we were doing, people brought us food and water. One lady told me that she had nothing to give, but that we took her daughter with us, and the young lady accompanied us for a stretch of the walk. In our walk we received gifts, pharmacies gave us throat medicine, shoemakers gave us shoes for those whose shoes had been worn out on the road. By the time we arrived in Lima, we were 40,000 people. On the way thousands were joined in. That march made millions of Peruvians aware of our struggle.

Maria from Bambamarca shared some insights about the March:

We, women with our families walked to Lima. We were stimulated to see our leaders walking without break. Women with their young children went by bus, but in the villages and cities we walked the streets asking people to accompany us to Lima. I walked until my shoes fell apart. On our walk the villages would get up to greet us, they would give us food, water, clothes, shoes, etc. The solidarity of the villages gave us encouragement to continue. While I walked, I thought, 'it is our life that is at stake, because our villages are agricultural and livestock producers. If Conga destroys our spring waters, just like Yanacocha had already done to another part of our land, we are condemned to death. For example, we use the water directly from the lakes to irrigate our lands, for our kitchens and for our animals. These lakes do not require any work, because they are there only to give life. For us, it is cruel that corporations want to destroy our waters that require no financial investment from the government. So for us Conga No Va! means that our own life is at stake. We, women think not only of ourselves, but also of mothers and their children, the children of our daughters, and so on. It would be cruel to leave them with nothing.

After the March, Celendín and Bambamarca organized the Comando Unitario de Lucha (CUL). On March 31, 2012, the National Assembly of the Peoples in Celendín, hosted by the local *rondas campesinas*, convened a Permanent Regional Strike. The Second Regional indefinite strike was organized in the provinces of Cajamarca, Hualgayoc, Celendín, San Pablo, San Marcos, and other areas. It began on May 31, 2012, with mass demonstrations, rallies, candlelight vigils, and soup kitchens. In the city of Cajamarca, at Plaza Bolognesi, police lashed out against the women who were preparing the common pot. They emptied the contents of the pots, which contained the food for peasants who came from other areas, and then beat those peasants. Groups in favour of mining also organized a "March for the peace and development of Cajamarca," and declared that it was looking for a dialogue about the development of one of the poorest areas of the country and in rejection of the guilds, which were against the Conga project.[8] According to Milton Sanchez,

In Celendín, the Mayor was in support of mining; to find an excuse to end our strike, the Mayor sent people to burn part of a municipal

office with the purpose of accusing us as terrorists. On July 3, 2012, after 34 days of strike, helicopters shooting from the air at protesters confronted a march on the public plaza. In this mass killing four members of Celendín died (Antonio Joselito Sanchez Huaman, 29; Faustino Silva Sanchez, 35; Cesar Medina Aguilar, 16; and Paulino Leonterio Garcia Rojas, 48), and 200 of us took refuge in the Virgen del Carmen Church and other went to the lakes. Nineteen were arrested on the street and taken to Chiclayo city for 15 days where they were beaten.

The next day, with an already declared 60 days state of emergency, the population of Bambamarca decided to light candles in the church in Plaza de Armas, in memory of their fallen companions in Celendín. Once again, police and army lashed out at citizens killing Joselito Vásquez Campos, 28 years old. Milton Sanchez argued that,

During the state of emergency, soldiers stationed in Celendín committed numerous abuses and raped girls 16 and 17 years old. Many of them became pregnant and do not even know who the fathers of their children are. One night, the Rondas Campesinas caught four soldiers abusing a girl. They were captured and taken to the house of the Rondas who called the commanding officer of that group. As a result, the Rondas were accused of kidnapping the girls and the military asked for members of the Rondas to be convicted to 32 years in prison. This is another example of the criminalization of protest. We all have been charged, for instance, I have about 40 charges against me.

Several other abuses have been committed against us. We do have a camp on Laguna Azul. One time when we went down to a meeting, the police burned our food and our camp. But in front of Laguna Azul there is a family—the Chaupe's. They have refused to sell their land to the corporation. Since 2011, police have been trying to remove them, by killing their sheep, and burning their house, but they are still there, living in terrible conditions, withstanding the cold of winter. The Ronderos supported them by rebuilding their home. This family is the power we have up in the lakes.

Defending Freedom: Criminalization of the Protest

When Yanacocha arrived in Cajamarca, many hoped that mining could be done without severe impairment of the waters and agriculture, with respect to local populations, and with the possibility of the creation of job opportunities. Instead, during 18 years of mining, Cajamarca has been turned into the Peruvian region with the greatest socio-environmental conflicts because mining has destroyed the area's rivers and lagoons, and contaminated water for animal and human consumption. Furthermore, those who have protested and defended water have ended up dead or in prison.

As the struggle increased, NGOs in favour of Yanacocha, such as PRO NATURALEZA, arrived in Cajamarca, and others against Yanacocha, such as GRUFIDES, led by Marco Arana, solidified the anti-Conga movement. Marco Arana stated:

"These lakes do not require any work, because they are there only to give life. It is cruel that corporations want to destroy our waters that require no financial investment from the government. So, for us, Conga No Va! means that our own life is at stake."

At GRUFIDES, We speak of a socially just development. This means that there cannot be development against people, and much less against the most vulnerable groups. Let the people have the right to health under the conditions they want. As for the definition of basic needs, GRUFIDES has three mandates: a) defence of human rights, b) technical assistance to communities with environmental impacts, c) political advocacy to change the legal framework in relation to mining activities.

GRUFIDES brought technical support to review the Conga Mining Project EIA study, including Robert Moran who on March 8, 2012, presented a study "Peru, Conga Mining Project: Comments on the Environmental Impact Study and Related Issues. Since social protest has been criminalized, GRUFIDES oversees the technical and legal issues, and acts as an advisor to the community. In sum, GRUFIDES is a technical-legal organization for the defence of human rights.

Marta Vasquez, GRUFIDES' lawyer, describes how the central government established new legal features in Cajamarca, by which environmental advocates and regional authorities who support the popular struggles against mining are prosecuted. These can be summarized as:

1) Selective Persecution. People who are prosecuted are those who assume some public leadership.

2) The evidence for prosecution is based on pictures of the leaders addressing the public.

3) The freedom of expression has become criminalized. If I disagree I have no right to say anything.

4) Criminal laws have been modified in an outrageous manner. Since the globalization neoliberal agenda that deregulated the nation/state legal system, a new legality was established. Since Toledo's administration (2001-2005), the penalty against protest was increased to six years in jail. During Garcia's administration (2006-2011), the law defined protest as "Organized Crime" (July 2007), aimed to categorize it as a crime of extortion, and the penalty reached 25 years.

5) Humala's administration (2011-2016) promulgated law, No. 30151 in January 2014. This law grants the armed forces, as well as the national police, a license to kill. They are exempted from criminal responsibility.

6) Further, Humala has created a resolution against the participants of Conga. They are not processed in Cajamarca, but rather in Chiclayo or Lima. Taking away GRUFIDES ability to defend the accused. In this case, GRUFIDES is presenting allegations that the people can go to jail not because of the veracity of the allegations, but because the people are poor and cannot afford the cost of transportation, food, hotel etc.

7) Today, the prosecution is used to pursue social protest leaders. The mining and state prosecutors legally denounce those who announce a protest march on the radio or in the newspaper. Anyone can face detention, and prosecution on charges of "terrorism" (Vasquez).

Mirta Vasquez argued that,

> *Mining could legally denounce a person to prevent the possible disturbances that might occur. This might be something that the company is imagining could happen. Until December 2013 there were 303 leaders denounced. Each leader has over 20 complaints. Most cases must be filed away because there is no evidence. And when the judges call the accused sometimes a year after the possible disturbance happened that are the subject of the complaint. These complaints serve to deflate the movement. Due to sexism, women are less vulnerable to be persecuted, and be legally denounced. The police and prosecutors say "they are just women." Nevertheless, there are ten percent women defendants.*

GRUFIDES is helping mainly rural communities to bring their case to the Inter-American Court of Human Rights (CIDDHH). On March 18, 2014, the Coordinadora Nacional de Derechos Humanos (National Coordinator of Human Rights)—a civil society body aimed at protecting human rights in Peru, gave evidence to the CIDDHH in Washington. The complaint raises the violations of rights of Indigenous and tribal people as enshrined in ILO Convention 169 and the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, and the violation of human rights of the Guardians of Conga Lagoons by the state and the police. This complaint was resolved in part. On May 7, 2014, CIDDHH issued precautionary measures in favour of a guarantee of the life of 46 leaders in the fight against the mining project Conga. Among the 46 leaders, is the Chaupe family in its entirety, a journalist, and the leaders of defence fronts, among others. The leaders of the movement are going to ask the government to shelve more than 200 complaints against all those who have been participating in the struggle. The second part of the complain still pending resolution, submitted in April 2012, is a decision on the illegal presence of the Yanacocha in territory of the lagoons of Conga.

Further, on June 26, 2014, the Justice System forced the Regional President of Cajamarca, Gregorio Santos, to respond in Lima to undefined complaints. On the same day of his appearance in court, the Judge ordered preventive prison for 14 months in what has been called a "political ambush," organized by President Humala, to stop Santos' candidacy and re-election as Regional President. Raul Wiener, a journalist from La Primera, wrote,

> *Everyone knew that Gregorio Santos was going to be stopped. This was not a new issue, but it came clear in the year 2012, when Cajamarca challenged Humala for not keeping his promises to the water of the lagoons from the eagerness for gold from Yanacocha, which was one of his election banners that achieved the majority vote of the region. Already at the beginning of this year, the Controller's office sent ever increasing number of Auditors to find topics to accuse the regional President who had faced the investment door that apparently was the beginning of a new cycle of expansion of mining investments in the country.*

While in prison, with no charges, on October 2014, Gregorio Santos was re-elected as Regional President of Cajamarca. As a result, Humals's government extended Santos' incarceration for another 18 months.

Conclusion

Mining has been portrayed as a way to bring investment, create jobs, and reduce poverty. Instead, as this paper has shown, mining corporations, using deregulation and free trade agreements to enhance massive profits, are destroying the water systems of the Cajamarca community. Conga, as an environmental justice movement, has demonstrated that teachers and *ronderos* are forces that do not negotiate water, because water is life for their communities. Despite government brutality, their courage has not been compromised.

At this time, Conga No Va! is a triumphant movement. On the one hand, the Guardians of the Lagoons—in defending land, water, and freedom—have defeated President Ollanta Humala, as he is banned from Cajamarca where he made a false promise of terminating Conga Project in order to gain a national election. On the other hand, the Guardians of the Lagoons—in organizing a successful movement—have successfully put the Conga Mining Project on hold for the last three years. Moreover, this movement is demanding a clear accounting from the Earth Summit in Johannesburg that declared mining as an acceptable and viable form of "sustainable development," when this is so obviously not at all the case.

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[1]The North American Free Trade Agreement, Chapter 11, was added to the bilateral free trade agreements in Latin America. The dispute settlement provisions of NAFTA Chapter 11 allow investors to pursue legal remedies against government measures under the laws of that country, but in the alternative provide the option for investors to bring their claims against a State directly to international arbitration through the procedures and services of several international arbitration entities. It means that in case of conflict between a country and a corporation, the World Trade Organization (WTO) is in charge of applying "justice" (Bill Moyers, Trading Democracy, http://www.pbs.org/now/transcript/transcript_tdfull.html. Accessed on July 2010).

[2]http://www.waterjustice.org.

[3]http://www.canadians.org/blueplanetproject.

[4]Yanacocha South, Carachugo, San José, La Quinua Sur, Capping West, Cerro Negro, Cerro Quilish, Chaquicocha and Yanacocha Green.

[5]http://www.newmont.com/south-america/ops-minas-conga-peru.

[6]An update from the field on the Conga Mine, Ross Geredien, http://www.earthworksaction.org/earthblog/detail/an_update_from_the_field_on_the_conga_mine#.U6MvmUAizEc.

[7]http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=axtxb-Wi7_o.

[8]See more at: Panorama. "Demostrado: Cajamarca quiere Paz y Desarrollo," http://www.blogcyh.com/2012/05/cajamarca-quiere-paz-y-desarrollo.html.

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PENN KEMP

Grazing the Face of Climate Change

The cedar the bohemian
wax wings twitter among
bare boughs on their way
warmward.

Envy emulates flight,
lights desire, douses
doubt in fiercer certainty.

Icarus stretches his fine
new wings, disarmed by
possibilities plus.

"Beware the wax, my son. It
cannot last in the face of
strong Sun shine."

No fear. Bright day beckons.

"I'm on my way and who will
gainsay the path to glory, glory!"

Damn the consequence, o'er-
weening
teen. Between
between the elements.

High performance art starts
here. Raising mighty arms
he flaps. He flies.

Close, warming his face.
Oh, the glow! Pride
bursts, sun bursts,
sun grazing.

Rising solar flare—
sudden glare incipient—

may might may not—

Bright implausible wings dim
before a brighter sun, too close.

Closer. Losing
altitude, attitude.
Lost.

Farther from father into free
fall.

(Hubris, they will say
in that all-knowing future.)

The fall, falling. Spring
springing.

A flutter of feathers
catching the light
light on the surface.

Follow their fine drift
on the wind, winding
down

through sub-lunar
splendour onto
sea sparkle.

Living sphere,
Facing fear too late
on a sea of metrics.

Facing ob-
livion. (Immortal
eyes can not cut it).

Dead last. Death lasts
forever. Ever
more.

Reflect, refract, reflect
again and loss a gain.

Free to fail only
once and then no
longer

No longer boy but
myth.

Activist poet/playwright Penn Kemp is London's inaugural Poet Laureate, with twenty-six books of poetry/drama and ten CDs.

Aquatic Pollution and Women's Health

Waves from the Niger Delta, Nigeria

FINOMO JULIA AWAJIUSUK

La pollution du delta du Niger est due au déversement des huiles pétrolières et des pluies acides qui a mené à la destruction massive de toute vie aquatique, les poissons, les crustacées, les animaux marins. Les femmes en sont aussi sérieusement affectées de par leurs occupations.

The Niger Delta region on the Atlantic seaboard of the West Coast of Africa has been a popular maritime trading zone for several centuries. From the peak period of the slave trade in the eighteenth century to the era of extensive trans-Atlantic trade in palm oil and allied agro-based products, the estuaries and creeks of the Niger Delta have continued to host sea-farers and entrepreneurs as well as ocean-going crafts of varying sizes. Thus there was nothing strange or extra-ordinary about the tankers that arrived at Bonny Sea-port about the mid-1950s to evacuate crude oil. Howbeit, the production of these commodities does not go without leaving an impact on the environment and the people of the region. Starting with slave trade, through the trade in palm oil, and recently to the trade in the "black gold," water bodies in the Niger Delta have experienced one form of pollution or the other owing to the activities of various multinational corporations. Whether it is Britain's Royal Niger Company, Shell D'Arcy, Shell British Petroleum, Shell Petroleum Development Company, Italy's Nigerian Agip Oil Company, America's Chevron or France's Elf Petroleum, all have contributed their fair share to the pollution of the waters of the Niger Delta.

Women in the Niger Delta are worst hit by the pollution of water bodies in the region. The brunt of low agricultural yields, unproductive fishing expeditions and outbreak of water-borne diseases (whether it affects the men or children) is borne by the women. Economically, the majority of women rely wholly and solely on sea foods as their source of livelihood and protein. In this paper, I propose to examine the impacts of water pollution on the health of women in the Niger Delta. I intend to show that water pollution, especially that resulting from crude oil exploitation activities (especially drilling, oil spillages and gas flaring which results in acid rain), have had momentous negative impacts on the health of women in the Niger Delta. I shall conclude by suggesting some possible solutions to this hazardous situation.

The Niger Delta

The Niger Delta is a floodplain shaped like a bird's foot, covering a total land area of approximately 112,000 square kilometers falling within the intersections of latitudes $5^0$31N and $5^0$33N and longitude $5^0$30E and $5^0$32E (Adeyemo). The Niger Delta, a mosaic of fragile ecological units, is the world's third- and Africa's largest delta. The region is home to the world's largest mangrove forest, West and Central Africa's most extensive freshwater-swamp forest. It is Nigeria's best remaining rain forest and one of Africa's remaining natural reserves of unique wildlife. It is a maze of creeks, streams and swamps formed by the Niger River as it divides into six main tidal channels before spilling into the Atlantic Ocean (Onosode).

Aquatic Pollution in the Niger Delta

Water pollution occurs when water is contaminated by substances such

as human and other animal wastes, toxic chemicals, metals and oils. Water pollution may come from point sources, which discharge pollutants from specific locations, such as factories, sewage treatment plants and oil tankers, or non point sources, which occurs when rainfall moves over and through the ground. As the run-off moves, it picks up and carries away pollutants, such as pesticides and fertilizers, depositing them into lakes, rivers, wetlands, coastal waters, and even into underground sources of drinking water.

Coleridge's famous quotation "Water, water everywhere, nor any drop to drink" cannot apply any better elsewhere than it does in the Niger Delta. This is a region covered with water, yet the inhabitants lack potable drinking water. This is the product of incessant water pollution that has become very common in the region. Several factors have been identified as very significant contributors to pollution of water bodies in the Niger Delta. Some scholars like Isaac Sindiga argue that the majority of people in the Niger Delta live in the rural areas where basic amenities such as good water supplies, lavatories, and the like are grossly inadequate. The people have no option other than to defecate in places that can cause water pollution. Sindiga explains further:

> Clean water supplies are often unavailable and faeces disposal is a problem. Many people do not have pit latrines and help themselves in the bush. Such waste is often collected by rain water and taken to rivers where people take their livestock to water and also fetch water for domestic use. (6)

Though the local Indigenous population may pollute the waters of the Niger Delta, research shows that the greatest polluters of water bodies in the Niger Delta are the exploitative activities from start to finish of the multi-national oil companies operating in the region: line cutting, pipeline-laying, drilling, oil spillage, and gas-flaring all pollute water.

While cutting pipelines, wastes are deposited into water bodies. Sometimes the operators dredge canals and the waters are polluted. For instance, in March 2008, the water in Jones Creek was polluted as a result of mud churned out of the bottom of the creek by Dumez, an oil contracting firm, dredging the creek. The resultant effect was the death of fishes, crocodiles and even birds. Chief Alfred Bubar states:

> On Sunday the 22nd day of March 1998, I was passing through Jones creek to my community when I noticed that the whole water had changed its color. It was turbid, dark and not clear. I saw fishes floating on the water; red snappers, groupers, golden fish, big, big ones floating. I also saw a dead crocodile. I saw also a few dead birds…. (qtd in *Environmental Testimonies* 7).

He further laments:

> I saw dead fishes floating to nowhere. No home for them. No life for them. They are of no use to man or to nature. They have been forced to drink crude oil and they are dead. You know the importance of fish to a man who lives by the river, don't you? (8).

"I saw dead fishes floating to nowhere. No home for them. No life for them. They are of no use to man or to nature. They have been forced to drink crude oil and they are dead. You know the importance of fish to a man who lives by the river, don't you?"

Also, in the course of drilling for oil, formation water (also known as "produced water"), separated from hydrocarbon fluids with which it is mixed underground, is deliberately discharged from flow stations and terminals and released directly into the environment. An Environmental Impact Assessment study carried out in Bonny by the Shell Petroleum Development Company (SPDC) in 1993 detected high hydrocarbon contents in the nearby creek, indicating "poor or no treatment of effluent" (Manby 58).

The discharge of effluents from refineries (like the Port Harcourt Refinery and the Eleme Petrochemical Company) into creeks and rivers contributes to the contamination of water bodies. In the case of Port Harcourt refinery, effluents are discharged into Ekerekama in Okrika Local Government Area (Kalio). The result of a study carried out by Ifedi Okoye and Fedelia Chukwuneke using water samples from different points along Woji river show that the metal contents of the river are far below the recommended limits set by the Federal Environmental Protection Agency (FEPA), the Department of

Figure 1: A Wellhead spewing out oil at Bomu in Ogoni.

Figure 2: A girl taking her bath in a polluted Bodo River

Petroleum Resources (DPR) and the World Health Organization (WHO) (120).

Oil spillage is the most devastating of all the contributors to aquatic pollution in the Niger Delta. When oil spills into the water. both aquatic plants and animals are impacted negatively. As the oil spreads over the surface of the water, it prevents contact between aquatic animals and atmospheric oxygen, thus causing the death of these animals.

Many inhabitants of the Niger Delta region hold that oil spills occur because a good number of oil companies' pipelines through which the oil is transported to terminals are rusty, obsolete and poorly maintained. Some Shell and other oil companies' pipelines and their installations in the Niger Delta are dilapidated as they have not been replaced since they were laid in the 1960s (Oji, Finomo and Warder).[1] This has resulted in an increase in the rate and volume of oil spills. Accelerating oil production brings increasing pressure on the old and worn out pipelines. The pipelines which have outlived their life spans corrode, crack, buckle down and explode spewing crude oil into water bodies as the picture below shows.

The 1983 NNPC report encapsulates this result of the operations of the oil companies: "We witnessed the slow poisoning of the waters of this country…" (qtd. in Okonte and Douglas 64).

In some communities in Rivers State rivers and creeks are constantly polluted. In Ikuru Town, a community in Andoni Local Government Area, a rivulet of Okwanaja close to the Elf Nigeria Limited flow station has remained contaminated for over twenty-five years. All aquatic life around this area has been utterly destroyed. At Sakpenwa in Tai Local Government Area, the water is constantly polluted by the presence of crude oil. During the dry season, the water dries up and the area hosting a bamboo farm is devastated. During rainy season as rain water accumulates in the small stream, slicks of crude oil are seen constantly covering water surface. According to the residents, this situation has continued for over two decades (Mpigi). In Bodo, Ogoni, the rivers are constantly polluted.

Shell's former head of Environmental Studies, J.P. Dessel, correctly sums up this situation in the Niger Delta when he observes:

> Wherever I went, I could see everywhere that Shell's installations were not working cleanly. They did not satisfy their own standard, and they did not satisfy international standards. Every Shell terrain I saw was polluted, every terminal I saw was contaminated. (qtd. in Okonta and Douglas 90)

Another factor that contributes to the pollution of water bodies in the Niger Delta is the explosion of oil installations. For instance, in the early hours of 16 January 2012 there was a gas explosion in the Atlantic off the coast of Koluama 1 and 2, Ekeni, Fishtown, Forupa, Ezetu 1 and 2, and Sangana, leaving two people missing. The gas explosion occurred at the K.S. Endeavour (Panama) Rig, a facility belonging to Chevron Nigeria Limited while Fode Drilling Limited, a contracting firm to Chevron, was drilling gas at the North Apoi Field in Koluama. From the Koluama River, the huge flames could be sighted deep in the Atlantic Ocean. Dangerous gases and other toxic chemicals were emitted into the environment. Polluted water was

Figure 3: Dead fish from Chevron Gas Pipe explosion in Kuloama II in Bayelsa State

conveyed into the Koluama Rivers and creeks and other neighboring communities in the coastline. A lot of fishes died as the picture below shows. Since the majority of the people relied solely on these natural water courses for their daily domestic water needs, as they have no alternatives, many ended up falling sick. Women were most affected.

Impacts of Water Pollution in the Niger Delta

According to the United States Environmental Protection Agency, "[i] t has been clearly established and accepted that exposure to benzene and its metabolites causes acute non lymphocytic leukemia and a variety of other blood-related disorders in humans" (viii). Samples taken from water bodies used for drinking and washing by villagers in April 1997 and analysed in the United States showed horrifying results. The sample from Luawii in Ogoni, where oil production had stopped for four years, had 18ppm of hydrocarbon in water, 360 times above the level allowed in drinking water in the European Union. Other studies, Human Rights Watch indicates, have found hydrocarbon contamination of systems and adverse effects on fisheries (Manby 7). The community of Ogbodo, Aluu, was deprived of its source of drinking water as a result of a spill that occurred in June 2001. Several other communities in the Niger Delta are deprived of potable water as their main sources of drinking water are perpetually polluted by the presence of oil in them.

Destruction of Aquatic Life

Oil spillage has a major impact on the ecosystem into which it is released. Shell Nigeria reports 250 oil spills annually. The people of the Niger Delta are predominantly farmers and fishers due to the availability of the rich alluvial farmlands and the copious surface grounds for marine fishing operations. Divergent geographic environments have produced varied estimates concerning the role mangroves play in the larval biology of commercial fishes. It has been estimated that 60 percent of the fish in the Gulf of Guinea breed in the mangroves of the Niger Delta. The consumption of dissolved oxygen by bacteria feeding on the spilled hydrocarbons also contributes to the death of fish.

Several studies have reported on the safety of seafood in Nigerian coastal waters and there are indications of bioaccumulation of heavy metals in fish (see, for example, James and Okolo, and Agbozu *et al.*), in periwinkle (Ayenimo *et al.*), crustaceans (Chinda *et al)* and even in crops harvested in oil producing areas (Hart *et al,* 2005). Unyimadu *et al.* reported moderately elevated levels of cadmium, lead, manganese, zinc, copper, iron, and chromium in different species of finfish from coastal waters at Nun River and Sombreiro River.

Inhabitants of the Niger Delta frequently complain that fish taste of paraffin (kerosene). This shows hydrocarbon contamination. This is very common in Soku where fish from the rivers can hardly be eaten because of the smell and taste of paraffin. A worse situation is recorded in Aluu,

the home of Shell's Agbada flow station and gas site. The natives of Aluu complain that fishes from their streams, especially catfish, carry maggots on their heads even when they are alive (Oji). Interestingly, periwinkle from the Soku River (which has been confirmed as the most polluted river in the world) survive longer outside its natural habitat than those from other rivers. While those from Soku can survive for up to two months, those from other rivers die in a few days. What then are the effects of all these on the health of Niger Delta women?

Impact of Aquatic Pollution on the Health of Women in the Niger Delta

Water pollution causes a lot of health hazards as industrial waste contamination of water causes the death of water birds, shellfish and some aquatic lives. By polluting the rivers with human waste, our traditional society exposes itself to some water-borne diseases such as dysentery, diarrhea, typhoid and cholera. However, these are relatively small in magnitude compared to the impact of oil related pollution.

Rural women and children are the worst hit as they depend wholly on protein from mangrove fisheries such as periwinkle (*Tympanotonus* spp and *Pachymenalia* spp). On the average, fish constitute 40% of animal protein intake in Nigeria, with the residents of the Niger Delta region consuming a high percentage. With oil spills and acid rain affecting the water and rivers, the consequent decline in the availability of fish has had grave consequences on the nutritional status of the people, especially the women.

In June 2005, a spill occurred in Asitubo Gbanraun in Bayelsa State. This spill was not cleaned up for six months. There was interference in the food chain. Humans showed signs and symptoms of crude oil toxicity which included frequent spontaneous abortions (miscarriages), secondary infertility, and many cases of deaths (Georgewill 30). As Georgewill notes, it has been sufficiently demonstrated that the constituents of crude oil and by-products of its metabolites and pollution are carcinogenic (Weisburger and Williams). Research carried out in 2006 by Georgewill and others analyzing the occurrence of cancers and other tumors in Rivers and Bayelsa States showed that 362 cases of cancer were reported and treated at the University of Port Harcourt Teaching Hospital between December 1997 and December 2000.

Aquatic pollution from all that we have seen has had devastating effects on both the environmental and human beings. In all these, the women are the most affected. Women in the Niger Delta have continued to suffer tremendously as a result of oil related activities in the region.

The Way Forward

The effects of aquatic pollution on women in the Niger Delta are devastating. Current operational policies of multinational companies must change. These policies affect basic economic, technological, and cultural structures. The oil companies must stop dodging their responsibilities by tagging all oil spills "acts of sabotage." If this is done, the resulting state of affairs will be markedly different from the present. To achieve the above, the Federal Government should be able to give the appropriate roadmaps to the multinational oil companies operating in the Niger Delta to address in an effective manner the ways of engaging the environment to promote environmental harmony.

I suggest that government should stop blowing hot air and face the realities on the ground. Flow stations where gas is still being flared should be shut down. Penalties for flaring gas should be revised upwards to match the price of gas in the international market. A penalty of $100 US should be charged per 1 million standard cubic feet of gas flared and the flare-out date no longer be extended. To achieve the above, the government should ban the use of non-associated gas (otherwise known as natural gas) by Nigeria Liquefied Natural Gas Company (NLNG) and by extension enforce the utilization of associated gas (AG) which has hitherto been flared.

Above all, the women should continue to rise up (as they did when they staged protests at the offices of oil companies) and insist that the government carry out a proper audit of oil spills in the Niger Delta. They should also call for a thorough cleanup of the region, and ensure that contracts are not awarded merely as window-dressing. A process of bio-remediation can help restore the environment to close to its pristine state.

Conclusion

Yes, water may be everywhere but what quantity is useful to human beings? In the Niger Delta, where the people—especially the women—are dependent on water resources for survival, the pollution of water creates a tremendous impact. As the waters get polluted, so the women are robbed of their means of livelihood. This situation calls for urgent and stringent measures to be taken by government at all levels. The multinational oil companies exploiting oil in Niger Delta need to play by international rules. They must ensure they employ international best practices.

Water is life, and the women of the Niger Delta deserve this all-important liquid to remain alive. It becomes obvious from all the researches carried out that water pollution has affected the health of the women negatively.

The right to clean water is also the right of the Niger Delta women. The government and their economic cohorts should respect this right of the people and help them live a healthier life.

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[1]I. Oji is a native of Aluu a community where Shell Petroleum Company has had gas being flared since 1960. Roseline Finomo is a 77-year-old native of Ikuru Town in Andoni Local Government Area of Rivers State, Nigeria. A. Warder is a native of Okpoma.

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PENN KEMP

Gender Bias Even Among the Elements

The hurricane was first named for the saint's
day on which it surfaced, stark mnemonic.

The World War 2 meteorologists plotted
Pacific storms by women's names. Ever

since 1980, hurricanes are called equally
after men and women. And so we learn—

"Much gender bias is more automatic,
ambiguous and ambivalent than people

typically assume." The more masculine
the name, the more respect for a hurricane.

Sound familiar? Bring on mysteries inherent
in the mélange between culture and element.

Our system of belief has no limit but it does
have confused and complicated consequence.

"Researchers find that female-named hurricanes
kill about twice as many people as similar male-

named hurricanes because some people under-
estimate them. Americans expect male hurricanes

to be violent and deadly, but they mistake female
hurricanes as dainty or wimpish and don't take

adequate precautions." Such silly assumptions
neglecting the power of words end in salt tears.

Beware an errant hurricane named for women:
the female ever more dangerous than the male.

Activist poet/playwright Penn Kemp is London's inaugural Poet Laureate, with twenty-six books of poetry/drama and ten CDs. As Western's Writer-in-Residence, she produced Luminous Entrance: Sound Opera for Climate Change Action *(DVD). She hosts* Gathering Voices, *Radio Western. Quattro Books published* Jack Layton: Art in Action, *which she edited.*

SAEREEN QURESHI

The Sun

My heart is like the night,
so dark that every thing is a surprise.
I am deeply scared,
because the stars can't hear my cries.
And the moon seems to glow,
as I wait for you to rise.

Happy Birthday!

You came into this world,
as delicate as a flower.
You received two clouds,
with love to shower.
As you grow,
and blossom your own way,
the garden seems more beautiful,
when you arrived that day.

Happiness

A smile on the chin,
is all but a grin.
But the true laughter,
is what comes from within.

True Love

Love is a lot,
like the wind.
It gets carried away,
with little things.

I thought of this song for the movie The Lion King:

The beat of the drums,
the beat of the heart.
When your in love,
you can't tell them apart.

Saereen Qureshi is a fourth year student in Political Science at York University. She has published poems and articles in journals and newspapers.

Water Scarcity

A Threat to Women's Food Work and Livelihood

OLUSOLA OLUFEMI AND OLAJIDE OJO

Le problème persistant pour plusieurs Premières Nations au Canada se traduit par le manque de sécurité autour de l'eau du à une implication limitée de la gestion de l'eau. Le savoir traditionnel des Anishinaabekwe peut prendre en charge une approche équilibrée et sa protection en suggérant des principes qui reconnaissent, maintiennent et établissent des relations socio-écologiques essentielles.

> *Omi l'àbùwè, Omi 'l'àbùmu enìkan kì bá ómi s'òtá.*
> —Yoruba Proverb (Literally translates to: water for bathing, water for drinking, nobody makes enemy with water; water is so invaluable that living organisms cannot do without it.)

Water scarcity threatens the well-being of humans. Access to sufficient, safe, acceptable, physically accessible, and affordable water for personal and domestic use is a fundamental human right. These five core attributes of the right to water represent the foundations for water security yet they are widely violated (UNDP). It is estimated that by 2025, 2.7 billion people will experience water scarcity (UN 2003). Presently, 748 million people are water insecure out of which 173 million rely on untreated surface water. If current trends continue, there will still be 547 million people without an improved drinking water supply in 2015 (WHO/UNICEF 2014). The roots of the water crisis can be traced to poverty, inequality and unequal power relationships, uneven distribution, and flawed water management policies that exacerbate scarcity (UNDP).

Nigeria is one of the 25 African countries that will experience economic water scarcity by 2025 (UNEP). Presently, about 48 percent of the inhabitants of the urban and semi-urban areas, and 39 percent of rural areas, have access to potable water in Nigeria. Poor planning, inadequate funding, insufficient relevant manpower, haphazard implementation, and lack of a national policy for water supply are all factors contributing to water scarcity in Nigeria (Federal Republic of Nigeria). Ibadan residents experience serious water supply problems such as dry taps in virtually every part of the city leading to the prevalence of children and women searching for water elsewhere (Adetunji and Odetokun). About 9.4 percent of the Ibadan city population depends on pipe-borne water, 20.5 percent on boreholes, 41.4 percent on wells, 22.9 percent on streams and 5.8 percent on springs (DMS).

This paper contends water scarcity is a threat to women's food work and livelihood in Ibadan, Nigeria. The paper adopts ecofeminism and women's environmental ethic of care as a conceptual framework and suggests inclusion of women in water management and decision-making, and the use of low cost water technologies in water scarce communities. Women as water users and livelihood managers are disproportionately affected by water depletion and scarcity. Traditional gender roles ascribe the responsibility for household water provision, as well as agricultural and communal food activities to women in Nigeria. Women live day-to-day with water anxiety and stress of water scarcity. Access to safe and clean water '*Omi*' (Yoruba); '*Ruwa*' (Hausa) and '*Mmiri*' (Igbo) in the three prominent languages in Nigeria, remains the Achilles' heel for majority of women in their efforts to be water and food secure.

> From fetus to birth … from socio-cultural through corporeal to material domains, women's water security has never been more profound and their water burden continues to impact on their livelihoods. (Olufemi "Gender, Environment"; *Concepts* 91)

Conceptual Framework

Water scarcity is defined "as the point at which the aggregate impact of all users impinges on the supply or quality of water under prevailing institutional arrangements to the extent that the demand by all sectors, including the environment, cannot be satisfied fully" (UN Water 2006: 2). Water scarcity means lack of access to adequate quantities of water for human and environmental uses (White). Robbins, Hintz and Moore identified three different kinds of scarcity namely hydrological, techno-economic, and perceptual. Water scarcity could also be dynamic, absolute, relative, a social construct or manufactured (UNDP; UN-Water 2006). The concept of water scarcity (FAO) is ambiguous and complex and involves several dimensions, notably:

- Scarcity in availability of freshwater in acceptable quality;
- Scarcity in access to water services;
- Scarcity due to lack of adequate infrastructure.

The Millennium Development Goals[1] (MDG) in 2000 aimed to halve the proportion of people without sustainable access to safe drinking water and basic sanitation between 1990 and 2015. In spite of the progress made regarding the MDG drinking water target, 43 percent of people living in Sub-Saharan Africa still use unimproved drinking water sources (WHO/UNICEF 2014).

Water Access in the MDG

- MDG 1: Access to water for domestic and productive uses (agriculture, industry, and other economic activities) has a direct impact on poverty and food security.
- MDG 2: Incidence of catastrophic but often recurrent events, such as droughts, interrupts educational attainment.
- MDG 3: Access to water, in particular in conditions of scarce resources, has important gender related implications, which affects the social and economic capital of women in terms of leadership, earnings and networking opportunities.
- MDG 4 and 5: Equitable, reliable water resources management programs reduce poor people's vulnerability to shocks, which in turn gives them more secure and fruitful livelihoods to draw upon in caring for their children.
- MDG 6: Access to water, and improved water and wastewater management in human settlements, reduce transmission risks of mosquito-borne illnesses, such as malaria and dengue fever.
- MDG 7: Adequate treatment of wastewater contributes to less pressure on freshwater resources, helping to protect human and environmental health.
- MDG 8: Water scarcity increasingly calls for strengthened international cooperation in the fields of technologies for enhanced water productivity, financing opportunities, and an improved environment to share the benefits of scarce water management. (UN-Water 2014; WHO/UNICEF 2013)

Water scarcity pushes women to rely on alternatives and unimproved water sources. Access to water is challenging in Ibadan as well as several other urban cities and towns in Nigeria. The use of locally manufactured bottled or sachet water such as Eva, Nestle, Pure Water, or Dana is increasing. Physical water shortage, institutional failure, and lack of institutional capacity are observable in not only in the city of Ibadan city, but in most Nigerian communities.

Environmental Ethic of Care

Women's environmental ethic of care is to protect and preserve environmental resources. Women's inputs and actions are recognizable on issues relating to biodiversity, climate change, environmental sustainability, environmental injustice, depletion and degradation of water resources, poisoning and pollution of water bodies. Women's familial role and food work involves using water for domestic, economic, cultural, spiritual, agricultural, industrial, and commercial purposes.

Ecofeminists focus on women's relationships with nature, the connections between the domination of women and the domination of nature, and the role of women in solving ecological problems (Sachs). Ecofeminism implies "the ideologies that authorize injustices based on gender, race and class are related to the ideologies that sanction the exploitation and degradation of the environment" (Sturgeon 25). Ecofeminism also tends to "essentialize nature itself and consider nature to encompass all ecological aspects of the environment as well as natural (biological) human needs and capacities" (Momsen 111). Ecofeminism focuses on the role of patriarchal society for degrading both the natural environment and the social condition of women (Robbins, Hintz and Moore).

The relationship between women and the environment is reflected in terms such as Mother Earth or

Mother Nature, giving women particular responsibility to *care* for the environment and its resources, which include water. Care-focused feminism is a branch of feminist thought, informed primarily by Carol Gilligan and Nel Noddings (2002, 1984) who are critical of how caring is socially engendered to women and consequently devalued. Care-focused feminists regard women's capacity for care as a human strength, which can and should be taught to and expected of men as well as women (Tong).

Care ethicists agree that women are positioned differently than men in relation to caring practices, but there is no clear consensus about the best way to theorize sex and gender in care ethics (Sander-Staudt). Sara Ruddick, an early exponent of a theory of care ethics, explains how the practices of "maternal persons" (who may be men or women), exhibit cognitive capacities or conceptions of virtue with larger moral relevance. Ruddick's analysis, which forges strong associations between care ethics and motherhood, has been both well-received and controversial (Sander-Staudt).

Women have the competence to "care" because of gendered responsibilities to "care." Care as labour is evident as women interviewed in Ibadan respond to the need and demand for water in their productive and reproductive work. The task of fetching and/or providing water has long been associated with women and girls in different social locations and in many cultural settings. The next section discusses the findings from the case study.

Case Study

With urbanization, increasing population, sprawling communities, and poor infrastructural capacity in Nigeria (with a population of 170 million), water recycling, rationing, and sharing continues unabated among women. Women resort to acquiring water from unimproved sources such as burst pipes and stagnant puddles of rainwater along the road (in potholes). Wells, boreholes, local streams, and rivers are unsafe because of their proximity to septic tanks. Ponds, rivers and streams double up as commercial (car wash), domestic (drinking, cooking and laundry), and personal hygiene (bathing, toileting) spaces. Consumption of untreated water results in schistosomiasis, onchocerciasis, diarrhoea, and gastrointestinal illness. Other water borne diseases are cholera and typhoid fever.

The case study is Ibadan, the capital of Oyo State, Nigeria (Figure 1). Ibadan is located approximately 128 km north east of Lagos and 530 km Southwest of Abuja, Nigeria's capital city. Study locations include 21 purposefully selected areas that span three local government areas, namely Ido, Ibadan North, and Ibadan North West with a population of about 562,890 (Figure 2). Less than 30 percent of the population has access to safe and clean water supply in Ibadan. Water supply is inadequate in terms of quantity and quality; and is unevenly and ineffectively distributed. Access to safe and clean water eludes most women and the physical, emotional, and economic toll of water scarcity is unquantifiable.

This pilot study adopts a qualitative design approach. Qualitative interviews (face-to-face interviews) and observations were used to obtain information and data for this study. An interview protocol was designed and administered among 50 women in these locations. Most of these women work in the informal sector and live in a patriarchal hegemonic cultural setting. The intent of the qualitative research is to understand the water scarcity situation as it impacts on women's food work and livelihood in the private and public spheres. This includes reproductive and productive work relating to food production, procurement, processing, provision, and distribution. Data was collected in April/May, 2014 and a computer was used to analyze the data obtained using frequency tables and GIS to do a spatial analysis.

Eleyele River and Waterworks are located in the study area. The Water Corporation of Oyo State is responsible for maintaining the Eleyele water works which supposedly supplements Asejire waterworks/dam (located in the outskirts of Ibadan) in processing, treating and distributing potable water to Ibadan city and its environs. In Ibadan, 9.4 percent of the population depend on pipe-borne water, 20.5 percent on boreholes, 41.4 percent on wells, 22.9 percent on streams, and 5.8 percent on springs (DMS).

With urbanization, increasing population, sprawling communities, and poor infrastructural capacity in Nigeria (with a population of 170 million), water recycling, rationing, and sharing continues unabated among women. Women resort to acquiring water from unimproved sources such as burst pipes and stagnant puddles of rainwater along the road (in potholes).

Photo 1: MDG Borehole in the study area. Source: authors' fieldwork.

Photo 2: World Bank Water Project in the study area. Source: authors' fieldwork.

Photo 3: Woman grinder at work. Source: authors' fieldwork.

Dry taps are common in virtually every part of Ibadan and children and women can be seen searching for water (Adetunji and Odetokun). Ironically, most household taps in the study area have remained dry for years while government policy claims potable water provision to the citizenry. A respondent indicates:

> *…presently treated water is limited and the available water is pumped directly to the city centre where residents enjoy occasional water supply.* (A resident who is a civil servant)

It is not uncommon to find collaborative projects by the State government and International agencies that provide water through boreholes as part of the MDG initiative (Photo 1). These projects are perceived by residents as a fire brigade approach to adequate water supply in the study area because the boreholes cease to function after the commissioning day. There is a Public Private Partnership effort supported by World Bank to supply potable water in the study area (Photo 2). The Oyo state government provided the facility while it was being managed by the host community and the residents pay a token to procure potable water.

Findings

About 60 percent of the women interviewed were between 16 and 45 years old while 12 percent were below 15 years old. Sixty-four percent of the women have a tertiary (diploma, undergraduate or postgraduate) level of education while about 16 percent and 20 percent have only elementary and secondary education respectively. Twenty-eight percent of the women were students (in high school or college), 36 percent were traders in the informal sector. Women traders include grinders (women who grind

pepper, beans, and other food items; Photo 3); small scale food entrepreneurs; those who work in a restaurant/canteen or Bukaterias-'Buka' (Photo 4); bean cake sellers ('Àkàrà'); grocery or provision sellers, and cassava flour ('Gàrí', processed cassava) producers. 18 percent of the women were civil servants and another 18 percent were teachers. In regards to income

travel less distance to fetch water in this urban community. This is an indication of improved water provision through self-reliance and less dependence on government. Water supply through the government is seemingly non-existent. It should be noted that distance traveled to access water and women's experience is different in rural areas; it could be

drinking; washing dishes, personal hygiene, preparing children for school, packing lunches, and gardening. In the public sphere, women use water for productive activities which include peri-urban and backyard farming or community gardening, community food activities (wedding, funerals, festivals or other cultural engagements) (Photo 6); food process-

Water utilization depends on the scale of food work done by the women who use water to process foodstuffs like cassava and those who use water in their restaurants or Bukas.… Women are very conscious of the fact that water is a relatively scarce resource and this guides them in reducing, rationing and recycling water use for most domestic chores and food work.

28 percent of the women have no income (the students), 58 percent earn about ₦60000 (≤US$301) or less, 8 percent earn above between ₦60001 and ₦90000 (between US$301-US$452), and six percent earn above ₦90000 (>US$452) per month. About 60 percent of the women were married with an average of three children each.

Water Provision

Water is provided by individuals (86 percent), neighbours (six percent) and private water tankers/vendors (eight percent). Eighty-two percent and 14 percent of the women rely on wells and boreholes respectively while only four percent rely on government for water supply. Neighbours sometimes locate free borehole water sources outside their property where women and children fetch water for free (Photo 5). Women meet with disappointment when the water house owner fails to pump water due to erratic power supply.

Ninety-two percent travel a distance of less than 100 metres to access water while eight percent travel more than 150 metres. Women

more than two kilometres of trekking one way to water sources.

Women's experience cannot be generalized regarding time spent obtaining water. While four percent of the women effortlessly turn on the tap where water is piped to the house from a borehole or well, about 96 percent of the women spend more than an hour to access water. Water points are located within the compound through a tap or manual water collection from the well; while other women go to neighbours' houses or the neighbourhood to access water. Seemingly, there is still better access now when citizens take it upon themselves to dig boreholes or wells compared to the last ten or 20 years when citizens waited on government water services.

Water Use and Availability

Women use water for a myriad of activities both in private and public spheres. In the private sphere, women use water for reproductive activities like raising children (pregnancy, breastfeeding, weaning); laundry, household cleaning; food and meal planning, cooking and serving food;

ing, preparation and provisioning. Women's use of water in the private and public spheres overlaps. Women's triple role (productive, reproductive and community managers) revolves around water availability and accessibility.

Water utilization depends on family size—the number of children (school-aged children use lots of water), and the number of wives. Water use increases with family size, frequency of cooking, and domestic food work. Water utilization depends on the scale of food work done by the women who use water to process foodstuffs like cassava and those who use water in their restaurants or Bukas. About 56 percent of the women use less than 150 litres of water daily, while 44 percent use more than 150 litres of water daily. A 25-litre jug was used to ascertain approximated litres of water used, daily or weekly. Women are very conscious of the fact that water is a relatively scarce resource and this guides them in reducing, rationing and recycling water use for most domestic chores and food work.

When wells run dry or water is unfit for consumption, especially

during rainy season, or when there is no electricity to pump water, or the pumps are faulty due to high maintenance costs etc., about 66 percent of women resolve to purchasing water from water vendors. The cost of buying water during these periods varies. About 36 percent and 26 percent of the women spend between ₦1000-₦3000 (between US$5-US$15) and above ₦3000 (>US$15) on water respectively while 38 percent of the women do not spend any money on water.

Except when there is not enough rain or flooding or during the dry season, individually sourced water is always available most of the time because most residents have wells or boreholes or rely on neighbours' wells and boreholes and women can access water through these channels.

Water Scarcity

Most women interviewed resort to alternative sources when there is water scarcity. About 20 percent of the women buy water, 42 percent rely on their neighbours, and 18 percent source water from the Church (Table 3). Women who obtain water from church, which is about two kilometres away from their residences, need to get their by either walking or taking public transportation. They obtain water free from the church; the only cost is the fare for public transport. Other measures taken during water scarcity include trekking long distances to get water, waiting long hours queuing for water where it is available, relying on rain water (during the rainy season) and putting money aside to buy water when it is scarce.

Eighty-six percent of the women interviewed indicate they often rely on rainwater during water scarcity while 14 percent do so less often. During the dry season (November to March) it is not uncommon for the wells to dry up and this is usually a very testy period for water search on the part of women. Water quality is impacted during the rainy season (April to October) when water from some wells becomes muddy and women have to use alum to clear the muddiness.

> *…Due to water scarcity three of us shared a bucket of water for our daily bath…. During the dry season, when the stream ran dry, we struggled to save water used for washing clothes to flush toilet.* (qtd. in Olufemi "Women" 428).

There is also a correlation between water and fuel scarcity. When there is no electricity to pump water into storage tanks, or to pump water from wells, most of the women interviewed expend a lot of money and energy to access water. Some of the women buy fuel (petrol or diesel) for their generators (if they have one) or draw water manually from these wells if depth is not very low. Due to the erratic nature of power supply there is a lot of time, cost and energy wasted by women to access water for food work inside and outside the home. In the study locations power supply is available for about six hours every two days and off for one day, this comes to approximately 30 hours of power supply every week.

Women queue long hours waiting to obtain fuel from the gas stations to power generators and in turn pump water from wells or boreholes during fuel scarcity. The cost of fuel increases during these times (market volatility). In some cases women contribute money to buy fuel for their generators to pump water. Cost is also expended on purchasing containers, drums and bowls to store water. There are both human and physical costs involved for women when accessing water during scarcity. Hidden costs during water scarcity include buying credit to make phone calls to neighbours to arrange to obtain water from their residence, spending extra money to purchase water, and emotional and physical stress from walking and searching for water.

Work

In regards to the impact of water scarcity on women's productive work, about 78 percent indicate stress from walking, fatigue, reduced productivity, limited assimilation at school, difficulty in reading, and lateness to work or school. UN-Water/Africa report indicates "…The time spent fetching water results in low school attendance for girls, limited income-generating opportunity for women and increased levels of food insecurity" (122). Searching for water during scarcity takes a lot of time

Searching for water during scarcity takes a lot of time away from women's other productive activities. An estimated 200 million hours are spent each day by women globally collecting water for domestic use and this is time not spent working at an income-generating job, caring for family members, or attending school.

Photo 4: Roadside Buka/food canteen. Source: author, 2013..

Photo 5: Borehole water point outside a house. Source: authors' fieldwork.

Photo 6: Woman involved in community food work. Source: author, 2013.

away from women's other productive activities. An estimated 200 million hours are spent each day by women globally collecting water for domestic use and this is time not spent working at an income-generating job, caring for family members, or attending school (Hutton and Haller; WHO 2010). Photos 7 and 8 depict children are drawing water from a well and women's early morning water run respectively.

Fourteen percent of the women indicate water scarcity does not have any impact on food provisioning work while 86 percent indicate water scarcity has tremendous impact on their food provisioning work, for example, women who use water for processing and production of cassava flour, or "Gàrí" (Photo 9).

Most women indicate water scarcity negatively impacts their food work. Due to lack of enough water available for cooking, women have to ration water for food preparation, have limited water for cleaning up, experience a reduction in food sales, and are forced to re-use water multiple times (recycling water for other uses) for other purposes like household cleaning, saving laundry or used dish water to clean drainages/gutters or flushing toilets among others. Reproductive and productive work is severely impacted when there is water scarcity. Families sometimes resolve to eating out and leaving some of the domestic chores undone until there is enough water to carry out these activities. Some household members seemingly patronize food vendors or street food hawkers and also buy bottled or sachet water to drink. The sachet water costs about ₦5 [US$0.25] per sachet and it is easily accessible on the streets.

Excerpts from some of the women interviewed are seen below:

…I buy water about 40 litres of water at ₦20/25litres [US$0.10]

jerry can from a nearby commercial borehole. Sales are reduced when there is water shortage because of irregular power supply. When power is off, water cannot be pumped, my business turnover is reduced, we had to rinse pepper (pepper, tomatoes, onions) once instead of twice. (a food grinder and married mother of four)

produce when it gets to the market. Water scarcity sometimes increases the cost of food stuff (market women have to sell produce at high costs) and it also increases the cost of prepared food in restaurants or 'buka' (women are mostly involved in these food enterprises) and household food budget. When there is fuel scarcity, farmers spend more money transporting their

Improving Women's Access to Water

Water scarcity, in terms of economic (time and cost in obtaining water) or physical (not enough water) or environmental (natural phenomena, floods, drought) and/or artificial (human, institutional barriers, poor governance, lack of political

"When there is power cut, I walk longer distance to get to where there is generator to pump water from borehole and the case is even worse when there is fuel scarcity, when I had to wait for longer hours on the queue for water. As a result, I sometimes get late to school, [and] tired. It affects my school work anytime I go in search for water." (eleven-year-old student)

The married mother compromises the safety of her consumers by rinsing the pepper once. Most of the women reuse the same water several times during the course of the day to rinse peppers brought for grinding.

When there is power cut, I walk longer distance to get to where there is generator to pump water from borehole and the case is even worse when there is fuel scarcity, when I had to wait for longer hours on the queue for water. As a result, I sometimes get late to school, [and] tired. It affects my school work anytime I go in search for water. (eleven-year-old student)

…I spend a lot of money buying water from tankers, who supply us with water every week, but we had to ration water when the water tanker/vendor does not have water to sell to us. This affects the amount of food we prepare for sale daily and our profit. (55-year-old restaurant owner)

Farm productivity is also impacted when there is water scarcity and this subsequently affects the prices of produce to the market and the costs are added onto the price of food stuffs. Most women are triply impacted by water scarcity because they are small scale farmers, market traders/food entrepreneurs/Buka owners and wives/mothers.

Health

About 88 percent of the women indicate that water scarcity, the search for water, and carrying water on their heads or manually drawing water from wells impacts their health. The women complained of fatigue, headache/pain and neck pain. About 60 percent of the women experience mental and physical stress very often from water scarcity.

Carrying water in a large container on heads is more likely to have severe health implication to women and girls. The most common health problem is backache and headaches. Water scarcity presents with some water-borne illness among the women interviewed. About 46 percent of the women have experienced typhoid, 22 percent have experienced diarrhoea and cholera while ten percent have experienced gastrointestinal illness.

will), affects all aspects of human development, particularly health and productivity of women in the study. Water scarcity in Ibadan and other communities is systemic problem induced by ineffective planning, poor governance, and inadequate infrastructure. Women linked water scarcity to government insensitivity, poor public policy, and management. Policy and institutional failure are evident in the study as results show that 86 percent of women in the study do not rely on government water supply. Water in this case study is individually provided by residents. In the case study water scarcity affects women's productivity and health. Food work is reduced, livelihoods disrupted, loss of productive time queuing, reduced profit from reduced sales, water rationing, multiple re-use of water, increasing cost of producing and selling food items that depend on water. Women's health is also affected by water scarcity: 60 percent of the women have mental and physical stress, 46 percent have experienced typhoid fever and women experience pain, headaches and fatigue from carrying water on their heads.

The domesticity of women's labour

Photo 7: Children fetching water from a well. Source: authors' fieldwork.

Photo 8: Women carrying water. Source: authors' fieldwork.

Photo 9: Women processing cassava into gàrí. Source: authors' fieldwork.

in caring, nurturing, and providing sustenance in the private sphere through chores that involve water also extends to the market economy where women prepare food for sale (livelihood) in the market, Buka, streets or restaurants (public sphere). However, if care is largely embodied by women, it is devalued when in their food provisioning work women have to experience loss of productive time, energy, education and health due to water scarcity.

Cognisance has to be taken of the different needs and use of water by men and women. Women are positioned differently than men. This is not to say that men are unaffected by water scarcity, but the impact is different. It is considered the female moral duty, responsibility and obligation to care and nurture in the private and public spheres. Improved water access will reduce women's food work burden and women (and girls or their children) can spend the free time on other productive activities and have improved health and well-being.

Water scarcity as it relates to availability (quality and quantity), accessibility (economic, physical, affordability, cost, and distance), and agency (institutional capacity) threatens women's food work and consequently food security in water scarce regions and specifically in Ibadan. The water insecure are the food insecure. Women in this study are guided by three R's when using water: *reduce use, ration use and recycle used water*. Women's practical and strategic water needs can be met by easing their responsibility of care through:

- Equitable access to water distribution
- Developing low cost water technologies
- Engaging women in decision-making issues relating to the use and availability of water for

food provisioning work.

- Building capacity among women, local businesses, micro-enterprises and the informal food sector in water management to improve productivity.

To secure sustainable water for life and livelihoods and reduce the burden of women's food work in water scare communities, planners should work with women and men to develop appropriate water management strategies to minimize unevenness and disparities associated with water scarcity; and promote equality and equity among the genders in water access.

Conclusion

With one in eight people chronically malnourished and one in nine people without access to improved water sources, and about 49.6 percent of women constituting the global population, securing water and food sources sustainably and responsibly is imperative for food work and food security and thus for survival and sustenance of future generations. In water scarce communities like Ibadan, water scarcity is a threat to women's food work, and girl child's health in the public and private spheres. Water scarcity threatens women's food work in relation to physical, economic and personal well-being. Since "*Women play a central role in providing, managing and safeguarding water"* (The Dublin Principle, no. 3, UN, *authors' emphasis*), it is imperative to involve women in developing water management and governance strategies to reduce the burden and risk they face in search of water.

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Olusola Olufemi has a PhD in Town and Regional Planning from the School of Architecture and Planning, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg South Africa. She also obtained a Certificate in Food Security from Ryerson University, in Toronto, Canada. Her research and teaching career spans a period of over 25 years in Nigeria, South Africa, and Canada. She was a Visiting Professor at the University of Ibadan, Nigeria in 2013. Olusola Olufemi mentors young planners and her interests include social planning and advocacy, specifically in the areas of homelessness, gender and food security.

[1]The MDG are broad international development goals established by the United Nations and agreed by world countries in 2000 at the Millennium Summit with the target date 2015. These are being revised into Sustainable Development Goals or SDG – Transforming Our World Agenda 2030.

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JOANNA M. WESTON

Fire Girl

birds whirl from your hand
free to seek the double moon
turn flight into a dream
where your face mirrors mine
and your fingertips transform
water droplets into feathers
that fly beside me
far from home or garden

Joanna M. Weston's new poetry book, A Bedroom of Searchlights *is forthcoming from Inanna in 2016.*

TARYN HUBBARD

Excuse Me for Swearing

I'm sorry. That word should have never crossed my lips. I didn't see you there. You're still a woman, even on a jobsite. I shouldn't have said what I said in your presence.

Can I carry that ladder for you? Do you need help reaching that spot? Do you know what to do? I thought women liked caring professions, like nursing. Isn't that heavy? Why would you want to be here?

Oops. I'm sorry. Excuse me. Pardon my French. You shouldn't have heard that.

I'm all for equality. It's dangerous here. You have to be careful. Where'd you do your training? I support those Women in Trades initiatives if girls need extra help.

Why don't you spend time getting to know the girls in the office? Is that the goal? To eventually work in the office?

Taryn Hubbard is a writer from the West Coast. She has published in CV2, Lemon Hound, Capilano Review, Event, Room Magazine, subTerrain, *and others. When she's not writing, she works as a communications specialist in the public and private sectors, including five years at a trade union. tarynhubbard.com.*

TERRY TROWBRIDGE

On the Coexistence of Polyamorous and Asexual Lifestyles

A flower isn't neurotic
when it strokes the ankle of every bee
that peeks inside.
Whether it knows or not,
those petals will fall by the end of the month
and the dirt will kiss them brown forever.

A bee is not neurotic
for remaining celibate in its labour.
Whether it knows or not,
at the end of the decade its hive will be empty
but honeycombs outlast their architects.

Bees are devoted to the memory of flowers.
Their ecstasies are encoded for eons in progressions
of hexagons, hive walls, housekeeping in perfect ratios.

Terry Trowbridge is a PhD student in Socio-Legal Studies at York University. His poems have recently appeared in subTerrain, Carousel, The Dalhousie Review, American Mathematical Monthly, Whether Magazine (parenthetical), The Nashwaak Review, *and other venues.*

Carry on, Carry On!

River Reckoning with Miriam Love and the Thames River Rally

INTERVIEW AND PHOTOS BY KERRY MANDERS

Miriam Love enseigne dans le département d'anglais au King's College de l'Université Western. Elle est la cofondatrice du Rallye de la rivière Thames (TRR) à London, Ontario. La rivière Thames dont les embranchements dessinent la géographie de London, coule dans le cœur de la ville et traverse 40 kilomètres de sentiers pédestres et de parcs. TRR avec ses bénévoles procède au nettoyage mensuel saisonnier, chaque groupe nettoie une section en particulier, les berges, sous les ponts et même dans l'eau! Les membres du TRR agissent avec la conviction qu'une rivière en santé assure la vie d'une communauté forte.

Miriam Love, who teaches in the English Department at King's College, Western University, is the co-founder of Thames River Rally (TRR) in London, Ontario. The Thames River, whose forks comprise a defining geographical feature of the city, flows through the heart of London and through almost forty kilometers of its riverside pathways and parks. Established in 2012, Thames River Rally (www.thamesriverrally.ca) organizes volunteers for monthly clean-ups during spring, summer, and fall; each rally targets one main area—on the banks, under the bridges, in the parks, and sometimes in the water itself—in need of attention. TRR provides its volunteers (who are recruited via social media, community meetings, and old-fashioned word-of-mouth buzz) with gloves, garbage pickers, garbage bags, and safety instructions; together, volunteers become citizen stewards who, in coordination with the City of London, remove tonnes of garbage from the river and its surrounding green spaces. TRR has also partnered with neighbourhood associations and London CAREs (Community Addiction Response Strategy) to have permanent needle bins installed along the Thames.

TRR's motto, "Healthy River, Strong Community," encapsulates their conviction that the health and vitality of the Thames River is inextricably connected to the health and vitality of the city through which it runs.

I visited Miriam Love multiple times during the summer of 2014; by then, TRR had earned a Western University Green Award for their contribution to sustainability and education on campus; moreover, their contributions were about to be recognized by the Mayor of London as part of City Council's Featured Community Organization program. Love and her TRR co-founder, Tom Cull, took me on private tours of the river; they also invited me to come and get my hands dirty at their June 2014 clean-up. The following is edited from a series of conversations, both in-person and virtual, with Love.

> *River of the thousand-and-one-nights*
> *of sky, of stars*
> *sailing down to the clay banks, sticking there—*
> *a kind of ink, a muddy lubrication, a kind of*
> *getting under the skin.*
> —Cornelia Hoogland, "Names of the River"

KM: *Can you tell me about your initial encounters with—and impressions of—the Thames River?*

ML: Since moving to London eight years ago, I've made a lot of use—daily use—of the bike trail that runs along the river. Because of those daily

encounters with the river, I noticed and cared about its life—human and non-human. When I met Tom Cull, we took many walks along the Thames, and I started to appreciate it even more as an animal and plant habitat, as a soothing presence—and, at the same time, as a dirty, sometimes pretty odoriferous, and forgotten life force.

as a rather private endeavour into a public operation. How did you begin to involve the London community and to organize yourselves more officially as Thames River Rally?

ML: We put out a call for anyone to join us as we headed down with garbage pinchers and bags to practice paying attention, to perhaps bring back to life this "strong river god" (and, in the practice, perhaps awaken ourselves as well). At our first clean-up, a friend joined in; now, we often have several volunteers for clean-ups. We wanted a name for the event, and liked the public, political, social, and purpose-driven connotations of "Rally."

all the carts are. The carts become home to the toads, or maybe the toads become home to the carts? And, evidently, tires used to be put into the river quite intentionally, to provide fish and snake habitat. On the other hand, we see a lot of stuff that is toxic—printers, electrical parts—and the animals we see live despite—not with—this junk.

I remember one time when we encountered a huge cache of needles, human feces, and lots of other garbage under a bridge.… I think that was the first time that I saw the river, not just as a dumpsite or a disregarded force, but also as a site of wandering and personal devastation.

KM: *How did you move from recreation—from bike rides and walks—to work? From looking at and thinking about the river to touching and changing it?*

ML: Tom and I joined together to start informal river clean-ups and to think about what the river means to us, to the city, and to the community. In the early months, it would just be Tom and me—and maybe my son. These quieter experiences have their own value: I remember one such time, when we encountered a huge cache of needles, human feces, and lots of other garbage under a bridge. It was raining, and neither Tom nor I uttered a word: we were so overwhelmed by the devastation—environmental, social, and so individual—of which we were seeing just the traces. I think that was the first time that I saw the river, not just as a dumpsite or a disregarded force, but also as a site of wandering and personal devastation. And it was with these two things—the disregard, the devastation—that the social and the environmental became so interlinked for me.

KM: *You and Tom made what began*

KM: *On our walks, I was struck by the juxtaposition of organic and non-organic material, the living and non-living "stuff," along and in the river.*

ML: There is a lot of life teeming out of and through the non-organic: for example, on the first walk we took together, we saw nearly submerged (whether in sand or water) shopping carts, which could well provide shelter or mating/nesting grounds for some of the river's creatures. The abandoned carts have become almost a sculptural part of the environment—they are an example of the kinds of human waste that will never decompose and that, over time, become a part of the river landscape. Various creatures live and move in and among the waste—for example, that toad you photographed where

KM: *In terms of creatures, there are the usual suspects (I'm thinking squirrels, chipmunks, and the like), but what other species have you met at the Thames?*

ML: Besides the many geese and ducks, we have seen mink, beavers, spiny soft shell turtles, longnose gar, and so many (invasive) carp. One thing about many of the river animals is that they are not "cute" or big-eyed and cuddly. A fish doesn't look back at you in a heart-melting way; and yet, even in that fishy face, there is an invitation—maybe a demand—that we pay attention to the worlds around us, to the ways that rivers and lakes and oceans are connected and present.

KM: *How do you go about the business of cleaning up without disrupting animal habitats?*

ML: It's a matter of paying attention and being curious, of asking questions to biologists when we need to. The Upper Thames Conservation Authority informs us about at-risk populations, about protected and potentially sensitive areas. Garbage pick-up is most needed in heavy (human) usage areas—already well-

trod areas—close to paths and such. Most often, then, we're sure not to disturb nesting grounds or other sensitive areas.

KM: *Speaking of heavy human usage, can you tell me about the various humans you encounter? I'm thinking, for example, of the homeless man under Carfrae Bridge whose only possessions, perhaps, are what we think of as garbage.*

ML: Yes: we are aware of populations that the river sustains *within it* but also of the human lives without it—on its banks. I have to think of the people we encounter and what the river means to them. We encounter them in what we think of as public property but which to them is a kind of private space. We want to respect their privacy and to acknowledge that the river is their home. They *live* there, we just visit.

KM: *And they leave traces other than garbage, yes? I took a lot of graffiti photos on our walks. What else do you see?*

ML: Notes, jackets, placards of remembrance—there is one by Blackfriar's Bridge—tell stories of crisis, of despair, and of death: the river also shoulders those failures of hope.

KM: *Speaking of failure, you and I have talked about the failure of understanding, which is a kind of success—the recognition that there are things we do not and cannot understand or grasp. This recognition is as vital as it is humbling, I think.*

ML: Yes, I think our relationship to the river, to others, is often a practice, not of understanding but of *standing under*—as Cary Wolfe articulates it; a way to open our ways of approaching and paying attention to what is other. Wolfe suggests that we might become aware of and "vulnerable to other knowledges." It seems important to both understand the river—its history, its diversity, its health—and to listen to it, to remain open to it in some way.

KM: *Remaining open to the river and to the others; as you say, you visit the river, while others live there. How do you deal with that difference?*

ML: We come across people passed out or sleeping on the river's multi-use path, for example. Should we approach and converse with them or leave them alone? Make eye contact or ignore? What is more respectful? Should I offer help if I think someone is in trouble? Am I comfortable—and safe—helping? What does "help" entail? There can be a question of—a legitimate concern about—the safety of women in this environment. There are places and times that I don't feel safe walking alone. This has been part of the learning process, and we know now about other organizations and what they do. If I'm scared that someone on a bike might run over that person passed out on the trail, I know now about community outreach services such as London CARES that offer support to those "living rough" or in crisis.

KM: *And what about the people who use the river for sport?*

ML: On our walk, it struck me that men live on the river banks, not women, and also that it was all men that we saw fishing and/or drinking along the banks. It's a place that men gather—it tends to be a pretty male space. At the same time, every person *on* the river—canoeing, rowing—was female. What of that?!

KM: *What of gender divisions within the Thames River Rally?*

ML: I am often the only woman at the rallies, and I'm often the only person who brings my child with me. I have had parents tell me that they would never bring their children, that it is not safe: but this is changing. As we reach more of the community, a broader spectrum of people, including women and children, have joined us at the rallies, which is great.

KM: *Do you see any special relationship between or concern for women and the river? What connection do you see between feminism and the work that you do?*

ML: I think that our work is aligned with feminist politics: for one, its vision is sensitive to—and expands from—various (and often "other") perspectives. Secondly, it is an everyday practice and engagement that opens a new "point of entry," as sociologist Dorothy Smith might say, into new knowledges, frameworks, and ways of thinking about ourselves, our environments, our neighbours, and our cities anew. In my mind, this attention to various perspectives and to the possibilities of everyday practices makes our work feminist practice.

KM: *Part of this "everyday practice" entails encountering death. On our*

walk, we saw a recently drowned racoon; you showed me an aged fish carcass. I'm interested in those remains and what remains.

ML: Yes, I think the river speaks of death—like any good river poem speaks of death, right? On life and death, one of the river poems I think of, inevitably, is "The Dry Salvages" from T. S. Eliot's *Four Quartets*:

> I do not know much about gods; but I think that the river
> Is a strong brown god—sullen, untamed and intractable,
> Patient to some degree, at first recognised as a frontier;
> Useful, untrustworthy, as a conveyor of commerce;
> Then only a problem confronting the builder of bridges.
> The problem once solved, the brown god is almost forgotten
> By the dwellers in cities—ever, however, implacable.
> Keeping his seasons and rages, destroyer, reminder
> Of what men choose to forget. Unhonoured, unpropitiated
> By worshippers of the machine, but waiting, watching and waiting.

KM: *Eliot imagines a river that watches us forgetting.*

ML: We see the river as subject and object—and more important, as *verb*, here—as a kind of force, of time itself. I think life and death are here: crisis and disaster and forgetting and the regulated time of commerce. Each of these ways of marking or experiencing time is, in a Freudian sense, reality: life and death drives, in the sense of both cohering and keeping stable and at the same time threatening (or promising!) to break apart what we think we know...

KM: *...threatening and promising*

something beyond the fathomable, perhaps.

ML: I also think of Tom's extraordinary (as yet unpublished) poem, "Full Fathom Five," and the multiple ways that death and life are figured and transfigured and swim together in various forms: discarded vacuums transforming into fish, fish into bones, fins into hands into time, which wash further down the river, which itself becomes another river. In this last stanza, the poem focuses on the continual transformation of river, life, and objects. Here, a Shark vacuum, after being lured by and swimming with a shoal of hammerhead sharks, sinks into the river mud only to be prodded by another promise of life, movement, transformation:

> She comes to rest below a damn
> ten thousand years old
> and yet to be built. On a river yet
> to be named, by another name.
> She returns to the place she
> never left.
> Settling in, one remaining ruby
> encrusted on her nose, she sinks
> into the muck, winking at the
> crayfish
> *It is here*, she thinks
> as the belly of something soft as
> a sponge nuzzles up
> extending a fin that feels like
> fingers.

In one way, the river speaks of death very directly—of animal deaths, of decay, of these carcasses—but also of the death that shadows a bottom-line, stuff-obsessed society in the form of human disregard for "others," human and non-human. I think both of the poems I mention take up the seriousness of death which shadows our commerce-driven rationality.

KM: *And yet—*

ML: And yet, in another register, the river drives the settlement of cities, and now offers a chance—as is being discussed here in London—for re-vitalization, for new life. These are important momentums for us to follow and think about.

KM: *They are important momentums that, as you mentioned, you are including your son in. What does it mean to involve him in a social movement, a political activity?*

ML: It is an engagement. An embodied, everyday practice, and not simply an idea, or a slogan or t-shirt: it's an activity that helps to structure our time and our interrelationship with our city and our river. For my son, it is about "caring" about the river—he's picked up that language. But it's also about joy: the joy in working together and in paying enough attention to another lifeworld—that of the river—that it becomes another home, familiar and strange.

KM: *How do you approach potential dangers of the work with your son? Of working near water, near people he doesn't know. And there are, as you mentioned, a lot of used needles to clean up.*

ML: I think that there is the danger of this first, immediate exposure: to the current, to needles, to possibly mentally ill individuals living on the riverbanks. But more than this, I think, there is the danger that looms ahead—and presently—if we do nothing. Not to ring apocalyptic, and, even ringing the bell, not to say that we can do much about the damage that we've done; but a further looking away from, instead of back at, the world we inhabit and the damage we've done and do, seems to me another kind of violence and danger. I'm okay with introducing these immediate dangers and ways to work with them. It seems to me it is a way of maybe not warding off a larger violence but of reckoning with it.

KM: *Looking back at, rather than away from, our environment is a really great way to put it.*

ML: Related to this looking back and behind, I think, is what we were saying about the connectedness of rivers to lakes and oceans—this immanence and connectedness of being—which to me has been felt anew, even in the act of breaking apart a plastic six-pack binding. Again, dealing with the immediate dangers of the river, especially for my son, I hope will make him make connections between rivers and all waterways and the environments and lifeworlds we live with and in. Because of this quotidian experience, the abyss, the strangeness, and the likewise-disregarded life of the ocean and its depths can become more apparent to us. The strangeness—the distance and vastness of the sea—is at once exaggerated and lessened, made uncanny, when I pick up trash, which is no longer headed for other waterways, or a huge garbage flotilla. Un-canny.

KM: *It seems to me that you are prioritizing practice over theory, or putting practice before theory. But maybe those are false dichotomies?*

ML: I think practice, more than rhetoric, is a way of paying attention and becoming attuned to the river and to its many lifeworlds. I think of spiritual practices which are exactly that: practices in which one takes comfort perhaps, but which also, in repetition, amount to a faith, a fidelity, and a way of paying attention. And also: I think that we at the Thames River Rally are sort of a rag-tag bunch, or at least that we started as such, and that our only certainty was the practice—and not a sign, not a singular "event," not a t-shirt, not an emblazoned water bottle. It is a different way for my son to respond to and be a part of his environment. It is perhaps instead of his learning about "environmentalism" (as I am sure he will, and I am glad for it), which of course has been co-opted in so many ways and is its own niche market.

KM: *Your work with the Thames River Rally is, for me, refreshing in this era of clicktivism, of hashtag activism, when*

all it takes for some people to feel socially and politically active is to hit "like" or "share" on the cause of the day, virtually.

ML: To reflect more directly on theory and practice: insofar as these two things can (or ought to) be thought of separately, I think that we value both of these ways of engaging with the river and the work that we do. Our practice is reflective and opportunistic in one of the ways that theory allows a practice to be so: that is, for me, theory is about reaching out horizontally as well as vertically, stepping in and stepping back, and twisting together roots or paths to see what might come next. In one way, the practice of cleaning up the river is very straightforward and goal-oriented; and while this "simple" practice is meaningful in itself, it is also a wading in to something we do not know: as I have said before—a way of responding to the river in one determined and direct way, but in a lot of *unexpected* ways as well. These unexpected paths are the encounters we have with various others, the slowing down of time as one focuses on the terrain and the clip-clip of garbage pinchers; they are the opportunities to learn about the river—now that we are becoming a recognised group—from a variety of (theoretical) perspectives—political, social, ecological, historical.

KM: *You are out there each month, literally on the ground as garbage is repeatedly tossed on the banks and in the river. Obviously, there is no point at which you're done. How do you reckon with the unendingness of your river clean-ups?*

ML: Tom and I have often had conversations about why we do this. There is, of course, more garbage in some places we've cleaned when we return a few weeks later. I have thought about Georg Lukacs and the almost-divine irony of the novelist, who posits a world and its foundations, who believes and sets out a world, even when that world has no objectivity, no foundations. The power of irony for Lukacs is that this dramatic casting can indeed create a world, a foundation-less foundation. And I've always thought that this is a way of saying: Carry on, *Carry on*! Because there is so little certainly in what we do: I mean, does it really make a difference? Sure we get loads of garbage out, but only until more comes. Still, I think we feel even more grounded, then, in repeating, "carry on!" And this "ironic" position, as you might imagine, is a difficult one to hold, especially as very well-meaning and socially-minded individuals want numbers—pounds lifted out, numbers of needles collected—because this "proof," this certainty, is what can drive social policy.

KM: *Thames River Rally is offering some of this proof now, yes? I'm thinking about the needle bins that London CAReS picks up, the quantifiable bags of garbage that the city takes away after a rally. Are you a force in the city's social policy, now that you are in your third season?*

ML: Not directly; not yet. But at the same time, we are citizens in action, and various public groups have been interested in our volunteer efforts. And, as we learn more about the various groups, we learn more about the policies, missions, and concerns that shape and direct a relationship to the river and the local environment. Right now, London is involved in initiatives to re-imagine the river's relationship to the city, and it is exciting to be involved in a project that seems to be timely, in that it overlaps with the work that many public groups, as well as London itself, are doing.

KM: *Thank you for the generosity you've shown, not only by talking with me, but by re-introducing me to the Thames River—near which I was born—and by inviting me to be part of your rallies.*

ML: I want to thank you, too, for your many questions to me about the river and our work. I've been thinking about our talk—and also about the very fact of our talk—how care is something that opens a thoughtfulness, a new current of friendship, and of thinking, of an invitation for those things. To say it plainly: thanks for your willingness to walk and talk the river.

Kerry Manders is a writer and photographer whose work examines gender, memory, and mourning. She currently teaches in the Department of English at York University, Toronto, and her essays have appeared in Latch, Media Tropes, Magenta Magazine, C Magazine*, and* The New York Times.

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CHRISTINA FOISY

What My Father Carries

The night my father carried the dog on his back up the hill, behind the house
her body, wrapped in a chewed afghan, still warm from the night before,
his feet sunk into the marsh with the weight, yet he continued, searching
ground that was sturdy and somewhat haunted.

Before the dog, my mother's death left a space in the house that he could never fill.
He began to accumulate what he could "one day" use to rebuild shattered bonds.
The cemetery of objects left to rot in the rain: sheets of metal, pool ladders, chairs--
weigh into the saturated ground as testimonies of what remains broken.

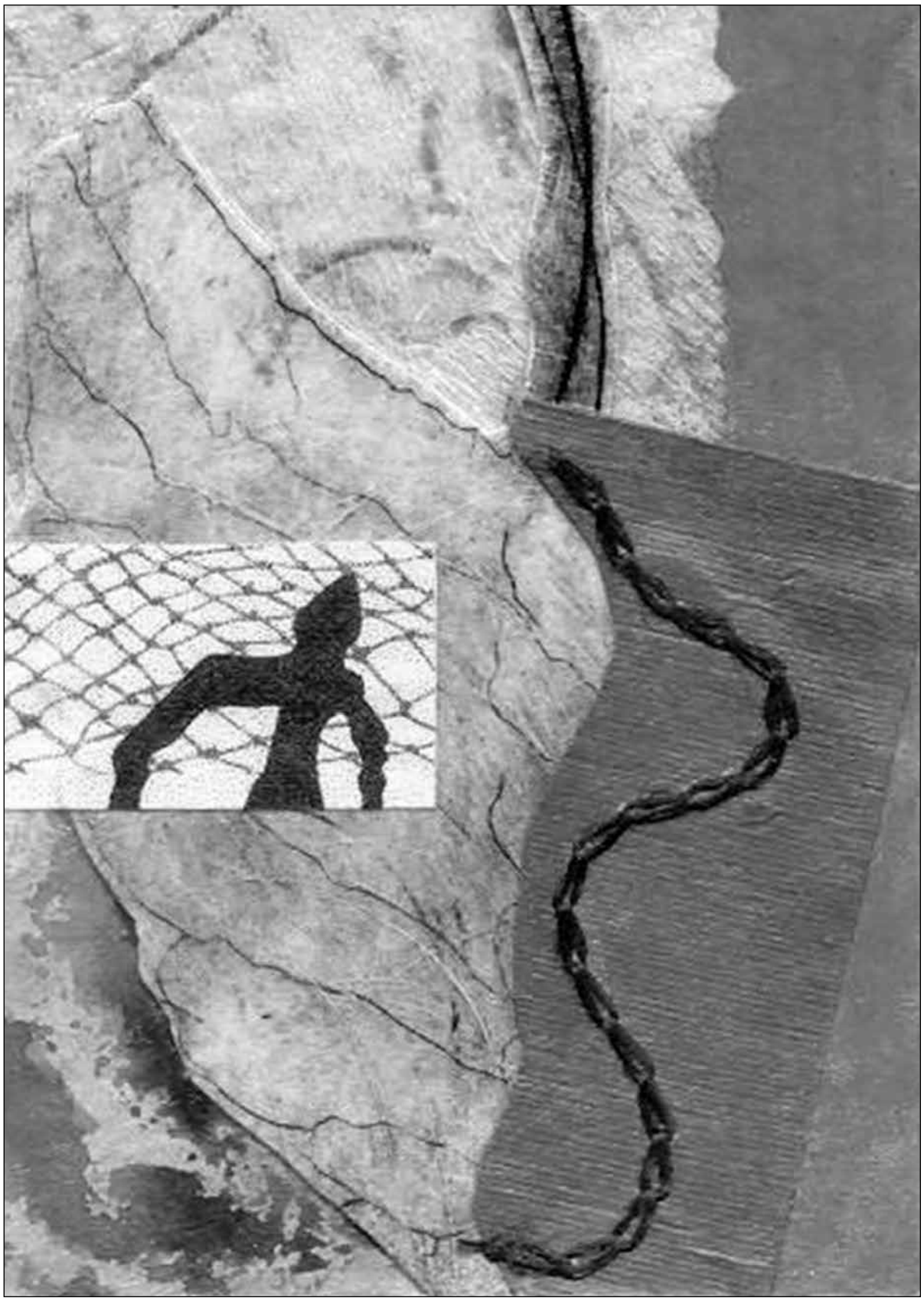
If only my father would dig a hole big enough to dump our house into--
as a renovation for his hoarded heart, a sort of mourning in re-covery.
He likes to call his things "antiques" saying: "you can't go out and buy *that*!"
Because *that* doesn't have a name anymore.

To him, that nameless object might come in use
someday, and that's enough. To name what he might need,
will be like encountering a long lost friend on the street
or a wedding photo in between a stack of magazines.

The dog would never leave his side, unlike the women who visited him with rented movies
showcasing promises of moving-in and cooking his meals—all left a slipper
or a brush behind in an empty seat at the table,
now stacked with phone books.

The grave is all too familiar, dulled down to a silence we understand.
Rocks stacked ornamentally around a sapling tree,
my father engraved dog-tags, placed them carefully to mark her death
and pissed around the mound periodically to ward off wolves and coyotes.

Christina Foisy's previous work, both creative and academic, has appeared in POIESIS: A Journal of Art and Communication*, the* Journal of the Motherhood Initiative*, and the WomanMade Gallery (in Chicago). She is currently a Ph.D. student at York University in Humanities, and student of the Toronto New School of Writing. Her research focuses on memoirs, life writing and poetry by survivors of electroshock therapy (ECT)—and the nuances of remembering/forgetting a life re-routed by shock. She also has a background in Creative Writing and Women's Studies (B.A. Concordia University) where she contributed prose and poetry to student-based journals and 'zines such as* Subversions *and* Lickety Split.



Pegi Eyers, "Skye River," 2012, mixed media, 2.5 x 3.5 inches.

Indigenous Women, Water Justice and *Zaagidowin* (Love)

DEBORAH MCGREGOR

Le principe de "zaagidowinza" ou l'amour est l'élément central pour définir la répartition égalitaire de l'eau. Le terme ¨amour¨a plusieurs significations en Anishinaabemowin, mais nous verrons comment le principe légal Anishinaabek réalise le bien-être ou le Mnaamodzawin. Nous verrons aussi que le principe amour était et est toujours inclus dans les WaterWalks de la Mère-Terre, que je discuterai dans mon texte. Je considérerai la notion de justice environnementale, de l'eau en particulier. A ce sujet, les Anishinaabek considèrent non seulement les traumatismes subis par les peuplades et autres qui sont dus à la contamination de l'eau, etc., mais ils estiment que les eaux sont des êtres sensibles qui ont besoin de soins pour guérir de ces traumatismes. Seulement quand les eaux seront guéries et capables de remplir leur devoir face à la Création, la justice de l'eau sera alors reconnue.

> *I can feel the water, I can hear the water, I can sense the water, you can do all of that too, if you listen to it.* —Josephine Mandamin

I would like to open by saying *Chi-miigwech* (a big thank-you) to those Elders/Grandmothers who have shared their stories and teachings with me over the years. Some have since passed on and I hope that through my words, their love and generosity will continue the process of healing the people and waters upon which they so integrally depend.

The paper which follows contains many references to notions of love, mutual respect, and responsibility towards the natural world, and water in particular. These ideas may seem a little tenuous for a serious paper on a critical environmental justice issue, but concepts of love, kindness and generosity are not naive ideals in Anishinaabek society. These obligations and relationships are living examples of Anishinaabek natural law. They are principles that have enabled us to thrive for millennia, and may in fact prove to be of the utmost relevance in our quest for sustainability.

People must relate to water in order to live. This is true no matter where you reside, whether in cities, on-reserve, or in rural communities; what you do (your occupation or livelihood); your age; the nature of your relationship to water (good, bad, indifferent); or what your beliefs are about water (whether you view it primarily as a resource, a commodity, a human right, a life-giving substance, or a sentient being). All humanity shares this basic need for survival: at a fundamental level we need water to live, as the United Nations General Assembly recognized in a 2010 resolution.

Such basic understandings, from an Anishinaabek perspective, provide the foundation for what is referred to as "natural law," which is derived from fundamental experiences and "observations of the natural world" (Borrows 29). Through Anishinaabek interactions and lived experience with the natural world, we derive a great deal of knowledge. As Cecil King states, "We gained our knowledge by living on this land" (5). Among this knowledge were laws such as the *Enendagwad*, or "Law of the Orders" (2), governing human relationships with other Orders of beings, and the *Ginamadawinan*:

> [a] code of conduct, a set of lessons, derived from the Law of the Orders....They spoke of what was appropriate behaviour, what was forbidden, and the

> responsibility ensuing from each. These laws pertained to the relationships among human beings as well as the awesome responsibilities of co-existence with members of the other orders. (5)

Enendagwad and *Ginamadawinan* form the foundation of the way that we conduct ourselves and relate to other beings in Creation. Properly understanding and enacting such natural law requires vast knowledge of the environment and how it functions in ensuring survival for all of Creation. In this sense, natural laws are not created by people; rather, they are derived from nature and they apply to all of Creation. Indigenous legal traditions, in part, build upon natural law (Borrows 28). In this way, the Anishinaabek have developed laws, protocols and practices over time to ensure that relationships with water remained in balance, and that life continues. Establishing and maintaining healthy relationships with Creation has thus been a pre-occupation of Indigenous peoples since time immemorial (LaValley 19).

The United Nations (UN) is catching up to the Anishinaabek. In response to increasing recognition of water scarcity, the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) in 2010 adopted Resolution 64/292: *Human Right to Water and Sanitation,* which is intended to guarantee that water and sanitation are available, accessible, safe, and affordable for all people, without discrimination. More than just within the UNGA, political, economic, legal and technical debates around water continue to dominate global environmental discourse (see, for example, Davidson-Harden et al.). Nonetheless, water justice remains elusive for many. The water crisis in Canada, for example, reveals that many of those issues identified in international fora are of significant concern for people in this country, and that Indigenous peoples are particularly vulnerable.[1]

In this paper, I describe how water justice, as understood by the Anishinaabek, can be achieved by considering the concept of *zaagidowin* (or "love") as central to achieving water justice. The term "love" has multiple meanings in Anishinaabemowin, as Nigonwedom James Sinclair discusses, but in this paper we will see that it can be understood as an Anishinaabek legal principle for achieving well-being, or *Mnaamodzawin*. We will also see that this principle of love was and is being enacted and embodied through the Mother Earth Water Walks (MEWW). I will also consider the notion of environmental justice, and water justice in particular. Water justice, in Anishinaabek understanding, considers not only the trauma experienced by people and other life due to water contamination, etc., but values the waters themselves as sentient beings in need of healing from historical traumas. Only when the waters are well and able to fulfil their duties to all of Creation is water justice achieved. We begin with a brief discussion of the historical trauma that the waters, and the peoples relying on the waters, have undergone, and from which they must recover.

Water Injustice: Historical Trauma

The dominant discourse on water, including the water justice movement, continues to view *nibi* (water) primarily as a resource. The water justice movement is for the most part ocused on developing viable alternatives to increased commercialization, commodification and privatization of waters. Understanding the nature of water remains problematic, but is generally limited to "competing definitions of water as either a fundamental human right or a commodity to be bought and sold" (Davidson-Harden et al. 3). Anishinaabe worldview, as expressed through undertakings such as the Mother Earth Water Walks, transcends this binary conception of water and expands notions of justice to include responsibilities to non-human entities and the waters.[2] In November 2014, Katrina Walters, of the Choctaw Nation, delivered a profoundly thoughtful lecture at the International Indigenous Research Conference in Aukland, New Zealand. In her keynote address, "Transcending Historical Trauma with Loving Responsibility," she made explicit reference to *love* as a critical principle for ensuring the well-being of future generations. Water, she stated, offers an ideal example of how we (as Indigenous peoples) are connected to our ancestors and future generations at the same place and moment in time. *Water transcends time and space*. In some respects, the waters we interact with in the present are the same waters our ancestors experienced, and the same ones that may be experienced by future generations in turn, should we take care of the waters sufficiently to ensure their (and our) future viability. This understanding holds us, as the current generation, highly accountable, and obliges us to ensure that our grandchildren, great grandchildren, and so on, can engage with the waters as we have.

Water connects generations over time, and can do so in both healing and destructive ways, depending on how the various generations interact with it. Walters explained that the waters we interact with today have experienced historical traumas, just as we have as Indigenous peoples, to the point where the waters are no longer able to fulfil their duties. Myself, I do not know the waters of the Great Lakes in the same way my ancestors did. Indeed, my own children are not able to relate to the

waters the same way I did growing up. As a child, I grew up being able to drink the water from the bay in front of my home. In my lifetime the water quality in this bay, while still considered quite clean in most respects, has deteriorated to the point where my family can no longer safely drink it without effectively filtering or otherwise treating it. My ancestors were able to fish from the lakes and not worry about contamination, but as I was growing up, fish advisories were (and still are) common, especially for women of childbearing age.

The distress that waters experience is well documented, although it is not generally expressed as trauma. Understanding water as having experienced historical trauma requires a different approach to restoration and healing, including recognition of the waters as sentient. It certainly involves recognizing that water injustice has had devastating impacts on the well-being of many Indigenous communities in Canada, with Grassy Narrows, Kashechewan, and Aamjiwnaang serving as infamous examples. Okay to leave out reference, then, issues are well known enough. (Dhillon and Young).

Not only has our own relationship to water been disrupted through displacement, relocation, and alienation, but the waters, too, have experienced alienation through these same processes. Indeed, many scholars have documented the negative impacts of human activities on water, and how this in turn causes people to be negatively affected (see, for example, Phare, or Davidson-Harden et al.). As an Anishinaabe-kwe, I learned from many Elders how the actions of people have disrupted the ability of the waters to fulfil their responsibilities around giving and supporting life. I understood how these actions also constitute injustice to the waters and that balance and reciprocity with them needs to be restored.[3]

Healing Principles: Power, Love and Vision

Addressing the historical traumas of the waters via existing and proposed political, legal, and technical "fixes" is not likely to restore balance, achieve justice or facilitate healing. For example, the Government of Canada's response to the First Nation water crisis, the *Safe Drinking Water for First Nations Act* (2013), does not address historical trauma in water. The Act may in fact cause more trauma to occur. How, then, do we restore balance in our relationships with water, when the waters remain traumatized?

Healing from historical trauma can occur through power, love and vision, and these concepts apply to waters as well people. This is the approach that was taken by Katrina Walters in her community-healing journey that traced the path of her ancestors along the Trail of Tears, their forced relocation. Acknowledging the historical trauma of her ancestors and the Earth offered people the power to heal. To exercise such power means permission is not required to heal ourselves or the earth.

As Indigenous peoples, we can work toward healing through *loving* responsibility; through caring for ourselves, our communities and the Earth (waters, forests, animals, etc.). It is not enough to heal ourselves; we are obligated to heal with the Earth to fully recover from historical trauma and reclaim *well-being*. Power enables us to take up our responsibilities with care and love. Loving responsibilities and obligations flow from natural laws and thus are not mandated by governments through legislation, policies, funding or programs. Instead, knowing our responsibilities gives us power to act.

Vision for the future directly links us to both our ancestors and our descendents: What was the vision of our ancestors? Our ancestors had agency; they made choices despite the larger political, economic and military forces at play, and their decisions were based on ensuring the *well-being* of future generations (King 256). Our ancestors made important decisions, including treaty decisions, based on *loving responsibility* to future generations. In a documentary for the CBC radio programme *Ideas*, Anishinaabe legal scholar John Borrows argues that love was "almost always present even in the face of sharp disagreement in referring to historic treaties.". How will we, as the current generations, make decisions? How will we enact our loving responsibilities to future generations? How will we ensure our descendents live well?

The Anishinaabek have always been water people (Nelson 217).

***Water transcends time and space*. In some respects, the waters we interact with in the present are the same waters our ancestors experienced, and the same ones that may be experienced by future generations in turn, should we take care of the waters sufficiently to ensure their (and our) future viability.**

Historical trauma to the peoples and environment has been recognized in Anishinaabek communities. Anishinaabe writer Lawrence Gross described the results of such ecological destruction as "postapocalypse stress syndrome" (qtd. in Miner 328). How do we recover from this trauma? How do we go about achieving justice for the waters in light of it?

Loving Responsibilities and Enacting Anishinaabek Law

> *I go on my knees and I take the water in my hands, and I wash it over my face. When I did that for the first time with Lake Superior water, that water really spoke to me. It's almost like being in love for the first time. I felt a great deal of love for the water. That feeling of being in love with water is cemented in my being.*
>
> —Josephine Mandamin

The Mother Earth Water Walks (MEWWS) were initiated in 2003 by Anishinaabe women, led by Grandmother Josephine Mandamin. The aim was to raise awareness of the sacred connection between people, especially women, and the waters. This action was taken in response to the decades and even centuries of rising pollution levels in the Great Lakes and elsewhere, and the increasing need for people everywhere to take action to protect the waters by renewing their responsibilities towards them. In order to achieve this, the group established a goal of walking the perimeter of each of the Great Lakes, covering one lake each spring.

The ideology behind the MEWWS remains distinct from the dominant political discourse, even within the Indigenous arena. The MEWWS relied on a different epistemic foundation and were not motivated by a political agenda, but sought to re-establish reciprocal relationships with the waters through healing journeys (Anderson et al. 16). The Walks were born out of *love* for the waters (Mandamin 21). They were a call to consciousness by current generations, a call to enact obligations to ensure that future generations would know the waters as healthy living entities. The Walks were grounded in enacting Anishinaabekwe responsibilities to care for and speak for water. There is now a grassroots "water walk movement," which has since been taken up by women of many nations.

These Walks were not the first time Anishinabek had traversed the waters of the Great Lakes (Nelson 217). As Cecil King indicates, there is a long, pre-contact history of Anishinaabek on and around the waters of the Great Lakes (1). The Mother Earth Water Walks were not inspired by a simple or narrow political agenda, but by respecting Anishinaabek natural law and reawakening peoples' understanding of the requirements for maintaining harmonious and reciprocal relationships among beings. Natural law is always present, and must be remembered and enacted for healthy human relationships with other beings to continue. The MEWWS were undertaken for the peoples, for the waters and for everything that depends on water to live. From an Anishinaabe perspective, there is a clear need to re-affirm our understanding of natural law in order to ensure the continued existence of all of Creation.

The intention of the MEWWS was to honour, respect, and heal waters,—the very same values that have motivated our ancestors since time immemorial. The MEWWS represent a living enactment of natural law, an expression of the original instructions, as relevant today as they were to our ancestors centuries ago, long before encounters with the newcomers. In that sense, the Water Walks movement is ancient, much the like the waters, connecting the past, present and future. Josephine Mandamin, in "walking the talk," has inspired a grassroots movement that will continue to grow as Ansihinaabek continue to "pick up their bundles" (14).

The MEWWS have not been taken up by Indigenous and non-Indigenous media in the same way as other recent movements such as Idle No More. However, the lack of political commentary and social media attention does not mean the MEWWS are any less important a movement. To date, the MEWW have had little impact on broader public policy debates or negotiations; they were, for example, completely ignored as part of the consultation and development of the *First Nations Drinking Water Act* (2013) and associated policies.

Josephine Mandamin continues to devote a considerable amount of time to mentoring and assisting others as they initiate activities such as the Migration Water Walk, planned for 2015, to re-trace the original migration from the east. Mandamin's involvement in canoe-making and canoe journeys serves as an innovative extension of the work of the Water Walks movement. A canoe journey requires spending time *on* the waters, thus strengthening and building upon the relationships gained by walking around them. Mandamin's participation in the 2012 Coast Salish Tribal Canoe Journey with youth activist Sylvia Plain of the Aamjiwaang First Nation, enacted Anishinaabek diplomacy by engaging in nation-to-nation relations with over 100 different canoe families from various Indigenous nations around the world (McGregor and Plain 2014: 97).

The MEWWS have grown to the point where the success of the movement is not reliant on one person or organization. Many women have taken up the role of speaking and caring for water, thus renewing their traditional responsibilities: the

Anishinaabe Kweag's defence of the Alliston Aquifer is one such example (Monague 21). In another example, Anishinabe-kwe activist Lynzii Taibassigai of the M'Chigeeng First Nation organized community water walks and environmental youth camps and founded the *Love Shkakmi-kwe Project* (Love Mother Earth Project). Although some water-related activism of Indigenous women, such as the Aki Kwe in Bkejwanong Territory, began prior to the establishment of the Water Walks many youth water activists credit Grandmother Josephine as their inspiration. Through sharing her stories, Grandmother Mandamin shares traditional knowledge regarding taking care of water and enriches our understanding of the relationships involved.

referred to as the "Seven Grandfathers teaching," have been applied in numerous contexts, particularly health and education. *Zaagidowin* as a concept is generally missing in political and public policy discourse (Borrows 2014), yet it is not usual to refer to love as an important guiding principle in Anishinaabek political, legal and treaty discussions. "Love is the capacity for caring and desire for harmony and well-being in interpersonal relationships and with the environment" (Bell 94). *Zaagidowin*, like water, transcends time and space; it links us inexplicably to our ancestors and future generations.

racism, colonialism, the expression of *Zaagidowin* in our relations with others becomes increasing difficult, yet it is a guiding principle for how to conduct ourselves in a "good" way. However, love is a powerful force in Anishinaabe creation and re-creation stories. For example, in the Anishinabe re-creation story, Muskrat is willing to sacrifice his life to bring a morsel of soil to surface for Sky-Woman. Muskrat is motivated by love for Creation and compassion for Sky-Woman in making his decision. Love continues to guide our vision, our future.

By literally walking around each lake, Grandmother Mandamin and the water walkers retrace the steps of the ancestors to reclaim the ancestors' vision of *Mnaamodzawin.* Enacting *Mnaamodzawin* involves establishing loving and personal relationships with the waters: *coming to know* them.

Mnaamodzawin: Being Our Ancestors' Sons and Daughters

The spirit and intent of the mother Earth walks legacy continues and has awakened many youth to their inherent rights and responsibilities to attain the Anishinaabek ideal of *Mnaamodzawin,*[4] or the total state of being well (Manitowabi and Maar 117). *Mnaamodzawin* involves living on respectful and reciprocal terms with all of Creation on multiple planes (spiritual, intellectual, emotional and physical) and scales (family, clan, nation, universe). *Mnaamodzawin* is guided by the seven original teachings: love, honesty, respect, truth, bravery, wisdom and humility (Bell 93). The original teachings, often

For example, Anishinaabek communities in the Manitoulin area have developed their own set of ethical research guidelines based on the principles of the Seven Grandfathers teaching, and interpreted love in a research context as thinking of the well-being of future generations. In this project, ethical research was guided by our ancestors and our descendants: the guidelines ask "Is the obtained information shared in a way that will benefit the future 7th generation? Does it reflect our love for the future generation and their survival?" (Noojimamowin Teg 10). Love is not an easy concept to embrace in the face of the violence and environmental degradation that many Indigenous peoples face every day. Anishinaabe scholar Niigaanwewidam James Sinclair observes that love "may be the greatest Anishinaabeg face in the coming years" (96). In the face of continued oppression, violence,

By literally walking around each lake, Grandmother Mandamin and the water walkers retrace the steps of the ancestors to reclaim the ancestors' vision of *Mnaamodzawin*. Enacting *Mnaamodzawin* involves establishing loving and personal relationships with the waters: *coming to know* them. By participating in a MEWW, in experiencing the hardships of the journey, it is possible to face and overcome challenges, and to feel the presence of the ancestors. The journey is one of mutual recognition: just as the waters become known to the walkers, the waters come to know the walkers—a connection is forged. Moreover, the obligations to attain *Mnaamodzawin* are *mutual.* The waters encountered on the journeys are recognized as living entities imbued with both the power to heal and the need to be healed. Grandmother Mandamin speaks of how waters are often in need of prayer, song, meditation and ceremonies (21). In retracing the

path of the ancestors, as the MEWW walkers do, we create a future for our descendants based on love.

Conclusion: Achieving Water Justice

> *Knowing that you love the earth changes you, activates you to defend and protect and celebrate. But when you feel that the earth loves you in return, that feeling transforms the relationship from a one-way street into a sacred bond.*
>
> —Robin Kimmerer

The MEWW movement offers a profoundly different way of understanding water's relationship to humanity than mainstream discourse offers. The water walkers are able to listen to the stories told by the waters, both good and bad. The waters are witness to our history and remember times long before contact. The responsibility we have to re-establish our relationships with the waters is based on love. Our love for the waters will help the waters recover from historical trauma, and in turn, the waters will hopefully love us and assist us in recovering from our own traumas. Lovingly enacted responsibilities, as undertaken by the water walkers, will assist in the restoration of appropriate co-healing relationships with water.

Water justice will be achieved when *Mnaamodzawin* is realized, not only for people, but for the waters as well. The work of the MEWW movement extends the current conception of water justice to include the well-being of the waters, not just for the sake of humanity, but for all of Creation. Anishinaabe scientist Robin Kimmerer observes that there is much that we humans cannot control, especially when confronted with such rapid environmental changes as those due to human-induced climate change, but "…what we are in control of is our relationship to the earth.... Here is where our most challenging and rewarding work lies, in restoring a relationship of respect, responsibility and reciprocity. And love" (336).

How, then, do we renew the covenant between people and the waters? Josephine Mandamin suggests fostering healing relationships with the waters by changing our mindset from one of *taking* to one of *giving*. In the Anishinaabek tradition, this means also learning from the teachings of Windigo, a cannibalistic being that simply consumes and destroys. From Windigo, we learn that greed and obsessive consumption are destructive. "For the Anishinaabek today, windigos come in different forms, even today. There are other harmful forms of cannibaslitic consumption that destroys land and people" (Kimmerer 84). We can choose the path of the windigo or the path of *Mnaamodzawin.* We can choose a path of "taking," or one of "giving".

Humanity is the recipient of the generosity of the Earth, and in turn, we must share and give something of ourselves back to the Earth, including the waters. Inherent in Anishinaabek ways of life are ways of engaging in reciprocity with other beings, such as ceremonies, prayers, and fasting. Mandamin urges us to …"go and sit on her [Earth's] lap and be without food and water for four days, seven days, however long you are able" (21). When we fast, we do not take from the Earth. For Anishinaabe at least, returning to some of these traditional practices may be helpful in re-establishing an appropriate approach for achieving *Mnaamodzawin*, and in the process healing the Earth. The importance of these views was underlined by Elder Robin Green, whose explanation of Anishinaabek concepts of sustainability will always remain with me: understanding these concepts must begin with asking ourselves the question every day, "What is our gift to the Earth going to be?" Robin Greene has passed away, but I write about his ideas in two works. McGregor (2004: 76) and (2013: 86).

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[1]For further discussion see, for example, McGregor 2012; Swain et al.; and Walken.

[2]The understanding of water as expressed through the Anishinaabek, Muskegowuk & Onkwehonwe Water Declaration includes, but it not limited to: rain waters, waterfalls, rivers, streams, creeks, lakes, mountain springs, swamp springs, bedrock water veins, oceans, icebergs, snow, and the seas (COO).

[3]I discuss this understanding in my 2009 article "Honouring Our Relations."

[4]*Mnaamodzawin*, *Bimaadiziwin*, *Minobimasawin*, and *Pimadaziwin* are all Anishinaabemowin language variations of the concept of the art of living well (see Bell; King; LaDuke)

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JANNA PAYNE

disregarding the pain of others

try your hand at slinging. sling yourself from coast to coast. sling yourself to big cities, small towns,
and into loving arms. sling your truth. sling your glory. sling like you mean it. sling underdogs.
sling the underdogs up, up, and closer to you level. sling, sling. almost
to eye level. sling them close but not too close. still a little
worse off. sling words like good and bad as though
they exist. sling them as though god himself
swept down and endowed you with an extra sharp
moral compass. sling your moral compass. sling it at
parties. sling it far. sling it wide. sling a downward glance at others.
sling, sling. sling you love at the lonely, the lowly, and the mangled. sling the
lowest of low. sling your body, your mind, your expertise. sling your services, your
compliments, your sympathy. sling your way on up, on up to heaven, where good and bad exist.
where the slingers of the lowly dwelleth.

then,
slung out,
consider that
encountering
the other
is about
encountering
the self.

Janna Payne is a Canadian poet. Her work has recently been featured (or is forthcoming) in: BROAD: A Feminist and Social Justice Magazine, Communities, Role/Reboot, Room, The Steel Chisel, *and* Women and Environments Magazine. *To read more, visit www.facebook.com/jannaspeaks.*

ANDREA THOMPSON

Two-Spirit People

She says
This may be crossing the line…
but because I like her, I say
Fine, cross away.

So she does
digs right in and says
Sometimes when you talk, you offer a disclaimer first
Begin an apparently declarative statement with
"I could be wrong here" or "I'm not really sure … "
And when you do that, Sister
you give away your power.

She says she knows cause she's a tranny
a term I wasn't sure that I understand fully
only knew, even though she looked like a boy
she understood when I call her *she.*

I know what it's like, s/he tells me
to cut yourself down before you've sprung up from a seed.
That's why they'd call us in - people like me.

In an ancient Native tradition
whenever there was a dispute in the village
between the men and women
they'd call one of us Two-Spirit people in
to negotiate a resolution.

So we'd go over to this side of the river where the men were, and listen
mmm hmmm, ah ha, ah ha…
then go over to the other side of the river where the women were, and
mmm hmmm, ah ha…

Then we'd tell them what we thought.
Because they asked us, and because we know
how to be both.

So I can tell you
men don't do that
don't put themselves down
before they open up their mouth.

Most men speak without apology
respect their own opinion enough
to present it with authority.

But women, a lot of women
say, "Sorry…."
say, " I don't really know, but…"
then offer priceless wisdom up.

Drop a gem with the power to heal the world
with a preface that establishes
their words don't really matter.

Or worse
hold that gem
under their tongue
cold as stone
never to be heard.

Don't do it, she says
don't apologize and cower.

If you have something to say
stand up straight
and speak your mind
from your heart
from your soul.

Let your words hold your power.

Writer and spoken word artist Andrea Thompson has performed her work at venues across North America and overseas for the past twenty years. Andrea is the author of the novel, Over Our Heads, co-editor of the anthology Other Tongues: Mixed Race Women Speak Out, author of the poetry collection Eating the Seed, and creator of the Urban Muisc Award nominated CD, One. Andrea is a graduate of the University of Guelph's MFA Creative Writing program, and currently teaches Spoken Word through the Ontario College of Art and Design's Continuing Studies department.

KAY R. EGINTON

Setting Things to Rights

Snow clings to the fragile trees
  a blizzard whiting out
The scene, brought to its knees;
  once domestic, now the weather.

They cower under bridges, children also.
  Or in doorways,
Homeless relics of a time
  when "human" was not just

A rhyme, clever
  but intended in the snow?
Below the line of sight,
  below expectations?

The snow blows horizontal.
We return now and then
  to observations elemental.
Perhaps someone, somewhere

Can set things to rights again.

Kay R. Eginton is the author of Poems *(Penfield Press, 1981). She lives in Iowa City, Iowa.*

JOANNA M. WESTON

Bow Poised Over Violin

this beginning-
the moment
before touch

the pause
that grasps time
and lingers

then- the bow sweeps down
lifts a note
into hearing

high C that had waited
under flesh
now—

invades light
- hangs spot-lit
tremulous
before loss

Joanna M. Weston's new collection of poetry, A Bedroom of Searchlights*, is forthcoming from Inanna in spring 2016.*

Meaningful Engagement

Women, Diverse Identities and Indigenous Water and Wastewater Reponsibilities

JO-ANNE LAWLESS, DOROTHY TAYLOR, RACHAEL MARSHALL, EMILY NICKERSON AND KIM ANDERSON

Les auteurs de cet article sont un collectif composé de membres des Premières Nations, des métis, ils habitent la ville ou sur les réserves, ils sont jeunes, il y a des mères, des grands-mères, ils sont les gardiens du savoir autochtone, des historiens, des étudiants ingénieurs et d'autres en sciences sociales Nous avons travaillé ensemble sur "Naanaagide'enmodaa Nibi: Occupons-nous de l'eau," un projet fondé par le Réseau des eaux canadiennes. Cette initiative veut promouvoir l'autonomie des communautés autochtones et leurs décisions se rapportant à l'eau et aux eaux usées qui historiquement étaient soumises à des contrôles dictés par le gouvernement pour la qualité de l'eau, la sécurité. Souvent les projets étaient en conflit avec le savoir traditionnel et local de l'eau. Dans un esprit de collaboration, le projet cherche à établir des façons d'inciter les dirigeants autochtones, les ingénieurs des Premières nations et ceux de l'Ouest, les autochtones instruits ainsi que les membres des communautés Inuit et Premières Nations à travailler ensemble, créant ainsi un cadre spécifique aux communautés et culturellement approprié. En particulier, nous regardons comment le savoir traditionnel autochtone et la connaissance scientifique pourraient se recouper par le biais de nos relations et des nouvelles responsabilités face à l'eau.

> *Indigenous women are the holders of the rights to the waters.*
>
> —2008 Water Declaration of the First Nations in Ontario

In October of 2008, the Chiefs of Ontario issued a *Water Declaration of the First Nations in Ontario* following an assembly where they met "to discuss First Nations perspectives on the waters, including water quality, water quantity, safe drinking water and models forward" (Chiefs of Ontario 1). The third and fourth statements of the declaration made it clear that Indigenous[1] women hold significant authority for overseeing the well-being of the waters in their territories:

> First Nations women are the keepers of water as women bring babies into the world carried on by the breaking of the water and;
>
> First Nations in Ontario, through the teachings of women, have the responsibility to care for the land and the waters of creation.

These statements reflect teachings among various Indigenous peoples in Canada that link women and water (see, for example, Anderson; Bedard; McGregor). The understanding is that because of their capacity to give life, women have a unique relationship with water—the source of all life (Anderson 9). Many Indigenous cultures acknowledge that, as with the human body, the body of mother earth is comprised mostly of water; waters that represent her veins and the waters she uses to fulfill life-giving cycles, abilities and responsibilities (11). Whether they give birth or not, women are understood to have capacities and responsibilities for taking care of their own waters as well as those of the original mother. This paper tells the story of how the authors—Indigenous and non-Indigenous women of diverse identities and knowledges—collaborated to take up responsibilities for water through a project that integrated Indigenous knowledge and engineering.

Collectively, the authors have First Nations, Métis and settler identities; are urban- and reserve based; are youth, mothers and grandmothers; and are Indigenous knowledge keepers, historians, social scientists, and engineering students. We have been working together on *Naanaagide'enmodaa Nibi: Let's Look After the Water,* a research project funded by the Canadian Water Network. This project is taking place in four Indigenous communities in Canada[2] and in collaboration with researchers from the University of Guelph, Nipissing University, the University of Saskatchewan, and Wilfrid Laurier University.[3] The goal of the *Naanaagide'enmodaa Nibi* project is to foster autonomy in water and wastewater decision-making in Indigenous communities who have, historically, been operating under government-imposed frameworks of water quality, safety, and design, and which are frequently in conflict with traditional and local understandings of water. In a collaborative spirit, the project seeks to establish ways in which Indigenous water operators and managers, First Nation and Western engineers, Indigenous scholars, and members of First Nations and Inuit communities might work together toward creating community-specific and culturally-appropriate water management frameworks. Given the technical issues in water and wastewater management faced by First Nations and the engineering community who seek to provide respectful solutions for them, our paper looks at what was learned by some of the women involved with the Curve Lake site of the project. In particular, we look at how traditional Indigenous and scientific knowledge found a space to intersect through our relationships, and through newfound responsibilities to water.

Balancing Knowledges

We acknowledge upfront that there are two potential lines of thought that one might follow in determining how to bring together the differing outlooks of Native communities and Western science overall. The 1613 Haudenosaunee Two Row Wampum treaty with the Dutch was established to address diplomatic relations between the two nations, declaring peaceful coexistence between the two. This treaty, portrayed by the parallel lines of the wampum belt, guides Haudenosaunee approaches to negotiation to the present day, and gives emphasis to equality between nations, and, in particular, the non-interference of one with the other (Muller). In terms of ecological knowledge and understanding, the Two Row treaty asserts that the Dutch and the Haudenosaunee people carried different knowledges, and that there was no benefit in meshing the two.

Contrast this treaty with Mi'kmaq Elder Albert Marshall's teaching of Two-Eyed Seeing; the practice of "learning to see from one eye with the strengths of Indigenous knowledges and ways of knowing and from the other eye with the strengths of Western knowledges and ways of knowing and to using both these eyes together for the benefit of all" (Bartlett, Marshall and Marshall 335). Marshall emphasizes the need to combine diverse ways of understanding in order to better meet the challenges inherent in post-colonial society, through collaborative effort.

As a result of participating in this project, we argue that while First Nations communities are chronically under-resourced and struggle with capacity, the question is not really *whether* policy, governance and infrastructure, and technical expertise are needed, but, rather, *how* they might be configured and applied, while reflecting the traditional ecological and local knowledge of the people.

Background: First Nations Water and Wastewater Challenges and Directions

At the time of this writing, there are 127 boil water advisories in effect, in 86 First Nation communities in Canada, outside of British Columbia (Health Canada). Reserves are far more likely than the general population in Canada to have high-risk drinking water systems in place, despite the federal government's 1977 promise to "provide water and sanitation services comparable to similarly-situated non-Aboriginal communities" (Boyd 1).

The implementation of the government's technologies, policies, and procedures has not proven to be effective or appropriate in the specific context of Indigenous communities. Water infrastructure management is problematic in First Nations for many reasons, not least of which is a failure of the government to consult Aboriginal communities in making crucial decisions about water. Anishinaabe legal scholar John Borrows notes that:

> Indigenous people are often submerged and invisible in their own land because the province does not make provision for a representation of their interests. These federalist structures organize, separate, and allocate water and rocks in a manner which promotes unequal distributions of political influence. A "legal" geography is thus constructed which marginalizes Indigenous peoples in significant environmental decision making (420).

In their 2012 study of issues related to safe drinking water on reserve, Jerry White, Laura Murphy and Nicholas Spence found that policy and jurisdictional issues are at the heart of the struggle, pointing out that "If the issue were simply a matter of funding shortfalls, the problem would be more easily solved" (1), and "Technology is also not the issue" (1). The United Nations has stressed the

significant role communities must play in water management; the approach suggested by the United Nations recognizes "the roles of communities and, partially, local governments and non-government organizations (NGOs) in water supply" (Langford 275). In 2006, the Chiefs of Ontario published a report on Aboriginal Knowledge and Source Water Protection, calling for the application of Indigenous knowledge while maintaining autonomy in the midst of collaboration. The report stressed, "Chiefs must listen to their Elders and people; they cannot make their decisions about our land and water resources solely on what the settler population wants and needs" (Lavelley 15). Combining Indigenous and Western scientific ways of knowing has had more uptake in recent years and Anishinaabe scholar Deborah McGregor has written about the move to call on traditional knowledge for environmental practice in Ontario ("Linking"), and in particular, for water protection ("Traditional Knowledge").

While First Nations communities are chronically under-resourced and struggle with capacity, the question is not really *whether* policy, governance and infrastructure, and technical expertise are needed, but, rather, *how* they might be configured and applied, while reflecting the traditional ecological and local knowledge of the people.

We can attest that this call for integrating knowledges is happening in the area of water and wastewater management as well, as participants in our project network have expressed a strong desire to not only provide systems that will bring water quality to acceptable health standards, but, also to integrate Indigenous traditional understandings of water in the creation of water infrastructure. This interest comes from First Nations communities and organizations, but also from individuals in the engineering field. One demonstration of this is that the *Naanaagide'enmodaa Nibi* project itself was initiated by a non-Indigenous University of Guelph engineering Master's Student (Jason McCullough), upon realizing that he needed to incorporate more than technical solutions into his practice. As Kim Anderson, a professor of Indigenous studies (and a co-author of this paper), notes that, "Jason came to see [her' when he was doing his Master's because he wanted to examine First Nations water infrastructure issues through story and qualitative research—to make space for local and traditional knowledge." The Curve Lake site of our project thus took up the premise that storytelling is one way to begin making change.

Our learning is grounded in story, and so we offer a small piece of the Curve Lake First Nation water story next.

Storytelling, Indigenous Knowledge and Curve Lake First Nation

Curve Lake First Nation is an Anishinaabe community located 25 kilometres northeast of Peterborough, Ontario. The community has 2,177 registered members (1,409 off reserve and 768 on reserve), and is situated on a peninsula and islands in the surrounding Buckhorn and Chemong lakes. Curve Lake is rich with water and water stories, even though interactions with the water have been forcibly altered by flooding, and the subsequent creation of new lakes and water systems following the introduction of the Trent Severn Waterway. Tourism has also had a negative impact upon the quality of the water in the area, affecting the flora and fauna, particularly wild rice.

Our work at Curve Lake began with the hiring of a local youth researcher, Jack Hoggarth. Jack worked for eighteen months, talking to community elders about various periods and relationships with the waters of their territories. We involved other youth and elders in educational activities around local and traditional knowledge and about engineering knowledge of wastewater systems. At one point we hosted a "sewage Olympics" for the children, where they designed their own wastewater systems; we have also shared traditional knowledge about water with local children and encouraged them to tell their own water stories through photography. The authors of this paper were involved at Curve Lake in various ways: coordinating, supporting, helping with educational activities, assisting with writing up the oral histories, beginning to work with technical documents, and envisioning how to integrate traditional and technical knowledge moving forward. With the oral history and introductory phase now complete, we are looking forward to seeing how this local and Indigenous knowledge can be applied to frameworks and strategies related to water protection, safety, security, and management of the systems on the reserve.

Dorothy Taylor, an author on this paper, was also one of the oral historians that worked with Jack. The following excerpt from their conversation demonstrates how Indigenous and local knowledge was central to our learning and work.

"I Pray for the Water Every Day": Dorothy's Water Story at Curve Lake

This area was settled because we were on a peninsula between two lakes, and it was surrounded by cranberries, cranberry bush, and lots of game and wild rice. Pretty well every First Nation, you'll notice they always settle beside a lake or a river, like it's central—the water is essential for food and transportation. And when Curve Lake was first settled, they had every opportunity to put a house down by the shoreline, like we do now, to see the sunrises and sunsets, but they didn't.

Fritzy Taylor brought this to my attention one time, she said, "the old people never built houses along the shoreline" and I said, "I wonder why they didn't?" Because now if you want to build a house by the shoreline it's … um, it's expensive, but in the old days, the first houses were built away from the shoreline. And the reason for that was, because if you lived too close to the lake—everyday living will pollute the water, it will affect the water.

…Another reason why the Elders wouldn't build along the shoreline is because of the Opiango—the water serpent. [My dad' said he had seen it before, and knew people who did see it, mostly on the Buckhorn Lake side. When he used to guide, on most of the lakes, [it was' mostly in Burleigh area, on Lovesick, but he would guide here too. He said he took a couple of Americans out and, if I can think of it right, and they saw, they saw the Opiango [laughs'. Granny Eliza McCue, she would talk about the Opiango all the time on the lakes. There was certain times of the year that they wouldn't go out because they were afraid of that Opiango getting them… it was mostly around, in the spring time. This is my own idea, about how come we don't see that Opiango anymore, because the Opiango is a part of that spirit world, and we're not as connected with that spirit world anymore, you know, the young people.

Jack Hoggarth asks about women's connection to water and Dorothy responds:

*I pray for the water everyday, that's our obligation. Even if it's just a quick prayer, just say "*gchi miigwetch gzheminidoo, emiizhiyaan dementaanaamin se iw nbi, wiidokwe shwaan chi giinwendimaa nbi*"—to help us every day with the water. Now that will thank the Mother Earth for the water, so "now and forever, clear and clean, through the veins of our Mother," that's just a little prayer that I say everyday… and when I'm in my shower, since I learned that nbi [water' song, I sing that four times before I come out of the shower [laughs'. Yeah, I just automatically say "*miigwetch*" [thank you' for the water whenever I have water, and when I cook, I always pray when I cook too. Because you use water to cook with, and I was always taught to pray for that water before I cook.*

This excerpt illustrates principles found in many Indigenous cultures related to water; principles that can be applied to water infrastructure considerations: respect for water; acknowledgement of its spiritual nature; attentiveness to place; and women's responsibilities are all here. Dorothy's practice as an Anishinaabe woman has further shown us how to take up responsibility to water, as prior to our arrival she had spearheaded a collaborative project to protect the waters of the Peterborough area. "The Sacred Water Circle," led by local women, has hosted conferences and engaged in water awareness walks with the aim to "create dialogue around spiritually-based environmental issues, and to motivate communities and governments to act to set policy that will protect our water, by leading with prayer and walking together" (Sacred Water Circle). Dorothy's motivation for doing this work is also part of her story:

Well, now we are lazy and so disconnected from the Earth, and that's why I started this project called the "Sacred Water Circle." To try to teach, bring those spiritual leaders to work with those who are in positions of power and influence, like municipal governments and corporations. So that when they start making decisions that will impact water, they'll have that spiritual understanding and that appreciation for water before they implement any projects. So just to give them that, bring back their awareness about how sacred water really is. Sacred means that it has a higher connection with the higher power, the spirit, and water actually has a spirit, and water is alive. It's what we believe, to give it that respect and that understanding. So, that's what we are trying to communicate with those people who affect [it], how their everyday actions impact the water. We have to be more aware of that now. And those spiritual Elders are the ones who are saying that "No, we have to start bringing balance back to the world, and start remembering our original instructions that creator gave us." It wasn't just water that they were talking about—it's all of creation, but it's because of those teachings amongst the Ojibwe and all First Nations, that women are responsible for water, so that's why I take it seriously now.

This story has now become a part of our story as water researchers and caretakers. The particular impact on the young women coming from an engineering environment is described below.

Women, Engineering, Connecting, Water

Rachael Marshall, a PhD student in engineering at the University of Guelph, describes herself as a settler ally. She joined the *Naanaagide'enmodaa Nibi* project in its second year. Her career path is informed by her respect for water, and by her desire to accurately reflect the traditions of the communities with whom she works. Working with

this project has led her to reflect on her own origins and relationship with water:

I often think about how, as settlers, we've become so disconnected.… I believe many of us arrived at Turtle Island already disconnected. Most of my ancestors came from either Scotland or Ireland, and I have heard stories about the Celtic traditions of these places that were strongly rooted in connection and ceremony with the earth before the arrival of invaders and colonizers. I have heard how rooted these traditions were in honouring and worshipping water—rivers and springs as the bestowers of life, health, and fertility. As a settler, these kinds of relationships with the natural world seem striking, both foreign and innate. The disconnect from these relationships with traditional land and water has left many of us with a sense that something is lacking.

Rachael's thoughts illustrate the tendency of modern science to discount traditional ways of knowing, and to disconnect from the spiritual nature of water. Removing the sacredness from water allows those who make decisions about water and wastewater management to present water as a commodity, without rights, and without spirit. She notes that one of the most significant steps Western science can take is to recognize its own limitations in its worldview and its comprehension of water. As Peter Gleick points out, "the twentieth-century water-development paradigm, driven by an ethic of growth, has now stalled, as social values and political and economic conditions have changed" (128). The change in outlook away from water as merely an exploitable resource is a positive step toward integrating Indigenous knowledges into water and wastewater management.

It is important to pay attention to a community's notion of water as a spiritual entity, as exemplified in Dorothy's story. Indigenous holistic worldviews factor into this approach, as water is then seen as part of a greater web of interconnected relations. Rachael reflects on the value of moving away from "reductionist thinking that focuses on compartmentalizing interconnected natural and human systems," noting "while science is beginning to move towards what Silvio Funtowicz and Jerry Ravets refer to as Post-Normal-Science, in practice, narrow consideration of dissected pieces of the whole remains the status quo."

Rachael has learned that one of the main problems in First Nations water infrastructure involves the lack of attention to local context. Aboriginal communities are often offered water treatment systems without consideration for the larger water context in the community. For example, while the treatment provided may be effective at improving water quality, a lack of funds for proper road maintenance can prevent community members with trucked water delivery from accessing this water. Communities are also provided with complicated, unmanageable treatment systems in some cases. Redundancy is an important engineering design principle; however, facilities designed to treat raw water of much poorer quality than local supplies can be far too expensive to maintain given the limited maintenance budgets of most First Nations communities. In some cases, operators are faced with the decision of disconnecting parts of the treatment system that are too expensive to maintain. This strongly points to how ill-suited these designs can be for local contexts, and to the need for relationship building and better communication between communities and practitioners.

"Sacred means that it has a higher connection with the higher power, the spirit, and water actually has a spirit, and water is alive. It's what we believe, to give it that respect and that understanding. So, that's what we are trying to communicate with those people who affect [it], how their everyday actions impact the water."

Treatment facilities are also designed with a Western ideal of water quality in mind. Certain treatment processes are seen to disrespect the spirit of water. Communities are faced with few options, of which none are often considered spiritually appropriate or respectful. For example, in Nunatsiavut, one Inuk woman associated with the larger *Naanaagide'enmodaa Nibi* project expressed her concern that reverse osmosis treatment removes everything, including the spirit of the water. She would not drink this water, believing it to be dead. In Curve Lake, water treatment mimicking natural processes, such as slow sand filtering, is preferred in order to ensure the spirit of water is treated with respect. Imposed Western ideals of how water is treated are a source of tension in communities that perpetuate a growing disconnect with traditional relationships to water—particularly in younger generations.

The full context of a community's water needs, including locally-specific spiritual needs, are often missed due to a lack of communication and focus on relationship-building between communities and practitioners. Impressive, expensive facilities are not always appropriate to commu-

nities' water needs, nor are they sustainable. Attention to context is thus key. Rachael states, "while this may sound obvious, engineers are often ill-prepared for the very specific contexts of each community, including understanding how to approach alternate knowledge systems and past or present colonial issues." She advocates synthesizing "shared perspectives," pointing out that "moving away from this kind of check-box design requires us to be integrative across knowledge systems."

Dialogue is critical in order to bring knowledge systems and experiences together. This has been a key lesson for Emily Nickersen, another *Naanaagide'enmodaa Nibi* student who identifies as a fourth generation settler of Scottish and English decent. Emily grew up in Fredericton, New Brunswick and has been studying water resources engineering for the past four years at the University of Guelph. As a young person in a professional program that carries and perpetuates stereotypes of certainty and a vast understanding of "how the world works," this project has led her to reflect on feelings of being ill-equipped to tackle the intricacies of Aboriginal community water management, and the need for dialogue:

I don't know the right way forward; I don't have the answers. I recognize that I am young and still learning, but in no way do I know how to address the complex challenges that face so many individuals and communities—no one person or company will ever have all the answers. Engineers need to unpack the idea that equations and designs are empirically constructed, rooted in experimental analysis with contextual and temporal limitations.… But creating opportunities for dialogue that allow for collective learning as we did in our project provides powerful learnings about how we come together and how we engage stakeholders.

Emily points out that "Dorothy Taylor shared a powerful teaching that we are not seeking to bridge Indigenous and Western knowledge, but rather to balance it." Working within an engineering environment, Emily sees the necessity to acknowledge the fact that Western knowledge does not carry all the solutions to the complex questions surrounding water and wastewater infrastructure management on reserves. Her lesson has been to seek out "meaningful engagement" that will allow the community "to navigate Western water treatment and management approaches with increased understanding and control."

What is the significance of working as women in engineering environments? From Emily's perspective, this question is a challenge, because she hesitates to make a distinction between women and men. Yet she notes that women in the project bring to it a certain compassion and empathy and have created a strong bond with each other, transcending barriers others might put up. Within the project, she notes, the approach to technical issues has been reversed from the traditional engineering practice of bypassing the human element of water management, to actively pursuing it: "We begin with the connection between us, the bond of being human, then move to a place of 'let's understand the issue, engage the community and focus on people first,'" she says. Emily believes that communication and taking time to know who the people are advances the ability of a team of non-Indigenous and Indigenous women and men to find respectful solutions.

We are still early on in the work to find better options for First Nations water infrastructure. But we take a number of lessons from our experience: recognizing the limitations of our knowledge; acknowledging the spiritual component of water; listening to story; considering local context; and seeking out meaningful engagement through relationship-building.

Rachael notes that women working together promotes a more human connection regarding water issues. Traditionally, she says, women are water carriers, and it makes sense to her to bring together a group of people who have responsibility to look after it.

As a woman, Rachael is a minority in the field of engineering, and from a conventional perspective, she is an outsider. This project has provided her with the opportunity to come together with a group of women who made her feel she had an equal voice. This initiative has been particularly important to her because she feels that there is not enough focus on femininity in the design process in engineering. She stresses that the point is not that we all have to fit into a social construct of femininity, but that, as a whole, women are not encouraged to express that feminine creativity in the engineering field, which is more about concrete, squares and angles. She deals with fewer women as she rises higher in her discipline, which is still predominantly male-oriented.

In the end, establishing trusting relationships is key. As Rachael states, "without relationships, how can one know the limits of one's worldview, understand the local context,

or be integrative?" Hearing and sharing stories was a major component to relationship-building and incorporating contextual details; it allowed all the members of the team to understand where each participant was coming from on a personal level. What is often missing in engineering consultancy on First Nation drinking water is relationship, which takes time and effort. The greatest demonstration of respect is through listening, and by beginning to work with stories. The women involved in this project came away with a sense that relationship-building supports creativity and fosters trust; overall, it creates a safe space to explore things we might not have been able to look at otherwise. It allows for coming together.

Coming Together

The preceding sections of this paper introduced traditional/local knowledge through Dorothy, followed by the perspectives of young women in engineering through Rachael and Emily. Jo-Anne Lawless and Kim Anderson, the two remaining authors on this paper, came to the project from Indigenous studies, an interdisciplinary field that provides space for considering how knowledges come together. The possibilities for this realization of "two-eyed seeing" weren't immediately evident, as Kim explains:

After working in Indigenous and gender studies and with women's healing for most of my career, it felt odd to be invited into a space where the primary research question had to do with engineering and water infrastructure. When I was charged with facilitating the "kickoff" gathering we had [for this project', I was at first perplexed at how to proceed, but then decided I would just do it as I have always done—beginning with ceremony, working with a talking circle, and encouraging relationship-building. With the understanding that water protection requires women's leadership, I suggested inviting Shirley Williams, an Anishinaabek Elder and water activist, to come and be our grandmother/leader.

Elder Shirley Williams opened the first *Naanaagide'enmodaa Nibi* gathering with a water ceremony,[4] and Kim followed by inviting the mostly male participants (engineers and water operators) to share their stories about water. "I was astonished when everyone opened up about their connections to place and the spiritual significance of those connections," she says. "I then asked the few women who were there to lead the small group work, which was welcomed by the men. I can only say that grandmother spirit was working with us that day."

Throughout the project, Jo-Anne has been able to make connections between Indigenous methodologies, involving storytelling and the technical work. She notes:

When women, Indigenous and non-Indigenous, academics and professionals, come together to care for the water, the first thing is to gather stories, and then to take these stories and build relationships on them. I've noticed that the field of engineering, which plays a central role in First Nations water and wastewater management, can lack an understanding of the vital importance of relationship and interconnectivity in our dealings with the environment. Women in this field bring to it a sense of humanity and a connection with other women who have a vested interest in the water, whether as people traditionally responsible for its wellbeing, or as people who are trying to bring it back in balance. This project has demonstrated a desire among the young women engineers involved to renovate the current water system design and align it more closely with Indigenous understandings, with the recognition that it isn't just one "Indigenous understanding"; rather, water design initiatives must be community specific, reflecting both the geographic area and the traditional beliefs of the people.

We are still early on in the work to find better options for First Nations water infrastructure; this is a large and complicated issue. But we take a number of lessons from our experience: recognizing the limitations of our knowledge; acknowledging the spiritual component of water; listening to story; considering local context; and seeking out meaningful engagement through relationship-building. How these lessons might find expression as we move forward remains to be seen. It may be that we inspire a new generation of engineers who will collaborate on innovative design that takes into account Indigenous principles, practices and respect for water. It may be that communities will find ways of integrating ceremony into their water systems to show their respect and fulfill their responsibilities. Perhaps communities will revisit both traditional and colonial water stories as they collaborate with technical support, and will find ways to use this knowledge in their planning for safe drinking and wastewater. Perhaps more women will take up leadership in water protection and planning, as called for by the Chiefs and exemplified by Dorothy Taylor and Shirley Williams. For now, the most heartening lesson we take from this experience is that through our relationships with each other, women have the potential to forge a restored relationship between humanity and water.

Jo-Anne Lawless is a PhD candidate in Canadian Studies at Carleton University; Dorothy Taylor is a community-based researcher, organizer, and Indigenous knowledge-keeper of the Curve Lake First Nation; Rachael Marshall is a PhD candidate in the School of Engineering at the University of Guelph; Emily Nickerson is an undergraduate student in the School of Engineering at the University of Guelph; and Kim Anderson is an Associate Professor in Indigenous Studies at Wilfrid Laurier University.

[1]In this paper we use the term "Indigenous" to refer to First Nations, Métis and Inuit peoples, who are defined collectively as "Aboriginal" in the Canadian constitution. We choose not to use the term Aboriginal as it was recently rejected by the Assembly of Manitoba Chiefs and the Anishinaabek Nation. (see Marks, 2014).

[2]Curve Lake First Nation, Dokis First Nation, James Smith Cree Nation and the Inuit community of Rigolet, Labrador.

[3]Faculty leading the project include Dr. Khosrow Farahbakhsh (Principal Investigator), School of Engineering, University of Guelph; Dr. Kim Anderson, Indigenous Studies, Wilfrid Laurier University; Dr. Rob Innes, Department of Native Studies, University of Saskatchewan; Dr. Benjamin Kelly, Department of Sociology, Nipissing University; and Dr. Carly Dokis, Department of Anthropology, Nipissing University.

[4]Shirley, ,a teacher of Anishnaabemowin, the Ojibway language, also named the project.

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JOANNA M. WESTON

The Calm

coloured pencils
strewn on the table

a manual for electricians
open at page 34

knife and serving spoon
all wait for hands

which lie still
on her lap

ready for
resurrection

Joanna M. Weston's second volume of poetry, A Bedroom of Searchlights, *is forthcoming from Inanna Publications in the spring of 2016.*

ROS TIERNEY

The Morning Swim

As I swim each morning
swim to regain my health
swim to regain my sanity
swim for the joy of it

the clear clean water caressing my body
soothing my soul
drowning my thoughts
I am buoyed and lifted by the sparkling water

feeling my muscles strengthen with each stroke
swimming to wellness.
My thoughts drift to my sisters in India
I feel guilty swimming in fresh clean water

knowing their hardship
carrying water, waiting days for the taps to run
conserving every drop
wasting none.

Squandering such a precious commodity?
Knowing my privilege
I say thank you
and swim on.

Rosalind Tierney is a feminist, witch and traveller, currently living in Crystal Beach.

ILONA MARTONFI

What was her name?

Blue plum tree blossom

where the Moosgraben flows
and the oh so quiet wordless world of a child

buried creek

bog willow, forsythia, grow in bomb craters
odour of spring
the odour of mortuary
two-story red brick house:
Halle 7 by the Rollbahn
old airport Neutraubling,
Barvarian Forest chalk hills ridge

tell her, she was not the only one

blue plum tree blossom
all around the yard
the odour of death
the odour of spring
yellow forsythia
maroon cotton dress
white ribbed knee socks

pigtailed Magyar refugee of nine
teacher molesting her

what was her name?
Yellow sunshine
moor nunnery

blue plum tree.

Ilona Martonfi is the author of three poetry books, Blue Poppy *(Coracle Press, 2009),* Black Grass *(Broken Rules Press, 2012) and, most recently,* The Snow Kimono *(Inanna, 2015). Ilona has published in V*allum, Accenti, The Fiddlhead, *and* Serai. *She is the founder/producer of The Yellow Door and Visual Arts Centre Readings, and the co-founder of Lovers and Others. She is also the recipient of the QWF 2010 Community Award.*

Re-Calling Our HerStory

Miriam the Prophetess

JUDITH MAERYAM WOUK

L'eau a joué un rôle significatif dans la l'histoire de Miriam dans la Bible. Elle surveille son frère au bord de l'eau, elle danse à la Mer, une légende juive l'identifie à un puits et elle est associée symboliquement à la naissance. Miriam comme un modèle ancien, est une inspiration pour les femmes d'action.

Water plays a significant role in the Biblical story of Miriam the Prophetess, the sister of Aaron. She watches her brother Moses by the river, and provides him with a wet-nurse; she leads the dance when the Israelites successfully reach the far shore of the Sea, in Jewish lore a well follows her, and she is symbolically associated with conception and birth. An ancient role model, Miriam is again inspiring women to action.

> [T]here is a … concern about the lack of empowering images of women in the cultural system and about how this lack shapes the way we think about ourselves, how our consciousness is formed, and how effective is our ability to act.
>
> [There are] radical consequences for women when the dominant cultural symbol systems are exclusively male, or feature women whose identity is entirely derivative or serving a patriarchal status quo…. (Condren 117)

> Miriam has never been so ubiquitous. The reasons for her popularity are numerous … from the simple desire to add women's voices to a text that has been silent about women's central role in the … story, to a recognition of a lost … leader of great stature. (Schwartz xii)

Miriam's Cup

I am sitting with seven other women around a table. In the center is a plate with a beet, an egg, a bowl of apples and dates, and a variety of vegetables. I say, "We have added a new ritual to our Jewish Passover celebration: the Kos Miriam, Miriam's Cup. Let's each pour some spring water into the cup, to symbolize all that sustains us through our journeys" (Greenbaum 10).

I explain that this ritual uses water, not wine, because of the long association of water, including tears, blood, milk, and other fluids, with women.[1]

Furthermore, water plays an important role for the Biblical Miriam, who is often found near water (although not, oddly, in it or interacting with it) (Schwartz 1):

- She saves her brother's life when he is left in a basket by the Nile River;
- She leads a victory song and dance as the Sea of Reeds[2] closes behind her;
- She is followed by a well that sustains the Israelites in the desert;
- Metaphorically, her faith creates a spiritual oasis which gives her people the confidence to overcome hardships.

Then I say two prayers, freely reinterpreted from the Hebrew:

> These are the living waters, God's gift to Miriam, which gave us new life as we struggled with ourselves in the wilderness. Let us bless the source of life that

gives us living waters.

> Let us bless the flowing fountain of life, as we are brought from the narrows[3] into the wilderness, sustained with endless possibilities, and enabled to reach a new place. (Greenbaum 11; Falk 368, 501)

My striving to reach a new place resulted in this paper that explores a foundational story, what has and has not been recorded/retained/handed down, and how that affects us today.

Miriam represents women's struggle for recognition and equity. She appears only eight times in the Biblical story, all brief. She is named in seven and speaks in two, fewer than 30 Hebrew words. Was she an actual living person? A mythological composite woman? Or perhaps she is a humanized portrait of a desert water goddess

Miriam represents women's struggle for recognition and equity. She appears only eight times in the Biblical story, all brief. She is named in seven and speaks in two, fewer than 30 Hebrew words. Was she an actual living person? A mythological composite woman? Or perhaps she is a humanized portrait of a desert water goddess (Schwartz 1).

As Laurie Horn puts it:

> I am Miriam.
> Sister of Aharon:
> The one they called *'a-n'viah*—the prophetess.
> All my life, I have searched for or run from water.
> When my mother pushed me out, her feet were damp with the mud of the Great River.
> I have walked in water, danced in it, sweated for it, swallowed it—even prayed silently in fear as my impatient brother, Moshe,[4] beat stones for it.
> Hundreds of times, I have seen water and blood gush from between the legs of a woman with more force than it sprang from the rock at Meribah.[5]
> The source of human life is between the legs, but the source of all life is YHVH.[6] (Schwartz 17)

Miriam's World

The story of Miriam contains a river, a sea, and a well—water from the ground; Miriam has no association, for example, with rain. It is dated to about 1200 BCE, and placed in the territory now known as the Sinai Peninsula. According to Middle East water expert David B. Brooks, most evidence suggests that the climate at that time was less dry than it is now; the terrain was more savannah than desert. There are rivers and other surface water; however, the bulk of the water is ground water (Brooks).

The situation of the Middle East and North Africa with regard to water resources has not changed over the centuries: currently the population is withdrawing 80 percent of all renewable water resources (South Asia is second at 30 percent). That being said, there is wide professional agreement that there is still enough water for everyone to live and prosper in dignity, that the main problems are political processes and institutions that disadvantage poor people. The approach has always been top down, masculine, centralized (Brooks).

Culturally, we have little detail on how women served in the early Israelite cult, how much leadership they held, and how that leadership changed over time (Schwartz 6).

Miriam at the Nile

Miriam first appears as a distant figure. When Pharaoh's astrologers told him that the savior of Israel would meet his end by water, Pharaoh decreed that all male babies be thrown into the Nile[7] (Goldzweig).

Their mother hid her baby brother by the river in a basket, and the child's sister "stood afar off to know what would be done to him". Pharaoh's daughter, who had come to bathe in the river, saw the ark, sent her handmaid for it, opened it, and beheld "a boy that wept". The sister then spoke: "Shall I go and call a nurse of the Hebrew women that she may nurse the baby for [you]?" Pharaoh's daughter replied, "Go. And the maid went and called the child's mother." (Hebrew-English Bible, Exodus 2:2-8)

So far, no-one has been named. Years later, Moses is called by Pharaoh's daughter the Egyptian word for child (Bithia) or in Hebrew "I drew him out of the water" (Exodus 2:10).

The names of the rest of the family appear piecemeal in genealogies elsewhere. For example, Exodus 6:20 names Amram and Jochebed/Yocheved as the parents of Aaron and Moses and Numbers 26:59 says Amram's wife Jochebed bore Aaron, Moses, and Miriam.

The Qur'an tells a similar story. When the ark reaches Pharaoh's palace, the courtiers rescue it with evil intent.

Sabiha Rehman, "Untitled," pencil and watercolour on paper, 8.5 x 11 inches.

Pharaoh's wife takes the child and defends him before Pharaoh. Moses' mother, panicking, orders his sister to follow him; she watches him from afar without revealing her identity. When the child refuses to suckle, she offers to find a wet nurse who will be sincerely attached to him, who is actually his biological mother (Qu'ran).

Pharaoh's daughter (Ex 2:5-10), in various places called Bithiah/Batyah ("daughter of God") Thermuthis/ Tharmuth (Franklin) or Asia/Asiya (Qu'ran), is claimed by some Jewish commentators as an Israelite, either born or converted. In one version, she bathes in the Nile to cleanse herself of the impurity of idolatrous Egypt. (Antonelli 142) In another, the cool waters of the Nile ease discomfort from a skin affliction. When servants refuse to fetch the basket, her arm miraculously becomes long enough to reach across the river (Antonelli 142). When she touches the basket, her boils and scabs vanish. She then immerses in a ritual bath for purification and soul empowerment (Ribner 147). A third commentator, asking "why would anyone want to bathe in a river full of dead babies?" suggests it was a metaphorical washing, a deliberate act to see with her own eyes what her father was doing. "Once she saw [Moses] she needed to wash the blood of this deed off her own soul by taking action … she would hold herself complicit if she turned away" (Mirkin 275).

Miriam at the Reed Sea

Miriam first appears by name in Exodus 15:20-21 at the Sea of Reeds leading the women in singing, dancing and drumming.[8] In two brief verses, Miriam gets both a name and a voice.

Yarber describes the scene:

> The path to freedom is often muddy. Water sloshes through your sandals and the soles of your shoes stick, clinging to the past, weighing down the future. No one said dancing in wet sand was easy. But it is very holy. Just ask the brave prophetess who celebrated liberation by dancing on the shores of a reedy sea….
>
> Can you picture it? Feet still muddy. Sweat dripping from their brows. Water lapping behind them. In that moment of liberation, Miriam chooses to dance…. (Yarber)

Haberman adds sexual and birth imagery. Citing a twelfth century commentator she connects the women drawing water from the Nile to them seducing their husbands to increase the population. "The imagery of fish and water, sumptuous dining, seduction and lovemaking in the fields make vivid a daily erotic existence. From misery, they arouse each other to desire for love and life." (Haberman 186)

Haberman then compares the Exodus from "the narrow place" to the birth experience, with the parted waters of the Reed Sea as the birth canal.[9]

> The Egyptian army in pursuit is the placenta, part of the organism which once nurtured, now lifeless after the final postpartum closing. In the Sinai Desert, God breastfeeds Israel heavenly soft, moist manna. (Haberman 187)

Interspersed with explicit descriptions of the births of her five children,[10] Haberman concludes:

> Birth is more than a symbol of liberation, birth has the potential to create and breed a culture of liberation. A transition from enclosure to manifestation, each birth releases one being encompassed within the domain of

another—from powerlessness and dependence into maturing connection. (Haberman 189)

Other interpretations take the view that at this intense, spiritual experience, YHVH required men and women to stay separate; Moses instructed the men not to go near a woman, Miriam instructed the women not to allow a man near them (Antonelli 176-177).

Miriam's Well

Miriam next surfaces in the wilderness, challenging Moses (Num 12:1-16).[11] In one interpretation, Miriam consults Aaron out of sympathy for Moses' wife, who had told her that Moses had stopped having sexual relations[12] (Antonelli 349). This is reminiscent of Miriam's influence on her father years before. Reacting to the edict to drown new-born males, Amram and the other men separate from their wives. Miriam, age six, urges her father not only to risk, but to attempt conception: "Pharaoh's decree is directed only against our male children, but yours is also against the females. You are a righteous man and your edict will surely be effective." At this, Amram and the other men remarry and Moses is born (Elwell 140; Berzon 1).

After her punishment[13] for talking against Moses, Miriam never speaks again, nor is she spoken to. After a brief announcement of her death and burial,[14] she disappears from the narrative (Trible 128). The next sentence, "there was no water for the people to drink," connects Miriam's life with the magical Well (Schwartz 11).

The Biblical story is elaborated in the Talmud (teachings of rabbis between 200 and 500 CE) and in midrash (stories that fill in gaps in the biblical narrative).

Water is a central metaphor in the exodus narrative; the characters are perpetually at risk of perishing because of either too much or too little water (Elwell 141-2).

Throughout their journey, the Israelites depend on Miriam's Well, which traveled with them, "rolling up mountains and descending into valleys with them." Wherever Israel encamped, the well rested close by, opposite the Tent of Meeting" (Elwell, 141).

This well,[15] according to Midrash, was given by God because of the merit of Miriam.[16] During the 40 years of wandering in the desert, it provided literal pure and refreshing water (Berzon).

Sabiha Rehman, "Untitled," pencil and watercolour on paper, 8.5 x 11 inches.

This is ironic in light of one meaning of Miriam's name, usually translated bitter water [Hebrew, "*mar*" "bitter" and "*yam*" sea].[17] Born into the bitterness of slavery, she has now overcome it (Schwartz 9, Goldzweig); Miriam's name indicates her capacity to swim against the tide of society when necessary (Antonelli 348).

Is there a "natural" explanation for this well? The earliest record of dowsing (divination to locate water or other underground items, also known as water finding or water witching) is fifteenth century Europe. However, many people have found water in deserts by astute observation of plants and geological phenomena (Brooks).

The Talmud and Midrash see Miriam's Well symbolically as a source of spiritual and moral strength; Miriam's message is interpreted as uncompromising reliance on God even in the face of seeming hopelessness (Berzon).

Chabad, an Orthodox Jewish movement, goes even further with the symbolism. Citing sources from the second to the eighteenth centuries, Goldzweig attributes to the Well the timing, position and arrangement of each encampment in the desert, and concludes that the well-water aids understanding of the oral traditions of Torah.

Sabiha Rehman, "Untitled," pencil and watercolour on paper, 8.5 x 11 inches.

Reprise: Kos Miriam

Miriam's Cup is one contemporary way of drawing attention to the importance of Miriam and the other women of the Exodus story—women who are often overlooked but about whom Jewish tradition says "if it weren't for the righteousness of women of that generation we would not have been redeemed from Egypt" (Greenbaum 10).

As Elwell puts it:

> Throughout their desert wanderings,
> The Israelites were refreshed by miraculous springs
> That bubbled out of deep crevices
> In the rocky landscape.
>
> When Miriam died, the waters dried up,
> The people mourned the slave child who waited by a river,
> The woman who danced across a sea,
> The leader who sang a nation to freedom.
>
> When the springs flowed once more,
> They named them Miriam's well.
>
> When fear blocks our path, when our travels deplete us,
> We seek sources of healing and wells of hope.
> May our questions and our stories nourish us
> As Miriam's Well renewed our people's spirits.
> (Elwell and Weisberg qtd. in Greenberg 10)

Conclusion

Miriam occupies a unique position in biblical writings. In text and midrash, she gives us a legitimate, traditionally sanctioned role model unlike any other (Schwartz 8).

Historically:

- Miriam is the first person, male or female, to be called a prophet/ess.[18]
- The text shows her in relationship to other women. She interacts with her mother. She sets the stage for collaboration and perhaps even community among women (herself, her mother, Pharaoh's daughter, her attendants, and perhaps midwives) (Schwartz 4; Mirkin 265).
- Together she and the Egyptian princess create an alliance that surpasses race, class, religion and every other form of personal status (Schwartz 4).
- In Biblical text Miriam never marries nor gives

birth.[19] No other woman receives such a high status on her own (Schwartz 4).

•Miriam confronts authority and claims her power openly, as opposed to the guile and deceit of the women of Genesis[20] (Schwartz 6).

•In only two passages in which Miriam is mentioned by name does she actually speak. In both of these[21] Miriam stands with Moses, claiming leadership. She leads the women at the Song of the Sea, and demands the right to interpret divine word during the sojourn in the wilderness (Schwartz 11).

•Her role in saving her brother and in celebrating the crossing of the sea highlights her concern for her people. Later they reciprocate, refusing to continue the march in the wilderness until the diseased Miriam is restored (Num 12:15). Three references to the people at her death further underscore their loyalty to her (Trible 128).

•Some people believe that in days to come (at the "end of days"), Israel will go forth again with drums, dances, and merrymakers (Jer 31:4). As the inaugurator of a performance and composition tradition of song, drums and dances, Miriam continues to resonate (Trible 128).

Miriam's legacy lies partly in her Well:

•Believed by many to be hidden, some say visible from the top of Mount Carmel as a sieve in the Mediterranean Sea; others, in the Sea of Galilee where it feeds Israel's water reserve, it continues to heal skin conditions and promote understanding *(*Goldzweig; (Schwartz 2-3; Haberman 229, Antonelli 173).

•Metaphorically, Miriam's Well welcomes seekers into monthly Rosh Chodesh/New Moon celebrations (Elwell 142; Adelman).

•A social worker is inspired to provide care beyond just physical safety to a young woman on the streets after a drunken fight with her mother (Mirkin 264).

•A local Kosher Food Bank that provides fresh vegetables to low income women is called Miriam's Well.[22]

As well, Miriam herself is being reclaimed as a model for leadership.

•She was a prophet who led a celebration after crossing the Reed Sea, perhaps by leading the women as Moses led the men (Antonelli 348) or perhaps by reciting a "prayer-song" with the entire Israelite community, women and men (Haberman 213).

•Women of the Wall, whose mission is social and legal recognition of their right, as women, to wear prayer shawls, pray, and read from the Torah collectively and out loud at the Western Wall have gathered monthly in Israel for more than 20 years. Reviving the liberation thrust of Miriam's activism, their celebrations enact the spiritual, liturgical, and political significance of Miriam's prayer-song (Haberman 223-224).

•Some women study Torah in Miriam's name, adding their insights and questions to the commentaries of the generations (Elwell 142).

•Miriam's story is common to, and can unite, women across the spectrum of Jewish practice and that of other Abrahamic religions.

As Yarber puts it:

We remember you, Miriam, when our muddy feet dance toward liberation. We remember you when our once-silenced voices sing the songs of freedom. Even in your absence, your cadence journeys. (Yarber)

Thanks to Dr. David Brooks, Rabbi Anna Maranta, Farhat Rehman, Wendy Miriam Valhof, Genevieve Vaughan, and Dr. Jonathan Wouk, who provided assistance and insights that carried me forward.

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[1]For example, "Water turns up frequently in dreams and in many different contexts. It may have broad, generalized references to the unconscious, to the womb and the security of inter-uterine existence, to mothering, nurturing, and so on.… It may have more specific sexual references to the place where sperm (fish) swim around." (Ullman and Zimmerman, 128). In Hebrew tradition, women's fluids, especially blood, are associated with "impurity" and ritual bathing (Wasserfall).

[2]Often mistranslated as Red Sea, the Hebrew word is the same as the material of Moses' basket.

[3]The literal meaning of "mitzrayim", usually translated "Egypt".

[4]Hebrew for Moses.

[5]When it was hit by her brother with a staff (Exodus 17:6).

[6]Transliterated Hebrew for the Tetragrammaton, the

unpronounceable name of God, often written Yahweh or Jehovah.

[7]Girls were spared because Pharaoh's astrologers predicted a son as deliverer. They could see that he had already been conceived and would ultimately suffer misfortune through water. Pharaoh misinterpreted this and decreed that all boys be drowned. He was not afraid of divine retribution because God had promised [Noah] never to destroy the world again with water (Antonelli 139). "Yokheved cast Moses' basket into the water, rather than in a field, so the astrologers would get an image of a child cast into the Nile and Pharaoh would end his decree (Antonelli 141). It worked.

[8]In the tradition of the priestesses in the temples of Hathor, the goddess of love, childbirth, song and dance. Initially, only women from elite social classes served in Egyptian temples as 'musician priestess' where they provided music and choreography in the Old Kingdom (2575 – 2150 BCE) (Slayford).

[9]Antonelli, 170, as well.

[10]"Contractions come as unrelenting waves in the sea during a mighty storm. Hot and sweating I propel myself through the teaming waters, soaking" (Haberman 192). "Home birth entails the responsibility to handle materials. Not discreetly whisked away to the hospital incinerator, blood-drenched sheets and placenta are tangible reminders of our carnality. Washing and disposing of the physical remains, this birth honors the process through to its terminus (Haberman 199).

[11]"Miriam and Aaron began to talk against Moses because of his Cushite wife. "[Has YHVH] spoken only with Moses?" [Hasn't] he spoken also with us?"

[12]Miriam and Aaron learn the significance of this when God calls to them and they are forbidden from sexual relations. They cry "Water, water!" [for immersion]. This shows that Moses acted properly in separating from his wife (Antonelli 350 quoting Rashi).

[13]She turns white (usually interpreted as leprosy) and is banished for seven days.

[14]"Miriam died [in Kadesh], and was buried there" (Numbers 20:1).

[15]As opposed to the wells of the Biblical Rebecca, Rachel, and Zipporah, which are associated with meeting their husbands, respectively Isaac, Jacob, Moses.

[16]Miriam had two merits connected specifically with water; there are differing opinions for which merit the well was bequeathed: watching over the infant Moses or exuberant praise after the Splitting of the Sea. As well, it was to Miriam's credit that the Israelites continued to procreate in Egypt despite Pharaoh's decrees. Therefore, water—the most crucial need—was in her merit (Goldzweig).

[17]The Hebrew mem resh yud mem is both "bitter water" (marim) and "Miriam" (which might also be "one who sees water."). (Antonelli 173) In Egyptian Miriam may mean "beloved" (Elwell 140).

[18]Hebrew, like French, requires that nouns be either male or female in form.

[19]Although tradition supplies her with both husband and children.

[20]Rebecca, for example, deceives her husband Isaac to secure for her son Jacob various blessings, including the blessing of the dew. (Haberman 219)

[21]Exodus 15:20 and Numbers 12.

[22]I was taken to visit by Cynthia Powell.

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PENN KEMP

Middle March and Beyond

Last day of winter and snow recedes slowly
as creatures emerge tentatively to feed. We
are all immersed, immured, enveloped in
this strange in-between time, ice melting
to air. Transition ritual: old kings must die.

So we are told. Be gone, cold. Welcome,
fluctuating circumstance. Holding our breath,
hanging as elements change their nature, we
women wait patiently, impatiently, accepting,
rejecting conditions that no longer serve us.

Hoping against hope, whatever that means
for a future few sure will be any longer
golden or even green, given climate change,
given stupidity on all levels of governance,
internal, external. We await the chance to

vote, elections upcoming, change essential
but arbitrary. We fear the tricks of power
determined to stay in place, in control no
matter how wild the swirl of oceans gone
beyond all known bounds predicated on

past possibility or predicted by those whose
voices are silenced by the powers that be:
that be sly, short-sighted, power-mad and
roiling to keep a lid on that boiling crock—
those melting glaciers, the rising sea levels.

Activist poet/playwright Penn Kemp is London's inaugural Poet Laureate, with twenty-six books of poetry/drama and ten CDs. As Western's Writer-in-Residence, she produced Luminous Entrance: Sound Opera for Climate Change Action *(DVD). She hosts* Gathering Voices, *Radio Western. Quattro Books published* Jack Layton: Art in Action, *which she edited.*

JENNY MORROW

Glosa for Florence

the world offers itself to your imagination,
calls to you like the wild geese, harsh and exciting –
over and over announcing your place
in the family of things.
—Mary Oliver, *Wild Geese*

Sometimes a near view of Mars is all it takes
to make your day – oh, there've been dark ones,
but you know how to skirt despair,
take the least stone at your feet, marvel
at its gift. Wrought bark indifferently forgotten,
Salomé, Hamlet, *Persuasion*,
a weekend with Verdi, a well told tale,
the swish of a paddle or ski.
The world lays itself bare for your celebration:
offers itself to your imagination,

and you're not afraid to be kind. To look
down to the roots with forgiveness and grace.
Unsung, undrummed you've traced the song-lines
to your least fellow, binding the threads
of our real solitudes.
While we killed time with in-fighting,
you were out planting trees on the skin of the world
as its sand slipped through, grain after grain.
Life doesn't weigh heavy on your shoulders; alighting,
it *calls to you like the wild geese, harsh and exciting*.

You didn't have to do this. You could have
sipped your café on the boulevards,
debating the greats. You could have sat *all day*
in the sun, loving what is easy, not stared
all night at an old Thomson print en route
to a deadline. But you chose to face north,
not east, you chose the forest and all its dark places,
its caves and occasional glades and we're glad that you did:
these words and your friends, with love and with grace,
are *over and over announcing your place*

in our hearts. Thank you for your angle of light,
for sharing your wonder in planets and rocks.
For celebrating other joys more than your own,
for loving all children as you would have your own.
At last count they say that your family teemed
with hundreds of children and siblings. But then—
there's nothing you won't drop to help out a friend.
But when you need to, come home. Like the geese, come home.
Sit under the boughs, rest your feet, fold your wings,
and take your seat *in the family of things.*

Jenny Morrow is a writer, mother, and consultant who lives in Sioux Lookout, Ontario.

Water Front

Un documentaire par Elisabeth Miller

REVU PAR JEANNE MARANDA

C'est arrivé en Amérique
Une usine qui ferme
Moins de travail,
Une population qui déserte le quartier
Moins d'argent, moins de taxes, moins de services publics, moins d'eau

Une déclaration du directeur

I first visited Highland Park in January 2004 after learning that residents were receiving water bills as high as $10,000 and that half of the city had their water shut off. Ironically, unlike any other city or suburb in the Detroit area, Highland Park has its own water intake to the Great Lakes basin, which Ford secured in 1917 to support his auto industry. So here was a city located next to the largest fresh water supply in the world, and residents were cut off. During my first visit to Highland Park, I met a group of inspiring women addressing the crisis. These women were involved with the civil rights movement; At the peak of the car industry they were labor organizers; When the industry left they became welfare organizers. They were now declaring access to water as the civil rights issue of our times. I realized Highland Park was the place to tell a story about water, democracy, and the human right to water. Jump forward to 2014, and news of a massive crack down on overdue water bills in Detroit circulates around the world. At least 15,000 Detroit households have had their water shut off and some speculate this is the first step towards privatization. Highland Park and now neighboring Detroit foreshadow the challenges that many cities around the world will face: aging water infrastructures, a lack of resources to update old systems, a need to address management issues and a need to defend the right to water. What does private investment in a water system really mean for residents, for water workers, for a community? Is water privatization a sustainable solution? What are the alternatives?

—Elisabeth Miller

La situation est critique, le quartier Highland Park à Détroit, jadis prospère est devenu une honte, les maisons sont délabrées, les pouvoirs publics ont abandonné les services, les ordures ne sont pas ramassées, les rues sont sales, les conduites d'eau ne sont plus en service. Les femmes de Highland Park à Détroit ont décidé de prendre la cause en mains et de redonner vie à leur banlieue.

La belle grande ville de Détroit, le haut-lieu de l'industrie automobile depuis 1915, est située au bord du lac Michigan aux Etats-Unis. Highland Park, une banlieue chic comptait, il n'y a pas si longtemps, le long de larges avenues bordées d'arbres, plus de 60 000 maisons confortables où quelque 7 800 employés de la Ford y vivaient à l'aise, jusqu'au moment où l'usine qui les employait a fermé boutique. Les ouvriers ont quitté Highland Park pour aller vivre ailleurs, laissant une propriété, un loyer qu'ils ne pouvaient plus payer. Il en reste aujourd'hui 16 000, la majorité habitée par des Noirs, des chômeurs, des personnes âgées.

Petit à petit, les citoyennes et les citoyens ont noté que leur facture d'eau a été est majorée de 60% en quelques mois! Que se passe-t-il ? Le malaise est profond, personne ne peut payer des factures de 6 000 à 9 000 dollars par année ! Une personne qui vit seule, pas de douche, pas d'auto, avoue ne pas comprendre cette note extravagante. Et elle n'est pas la seule.

La situation est critique: La ville frise la banqueroute, les taxes ne rentrent plus pour payer les infrastructures qui ont besoin d'entretien et de surveillance, y compris la distribution de l'eau. Les autorités pour pallier au plus urgent ont tout bonnement congédié le personnel, jugé superflu et par la même occasion, augmenté les comptes d'eau.

Les femmes voient leurs maisons perdre de la valeur, elles croulent sous la négligence en l'absence de locataires/propriétaires, les fenêtres sont placardées, défigurées par les graffitis, il règne un climat d'insécurité et de désespoir chez les citoyens impuissants. Un quartier qui sera bientôt déclassé au rang de taudis, selon les dires d'un promoteur.

Un mouvement s'amorce, des femmes pressent le maire d'agir. Une agence spécialisée dans ce genre de redressement s'installe surplace et ne trouve rien de mieux pour limiter les dépenses que de congédier les trois employés à l'usine de distribution de l'eau, ne laissant qu'une seule dame, sur place, ce qui est insensé. Ils sont même allés jusqu'à couper l'eau aux citoyens qui ne paient pas leur tax!

La colère gronde, cette fois, les femmes vont de porte en porte pour rallier les citoyens dans une vaste campagne de sensibilisation et bientôt les femmes et les hommes de Highland Park descendent dans la rue pour protester haut et fort avec des pancartes. Ils iront jusqu'au gouverneur.

Ils avancent un argument de taille! Ils ont appris que les contrats donnés aux agents de redressement ont coûté plus d'un million de dollars au gouvernement, sans offrir aucune solution après quatre ans de travaux sur place. Les femmes dénoncent et veulent une action positive. ¨Vous avez trouvé l'argent pour payer des gens qui n'ont rien fait, vous auriez pu le placer là où il aurait servi. Pourquoi congédier des employés qui assuraient le bon fonctionnement et l'entretien des conduites d'eau et auraient évité l'inconfort dans lequel nous sommes obligés de vivre?¨ Des pourparlers ont été engagés qui ont conduit le gouverneur à congédier l'équipe inutile, à mettre l'argent où il devait être et à statuer en vue de redresser les tarifs qui seraient équitables pour tous.

Cette histoire à la gloire et à la solidarité des Américaines a été filmée et rapportée par une cinéaste montréalaise, Elizabeth Miller en 2012. Elle a démontré la détermination et le courage des femmes devant une situation qui menaçait leur santé et le bien-être de leur communauté. Elles ont gagné la valorisation de leur milieu de vie!

Jeanne Maranda lives in Montreal. She has been CWS/cf's *French language editor since the journal was founded in 1978.*

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LISA DE NIKOLITS

she comforts me

ice glitter —
the ring bearer
of
infinite possibilities

how do you know
things will be fine?

that there is protection?

hands comforted
while outside
a disco hurricane
swirls
against the glass
of this safe prison

every goddess particle
brings blessing

and hope

that goddess comforts
me
guides
me
protects
me

she is the glitter ice bomb
angry against that window pane

then, tiny rivers
echo my tears

i retreat
in my concrete box
i hide
between cardboard walls
hold my hands under that blanket
of her hot love

her love that speaks to me
of tasmanian seas
and far flung oceans

breathe, breathe

the water connects us
the goddess protects us

Lisa de Nikolits is an award-winning author of five novels: The Hungry Mirror, West of Wawa, A Glittering Chaos, The Witchdoctor's Bones, *and most recently,* Between The Cracks She Fell.

ELIZABETH STAFFORD

My Love for My Mother Will Not Let Her Down

Mom, I love you
And I will take care of you
as you wish at home
you are the woman who gave me life
and with the love I have for you
I will try not to let you down

I say, dad you need to hold her hand
She needs your love too
Because the woman who gave me life
Needs you
And my love will not let her down
Brother and partner please understand
I need to follow doctor's orders
Because the woman who gave me life
My love will not let her down
Sister dear don't be angry with me
I know you want mom with you
But my love I have for mom
will not let her down

Auntie dear she cannot have everything she wants
It breaks my heart to withhold
Indeed I want to give in to her too
But my love I have for my mother
will not let her down

Minister of Health you have let her down
I am angry and I fight for her rights
Despite being tired and beat-up
Because the woman who gave me life
My love will not let her down

Uncle dear you travel miles to visit and see
That I'm doing the best that I can
Because the woman who gave me life
My love will not let her down
My dear partner is there to help
He understands and shares
It helps me to help my dear mother
The woman who gave me life
And my love will not let her down

Dad please don't be angry with me
All of this is new to me too
Because the woman who gave me life
My love will not let her down

Doctor I will not let you take her away from me
You just don't see
Because the woman who gave me life
My love will not let her down

Family don't leave me alone near her end
She needs you here too
but I am here alone
And I'll do right by her
Because the woman who gave me life
My love will not let her down

Mom don't leave while I'm not holding you
Can you see me beside you in the dark?
I hear your last breath and
I cry out to you, "I love you, mom"
The woman who gave me life
My love never let her down

Elizabeth Stafford is currently the Treasurer on the Board of Directors of one of Canada's few surviving women's organizations, the Canadian Research Institute for the Advancement of Women. She is also a Senior Research Analyst at Lakehead University. In May 2010, Elizabeth graduated with a Master of Science in Management degree from Lakehead University. She was the first Master's student in the Faculty of Business to utilize a feminist methodology in research. The future may mean the pursuit of a PhD degree. Elizabeth lives in Thunder Bay, Ontario with her partner, Dan.

Hidden Hardships

Water, Women's Health, and Livelihood Struggles in Rural Garhwal, India

GEORGINA DREW

Tiré d'un travail ethnographique sur Uttarakhand, en Indes, cet article examine les luttes pour la survie des femmes vivant dans les montagnes dans une perspective politique et écologique. Leurs commentaires et leurs expériences mettent en évidence les aspects genrés de la pauvreté et des inégalités dans ces villages des Himalaya ainsi que le stress lié à l'eau qui ne fait qu'exacerber leurs misères.

Hidden Hardships and Growing Disparities in a Rising India

The contemporary moment in many pockets of India, often the ones in which educated urbanites live, is marked by market euphoria. India—with its high savings rates, low mortgage vulnerability, and growing numbers of educated, tech-savvy youth—has been proclaimed in many spheres to be well on its way to achieving the dream of becoming an economic superpower. As critics have pointed out, however, the boons and booms of India's new wealth and opportunities are not evenly distributed. Life is particularly hard for small-scale agriculturalists. Some estimate that 150,000 farmers committed suicide in India from the early 1990s to 2006 due to the crushing weight of agricultural and medical debts that they could not repay (Newman). Those who comment on the horrific problem of farmer suicides point out that many agriculturalists feel marginalized and dejected in a country where the spoils of economic success are dangled just out of reach and that the decision to take one's life is a result of rural disenfranchisement. While phenomena such as farmer suicides must remain front and center to push the needed policy correctives, I would suggest that there are many more everyday struggles for survival that take place out of the public eye which also merit attention. This article is an effort to examine the difficulties that mountain women in the Garhwal Himalaya of India's Uttarakhand state experience as a means to bring such struggles further into the limelight. I argue that the challenges that women face are complicated by ecological change and by development projects that transform the water balance. Towards the end of the article, I use political ecology as a way to add conceptual clarity to the dynamics at hand.

To orient the reader, some background to the challenges of everyday life in Garhwal is needed. Geographically, Garhwal is located in India's northwestern mountains near to the border of the Tibetan Autonomous Region of China in a hilly topography that experiences tectonic activity as the late blooming Himalaya continues to shift and settle. It is through this terrain that the first stretch of the Ganges River, known regionally as the Bhagirathi tributary or the Bhagirathi Ganges, flows. The river emerges from a retreating glacial source known as the Gangotri Glacier. Along with melting ice formations, the ecological balance of the region, and of the greater Himalaya, is changing rapidly due to substantial variations in precipitation, a growing lack of potable water in many locations, and the sudden cloud bursts that occasionally floods inhabited riverbanks. An increasing number of contested development and hydroelectric projects are also adding to the water stress scenarios (which include too little as well as too much water).

In Garhwal's Uttarkashi District, for instance, the 260-metre (or 855 foot) Tehri dam caused numerous changes to the water balance of the region when it was

completed in 2006. The dam created a 45-kilometre reservoir up the Bhagirathi Ganges that instigated the loss of some of the valley's most fertile and water abundant land. It also displaced up to 100,000 people, many of whom were forced to eke out a living in unfamiliar uphill terrain or move to cities such as Dehradun where they experienced social vulnerability, physical insecurity, and feelings of dejection and cultural loss (Kedia). While the displaced struggled to adjust, downstream cities began to enjoy the benefits of the dam's water diversion and hydroelectricity generation. New Delhi, for instance, started to receive an extra 350 million litres a day of the Ganges water redirected from the Tehri reservoir. Once in New Delhi, the dammed water goes into a supply system with an estimated 40 percent leakage rate and a substantial number of illegal connections. What arrives to users fuels the inefficient resource use that comes with contemporary residential, commercial, and industrial water management practices. Much of the water is undoubtedly flushed down toilets.

It was partially because of the disastrous consequences and inequities observed along the Tehri reservoir that many of Garhwal's upstream residents opposed the construction of three new dam projects from 2006 to 2010. These diversion dams were located near to the river's glacial source. If constructed, they would have directed even more water out of the riverbed and into tunnels where the water was to be dropped at sharp degrees to produce hydroelectricity. In addition to the fears of what the projects would do to the region's ecology, and to the river's last free flowing stretch, religious concerns were prominent for many of the dam opponents. Since the Bhagirathi Ganges is recognized as the embodiment of the Goddess Ganga that is revered in the Hindu faith for her sin-purifying and grace-granting capabilities, socio-cultural and religious preoccupations prominently entered the debate. As I document elsewhere, dam opponents worried that the three dams would deter their ability to connect to the Goddess and the blessings that she provides (Drew 2012a, 2012b). It was mostly because of the religious framings on what the projects threatened that the dam opposition was able to force the government to cancel the three contested projects in mid-2010 and to mandate that the river's initial stretch of 125 kilometers be allowed to perpetually flow unobstructed.

Much of my work studying the dam opposition movement focused on the role of rural and semi-urban women in the movement. I highlighted how women worked to make their concerns for the river and its Goddess heard and known, sometimes to mixed success (Drew 2014a). I also illuminated the socio-economic and locational disparities among women that influenced who was able to get involved in the protests (Drew 2014b). This work pointed out that semi-urban women in the district capital of Uttarkashi were most apt to take a prominent role in the movement campaigns. This was partly to due with their reduced workloads relative to rural women living upstream near to the dam construction sites. Semi-urban women also enjoyed more support from their families and husbands for their dam opposition activities. When rural women did take part in the contestation of dam projects, it was most often to critique the logic and practice of dam building. They made these comments informally and at the large rallies that were sure to garner public attention. At the big opposition events, in fact, rural and semi-urban women were the overwhelming majority, although this did not always result in proportional representation. Male campaign leaders were more likely to speak in front of the large crowds and their comments most often made the headlines.

In addition to the fears of what the projects would do to the region's ecology, and to the river's last free flowing stretch, religious concerns were prominent for many of the dam opponents. The Bhagirathi Ganges is recognized as the embodiment of the Goddess Ganga that is revered in the Hindu faith for her sin-purifying and grace-granting capabilities.

In this article, I look further behind the scenes at the rural women who, though absent from the dam opposition events, arguably would have been most impacted by the completion of the contested projects. The water directed out of the riverbed would have meant less perennial flow in times of spring water and rainwater scarcity. The dynamite blasting associated with tunnel and road construction also threatened to disrupt the underground spring water networks upon which many villages rely. These shifts would have impacted men and women in different ways, as it is the village women and children who are most often tasked with resource management and cultivation, a point that I discuss more below. In turning away from the statements and actions of those who made the headlines, in other words, I look to rural women's lived realities to illuminate why more people did not take a visible part of

the regular dam opposition campaigns. The day-to-day experiences of rural women, as I show, are marked by increasing hardship that merits exploration to understand the ways that shifting development agendas can add to the resource struggles that women confront.

Rural Women's Economic and Health Challenges in Garhwal: Some Examples

One of the first points to note on the topic of why more rural women did not involve themselves in the inner workings of the dam opposition is that there was not always strong agreement on what the dam building entailed and what it threatened. When I went to the villages near and around where the contested diversion dams were to be constructed, for instance, I encountered mixed reactions to the projects. On the one hand, rural women from Uttarkashi District were concerned about the potential lack of flow in the Ganges. A particularly prominent fear was that the dams would redirect water from the riverbed that people need for the observance of Hindu ritual and rites of passage (especially at the time of death when putting the body of the deceased into the Ganges is believed to help liberate their souls). As indicated, many women also asserted that they need a constant flow in the river to help supplement the growing water scarcity in the mountains. Springs were drying up, they told me, and the tunnel blasting for the dams was unsettling their water sources. This, combined with the increasingly erratic rain and snowfall, causes serious livelihood challenges. Many villages in Uttarkashi district can now only grow crops when the rains are plentiful. When they are not, people are forced to buy from the market at prices that more often than not reflect the economic boom of the Indian plains and not the meager financial resources upon which people live in the mountains. Inflation compounds sentiments of vulnerability and further forces people to search out wage labour to purchase goods from the market. When men volunteer for this work—often because they believe, and/or are made to believe, that it is part of their "responsibility"[1]—male migration exacerbates the "feminization of agriculture" that others have observed taking place in the Himalaya (Kelkar). Although mountain women do not use this phrase, they reflect it in their statements of concern and the laments that they share for the hardships of everyday life.

On the other hand, increasing livestock, agriculture, and household demands are part of the reason that some women supported the dam building projects even though they were uncertain of how the projects would benefit their families and improve the quality of their daily lives. For this reason, some women upheld the need for development—*vikas*—in a region that is often positioned as "backwards." This latter word is symbolically charged and is often employed in the regional politics of development. Rangan (2000) explores the use of "backwards" in Garhwal while critiquing its rhetorical mobilization to promote mainstream development agendas (which are positioned as a move forwards). The women in favour of dams were also likely influenced by their husbands, as men in the region were more apt to support such projects because of the promised increase in non-skilled employment opportunities. The argument was that the region desperately needs employment opportunities regardless of how it impacts a religiously revered river. An added motivator for such statements is that, because mountains economies are increasingly cash-dependent (and since agriculture is not nearly as viable as it once was),extra funds are needed for those that wish to both feed and educate their children. In light of the economic challenges, men often migrate across the mountains, down to the plains, and sometimes even over to Gulf countries to earn income that is sent back to augment household resources. For such people and their loved ones, the dams held the promise of not only regional income but also less time away from home. Despite the marginal and temporary number of jobs that these projects would have created in actuality, the dams were symbolic of the employment generation that many hoped to see.

When men migrate, mountain women are usually left behind to tend to household chores, livestock caring activities, and the cultivation of agricultural fields. The amount of work that this entails in a 24-hour day is immense. During the course of fieldwork, I documented many conversations and conducted semi-structured interviews in which people talked about the difficulties that women face. In the discussions I had, one particular conversation stands out. It took place in Nagpuri, a village on the main flow of the Bhagirathi Ganges that is downstream from a preexisting hydroelectric dam, a 90-megawatt capacity river diversion project that was built in the 1980s. I visited Nagpuri repeatedly in 2008 and 2009 to understand the challenges that the proliferation of upstream dams in the Himalaya could bring based on the experiences of women who struggled to adjust from the imposition of an established project. In addition to reducing the flow of the Bhagirathi Ganges to a trickle in the fall, winter, and spring months, the dam directs water underneath the mountains behind the village. The villagers say that they started to lose their water resources when the blasting and drilling of tunnel construction began. This, they asserted, shook the mountains and upset the spring sources. Now, over 25 years later, their water supply is irregular and contaminated. Partly in response to the harsh conditions

Women from Nagpuri hauling sand June 2009. Photo: Georgina Drew.

in the village, a women's committee (*mahila mangaldal*) was formed to enhance social and financial networks. The committee collects small fees from each member and uses the funds for village improvements, construction projects, and credit lending. Despite small gains from this measure, life is still very hard for many.

When I visited Nagpuri on a cold December afternoon in 2009 that followed a day's labour of sowing wheat, I spoke with Usha, the women's committee leader, about her workload and about what it is like living just downstream from a hydroelectric project. In a familial Garhwali fashion, she turned the tables and started by chiding me. "Our work is certainly different from yours," she pointed out as if in reprimand. Then she added: "What a great life you have.... You aren't married. You don't have to take responsibility for anyone else—no children, no family. You eat alone and live tension-free. Your life must be so peaceful." This she set in contrast to her own life, which she complained was not her own:

> *We don't think of our own bodies.... Our whole lives are for others. We have our husband—we do everything to please him. Then there are the kids. They need a lot of help. Then we have our relatives. Then our husband's family. Everyone demands things of us. Then there is the farm work. Then the house work. Then the forest chores [to gather wood and fodder]. Then the guaranteed employment scheme when it is available. It is only now [in the winter and after the crops are planted] that we get a little time to ourselves. The life of a woman here is difficult. Too difficult.*

This was not the first time that I heard the long list of duties a village woman juggles. On an earlier visit, when I was still building trust with Usha Devi in the beginning of my fieldwork, she laid out similar complaints that included an itemized list of the activities that women conduct from morning until night. When she was done with the long description of a day's work, she lightly chuckled at how important women's contributions are in the mountains. Then she added: "Garhwali women are the backbone (*reed ki haddi*) of Garhwal. If it weren't for us, nothing would get done here… our bones are like iron" (Drew 2014b).

Despite the bravado of the iron bones statement—and the heartfelt sentiment behind it—women's bodies in Garhwal are unfortunately quite vulnerable to injury and disease. When she made this statement, I recalled a visit earlier in the year. When I arrived at her home for a three-day stay, she greeted me on the front porch of her hillside two-story house with a gentle half-embrace

A NREGS project with a marked division of labour. Photo: Georgina Drew.

while keeping a right hand wrapped in cloth at her side. We exchanged the appropriate pleasantries before I asked about the injury. She unwrapped the makeshift bandage to reveal a swollen and slightly blue index finger that she had injured in the fields a month before. "It hurts a lot," she admitted, "But it is getting better." This optimistic sentiment did not match the way she gingerly touched it and the grimace with which she rewrapped the cloth around the finger. When I asked Usha why she did not seek medical help, she gave me another long list of tasks that consumed her time. Among these was her daily "duties" with an initiative she alluded to in the above indented quote—the National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme (NREGS). For 100 Rupees a day (about $2), Usha and her neighbors hauled sand up the mountainside to help build a watering troth for livestock. Although they welcomed the money, the women did this work in addition to other chores that included time-consuming trips to the forests to collect fodder and firewood. These tasks they squeezed into the early morning and late evening hours so that they could spend the rest of the day in the fields or at home attending to their families.

When reflecting on her workload, Usha liked to remind me that life was not always this hard. Decades ago, women like her would have had more support from a range of family members. When she was the age of her youngest daughter (15), she was skilled in each and every chore that life in the village demanded. Instead of advancing in school, she helped her mother in the fields and at home along with her siblings. Usha's three daughters, by contrast, studied up to the tenth and, in some cases, the twelfth grade. The middle child even attended computer classes in a nearby adult education center. Usha supported these decisions—it meant that one day her girls could earn good salaries somewhere or at least marry into better families outside of the village—but it also meant that, for much of the agricultural work, she often works alone in the fields. Although her husband does help her when he is able, his wage labor job takes him away from the village on a regular basis. Contemplating the challenges, Usha lamented: "This is why the women here are so thin," she said shaking her head. "No matter how much they eat, they can't put on any weight." The observation alluded to the many cases of anemia evident in Nagpuri village and in surrounding areas.

In the days that followed, I watched Usha in her daily chores. I tried to keep up. But I failed every time. By the third day, after numerous attempts, I convinced her to come to Uttarkashi to see a doctor about her hand. In the end, I had to bribe her with 100 Rupees to join me on the trip to town. There were two reasons I needed to provide this incentive. For her part, Usha was reluctant to give up the income she could earn that day hauling sand. And, having watched her wince through the lifting and lowering

of heavy sacks of sand the day before, I was reluctant to see her repeat the performance. When I insisted on taking her to the doctor for what felt like the tenth time, Usha tentatively remembered some other errands she had to do in town and agreed to join me.

Once the trip was decided upon, Usha went to the cow shed to prepare a litre of milk that she intended to sell in the market. We left mid-morning after she had finished this and several other necessary chores. After crossing the footbridge that connects the village to the main road, we waited for a shared jeep that could take us to Uttarkashi's main market. We were seated on the side of the road for a full half-hour before a jeep stopped to pick us up and we squeezed into the back. It was already a full load by Indian standards so Usha perched on my knee as I contorted against five other bodies to create space for my broad shoulders. When we got to town another half-hour later, we went straight to the medical store of a doctor I knew. He greeted me warmly but treated Usha with a contempt of which I did not know he was capable. "This is a month old injury," he chastised her as he looked at the finger. "It has calcified and it will remain bent indefinitely." Usha looked glum and her head hung low as we bought the ointments and pain killers the doctor prescribed. In Garhwali, he admonished her to seek immediate medical attention the next time she hurt herself. Then, speaking to me in English so that she would not understand, he complained: "These villagers, they don't take care of themselves." Casting a stern yet consternated glance at the doctor, I bought the medicine and walked Usha Devi back to the market where she could catch another jeep ride back to her village. On the way, we paused for her to use some of the money I gave her to buy some fresh vegetables brought up from the plains that were not in season in Garhwal. It would be a treat for the family to partake of these rarities and it offered a rare nutritional boost to their otherwise basic fare.

Usha's delay in seeking medical attention for a broken finger is about much more than what it appeared to the doctor. What may seem like a lack of personal care is actually the outcome of the everyday stressors that women like Usha experience. The pressures that Usha and others endure is part of a wider set of forces that act upon women's lives.

The Political Ecology of Mountain Women's Hardships

Usha's delay in seeking medical attention for a broken finger is about much more than what it appeared to the doctor. What may seem like a lack of personal care is actually the outcome of the everyday stressors that women like Usha experience. The pressures that Usha and others endure is part of a wider set of forces that act upon women's lives. These forces operate at numerous scales. To understand this conceptually, political ecology is an apt approach. Political ecology is broadly thought of as the level of inquiry that is employed when the concerns of resource management and ecology are paired with the concerns and analyses of political economy (Blaikie and Brookfield). Another shorthand for political ecology is the scope of inquiry involved when one examines the interplay of 'Nature' and 'Society' or 'Nature-Society' in order to understand environmental-political processes that lead to ecological change (Watts and Peet 6). In looking to the challenges that women in Garhwal confront, political ecology becomes a useful way to examine the multiple dynamics at hand. In its more feminist-influenced strains, it enables a multi-scalar approach to seeing how resource conflicts and socio-economic struggles impact socially differentiated bodies and genders in disparate ways (Biersack et al.; Escobar; Rocheleau et al.). Political ecology, in other words, helps to explore, how "…gender-social systems and landscapes are influenced in both material and meaningful ways by forces and processes that extend far beyond community territory" (Paulson 189).

If we take a political ecology approach to understand women's hidden hardships, their efforts to make ends meet sets a stark contrast with the economic boom of urban centers in the plains. The mountain men and women are acutely aware of the opportunities that seem to lie just outside their reach. In response, and as earlier noted, many men migrate to earn cash income and, in some cases, voice their support for the development projects that they imagine will create employment and economic opportunities. The women vacillate on their stance to these development projects—especially the ones that could potentially disrupt religious practices and regional water supplies. And, as they increasingly prioritize their children's education, they are forced to do more and more work in fields that are becoming less productive. The result

is that rural Garhwali women above the age of 30 are often frail, overworked, and exhausted. They suffer nutritional deficiencies, and many are often unable to care for their own bodies despite injury and discomfort.

Does the future, we can ask, bring more of the exacting labor and compromised health that many Garhwali women currently experience? There is hope that as remittances increase and the youth find employment, these women will have more supplemental income and less struggle to subsist based off of what they can grow or forage. If a trickle-down economy fails to materialize, however, it is also possible that daily life in the mountains could become more arduous. The available forest resources are dwindling, water resources are drying, and the full impact of warming temperatures and glacial melt has yet to be seen. These changes mean that women will be forced to increase the time and energy invested in their work. This would likely result in the further deterioration of household health observed when the confluence of similar economic and ecological factors impacted Andean women (Paulson).

The reality is that no single development project or environmental program will address the multiplicity of the challenges that Garhwalis and other mountain inhabitants confront. This is something that many women readily point out when asked about the impact of the latest initiative, program, or policy to improve their lives. The disillusionment that rural mountain women feel is perhaps another reason why they do not take more active involvement in social and environmental protests, even when the fate of a sacred, grace-giving river is at stake. In addition to the daily challenges women work to overcome, there is an overall sense of distrust that is complicated by sentiments of despair. In future research endeavours, we need to continue to examine such effects in order to understand the full gamut of the difficulties that rural women confront. In the process, we will be able to see how the lack of effort to allow women to shape development agendas feeds the distrust expressed and how the endless stress of the struggle to access water and other resources fuels sentiments of despair. Investigations of how these forces come together within a wider socio-economic or political ecological framework will help us understand how the struggles for resources such as water are simultaneously struggles for power (Johnston; Mehta; Swyngedouw) and how women are all too often forced to suffer the consequences of forces operating outside of their immediate control.

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[1]Conversation on 3 December 2009 with a male activist explaining the relative lack of Garhwali men in the dam opposition movements.

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TARYN HUBBARD

Type the Drill Twice

I can weld. I can weld very well. I like it.
We do our work just as well as you do yours.
How I sit has a lot to do with how I can weld.
We can give quiet thought to the work that we do.
If he goes, I must go, too. You can go, too. I am next. He is quick.
I can weld and I do so with nimble fingers.
Years ago I earned my Red Seal.
An expert is one who does all her work very well.
I know I can make my fingers on the stick spark the tank.
If you have zeal for your work, you can do much.
I must *know* I can do the work: then I weld with out fear.
If I want to learn and work to learn, I shall learn.
I shall weld. I shall weld. I shall think to weld.

Taryn Hubbard is a writer from the West Coast. She has published in CV2, Lemon Hound, Capilano Review, Event, Room Magazine, subTerrain, *and others. When she's not writing, she works as a communications specialist in the public and private sectors, including five years at a trade union. tarynhubbard.com.*

Coralie Alles

Appeasement

J'imagine qu'après la tourmente vient enfin le recueillement.
Les dernières bourrasques jouent encore dans les cheveux.
Rien à voir, cependant, avec les éléments fous des jours précédents,
Venus secouer, cette nymphe adorable au museau taquin, au port royal.
Candide dans sa partielle nudité, le cou tendu et à l'écoute,
C'est de l'intérieur que vibre cette âme sensible et douce.
Sa fougue et sa jeunesse retenues pour un instant,
Laissent transpercer une nature noble et délicate.
Le voile de pudeur, battant au vent et retenu avec grâce,
Témoigne de la virginité des pensées et des intentions.
C'est de son regard intérieur que surgit toute sa grâce.
Pieuse et radieuse, elle émeut de par sa blancheur innocente.

Née en Belgique, Coralie Alles a émigré en Afrique à l'âge de 11 ans. De là, elle est venue au Canada avec son mari et ses cinq enfants. Elle a publié «Boule de Gomme et compagnie» suivi de deux autres titres que les jeunes et les moins jeunes peuvent retrouver sur le site de Coralie www.chevaletpoetique.com.

JOSIE DI SCIASCIO-ANDREWS

Windfalls

This was the land's end: a curved fist
of carboniferous rock. Millennia
of cramped pink slate. Fossilized
metacarpals tenaciously gripping
mile long strips of sand.

Once, the suede-stitched teepees
of the Algonquin and the Iroquois
kinged the horizon here.
Before the Loyalists came.
Before the rest of us.

Drums beating in moonlight. Mares'
hoof taps hailing through pines. Through ash.
Archaic tribes of falconers at one with falcons.
They came and went through time clean as the surf.

Theirs was the era of fishes. Of birds.
Old, virgin myths of origins. When men
paid homage to the earth with totems. Sacredness
now relegated like tourist trinkets. Whimsies
of the human. Gated in reserves by the sovereign.
Holograms of a mystical past.

Their ghosts admonish. Defy us to look back.

Now that the land and water suffer injury.
Now that the dangers are many.

Invisibly, in water, liquid poisons
insinuate their ink dissolves of skulls
and bones like dirty rumours.

Once children swam in this lake.
Families made camp fires here. Cooked buffalo.
At dusk, smudged offerings of sweet grass
to keep malevolence at bay.

Now, the air from the refineries is foul.
Hearts of darkness have long impaled hog heads
on sticks. Stacked their bones and grist for fences.

"There is no godhead left," Nietzsche announced.
But cash to be made. And lights in distant towers.

Over two centuries, so many immigrants
have bent across these shores picking up stones.
Aiming them like dreams through stars.
Ablating griefs to ever morphing spirits.

Tonight, some men wearing turbans
have parked their SUV's. Are passing opium
in a circle to each other from some exotic flasks.

Trapped in a mossy tangle of algae,
empty liquor bottles, hypodermic
needles and fast food wrappers spell
words of coping strategies. Of numbing.

From the shadow of every stone
looms news of some apocalypse.

With both past and future, so far away,
we steer close to this trail's beaten path like animals
fearful of slaughter. Losing ourselves in chimeras
of a gifting. Of some sweeter fruit from a forbidden tree.
This Eden we keep on reasoning our way out of. Forgetting.

And what have we ever learned from treacheries,
but to be treacherous?
What have we done, but lose our hearts
in order to survive?

I reach for a cigarette. Inhale the toxic
silence. I would rather have gills than a brain.
"I think, therefore I am." said Descartes.
But at this point, I would rather be any fish. Primordial.
Innocent. Swim back to paradise. Get wasted on water.

Josie Di Sciascio-Andrews has written three collections of poetry: The Whispers of Stones, Sea Glass and The Red Accordion. Two new collections are forthcoming. In 2013 she was shortlisted for Descant's Winston Collins Best Canadian Poem Prize. Josie lives, teaches and writes in Oakville Ontario, Canada.

Aunt Mavo's Labours

A Story from Mozambique

ALEXANDRE SILVA DUNDURO

L'accès à l'eau est un problème majeur en Mozambique. Quoique que ce pays soit traversé par plusieurs rivières, l'eau est difficilement abordable. Plusieurs communautés n'ont pas accès à l'eau potable même si la rivière est à proximité. C'est un éternel dilemme. Si quelques communautés éloignées des cours d'eau doivent parcourir des kilomètres pour chercher l'eau, il y en d'autres qui habitent près des rivières et qui sont confrontées aux crues durant la saison des pluies ou encore craignent les crocodiles. La situation est encore plus précaire pour les femmes les plus vulnérables, celles qui habitent les régions rurales. Le partage du travail est une forme d'inégalité, parce que sexuelle. Les femmes doivent accomplir les travaux les plus pénibles et multiples comme cultiver la terre, chercher l'eau et s'occuper des enfants.

It is morning in the remote village of Manhetche and the sun announces his brilliance. This is how it is in Manhetche during the summer. The sun castigates all that is before him. Almost no one can withstand the heat, and it is only six in the morning. There are murmurs everywhere as each family in the village begins to rise.

A few moments later, many people begin their habitual activities. Women and men, girls and boys are scurrying about. They are all concerned with their daily business, all except Aunt Mavo. Since the sun came up, Aunt Mavo has been leaning against a leafy cashew tree is in the middle of her backyard.

Aunt Mavo is tired. She cannot take on any tasks that require excessive of physical effort. Yesterday she was at the river all day long, washing clothes. Aunt Mavo, and many other women in that village, as well as in other rural areas of Mozambique, walks for miles every day searching for water. Water! This is a precious liquid that is lacking in Manhetche, even though the Búzi River is nearby.

Aunt Mavo knows she is the one who has to go to the river to fetch water, so she will have to walk for six miles carrying a bucket on her head. When she thinks about that distance she starts to feel faint, she sweats, and she cries. She suffers inside. She thinks and rethinks: "I am tired. Yesterday, the bucket was too heavy. I will not be able to go to the river today." But Aunt Mavo prefers to talk to herself, to complain only to herself. Aunt Mavo knows that if she discuss this openly with her husband, she will be frowned upon by the rest of the community.

"There are certain activities that only women can do." This is the dominant thinking in the community. She thinks and rethinks: "Is it necessary to defy my husband and ask him to go to the river?" She knows this can have serious consequences. But she decides to go ahead with the bold decision to confront her husband.

On the other side of the village, there is another huge cashew tree. The cashew tree creates a large shadow, and therefore has been chosen as the place for long banter and drinking sessions among the villagers. This socializing and interaction among men of the community is customary. One of the members of that group is Manuel Guitumbo, husband of Aunt Mavo. Manuel Guitumbo is an uncompromising and very conservative man. He was educated in the tradition of his tribe that defends the supremacy of men in the marriage. He thinks it is sufficient that he is responsible only for the agriculture tasks, and it is normal that his wife must fetch water from the river, take care of children, prepare meals, and also help him with the agriculture tasks.

Under the shadow of cashew tree, Guitumbo is excited, and he laughs, laughs. He is drinking *Khabanga* (a beer produced on the basis of maize)and he takes several gulps. The conversation seems to gain a pace that, in the opinion of the members of the "get-together," could not be better. But when in the middle of the conversation, Rafel Chimuli, a youth who attends school and has participated in several seminars on gender equality, decides to talk about women's rights in the community, he is met with a stony silence. Then they all laugh!

"How can I help you, my wife?" Guitumbo asks with a sarcastic tone, paying little attention to his wife's concerns.

"You have to go to the river to fetch water, I am very tired," Aunt Mavo replies.

Guitumbo laughs out loud and says: "You want *me* to go to the river! You want *me,* your husband, the man of the house, to go to the river? Are you serious?"

"Precisely!" replies Aunt Mavo firmly. "I want you to help me because I have not enough strength to go to the river to fetch water."

"You have to go to the river to fetch water, I am very tired," Aunt Mavo replies. Guitumbo laughs out loud and says: "You want *me* to go to the river! You want *me,* your husband, the man of the house, to go to the river? Are you serious?"

"Your school is corrupting your brain, oh boy!" exclaims Mr. Damian Chingule, a veteran of the gatherings under the cashew tree. "We have been gathering and talking here for decades. We drink and we have parties. We talk about community problems, we discuss important matters, but never, never someone come here to tell us that women have the same rights as we do!" Old Damian is visibly annoyed. He grabs in the youth's glass and gives him a shot of *Khabanga*.

"Don't try to poison us with these absurd ideas, Rafael!" adds Guitumbo, alarmed and also angry. Other members of the group remain silent and say absolutely nothing. Silence seems, to them, most convenient. Rafael, on another hand, feels limited. He wanted to say something else, but he feels he cannot continue.

While Guitumbo is having a fun with his friends, Aunt Mavo, in her house, all alone, suffers about her dilemma with the water. So she has decided to find her husband and ask him to go to the river. In fact she is now very stimulated by the debate that she heard few days ago on the communitarian radio. The debate was about the gender inequality and women rights. Remembering the debate, Aunt Mavo gains courage to face her husband. She walks over to the cashew tree where he is drinking *Khabanga* with his friends and tries to convince him to go to the river to fetch water the family needs.

When Giutumbo sees his wife approaching, he becomes agitated. It is unusual for women to approach that noble space. "It must be a very serious matter," he thinks. Aunt Mavo gets closer and closer, and then looking deeply into her husband's eyes, audaciously says: "We don't have enough water at home, Guitumbo. I need your help!"

Unfortunately, Aunt Mavo was defeated. She could not convince her husband. It was very hard to hear her husband saying to her face that he is the man of the house and it is not for him to go to the river. It was too difficult to understand that he could be so insensitive. "He can't see that I'm tired," Auntie Mavo thinks.

Then Aunt Mavo returns home. She takes a huge bucket and in the company of her daughter, Tina, walks the six miles to the river. Aunt Mavo tells her daughter that she needs to be an independent woman when she grows up, to be someone who defends the rights of other girls and women that need to emancipate themselves. Tina accepts her mother's advice, nodding up and down, showing that she agrees with her mother.

The Búzi River is huge, has a permanent flow. Aunt Mavo remembers the times the river was dry. And this is what intrigues Aunt Mavo. "There is so much water, but it's too far!" A long time ago, Aunt Mavo and her family lived on the edge of Búzi River. Today, she and her family live in the highlands, far from the river, they are avoiding the floods. That's why Aunt Mavo and the other women of their community are always fatigued; the river is too far now.

The only way to have water is to get it from the river. It is a dangerous because the river is infested with crocodiles. It's a risk. But Aunt Mavo has to overcome all her fears and leave everything to chance. She is filling her bucket when she suddenly she feels a pressure from below, and pain, a lot of pain, and she screams and screams: "Help! Help! Help...." Tina cannot do anything. She screams too. "Help! Help! Aunt Mavo is under attack by a huge crocodile!" Luckily someone comes to the rescue, someone

who was on the other side of the river, a fisherman who had heard their cries for help.

The fisherman wades into in the river, plucks a reed and thrusts it down the throat of the crocodile. The reptile escapes. Aunt Mavo is safe! However she is hurt very hurt. She has lost a leg.

The community is shaken to see the fisherman bringing Aunt Mavo back to the village cradled in his arms.

"What happened? What happened?"

"She was attacked by a crocodile," the fisherman answers patiently.

The news quickly spreads through the village, and reaches the ears of Guitumbo, who is still drinking *Khabanga* in the shadow of the cashew tree. When he hears the bad news, he runs to his wife. He cannot believe what he sees and he cries. But it's too late, too late.

Now, nothing can be done. His wife cannot go to the river again to fetch water. He will now have to, reluctantly, do what supposedly only women can do.

Alexandre Silva Dunduro, Mozambican, has a degree in International Relation and Diplomacy. Upon graduation, he started working as consultant on energy and extractive industries in Mozambique before becoming a social activist in a youth social movement in Mozambique. He is also a writer and this year, 2015, in March, he published his first book.

KAY R. EGINTON

Little Cat's Feet

Big white shoes and little cat's feet
The answer to everyone's prayer
Expertise and beauty both desired.
My clinical-looking shoes

And poet's habits
Combine in healing unison,
"Chime in: Chime in:".
June, after long winter, brings

Bountiful babies, good health
Maybe. As Wordsworth had it
In "To the Small Celandine"
A spring flower, modest and growing.

Kay R. Eginton is the author of Poems *(Penfield Press, 1981). She lives in Iowa City, Iowa.*

JOANNA M. WESTON

The Reporter

she found me
wandering the graveyard

she beckoned me from a headstone
with name and dates inscribed
gave no hint of why
she wanted my company
but we sat, her toothless
jaw clacking in the wind

fleshless arms
and finger bones flailed
her manner of death

slow with attendant family
against a background
of coal mines charity soups
squalling kids racking cough
clattering pails
and eighteenth century
masculine morality

while I made notes
for the article
I would never write

Joanna M. Weston's new collection of poetry, A Bedroom of Searchlights, *is forthcoming from Inanna Publications in spring 2016. Her middle-reader,* Those Blue Shoes *was published by Clarity House Press. Frontenac House of Calgary published her poetry collection,* A Summer Father. *She has also published an e-book;* The Willow Tree Girl *can be found at www.1960willowtree.wordpress.com. She is married with two cats, multiple spiders, a herd of deer, and two derelict hen-houses.*

JANNA PAYNE

head of the catholic church

proudly i sit grading the work of my pupils:
a+ for the green sky,
c- for the blue sea,
avant-garde written in the margins,
not realizing I'm in the margins,
not realizing my story will later be shared
to a herd of professionals snickering about dementia.
did he really think he was a teacher?, they'll howl.

what's happening to me?, I whisper
while scrambling to complete a word search,
to place the word,
to place myself in the world,
to get from the word list to the puzzle
without losing myself or
without a professional saying,
aw, you're quite the teacher.

after snack time,
one of the professionals declares,
attention please!
I bought mosaic colouring books—
colouring books for adults!,
imploring us to thank her,
to take the power back, and
to make peace with our misery.

no such luck,
but lucky me!

out of nowhere
another professional notices
my misery—my greatest need—my greatest longing, and
cheers me up saying,
good job, honey!,
in her finest baby voice.

thank you,
I say,
wondering if she realizes
only disempowered women use pet names,
only disempowered women coo like babies.

no such luck.

later,
I comb my hair and strap my best
nameable, tameable,
malleable and disempowerable
self to the altar.

binding my hands,
I yell,
the pope is being lorded over!,
the pope is being lorded over!,
hoping to give the herd
a performance to remember.

Janna Payne is a Canadian poet. She holds a Masters from Loyola University Chicago. Her work has recently been featured (or is forthcoming) in: BROAD: A Feminist and Social Justice Magazine, Communities, Role/Reboot, Room, The Steel Chisel, *and* Women and Environments *magazine. To read more, visit www.facebook.com/jannaspeaks.*

Be the Water

DEBBY WILSON DANARD

Ce qu'on inflige à l'eau, c'est à nous-mêmes qu'on le fait. Soyons l'eau. Ce texte démontre dans une perspective Anishinaabekwe, l'interaction physique et spirituelle, le sacré de l'eau et nos responsabilités en tant que femmes à aider notre Mère Terre à continuer à protéger et à dialoguer au nom de l'eau.

Connecting to Water

My English name is Debby Wilson Danard, and I am from Rainy River First Nation in Northwestern Ontario. I have accepted the responsibility of carrying the life teachings of the Ojibway Anishinaabe as they have been shared with me through my family, my community, the Three Fires Teaching Lodge and my personal connection to Spirit, the sacred space of creation. From the Three Fires Lodge I have also accepted the role and responsibility of protecting and ensuring that the water's teachings, songs, and ceremonies are remembered for the next seven generations.

As Anishinaabekwe I understand my full responsibility to protect the life of water, the life-blood of Mother Earth. Through our teachings, Earth is our Mother as she gives us *everything* we need to live. My Anishinaabe name, *Nio'gwanaybiik* comes from the Thunderbirds: from our oral histories and teachings, they are the protectors of the water that is held in the sky realm. The water is kept clean through the balance of the Thunder-birds (thunder) and the Snakes (lightning). The connection between the physical water and the sky realm water is made through the water ceremony. Women, as the protectors of the water, conduct the water ceremony with gratitude to the water that sustains all of life. The women hold a copper vessel of water, speak to the water, sing to the water…

Ne-be Gee Zah- gay- e- goo
Gee Me-gwetch -wayn ne- me – goo
Gee Zah Wayn ne- me- goo[1]

The petition to the water through prayer and song acknowledges with humble gratitude the life-blood of Mother Earth. From Mother Earth's continuous giving we have been sustained, are sustained, and will be sustained for future generations.

I travelled to Machiasport, ME, to sit at the ocean where the grandfathers and grandmothers called me. I open my heart to hear the Anishinaabe creation story through the sound of the water moving to the rhythm of the universe. Turtle Island shifts to awaken the ancestors… "she is here, she is listening"… I look as far as I can… *Wayna-boozhoo* on the back of a whale … the water helpers petition for strength… the water needs our help. I sing to the water… I offer my tobacco and receive the gifts of this eastern doorway, a renewal of knowledge and understanding of my connection to the spirit of creation.

Owidi waubunong buh-onji-wausay-yawbung… anduso geezhig (there in the eastern direction from whence the dawn emerges each day). From this direction we are gifted with *kendassiwin meenwa sitwin* (knowledge and understanding). It is from this direction we understand the past, present, and future at once through *biidaaban* (brings light at dawn). We are told all of life comes through this direction; this is the place where the life journey begins.

I place my tobacco offering in the water
"What are you asking of me?"
We do not govern Mother Earth
She governs us
She teaches us how to care for her
When She is sick we must take care of her

Unconditional in her love for all of Creation
We must also be unconditional in our love for Her

What we do to the water, we do to ourselves
We see our reflection in the water.
Water is a warrior

Life brought forth from the waters
of Mother Earth
of birth
the first tears

"Man"-made dams and structures
stagnates her life-blood
Throws her off-balance
straining under the pressure.

We thirst from "Man"-made promises
of a good-life rooted in greed and economy
We destroy our past, our present and our future
Leaves us Thirsty

False promises replace
Creators promise
That water would always companion
To bring life

Be thankful
Be grateful

The way of the water teaches us

Love unconditional for all of life
For ourselves, for each other

The water inside of us
Speaks to the water outside of us
Reflects itself outward
What we do to the Water
We do to ourselves
Be the water…

Women Govern the Water

Women govern the water; this role as our inherent right has never been relinquished. As women we must stand up for the water, as Josephine Mandamin instructs: "The water is sick.… And people need to really fight for that water, to speak for that water, to love that water" (qtd. in McMahon). The men's responsibility is to support the women in a manner for the women to do their work.

Women govern the water as caretakers: as women are gifted to carry and bring forth life through birth, so women are considered to be like Mother Earth who sustains life through her continual creation. Each child is born through the water, and nourished within the sacred space of creation. With the help of the men, the balance is to protect the future generations. The role of men is to understand their relationship to the fire (vision) and keep the sacred fire burning strong. The fire is at the heart of Mother Earth and represents the vision to see ahead seven generations. Working together, the male and female human beings ensure Mother Earth is taken care of. How we take care of the water and Mother Earth is how we will be taken care of. The human beings were entrusted to ensure the rights of Mother Earth are protected and respected. As Anishinaabeg this was understood from our culture, governance, and way of life. Through our teachings, Anishinaabeg followed the natural laws and lived *mino-bimaadiziwin* (good life) in balance with all of creation.

This way of understanding the relationship with Mother Earth has been acknowledged recently through the Universal Declaration of the Rights of Mother Earth. submitted by Bolivia to the United Nations. The Declaration articulates the relationship between the many Nations of Earth as "indivisible … interrelated and interdependent with a common destiny." It acknowledges Mother Earth as the source of life for all living beings. It states it is *our* human right to ensure that Mother Earth is recognized as having inherent rights that include "the right to life and to exist; the right to be respected…the right to water as a source of life … and clean air…" As human beings we are obligated to ensure these inherent rights of Mother Earth are respected and recognized … in accordance with their own cultures, traditions and customs…." It is impressive that the people of Bolivia took this lead, following their "water war" in the beginning of the twenty-first century, as detailed by Vandana Shiva. The World Bank's involvement in water privatization is well-documented (see, for example, Barlow and Clarke) with worldwide implications that water as commodity results in huge profits at the expense both of human beings and Mother Earth's right to water as a source of life.

Significantly, uniting South America and North America to raise awareness of the cry for Mother Earth to help heal the water was Josephine Mandamin, Ojibway from

Manitoulin Island, Ontario. Along with a small group of women, men, and often children, this Grandmother led the water walks around the perimeter of the Great Lakes, beginning in 2003 with Lake Superior. The water walkers proceeded around (upper) Lake Michigan in 2004, Lake Huron in 2005, Lake Ontario in 2006, Lake Erie in 2007 and (lower) Lake Michigan in 2008. Women alone carried a copper vessel of water, accompanied by an Eagle Staff primarily carried by the men. Rising before sunrise every morning for several weeks, the water walkers raised awareness of the pollution by chemicals, vehicle emissions, motor boats, sewage disposal, agricultural pollution, leaking landfill sites, and residential usage taking a toll on our water quality. Even when she believed she was finished her mission, Grandmother Josephine was reminded that the Great Lakes flowed into the ocean, and so in 2009, she led the water walkers from Kingston, Ontario to the Gaspé Peninsula along the St. Lawrence River. The commitment of Grandmother Josephine Mandamin is admired and honoured, and her work to raise awareness of the water has led to a great rebirth in communities to take action and to work to protect the water in their surrounding environment.

I am grateful to have participated as a water walker around Lake Ontario (2006) and briefly Lake Erie when I was carrying the life of my soon to be born daughter in 2007. In 2009, my then 17-month-old daughter joined in the water walk along the St. Lawrence River. The blessing of this journey was watching my daughter and Grandmother Josephine sitting at the ocean at the end of the walk. Grandmother Josephine handed my daughter the copper vessel, entrusting my daughter to continue to work for the water, protect the water and love the water. In 2011, we continued our work for the water, participating in the Four Directions Water Walk.[2] This walk united all the waters of Mother Earth. Waters from the Pacific Ocean, the Gulf of Mexico, the Atlantic Ocean, and Hudson Bay were gathered in copper vessels and walked to Bad River WI, on Lake Superior where the first water walk began. Through this ceremony, the waters were united to bring the message from the four directions of Turtle Island that the water needs our help: it needs human beings to continue to care for the water, to care for each other, and respect all of life as it was placed here from the beginning of creation.

Like walking for the water, one step at a time… there has been demonstrated movement towards support for women's role in "governance" and water including policy and governance. The Assembly of First Nations Women's Council is one such supporter, as is the Anishinabek Nation (Union of Ontario Indians), which announced the creation of a Women's Water Commission aimed in part at providing input to the Ontario government on Great Lakes water issues in 2007. Since the first water walk, communities from all over the world have shown their support to Grandmother Josephine through social media, and many groups of first time water walkers are being raised up to continue the work inspired and awakened through Grandmother Josephine's commitment.[3]

Women govern the water as caretakers: as women are gifted to carry and bring forth life through birth, so women are considered to be like Mother Earth who sustains life through her continual creation. Each child is born through the water, and nourished within the sacred space of creation. With the help of the men, the balance is to protect the future generations.

"Man" Governs Water

Water is a human right and should be guaranteed to all people regardless of their ability to pay.

Over several decades, concern for water quality and unsanitary conditions has been an issue for First Nation communities. Sustainable water management and governance continues to be of concern for present and future generations. As of February 2015, 92 First Nations are on "boil water advisory" (Health Canada). This includes First Nations who have been on long-term advisory. In 2011, the Council of Canadians continued to advocate for drinking water and sanitation on First Nations, including concerns for the *Safe Drinking Water For First Nations Act* (Bill S-11).

Currently, First Nations are under the federal jurisdiction of the Ministry of Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada (AANDC, formerly INAC), and therefore provincial regulatory water standards do not apply on reserves. First Nations are responsible for the construction, design, operation and maintenance of their water systems, and 20 percent of the cost. They are also responsible for ensuring that water systems are operated

by trained operators as well as for monitoring drinking water quality through effective sampling and testing. However, both the 2006 Report of the Expert Panel on Safe Drinking Water for First Nations (19) and a 2008 report prepared by the Polaris Institute, in collaboration with the Assembly of First Nations (Harden and 7), identified lack of sufficient financial resources as a cause of inadequate water treatment systems on some reserves.[4] AANDC (one of 34 federal departments and agencies involved in Aboriginal and northern programs and services) provides partial (80 percent) funding to First Nations for water provision subject to the appropriate technical review and funding approval process. It then oversees the design, construction and maintenance of water facilities and is responsible for water system technicians training dollars. Unfortunately, to meet the training criteria, the water system infrastructure must be classified, and potential technicians must have a minimum grade 12 education, and when they do qualify First Nations technicians get paid significantly less than mainstream technicians:[5]

> …it appears that while the Canada Labour Code (at a minimum) may apply to workers on reserves, there does not seem to be a program of regular inspection and enforcement." (Expert Panel 42).

Health Canada ensures the delivery of drinking water monitoring programs on reserves located south of the 60th parallel, either directly or indirectly through third party quality monitoring. Although Health Canada is responsible for providing Water Quality Data there seem to be gaps, with information not being directed to AANDC, and there is little or no funding for First Nations to take samples of their water (including source waters) for testing. This is a significant shortcoming, as many First Nations access water directly for recreational and traditional purposes.

Environment Canada is involved in source water protection through its powers to regulate wastewater discharge into federal waters or into water generally where water quality has become a matter of national concern, and its powers to enforce effluent discharge standards into water throughout Canada. The Clean Water Act in Ontario is the only Canadian model for a comprehensive watershed management system for source protection (Expert Panel 38). Distribution systems on reserve are sized to deliver about half the water per capita available to other Ontarians.

Unclear coordination of water management and governance, which is divided among different sectors within three or four departments (i.e., source water protection, water management training, infrastructure, water quality, design and construction, maintenance and monitoring) continues to demonstrate systemic barriers for First Nations social, political and traditional knowledge positions and inherent rights to water governance. As Tonina Simeone suggests:

> Section 91(24) of the *Constitution Act, 1867*, grants to the federal government exclusive jurisdiction over "Indians and lands reserved for the Indians." As a result, legislative authority for the provision of drinking water to on-reserve First Nations communities vests with the federal government. (Drinking Water 1)In the Federal Government's jurisdictional relationships within their own structures of management, First Nations inclusion in primary discussions at the community level and a Nation-to-Nation basis is absolutely necessary to develop alliances that ensure Treaty rights and inherent rights are recognized and protected. Traditional knowledge and practices challenge technical aspects with the social aspects of water management and governance including source water protection where industries such as mining, and forestry impact First Nation communities overall health and access to safe drinking water.

A major concern is that the federal government will continue to promote privatization through facilitating public-private partnerships (P3s) on First Nations. Unfortunately, this solution continues to take community accountability, management and economy (local community employment) out of First Nations into the mainstream private sector.

A major concern is that the federal government will continue to promote privatization through facilitating public-private partnerships on First Nations. Unfortunately, this solution continues to take community accountability, management and economy (local community employment) out of First Nations into the mainstream private sector.

It is imperative that First Nations participate in shap-

ing their own systems and that "man" made structures understand the words of our great uncle, Jim Dumont:

> *We must remember about the traditional ways of community organizing … and we must remember that in our creation stories, the people came together first, and together they create the structures that they need, so that everyone has a voice and everyone contributes to the formation of a shared vision, and a shared plan of how to meet all the needs that the people have.* (Personal discussion, 2015)

Traditional Knowledge that recognizes the spiritual and relationship value and includes our basic right to water needs to be addressed nationally, provincially and with First Nations. The future depends on us all.

Water Governs Us

Where does the water flow through?
Can you not hear it my relatives?
It flows through from that most beautiful place
in the sky realm.

Water is life.
the foundation
for all of life to
come into Creation.
Water governs us
sustains life
water teaches wisdom
love
courage
truth
respect
humility
honesty
From drought
Floods
Destruction
The power beyond
Human capacity to control
We are governed by
the water.

How we understand ourselves in relation to all of creation, particularly our connection with water, the life-blood of Mother Earth, will determine our future survival. The living web of life, human and otherwise, is interconnected through Mother Earth and her waters. The responsibility must be shared through family and community and the many Nations. Life within our selves is dependent on the life outside ourselves. The water songs, teachings and ceremonies petition the human being to be remembered for the next seven generations. "Can you hear it my relatives?"

Connecting to the water both inside of me and outside of me, I acknowledge that one-ness. The significance of this understanding and advocacy for the water connected to the development of a youth training curriculum that integrates water teachings and suicide prevention and life promotion (Ontario Federation of Indian Friendship Centres, "Strengthening Life through Water Teachings", 2010). These modules focus on the relationship between caring, respecting and valuing both water and life. Water governs us: if we are listening we can hear the teachings.

The concept of a governance structure by the water for the water may sound impossible. However, it is within this impossibility that there is possibility. Water will continue to demonstrate its creative and destructive form, doing the work that the water was instructed to follow at the beginning of creation, nourish life. As human beings connecting to the water inside and outside of us, we begin to understand governance from the perspective of water. In the spirit of decolonizing thought, when we connect to water we understand the desire of water to fulfill its teaching to nourish life and our desire as human beings to continue to exist from the blessing of waters generous gift. As with any gift, we are indebted to the water and should attempt to "repay" that debt with love and gratitude. Continued attempts to rigidly and systemically control the power of water demonstrates the limitations of man-made governance as being a centric belief of man in dominion over the natural laws.

The possibility of water governance from the perspective of water can be made possible through accessing and incorporating traditional knowledge and teachings as a method of consultation and participation in decision-making, clarifying roles and responsibilities through consultation and examining water's perspective in relation to stewardship, management and governance. Be the water.

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[1]This song was gifted by Doreen Day at the request of her grandson. English translation: "Water, we love you. We thank you. We respect you."

[2]The journey of this Four Directions walk is documented in the film, *Water Journey*, 2011 directed by Jeff Bear and Marianne Jones.

[3]More information on Elder Josephine Mandamin can be found at <www.motherearthwaterwalk.com>.

[4]The Commissioner of the Environment and Sustainable Development also recognized the issue of First Nations' financial capability to cover the 20 percent of operating costs not funded by the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development.

[5]"…It appears that while the Canada Labour Code (at a minimum) may apply to workers on reserves, there does not seem to be a program of regular inspection and enforcement" (Expert Panel on Safe Drinking Water).

[5]For additional information on jurisdictional issues see Tonina Simeone's *Federal-Provincial Jurisdiction and Aboriginal Peoples*. Additional resource information can be found at <http://www.great-lakes.net/humanhealth/drink/regulation.html>.

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TENDAI R. MWANAKA

Sad Manhood

for Edie … I know how you feel

I am not going to give it up
Not for anything
Not anything worthwhile

I have come a long way
Some say, half the way
Half the way to sad manhood

For the first twenty years
I was a seed in the soil
Waiting for the rains to spring up

From twenty onwards
I was a sapling stem
Feeding, flowing in greens

Now forty, onwards
I will learn from lives,
Loves I have crashed

To reach here, where
I am just coming to
Half the way to sad manhood.

Tendai R. Mwanaka was born in Zimbabwe. He is the author of several poetry books, including Voices from Exile *(2010) and* Playing to Love's Gallery *(2014). He is also the author of two novels,* Keys in the River: Notes from a Modern Chimurenga *(2012) and* A Dark Energy *(2014), and a collection of essays,* Zimbabwe: The Blame Game *(2013). His short fiction, essays, poems and visual art have published in magazines, journals, and anthologies around the world.*

BLUE FUTURE: PROTECTING WATER FOR PEOPLE AND THE PLANET FOREVER

Maude Barlow
Toronto: House of Anansi Press, 2013

REVIEWED BY GEORGINA ALONSO

Maude Barlow—Senior Advisor on Water to former United Nations General Assembly President Miguel d'Escoto Brockmann in 2008 and 2009, National Chairperson of the Council of Canadians, and chairperson of the Food and Water Watch board—is truly an expert on global water issues. *Blue Future* is the final instalment in Barlow's *Blue* series, a series which underscores the seriousness of the world's water crisis. In *Blue Future*, Barlow looks at water management from historical, geographical, ecological, social, political, and economic perspectives and reaches the same conclusion every time: water must be established as a public trust for the good of both humanity and the rest of the world.

In her book, Barlow lays out the important work that has already been done in the name of water justice and the significant work that remains to be done. Her solutions to the water problematic follow four key principles: 1) water is a human right, 2) water is a common heritage, 3) water has rights too, and 4) water can teach us how to live together. Through these four principles, Barlow lays out the current state of water politics. She emphasizes the necessity of legally recognizing water as a human right and establishing it as a public trust, noting the disastrous effects of privatization and commodification of water. She argues that while protecting water sources is of great benefit to humans, water does not merely exist for our benefit; we are part of our ecosystems and we must respect that. She also highlights the fact that water inequality is directly linked to global social and economic inequality.

Instead of focusing on one region or on a handful of water basins, Barlow provides a diversity of examples of water injustice from around the world—showing that water injustice is truly a global issue—and emphasizes that while impacts of a lack of clean, affordable, accessible, and sustainable water supplies are often felt most in developing countries, water inequality is not only between rich and poor countries but also within countries. Examples of Detroit and Attawapiskat represent several cases of poorer racialized communities in urban centres as well as neglected First Nation reserves lacking adequate public water. Barlow is also diverse in her relation of activist movements fighting back against corporations and governments who see water principally as a money maker, citing inspiring examples from nearly every continent.

Barlow does not make any attempt at remaining apolitical in her explanation of the consequences of the world's dwindling water supply and her calls for significant improvement in water management. Instead, she importantly situates the issue of water into the broader global political economic context, dedicating an entire section to discussing neoliberal globalization and unbridled capitalism. These, she argues, are the real causes of the water crisis as well as several other related global crises such as food, poverty, and climate change. Unlike some environmental publications, Barlow emphasizes that these crises are not simply a matter of reducing household consumption. While, for example, it is important not to run the tap while brushing one's teeth, this combined with other household changes are not enough to save the world's water when, as Barlow shockingly states, ninety percent of water is used by natural resource industries. Industry is where the most pressing changes are needed and these changes will only happen with a systemic political overhaul.

Like clean freshwater itself, *Blue Future* presents detailed information that is crystal clear, essential to our continued existence, and a sign of life in an overwhelmingly difficult fight for water justice. With 2015 being the deadline for the UN to achieve the Millennium Development Goals that were set in 2000 and Barlow's assertion that we are not even close to meeting the minimalist goals on water (or several other areas for that matter), the question on the minds of every concerned global citizen appears towards the end of the book: Is it too late? Barlow is hopeful that it is not, but stresses that we must act now, in a unified, unrelenting manner.

Georgina Alonso is a writer and researcher with a Master of Arts in International Development Studies from Saint Mary's University where she conducted field research on the impacts of Canadian international development policy related to mining in Peru. Her research interests include foreign aid, sustainable development, and international political economy. Altogether, she has academic experience in five different countries (Canada, France, Spain, Bolivia, and Peru) and in three different languages (English, French, and Spanish).

EXCISIONS

Clare Best
Hove, UK: Waterloo Press, 2011

REVIEWED BY EVA C. KARPINSKI

Clare Best's poetry dazzles with the clarity of its chiseled phrases and its measured form. Perhaps the confessional narrative it tells, of encounters with mortality through the loss of her parents and her own preventive double mastectomy, warrants a desire for such poetic control. Her couplets, tercets, and quatrains often suggest reaching out after shape in an attempt to stave off a sense of transience, mutability, and shapelessness. These life writing poems that function as both thanatography and scriptotherapy present themselves as hard polished objects carved from words. A few of them are stitched together from other people's voices, statistics, or quotes. In this sense, they remain faithful to the collection's title. After all, *excisions* are what surgeons and poets share in their craft although the latter salvage and keep what is cut out.

The volume consists of three groups of poems. Part One, dedicated to the dead—parents and grandparents—takes its title from the poem "Matryoshka," which refers to a set of nested dolls, Best's image for the concentric structure of memory, cyclical repetition, and embededness in the family. Linked to recurrence, it also evokes associations with generations, generating, and genes, especially in the matrilineal transmission of a hereditary disposition to cancer. Metaphors of cutting saturate these lines: from the opening words of the entire collection—"I cut"—collapsing cutting (flowers) and writing, to the Elizabethan-esque vision of time as a surgeon/poet complicit in cutting human life (in "August"), to the excisions, stitches, and scars inflicted on bodies and memories:

> My grandmother knew about seams, knew things made from good material
> may be cut and made again.
> […]
> My grandmother knew about seams—
> her abdomen ruched from pubis to sternum,
>
> the stitch-marks silver and blue.
> ("Stitch")

Several poems ponder the father-daughter relationship. "My father's thesaurus" is a contemplation of a daily object that mediates the aporia of absence/presence and establishes a tenuous relationality that occasionally, as in a later invocation of the mythical allegory of Perses and Hecate ("The death of Perses"), hinges on guilt and emotional entanglement. The distance between "I" and "he" sometimes shrinks into the anaphoric "you," yet the fragility of the other's presence can be felt metonymically in the elegy called "Six rendezvous with a dead man." In an unexpected twist, the poem "Uncoupled" the speaker's wedding as separation or uncoupling of the father-daughter dyad that foreshadows the ultimate parting through death.

Best is concerned with memory, recycling symbols and images, playing on their doubleness, and mixing up the mythic and the ordinary. The eschatological seeps into the daily when her widowed father turns into Orpheus; the coin put in the mouth of the dead is the coin baked in the Christmas pudding; and the banality of a plastic bag intrudes into the solemn occasion of scattering the ashes. Memories pivot around earlier memories in concentric circles, each loss bringing back the pain of previous losses.

Part Two, entitled "Self-portrait without Breasts," traces a narrative trajectory leading up to and following her surgery. Here the speaker gestures toward the possibility of community with other women, Amazons, to whom this section is dedicated. This community extends to mythical and historical figures such as Fanny Burney, whose 1811 mastectomy, done without anaesthetic, she describes in "Account." "Intercession" invokes Saint Agatha, the patron of breast disease, "whose breasts were excised with pincers" by her torturers. A sense of continuity with other women patients is partly established through recurrent metaphors of the body as landscape, whether as a vast expanse of wasteland where others have been before, or geological formations that hide the fear of the unknown. The topography of the excised body—"manscaped, hills removed"—needs to be validated for its new beauty. However, the body, a territory to be reclaimed, is also controlled by biopower and medical technology, whose invasive vocabulary infiltrates the verses through medical terms and talk of pre-op planning and reconstruction.

With fearless candour, Best is drawing an intimate geography of the body, mapping out memories of loss, pain, and pleasure. Looking at the cast of her breasts made before her operation, she remembers and mourns lost sensations, but also describes an act of love making, where the lovers tenderly caress their scars. She subtly challenges conventional gender politics and redefines femininity on her own terms, becoming her "own woman-warrior".

In the final section called "Airborne," after recording moments of sadness and joy, she relearns to live her relationships in life, not in death; she is ready "to feast, give thanks." The volume concludes with poems reaching out toward her young son,

Freddie. Best's muted, unostentatious, common-sense feminism can be detected in her choices to shun the reconstruction aggressively peddled by her doctors and to expose the medical establishment's collusion with the dominant ideal of femininity, while also unabashedly naming the sites of pleasure, erotic and maternal, on her body. In a culture obsessed with breasts, she manages to find and redefine beauty in her experience of living in the post-mastectomy body.

Eva C. Karpinski is Associate Professor at the School of Gender, Sexuality, and Women's Studies at York University. She is the author of Borrowed Tongues: Life Writing, Migration, and Translation *(2012) and co-editor of* Trans/Acting Culture, Writing, and Memory: Essays in Honour of Barbara Godard *(2013). She also co-edited a special issue of* CWS/cf *on "Women and Cancer."*

PAPER WINGS

Rosemary Clewes
Toronto: Guernica Editions, 2014

REVIEWED BY JORDANA GREENBLATT

The work of a consummate outdoorsperson, Rosemary Clewes' writing focuses on wilderness travel, and *Paper Wings* is no exception. However, Clewes' newest collection ranges farther, both in familial time and in space, juxtaposing her wilderness and northern experiences with a poetic reconstruction of her father's time as a WWI fighter pilot (based on his pilot log) and meditations on her own experiences of love and loss, her travels more broadly, and her participation in an 8-day silent retreat. While consistent with the contemporary Canadian lyric tradition (it comes as no surprise that Clewes thanks Don McKay), *Paper Wings* is also informed by Clewes' work as a photographer and artist, resulting in poetry that straddles lyric inner space and evocative description of the visual landscape. Inevitably, *Paper Wings* both draws from and participates in the literary tradition of the Canadian North, in some ways reproducing its virtues and failures and exceeding them in others. The end result is a collection that is beautiful—sometimes insightfully critical—but also largely lacking introspection into what entitles Clewes to, as she puts it in "Untitled," her "self-imposed summer exile,/ a yearly pretense of simplicity, solitude."

Some of strongest moments of *Paper Wings* combine ekphrasis with attention to constructions of nature and/or gender. In "Raphael's Galatea," Clewes contrasts her immersion in nature with Raphael's use of "sky and sea-sward … as backdrop/ for the dramatis personae" in a fresco in which "*Nature*, it seems,/ wandered off into its own dark wood." Questioning "Such heady celebration/ of artifice and brawn," Clewes mediates on Raphael's iteration of a Galatae stripped of agential sexual narrative: "No hint in this freeze-framed/ fresco that our lady is hastening to a rendezvous with a lover." Raphael's banishment of nature to the background and his "docile" Galatea contrast strikingly with Clewes' embodied description of kayaking in "Grow Me Gills," a few poems earlier: "It's all in the hips they say./ Kayak-skin, hip and knee."

The movement from Clewes' solo summers in the Bruce Peninsula to her father's stint as a fighter pilot during WWI is eased by the use of birds to figure both kayaking and flight. Undermining the conventional opposition between "masculine" wartime experience and feminized "nature," Clewes' take on her father's pilot logs balance the fear and human loss of war with the exhilaration of exploring the open space of the sky. In "Clouds," Clewes writes to her father "If you were alive, I'd beg you to talk, not of war/ but of the sky's white desert and the birth of clouds," consistently refusing stark divisions between war as a human construction and nature as a space of introspection.

Nevertheless, in *Paper Wings*, human history and culture are distinctly Western and colonial. The North, and the wilderness, are sites of natural history, interrupted only by Clewes, other visitors, and, in "Let the River Speak," a single "Inuk who knows/ the old ways but won't tell where muskox graze/ and who knows how the earth shakes out its water." Referring to her kayak, in "Grow Me Gills," as a "sea gypsy" and the imagined experience of riding a cargo train as "fleeing like an African god" in "Letting in the Light," Clewes' poetry instrumentalizes non-Western and pre-colonial culture and spaces even as Clewes questions Western culture's instrumentalization of nature. Thus, in a sense, Clewes engages in her own processes of relegation to the backdrop, a process that largely evades her often otherwise critical and introspective eye. If, as the book jacket contends, each section of *Paper Wings* asks "'Where is home?' The conclusion: Home is found within ourselves and without, anywhere, anytime," Clewes' poems retain a colonial lack of perturbation about who gets to be at home anywhere—and why.

Paper Wings deftly moves between seemingly divergent episodes in her own and her family's histories, and I would recommend it to anyone looking for an elegant take on the Canadian lyric tradition and idea of the North, one that navigates less obvious connections often very successfully. However, readers hoping that Clewes' collection will fulfill the promise of her observation, in

"Tree," that "Sometimes you make up history, lacking facts,/ eye-witness./ History is, after all, the version you walk with now" may find themselves disappointed.

Jordana Greenblatt teaches English at York University, Women's Studies at McMaster University, and Writing at the University of Toronto. Her research interests include modern and contemporary literature, comics and graphic novels, and sexuality studies.

THERE ARE NO SOLID GOLD DANCERS ANYMORE

Adrienne Weiss
Gibsons, BC: Nightwood Editions, 2014

REVIEWED BY TIFFANY SILLANPÄÄ

Adrienne Weiss does not simply write poetry; she builds poems. The density of her pieces immediately impacts the reader as s/he wades through Weiss's skillful use of colourful language and copious references to popular culture. The overwhelming sense of abundance that is crammed into Weiss's fairly slim collection sets the stage for her exploration of capital/consumer culture; as such *There are No Solid Gold Dancers Anymore* presents itself as a microcosm for the very social climate that Weiss critiques, thus transforming the reader into a microcosm for the capitalistic consumer, making him/her keenly aware of the media and product bombardment s/he is subjected to during daily life.

Weiss's collection, however, does not simply make a manic consumer out of its reader. Rather, the very density of her pieces forces a response opposite to passive media baths we endure every day. The longer lines and generally lengthy pieces encourage, if not force, a slower reading pace and greater alertness. Each reference to popular culture (e.g. songs, movies, plays, celebrities etc.) draws on the reader's own knowledge of and/or exposure to the referenced material, thus creating a deeper connection between reader and the text than necessarily prevalent in everyday media encounters. Furthermore, the abundance of references, overwhelming as they may be, and the reader's potential ability to make personal references to many, increase the collection's ability to highlight the degree of media we consume every day.

But to what effect? Weiss's stylistic approach to her subject aptly foundations her varied but interconnected themes as they relate to consumer society's values and ideals and the media's role in establishing and promoting such ideals, as well as an idealistic vision of continual, social progression. More importantly, Weiss further focuses her reader's attention around her major theme by addressing smaller issues that consumeristic social climate creates. "Once Upon a Time" and the collection of poems in the section entitled *Production 1960*, demonstrate how fairytales and the film industry impose unrealistic and limiting ideals of beauty and self. Even more focused, Weiss pays special attention to the effects of the media's power to control gender perceptions; in "The Way You Look on Love", the speaker struggles "to shun the books, / spent terminologies and years of obsessive scrutiny" that consumed Princess Diana's life and painted her as a fickle young adventurer.

Weiss's poems reveal how we often become what we consume, holding the same idealized standards and expectations that our consumer-based culture feeds us. The more we passively consume the ideas that our media and product based culture readily offers, the more they consume our selfhood and ideals. What is left, as "Heads or Tails" highlights, is only a wrapper of ourselves. Just as "Leftover Doritos and Twizzlers wrappers / archive" the trip and act as "archival debris of our time together," so does the history of our consumption and the "trash" we leave behind—whether a figurative economical and socio-political climate or a more literal and material, environmental pollution—become an archive of our capitalist culture and ourselves. Consumer culture encourages sameness and uniformity, it literally consumes us, leaving a trace of society and humanity rather than solid gold dancers of striking differences and individuality. As Weiss's speaker sarcastically notes, "technology will save us all, make us all the goddamn same."

Additional to Weiss's attentive, relevant, and effective critique of the culture we live in, *There Are No Solid Gold Dancers Anymore* showcases the work of a finely tuned poem. Weiss holds a firm grip over the language she deploys and her attention to detail ensures the strength of her grip; her capacity to convincingly embody not just one but many voices is a subtle but powerful skill. As a result, Weiss smashes any lingering ideas about a "female voice" or "female themes" in poetry. Furthermore, she brings life and relevance into a genre often left by the wayside and reminds us of poetry's capacity to inspire and encourage fresh perspectives on the social norms we live with.

Tiffany Sillanpää is a recent graduate from York University's English M.A. program and also holds a B.A. in English from York. She is editor-in-chief of The Creative Life: A Blog for Art, Literature, & Life *where she also writes book and theatre reviews along with life/career advice articles.*

THE DISARMED HEART

Susan McCaslin
Toronto: The Saint Thomas Poetry Series, 2014

REVIEWED BY OLIVIA PELLEGRINO

Susan McCaslin's *The Disarmed Heart* is a poetry collection in three parts, each distinct, yet importantly connected through resurfacing concerns expounded by her speakers. Each section offers intimate glimpses into the past and present lives of the speakers as well as their troubling dreams of eventualities. The "I" voice of the collection and its intimacy of experience remain consistently effective across all three sections, delivering a biting, often playfully insolent, and always eco-critical discussion of consumerism, capitalism, and the treatment of feminism in the contemporary West. Despite minor shortcomings and contrivances, McCaslin's poetry seamlessly weaves together numerous concerns to make a convincing argument for peace and environmental justice without resonating as didactic.

The first section, *Open Odes*, is a series of appreciations addressed to a curious variety of natural subjects. With the sparse inclusion of human subjects, the eloquent language and tone with which McCaslin addresses her animal subjects is defined as celebratory because her subjects exist, for the most part, outside humanity. Deeper levels of compassion, and in some ways humaneness, mark McCaslin's animals. This differentiates them from the poet-speaker and the reader, which proves effective in that it allows the reader to consider her own position in relation to these celebrated subjects that range from the lithe black panther to the oozing banana slug. At first, it is easy consider an ode to a banana slug (to use one of many offbeat examples) as quirky or somewhat of a disincentive, yet McCaslin subtly demands why this is the case and, further, why the banana slug indeed deserves praise.

Within these unorthodox subjects, McCaslin's speakers find a way to transcend the boundaries and limitations that have been self-imposed by humanity: routine, the black panther existing outside his ecosystem; gender, in the case of the hermaphroditic banana slug; and religion, as in the "scape-goat-ed" Sam the Goat (McCaslin's wordplay is consistently enjoyable). Also worth noting is McCaslin's mixing of the ode form with hints of contemporaneity, both based in personal experience and pop culture iconography. Though clever, these references seem contrived and rather unnecessary at times.

The eponymous second section is rather shorter than the others yet incredibly compelling. A number of pieces, including "Dank Tureen," a dream of the effects of global warming, and "Xanadu Two," a reworking of Coleridge's opium induced "Kubla Khan," lend this section a distinct level of irreality and an attitude of disenchantment in imagining the impending consequences of climate change and international conflicts. Moving from the praise of the odes, McCaslin describes the dangers of greed, global warming, and the indifferent acceptance and internalization of violence. She conceptualizes a world of mechanization and destruction and subsequently proceeds to volunteer a remedy. The hope proffered by her poet-speaker comes through the deployment of words (rather than troops) and education. The strength of this section, and the collection as a whole, is that it does not rely on didacticism to accentuate its resolution. Rather, McCaslin structures the scene she uses to showcase the negative and in a few, short pieces, offers a different, preferable vision of the world. These pieces read more personally than the earlier odes and showcase the vulnerability of the speaker when she stands alone. There is, however, power and defiance in her isolated stance which draws the reader in and achieves its purpose.

The third section, *Emparadised*, continues to build on the criticisms of the previous two sections while also offering a more substantiated solution, as illustrated in poems such as "The Possibilities of an Empty Page" and the final poem of the collection, "Re-firings." As the collection closes, the solution presented by the poet-persona is a cycle of imagining and re-imagining, a technique that McCaslin herself excels at. It is regrettable that this aptitude, the ability to reinterpret and rewrite, only surfaces for a few brief, shining moments. Noteworthy examples of this intertextuality are the aforementioned revisiting of "Kubla Khan" as well as a reworking of P.K. Page's "The Understatement" in McCaslin's "When the Stones Rise."

What remains so effective in these pieces, and in the collection as a whole, is the ability of the poet and her poetry to reignite or 're-fire' the flares of imagination. Indeed, the collection closes with a succinct summary of one of its central messages—that imagination and creativity must exist for the world of peace and justice that McCaslin envisions and only constant reimagining of established beliefs and understanding can allow that world to materialize. Overall, *The Disarmed Heart* is an intriguing and well-composed collection.

Olivia Pellegrino is a graduate student studying Canadian literature. Olivia's main research interests include representations of violence and apocalyptic motifs in Canadian poetry and contemporary fiction.

WE ALL BECOME STORIES

Ann Elizabeth Carson
Cobourg, ON: Blue Denim Press, 2013

REVIEWED BY TRUDY MEDCALF

Decades ago, Ann Elizabeth Carson made a number of visits to an island off the coast of Maine. "The island captured me and changed my life." It was there that she, with islanders and visitors, "watched the sunset… communal witness to the end of day," and there that she, through conversations with a series of island visitors much older than herself, began to listen eagerly to the stories of their lives. The elders' stories, augmented later by the stories of a number of Ontario elders, provide the rich foundation on which Carson layers her exploration of aging and memory, the elders' and her own.

A chapter is devoted to each of twelve elders. Their stories are textured, threaded in an interactive way that incorporates Carson's listening and respectful response to the storyteller, her reflection given to the reader, and that inaudible, internal reflection that you know Carson is making as it continuously informs her writing. At the end of each elder's chapter, Carson, also a noted poet, presents a finely-crafted poem written in response to her experience of the elder and the elder's story. It is a graceful touch, each poem seeming to me to be given in gratitude, the elder's gift of story reciprocated.

Carson clearly delineates the boundaries of her story project. Twelve older adults, many in their 80s when their stories were recorded, women and men of European background who were at the time living in urban centres in Ontario, New York state, and Massachusetts. Some were Carson's fellow students in sensory awareness and sensory memory classes, some were participants in similar classes that she gave in Toronto, some were family friends. With each in turn she explores the subject of memory – remembering and forgetting, how each has been applied in the elder's life experience, the widely-varying insights that each elder brings to the conversation, and Carson's own journey into sensory awareness: "… the senses, they seemed to be saying, were the basis of everything we feel, and experience, and know."

For me, Carson's work links to this often-quoted passage from C.G. Jung's book, *Modern Man in Search of a Soul*, originally published in 1933:

> Wholly unprepared, they embark upon the second half of life. Or are there perhaps colleges for forty-year-olds which prepare them for their coming life and its demands as the ordinary colleges introduce our young people to a knowledge of the world and of life? No, there are none. Thoroughly unprepared, we take the step into the afternoon of life... but we cannot live the afternoon of life according to the program of life's morning–for what was great in the morning will be little at evening, and what in the morning was true will at evening have become a lie.

Carson has, in a sense, created her own personal "college for forty-year-olds," with the relationships she began on the island, when she was herself that age. So many of the lessons learned from her elder mentors appear to have been carefully banked, lessons received long ago that she now applies in her own old age. Lessons that she shares with us, her readers. But the central teaching of Jung's quote lies of course in the second part. Carson's elder mentors show her that "what we need and want to remember and forget changes frequently," and that accepting and indeed welcoming change "to the very end holds a kind of gleeful challenge." By sharing their stories, twelve elders helped Carson first to acknowledge and appreciate their aging process and later, with cherished experiences and memories of her own, to negotiate the shift to the evening of her own life.

In its careful presentation of the elders' life stories—banked, distilled, revisited, sparking Carson's own growth and interwoven with her own epiphanies—this book appears to float free of time. In the words of Meyer, whose story you will find in Carson's book, "It doesn't matter how old you are, are you learning something?"

Trudy Medcalf's current research interests include online learning circles for older adults as a way to combat social isolation. Through her doctoral work in education and social gerontology, she learned about the power of participatory research and the importance of engaging elders in the shift toward a new understanding of what it means to grow old.

HARRIET TUBMAN: FREEDOM LEADER, FREEDOM SEEKER

Rosemary Sadlier
Toronto: Dundurn, 2012

REVIEWED BY ROWENA I. ALFONSO

In *Harriet Tubman: Freedom Leader, Freedom Seeker*, Rosemary Sadlier paints a portrait of an escaped slave who became a leader of the Under-

ground Railroad, the network of abolitionists who ferried runaway slaves from the United States to Canada. While much has been written about Tubman as a heroine of American history, Sadlier's contribution is her successful attempt to place Tubman within the context of Canadian women's history. Harriet Tubman ran away from slavery in Maryland to Pennsylvania in 1849 and arrived in Canada in 1850. In her lifetime, Tubman made approximately nineteen illicit trips across the border and rescued over 300 enslaved African Americans. Demographics, Sadlier maintains, was a key factor in Tubman's decision to bring enslaved runaways all the way to Canadian cities as opposed to staying in the American North. She writes, "St. Catharines was a significant centre for the reception of black people on the Underground Railroad, with an African-Canadian population of over 1,000 out of a total population of about 7,000." Sadlier uses oral family histories, interviewing descendants of Tubman in the U.S. and Canada, to supplement archival documents charting the different routes taken by Tubman in her underground journeys.

Sadlier emphasizes the barriers that Tubman overcame not only as a slave but also as a woman. She states, "Running away was not the sort of thing that black women usually did to resist slavery. It tended to be a man's form of resistance. Because of the stake that women had in the care of their children, or because they were working so closely supervised in the master's house, the absence of enslaved women would be noticed quickly." Yet even with such disadvantages, Tubman managed to liberate herself and many others. Sadlier highlights little-known aspects of Tubman's life, including her service in the Union army as a nurse, a spy, and a scout. During the Civil War, Tubman led a raid on the Combahee River that freed over 750 enslaved African Americans. According to Sadlier, "This made Harriet Tubman the first woman to lead a military assault in American history."

This biography falters, however, in its vague claims about slavery in general. For instance, Sadlier argues,

> Due to the way that enslaved African women were forcibly taken, the children the women bore could not just be their child, but could also be their sibling, their grandchild, or their cousin. It was about violence against the body, control, and incest.

Sadlier provides no further explanation, leaving the reader to infer the meaning of the statement. This assumes that the reader is already well-versed in the history of sexual violence in the antebellum American South.

A similarly problematic passage approaches the issue of coerced sexual relations between masters and their female slaves from the point of view of male slaves. Sadlier asks, "What did this mean to his sense of self as a protector when he could not intervene in the treatment of his wife?" Instead of stressing the violation of a woman's body during rape, Sadlier shifts the focus to the loss of the enslaved man's rights as a husband.

Another questionable claim deals with differences in complexion among enslaved African Americans. Sadlier insists,

> Having the lighter skinned slaves in the house to do the lighter work and the darker skinned slaves in the fields was due to the fact that the lighter ones were the owner's children. It also had the effect of further colourizing class. In trying to find ways to further care for one's own children, white plantation owners supported the establishment of the 'black' universities where their offspring could be educated.

This unclear assertion raises some unanswered questions. What does 'colourizing class' mean? Frederick Douglass, for example, the son of a white father and an enslaved black mother, belonged to the category of 'lighter skinned slaves.' Despite his complexion, however, he was forced to labour and received no special privileges from his white parentage. The mention of 'black universities' is strange because it was illegal for enslaved African Americans to read or write in the antebellum period. Black universities were not established until *after* the Civil War so plantation owners could not have been the ones supporting them.

In spite of the ambiguous generalities made about slavery, when it comes to the specificities of Tubman's life itself, Sadlier's biography is well-researched. What emerges is a balanced portrait of Harriet Tubman, runaway slave, Underground Railroad leader, and a brave Canadian woman.

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MARY PICKFORD: CANADA'S SILENT SIREN, AMERICA'S SWEETHEART

Peggy Dymond Leavey
Toronto: Dundurn, 2011

REVIEWED BY LISA SHARIK

In the history of film celebrities, Mary Pickford's name should be as widely recognized as Charlie Chaplin's, but that is not the case. Given the incredible contributions that she made to the movie industry, this fact is both sad and shocking. Mary Pickford was the first film superstar, the first woman to earn a million dollars a year, and for a time, the most famous face in the world. Furthermore, she was an actress who is credited with revolutionizing the acting method, a director, producer, film executive, and one of the founders of United Artists and the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences. With such accomplishments she is, without a doubt, the most important woman in the history of motion pictures.

Although typically known as America's Sweetheart, Mary Pickford was in fact born and raised in Toronto, Canada in 1892. Thus, Peggy Dymond Leavy gets it right when she refers to Mary Pickford as Canada's **Silent** Siren. This Quest biography, which includes nearly a dozen photographs from various periods of Mary Pickford's life, adds greatly not only to the life and times of Mary Pickford, but also provides much insight into the innovations of the movie industry, from silent films to talkies.

Mary Pickford was born Gladys Louise Smith on April 8, 1892 to parents Charlotte Hennessey and John Charles Smith. When her father John died in 1898, Gladys was nearly adopted by Dr. George Smith and his wife, due to the economic hardship that her mother Charlotte now faced. Despite the promise of a better life, Gladys was shocked to realize that she would be separated from her two siblings, as well as her mother. Gladys broke down and begged her mother to take her back home. Charlotte agreed to cancel the adoption and from that day forward, Gladys took it upon herself to be the family breadwinner, to ensure that the family would always stay together. Despite the gruelling years of hard work that lay in store for Gladys, had the adoption gone through, the production of silent films, as well as the history of motion of pictures in general would have suffered a tremendous loss.

In 1900, at the age of 7, Gladys made her stage debut in *The Silver King*. This opportunity came about by way of Mr. Murphy, the stage manager for the Cummings Stock Company, who had been boarding at the Smith's house since 1899. Little did Charlotte know that this theatrical debut would snowball into six years of travelling the rails with her children, performing with various production companies.

In 1907, while living in New York City with thousands of other underpaid actors, Gladys decided that if she did not get a role on Broadway, where the money was better and the production did not travel, she would leave acting behind. Thus, with her fierce determination, Gladys Smith marched into Broadway producer David Belasco's office, where she was stopped by the office boy. A very vocal argument erupted, that as luck would have it caught the ear of the great man himself. When Gladys left the office that day, not only did she get the audition (and later the part) but she also got a new name, Mary Pickford, a name that would soon become famous worldwide.

Two years later, after much hesitation, Mary Pickford made her screen debut in *Her First Biscuit*. Becoming involved with movies during the advent of the industry provided Mary with an understanding of how things worked, as well as insight into how productions could be improved. These early experiences, along with her strength and independence, led her to become not only a great, versatile actress, but also a shrewd businesswoman who negotiated her own contracts and had complete control over her films.

Mary Pickford starred in 200 films, in her 25-year career (a number unheard of today). Given her arduous childhood, as the family breadwinner, it comes as no surprise that the majority of characters she portrayed were strong, feisty, and independent. Although the transition to talkies was difficult, Mary did win the Academy Award for Best Actress for *Coquette* in 1930, her first ever talkie and the first Academy Award for an actress. Married to the swashbuckling silent film star Douglas Fairbanks in 1920, the couple were the start of the celebrity craze in Hollywood, a facet of Hollywood life that continues to this day.

Lisa Sharik has spent the last 15 years immersed in academia. She received both her Bachelor of Arts with Honours in Women's Studies and her Masters in Social Justice & Equity from Brock University. She is currently on leave from her Ph.D. studies in Gender, Feminist and Women's Studies at York University.

DANCING TO THE PRECIPICE: LUCIE DE LA TOUR DU PIN AND THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

Caroline Moorehead
London, Chatto & Windus, 2009

REVIEWED BY GISELA ARGYLE

Caroline Moorehead's biography of Lucie de la Tour du Pin (née Dillon) elaborates her subject's own memoirs, which were published by her great-grandson as *Le Journal d'une femme de cinquante ans* in 1907 and soon translated. The memoirs have never been out of print. For the years after the conclusion of the memoirs with the Congress of Vienna Moorehead relies on de la Tour's unpublished correspondence and other archival sources. A biographer of several prominent figures and a human rights advocate, Moorehead has for her subject here a woman of whose "bottomless reserves of courage" her husband could justly write, in a letter to Lucie's goddaughter: "Ah, how admirable it is to be so completely buffeted by storms, yet to remain so fundamentally unbroken." Moorehead's portrait of the French Revolution and its aftermath focuses on the perspective and experiences of a woman born in Paris in 1770 as an aristocratic heiress close to the French court, who died in 1853 as an impoverished widowed marquise in Nice, having survived as daughter and wife of liberal monarchists the Revolution, the Directoire, the Consulate, the Empire and the two Restorations. Intervening stages included high office, exile in England and America and imprisonment.

Moorehead takes her title from Lucie de la Tour's own metaphor. De la Tour began writing the memoirs when she was fifty; she addressed them to her only surviving child, to recall for him the family's manner of life before the great political and social changes. Implicitly for a larger audience, she repeatedly rejects the role of a historian while stressing her authority in contrast to other memoirists as an eyewitness of events and their causes and effects and of personalities and their character and motivations. Moorehead closely follows the memoir's chronological order and quotes de la Tour copiously, besides quoting many other witnesses. Like de la Tour, she moves abruptly from private to public conditions, accounts of social customs, court protocol, household economy and fashion. Lucie was born into the two powerful elites of the ancien régime, the nobility and the clergy. Her Irish paternal ancestor had come to France with James II and stayed. She attributed her character to her unhappy childhood. The household was despotically and viciously ruled by her grandmother and her grandmother's uncle and lover, Archbishop Dillon, who was believed to be the father of Lucie's mother. Lucie's mother being too weak to protect her and her father mostly absent on military campaigns in the American Revolutionary War, Lucie's only ally against the openly libertine household was her maid and lasting friend, under whose tutelage she developed "'reserve and discretion'" with a strong moralistic, even prudish, streak.

As an escape from her misery two areas of useful knowledge became available to her. Her escape into the "world of the mind" was aided when the family decided against the normal convent education. (The convent and disinheritance would become a threat that ensured compliance once her mother had died, when Lucie herself was twelve.) Instead, a tutor taught her comprehensively, and she eagerly learned from the many experts who visited as the Archbishop's guests. Education continued in the salons where she met the surviving encyclopédistes. Trained in music she also participated as a contralto at musical soirées, when Paris had become the European centre of music. On her own initiative she arranged to learn from the servants and their rural families many of the practical skills and handicrafts that she feared she might need one day. Her "prophetic instinct" was to prove only too right. After her mother's death Lucie took up her mother's place as one of the twelve ladies-in-waiting to Marie Antoinette, with her characteristic revulsion from immorality.

When the Revolution started she had had direct experience of the moral and financial bankruptcy of the royal court, the nobility and the higher clergy, on which she blamed it. In retrospect she marveled that in the 1780s the debates in her milieu about the problems in France and the example of the American Revolution, of which many of the military men had personal experience, would lead to plans for a top-down rebirth of France but never to the mention of revolution. Despite her sharp criticism of the ancien régime, she held on to her faith in paternalistic rule by the (reformed) monarchy, nobility and clergy. In fact, her own and her husband's families' conduct on the principle of *noblesse oblige* caused repeated help and rescue during the Terror from former dependants, including Jacobins.

Rejecting her grandmother's choice of a husband for her, she had married in 1787 a young military friend of her father's, Frédéric Gouvernet. Frédéric and his father, M. de la Tour du Pin, were liberal monarchists like her own father. They came to agree with Edmund Burke's *Reflections on the French Revolution.* When M. de la Tour was made Minister of War in 1790, Lucie, then 19, entered the

first of her several roles as political hostess, in this case and together with her sister-in-law, for the Constituent Assembly. She entertained, among others, Robespierre, Danton, Desmoulins and Marat. The dismantling of the ancien régime and the abolition of feudal income—"'Everything was swept away'"—practically reduced Lucie and her husband's families to earned income, despite periodic hopes of restoration of their property. Her own inheritance had long been illicitly spent by her grandmother and the Archbishop. From now on and during changing regimes Lucie proved herself a resilient and resourceful partner and promoter in her husband's search for and occupation of public office, both military, in the Garde Nationale, and political, as ambassador to Brussels, the Congress of Vienna and Turin. A righteous sense of Frédéric's and her own exceptional integrity and their loyalty to France assisted her in an aristocratic wife's pre-eminent duty to further her family's fortunes, including a successful over-night dash for a personal intervention with Napoleon. However, she denied the truth of the gossip that she had dominated her husband in his career decisions. And indeed she yielded reluctantly but without protest to his wish to return from their American farm to French political life during the Directoire. The Reign of Terror, during which both her own and Frédéric's fathers were guillotined as enemies of the Revolution, had driven them to flee to America, where as a hard-working farmer for two years she spent the happiest period of her life. She appeared in idyllic renderings in contemporary poetry and painting. Frédéric's wish to settle near French-speaking Canada made them decide on Upper New York State, near Albany. Lucie's good English helped their new venture. They had the help of four slaves, whom they freed at her wish before returning to France. She lovingly and energetically engaged herself in her children's well-being and education and later their vocation and marriage. Of their six live-born children five would die in childhood or early adulthood. After the death of one of the young children who had accompanied them to America Lucie experienced a religious awakening, which would sustain her for the rest of her life.

With respect to her own public offices, her pride of caste continued to rule her conduct, whether in the courting of the Brussels nobility, when she and Frédéric replaced their vulgar predecessors in the embassy, or in being the only one to refuse a position as lady-in-waiting to Napoleon's Empress Josephine. For Napoleon's genius she professed unreserved admiration and proudly recounted his singling her out in conversation, as she did other important men's attentions. However, comparing herself with Mme. de Staël she stressed that she herself was no woman of intellect. Their other main difference, for which de Staël reprimanded her, was Lucie's unfashionably faithful love for her husband. The two women had much contact but were not close friends. Besides her friendship for her maid, Lucie's only close female friendship was with the troubled and troublesome Claire de Duras, whom she tried in vain to caution and comfort with her own sober good sense. With the Revolution the salons, such as Mme. de Staël's, came to serve as places for political debate, but it was their pre-Revolutionary style that de la Tour celebrated in her memoirs for their learning, easy good manners and harmony. She also deplored that Revolutionary ideology and laws reduced the social and political influence of upper-class women to a citoyenne's matronly domestic duties. In Italian retirement with her husband and only surviving child, a son condemned to death *in absentia* for a Bourbon plot, she compared in a letter her life's changes of fortune to a series of drawers in which she stored her talents: "'When those of a lady and an ambassadress were called for I closed that of the housewife; now I know exactly where to look for what I shall need in my new situation, and I have completely forgotten all the other drawers, without experiencing the least vestiges of regret or complaint'." She consistently styled herself as exceptional and superior, whether in comparison with other, frivolous court ladies; other, self-pitying émigrés; or other, opportunist seekers of public office.

In Lucie's life Moorehead has all the circumstances and adventures for a historical romance: sudden turns of fortune's wheel, royal pomp and protocol, hide-outs from the Terror, disguises and false identities, dangerous travels by carriage and a single-mast sail ship, milking and butter-churning in America, preferment, intrigue and persecution, imprisonment and exile. For her main protagonist Moorehead has a woman of strong affections, principles and mental powers, who together with her husband was "strangely out of tune with the evasions and scheming of [their] age" and consequently courted risk under every successive regime, unlike their life-long friend and occasional protector, the wily Prince Talleyrand. The novelistic tendency of Moorehead's biography alternates with a miscellaneous effect that results from the pressure of background material. Even in excess of de la Tour's narrative, Moorehead frequently moves within a chapter from domestic life to public affairs, to mini-biographies of minor figures, to material culture, so that one reads quasi-expanded editorial notes. This is not to detract from the great usefulness of such material for a just portrait of Lucie de la Tour and the period, as

it is revealed through both what was typical and what was unusual in her.

Gisela Argyle, Senior Scholar of Humanities at York University in Toronto, has published Germany as Model and Monster: Allusions in English Fiction, 1830s-1930s *(Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2002), another book and articles on Victorian literature and comparative literature, as well as literary translations from German into English and the converse.*

GENDER AND MODERNITY IN CENTRAL EUROPE: THE AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN MONARCHY AND ITS LEGACY

Agatha Schwartz, Ed.
Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 2010

REVIEWED BY ADRIAN MITTER

Memory of the fin-de-siècle Austro-Hungarian monarchy is usually male-dominated and connected to famous thinkers such as Sigmund Freud, the painter Gustav Klimt or the writer Robert Musil. The reader of the volume *Gender and Modernity in Central Europe: The Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and its Legacy* recognizes very quickly that the late Habsburg monarchy was much more than Klimt and Freud. Life in the empire was characterized by an astonishing plurality and innovation of ideas and discourses that were produced in an atmosphere full of contradictions, as the editor of the volume Agatha Schwartz states in her introduction.

Schwartz claims that the contributions in this volume "address the necessity for a creative discussion between representatives of disciplines, regions and countries" on gender and modernity. The multidisciplinarity of this volume is indeed one of its strengths. It contains contributions from the fields of history, art history, sociology, literary studies, and psychology. Furthermore, this volume excels in merging two dissonant discourses into one transatlantic narrative.

This collection proves that research on the Habsburg Empire is particularly rewarding because of its high transnational potential. Helga Thorson's article on Grete Meisel-Hess, an under- researched feminist Austrian writer, takes up the transnational aspect and shows how ethnic and sexual tensions were intertwined in the early twentieth-century and played a significant role in the formation of female identity. In another essay, Susan Ingram highlights an interesting connection between Czech nationalism and feminism which opposed traditional constructions of empire and gender roles within the Habsburgian presence at the 1893 Chicago Columbian Exhibition.

Moreover, research on developments on a local level makes a valuable addition to this volume. Michaela Raggam-Blesch looks at the biographies of three pioneering female Jewish students at the University of Vienna who were facing discrimination in a predominantly male setting. These students, despite their marginalization, managed to integrate into university, but spaces of female agency mostly remained private, as Alison Rose shows in her contribution on the salons of Jewish Women. According to the author, these salons played an important role in the development of modernity and enabled women to "operate as leaders and still maintain their bourgeois femininity." Salons and universities enabled women, at least in the bigger cities of the empire, to take up careers in emerging fields of science. One of them was psychoanalysis.

The part on early psychoanalysis unfortunately includes only one chapter on the female aspect of this modernist science by Anna Borgos who describes how femininity was mirrored by Freud and his followers. Borgos claims that most psychoanalysts "had an interest in maintaining the equations male = active and female = passive in an age that […] was facing the threat of a major transformation of these ideas." The ambivalent position of female psychoanalysts in this debate, especially Freud's daughter Anna, is very interesting and could have been elaborated on. The two other chapters in this part, however, are devoted to Sandor Ferenczi, Freud's most prominent Hungarian follower. In general, some contributions, although framing the thesis around modernity, lack a strong emphasis on gender issues and dynamic.

A major disadvantage of this volume is the fact that the proclaimed dialogue of regions is almost exclusively limited to the Western parts of the Habsburg Empire and developments in Vienna, Budapest, and Prague. However, discourse on gender relations and modernism significantly affected life in many other cities of the empire such as Cracow, Lemberg, and Sarajevo. Tina Bahovec's contribution on the post-1918 Austro-Yugoslav border conflict shows that a change of perspective to the imperial periphery can be very rewarding. Her study exposes how both Austrian and Yugoslav propaganda used "pre-modern, conservative concepts of masculinity and femininity" in order to win votes in a plebiscite for national belonging in this mixed German-Slavic region. The author also demonstrates how women organized themselves in the region in an attempt to influence the

plebiscite, which proves that traces of modernity could also be found outside of the major centres.

This volume gives the English speaking reader a glimpse into significant developments in prominent places and societies, but it does not offer a deeper insight into less-known areas of the empire. Its multiethnic and contradictory character can be best understood by looking at both centres and peripheries. This approach surely would have even more widened the horizon of this remarkable project, which can be read as a stimulating introduction into the gender history of the late Habsburg Empire.

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REVOLUTIONARY WOMANHOOD: FEMINISM, MODERNITY AND THE STATE IN NASSER'S EGPYT

Laura Bier
Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2011

REVIEWED BY GENEVIEVE RITCHIE

"The woman question" in its various articulations and cultural expressions has historically been bound up with notions of national identity and nationalism. Through developing and unpacking the concept of state feminism Laura Bier grappled with the complex and contradictory discourses that shaped hegemonic notions of womanhood in the Nasser era. Drawing upon policy studies, political speeches, women's press, film, and literature the study was grounded in a cultural history, and fleshed out the connections between the construction of national womanhood and the conceptual framing of revolution. In short, the primary focus of the study was the relation between the construction of feminine identity and the modern nation-state.

State feminism is the central point of analysis, which was then explored through a descriptive problematizing of four themes: the ideological framing of working women, secularism and law, family planning and reproduction, and international feminism. As a category for inquiry state feminism was located in the Nasser regime's modernizing project, but had its historical roots in the earlier period of colonial control. As such, state feminism was framed by the interlocking discourses of modernity, inclusion, and political participation, which were then set against traditional modes of social organization. State feminism, then, must be understood as a constellation of practices and ideologies that aimed to transform women into modern political subjects. Thus, for Bier state feminism was at its core a didactic project.

Noting that the Nasser regime did not significantly transform the number of women in the workforce, Bier put forth the argument that the discursively constructed figure of the working woman played an important role in the articulation of the public sphere as modern and secular. The reconfiguring of the public sphere also shaped images of the home around a bourgeois model of domesticity. As such, the image of working women as a sign of modernity did little to destabilize the patriarchal organization of domestic labour. In fact, Bier gave extensive examples of state policies and incentives that were designed to create the conditions for women to access the tools of modern living, thereby creating a prescriptive model of femininity that drew upon imagery of both domesticity and professionalism.

Policies that dealt specifically with the family drew multiple conflicting perspectives into the public debate, which then had adverse outcomes for women generally and working class women in particular. Through her discussion of the personal status laws, Bier delineated the manner in which contrasting perspectives (the Nasser regime and religious tradition) coalesced and ultimately undermined the work of feminist reformers. In this respect, her analysis provided a clear and detailed description of the processes by which patriarchal power was reproduced and newly created during periods of national re-definition. Similarly, her analysis of family planning highlighted the manner in which women's reproductive capacities have put our bodies at the centre of the national and international discursive. Here again her analysis emphasized the complex and contradictory consequences of state initiated family planning programs, which increased women's access to contraception, while concomitantly denigrating their traditional knowledge.

The final point explored by Bier was the relationship between Egyptian subjectivity and women's liberation trans-nationally. She put forth the argument that middle class and elite Egyptian women articulated their own womanhood and liberation through the imagery of post-colonial progress. Her analysis here was framed by fluid models of identity and subjectivity, which fragment social context by emphasizing the disciplinary power of de-historicized universalist discourses. Conversely, framing her analysis in terms of consciousness and feminist consciousness-raising could have opened the conceptual space to engage more complexly with

the history, and potentials of women's trans-national solidarity.

As a history of Egyptian women and feminisms the strength of this analysis lies with the rich detail that Bier gave to the ideological supports of patriarchal domination. Bier, therefore, cogently described some of the processes by which patriarchy becomes embedded in practices of governing, which then normalized the control and regulation of women's bodies and labour. By expanding her analysis into both the earlier period of colonial control as well as the current period of neoliberal capitalism, her analysis emphasized the social unfolding of women's subordination to the nation-state as well as the implications of this history for current feminist struggles. In other words, the policies and discourses that were specific to the Nasser era were problematized in a manner that allows feminist research to grapple more generally with the protracted history of women's subordination across historical moments and cultural contexts.

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UNIONS, EQUITY AND THE PATH TO RENEWAL

Janice R. Foley and Patricia L. Baker, Editors.
Vancouver, UBC Press 2009

REVIEWED BY HANS ROLLMAN

It is open season on unions not just in the political arena, but in the ivory tower as well. The 'crisis' facing organized labour—an ongoing loss of membership, density, legal protection, and political influence—has been experienced differently in different jurisdictions around the world, but just as it has set unions on an increasingly urgent course to respond and adapt to the challenges they face, it has also fomented a great deal of intellectual inquiry as academics and researchers assess and analyze unions' responses, and what these efforts can help us to understand about the present and future state of the labour movement, and about workers' experience more broadly.

Thus the growth of a burgeoning body of literature under the moniker of 'union renewal' or 'organized-labour-in-crisis'. There are, of course, no easy answers to the question of how unions can most effectively renew themselves (nor even to the question of what purpose they should be renewing themselves for) but feminist researchers in the field—of which, thankfully, there are no small number —have flagged one important question: what is the role of equity in rebuilding and revitalizing the labour movement? Indeed, this reviewer would suggest the union crisis/renewal literature typically addresses equity in one of two ways: either as a distraction from (what some consider) more primary goals such as an intensified (albeit romanticized and under-theorized) return to street militancy and class analysis; or, by contrast, as fundamental to reversing the decline of organized labour and correcting the failures of white masculinist labour 'organizing' of the past sixty years.

Foley and Baker's collection *Unions, Equity and the Path to Renewal* falls firmly into the latter camp. Their focus is primarily Canadian (rightly so: while union activists have been keen to exchange strategies internationally, the fact is that Canada has not encountered the same sort of 'crisis' or 'decline' experienced elsewhere in the world, much of which can be attributed to the significance of regional policy (and cultural differences), and covers a broad swath of research and activism taking place under the equity banner within organized labour. The twelve papers comprising the collection provide both broad overviews of equity gains and histories within the Canadian labour movement, as well as more focused critiques on particular dimensions of identity and equity and the shortcomings of organized labour in Canada on these fronts. The editors do not fall into the trap of focusing solely on women's equity struggles: the section "Black Trade Unionists Speak Out" comprises no less than a quarter of the book, while fascinating and critically important conceptual models are theorized in Linda Briskin's contribution on cross-constituency organizing and Janice Foley's effort to theorize a conceptual model for equity, drawing in part on social movement theory. The final section even offers international and comparative perspectives on the themes explored in the book, drawing from Australian, American, and British examples. Anne McBride and Jeremy Waddington's contribution on the importance of addressing women's and equity group representation in union merger processes is particularly salient given the ongoing merger between the CEP and the CAW in Canada.

The contributions in this collection ought to be required reading not just for researchers but for union organizers, leaders, and activists as well. Jan Kainer's masterful overview of the contribution of women's equity activism to union growth and renewal, and Anne Forrest's assessment of the historical and ongoing relevance of economic equality (organized labour's traditional forte) to broader equity issues cast an important foundation for several of the key

debates occurring in union circles today. Indeed, this is the crux of the argument: that equity is not just one dimension of the legacy of organized labour, but that it is the core, and that equity must be the central focus of union renewal efforts. In today's grim reality of austerity-driven governments and increasingly hostile and combative employers, it is difficult for labour activists—as well as researchers—to maintain a focus on the broader agenda; the immediate need to respond to the exigencies of front-line struggles often mean labour is reacting to a crisis, not enacting an agenda. Foley and Baker's work helps put this in context, and offers a vital aid to understanding the historical and ongoing centrality of the equity project to the renewal not just of organized labour, but of working life in general.

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WHEN BIOMETRICS FAIL: GENDER, RACE AND THE TECHNOLOGY OF IDENTITY

Shoshana Amielle Magnet
Durham: Duke University Press, 2011

REVIEWED BY VERONIKA NOVOSELOVA

Building upon a well-established tradition of considering science and technology as constituted by culture, Shoshana Amielle Magnet problematizes the discourses behind the expansion of biometrics—technologies that aim at verification and identification by means of using data obtained from measuring bodies through iris and retina scans, digital fingerprinting, and facial recognition. Marketed as perfect tools to reduce human error and eliminate subjective judgement, digital biometrics are being increasingly implemented in the areas of law enforcement, information access, and border security. Magnet, however, calls into question the industry's claims of impartiality of identification technologies by arguing that biometrics are based on outdated, essentialized notions of identity and disproportionately target minority populations.

The notion of biometric failure features centrally in the book, and Magnet unpacks its multiple meanings in the introductory chapters. In a literal sense, identification and verification technologies fail more often than the biometrics industry representatives would like to admit: there are mismatches and false rejections of known subjects as well as possibilities that high-tech devices can be hacked or fooled. On a larger level, biometrics fail to realize their core promises of objectivity, convenience, and reliability. Magnet adopts Donna Haraway's concept of *corporeal fetishism* to explain how a relentless pursuit to uncover the "inner truth" of identity aims at transforming a body into a knowable, fixed object. The framework of corporeal fetishism allows Magnet to trace how bodies that do not conform to a projected image of a white, able-bodied, and gender-conforming male user are constructed as "inscrutable" and therefore, as having a low economic value in a big business of biometrics. To support her argument, Magnets cites numerous accounts of biometric failures on othered bodies. For example, face scanners sometimes fail to accurately identify people of color; iris scanners are not designed to accommodate individuals with visual impairments; devices that speed up the flow of passengers in the airport will not work on people in wheelchairs or with certain medical conditions. Biometric systems not only privilege white able bodies, but also assume a strict male/female binary which erases the existence of gender-variant individuals.

After providing an overview of the development of biometric technologies, Magnet critically assesses the three major areas of their use: the prison industrial complex and the welfare system in the U.S., and the security system at the U.S.-Canada border. Operating in a neo-liberal context of moving from rehabilitation to punishment, prisons function as locations of surveillance, allowing biometrics companies to capitalize on the growing rates of incarceration; with no opportunity to opt out, prisoners become convenient test subjects for identification and verification technologies. After having been adopted by prisons, biometrics are making huge profits by expanding into the US welfare system. Magnet reveals how neoliberal political climate enables the biometrics industry to profit from policing poor people during times of continuous cutbacks of social services. Turning to the issue of transformation of the US-Canada border by biometric technologies, Magnet shows how Western anxieties around racialized bodies connect to the interests of biometric companies and the global capital. An overarching argument running through these discussions is that biometrics—underpinned by biases around categories of otherness—criminalize welfare recipients, immigrant and refugees populations, queer people, and people of color.

Of particular interest for Magnet are representations of biometrics in popular culture. Coining the term

surveillant scopophilia to illuminate practices of looking enabled by biometric technologies, she critically analyzes narrative elements of science fiction films where technology functions as a tool to control suspect and threatening bodies. Magnet asserts that such films naturalize surveillance technology, thus serving as a convincing argument for real-life uncritical adoption of biometrics by both consumers and policy makers.

Contrary to the advertisements that offer prospects of colour-blind and gender-neutral identification systems that circumvent human biases, biometrics are becoming a part of the problem when they intrude into the lives of vulnerable populations whose bodies are being measured, mapped, digitized, policed, classified, pushed into inadequately narrow categories of identity or erased altogether from the public discourse. Magnet's informative work clearly shows dangers inherent in deterministic visions of simple technological fixes to multifaceted social problems such as racial profiling, discrimination, crime, and poverty. In addition, her argument makes evident a disconcerting gap between advancements in feminist theory that posit gender and race as relational, situated and complex processes, and contemporary scientific practices that still rely on biological categories of identity.

Thoroughly researched and conceptually interesting, *When Biometrics Fail* will be a valuable addition to a wide range of undergraduate and graduate courses on public policy, human rights, social justice, and feminist studies of technology.

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FATNESS AND THE MATERNAL BODY: WOMEN'S EXPERIENCES OF CORPOREALITY AND THE SHAPING OF SOCIAL POLICY

Maya Unnithan-Kumar and Soraya Tremayne, Eds.
New York & Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2011

REVIEWED BY LAUREN SHEPHERD

Fatness and the Maternal Body: Women's Experiences of Corporeality and the Shaping of Social Policy is a collection of articles which demonstrate the significance of "fatness" through different cultures. It is the result of a series of workshops and seminars facilitated by the Fertility and Reproduction Studies Group (FRSG) at the Institute of Social and Cultural Anthropology hosted by the University of Oxford in 2006. This collection focuses on cultural socialization and perspectives of "fatness," and their links to reproduction, health risk, obesity, and status. The articles explore data from the United Kingdom, Africa, and India, presenting the differing cultural standards placed on "fatness" of the female body (pre and post-natal), and the direct relationship to obesity, health, social and political status, and wealth. This compilation explores what it means to be "overweight" (socially, culturally, and medically). The editors take care to note that there is unfortunately no discussion of male "fatness", and its effects on reproductive health in this collection, it being a highly under-researched area.

The perspectives of "fatness" that are presented are culturally and socially linked to their country of origin. In the United Kingdom, for example, the articles depict mothers who are clinically overweight or obese who prefer terminology such as "big boned", and relate their size to genetics. The associated social stigma discussed is that they do not recognize healthy nutrition, are from lower income housing, and will have unhealthy "fat" babies because of their poor dietary routines. The risks of diabetes and low birth weight babies are outlined in these articles also. The overarching medical assessment is that something must be initiated to stop the perpetuation of the obesity cycle. The problem raised is that there is no generic answer as to when an interruption of said cycle serves the patient/public best. As one of the study subjects from Chapter 2 asserts, overweight bodies, through pregnancy, are replaced by a "thriving, glowing and healthy body [which] was meant to eat, allowed to eat." The reader views this subject who recognizes that she shouldn't perhaps eat as much as she does, or as poorly, but is relishing pregnancy because food is no longer negative.

This perspective contrasts that of the African tribes studied for the workshop/seminar series. The subjects in these studies were generally of force-fed generations, albeit some subjects were the last of this lineage. In this cultural environment the size of the woman is not only seen as beautiful and desirable, but is also a measure of a family's wealth and status in the community. The ability to "fatten" one's daughter necessitates, in the cases presented, the acquisition of livestock as well as slaves/workers; a sizable woman necessarily cannot participate in much physical activity in the running of their homes. Despite this lack of physical activity, the woman is still a very prominent figure in the social nature of the community, as is her "fattening" at a young age, which facilitates her transition into womanhood.

To bring the information full circle, the subjects studied from India present what is articulated as the "dual burden": the population faces both severe malnutrition and over-abundance/obesity. For undisclosed reasons, the general populace of mothers in these studies believe that Western food is healthier and will provide a better life for their children. In their desire to set their children on the healthy path, they desire foods that are proliferating obesity in the Western world, *i.e. fast food*. The urbanization of the country, or perhaps as suggested in some of the articles, the Westernization of the country, and the move away from more traditional cuisine, is causing obesity and malnutrition, both of which are linked through the articles to mothers, reproduction, and child-rearing.

Each of the articles places itself in the liminal space between social/cultural construct and medical fact so as to present, as best possible, the overall picture. The order constructed by the editors of the articles allows the reader to see the bigger picture, and recognize that understanding the concept of "fatness" globally is potentially the only way to combat its negative qualities and praise the positives. The figures and charts are unfortunately not as easily manageable for the reader who is not familiar with the material, but sufficient explanations of those were provided throughout the articles. The articles are well thought out and provide intimate insight into each culture, making them accessible to multiple disciplines.

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BIG PORN INC: EXPOSING THE HARMS OF THE GLOBAL PORNOGRAPHY INDUSTRY

Melinda Tankard Reist and Abigail Bray, Eds.
North Melbourne: Spinifex Press, 2011

REVIEWED BY VANESSA REIMER

In their introduction to this collection the editors clearly state their goal to document the "proliferation and normalization of pornography, the way it has become a global industry and ideology, and how it is shaping our world and the harm this causes." The text largely features contributions by academics and activists from Australia, the U.S., and the UK, with notable perspectives from Japan, India, and South Africa.

This collection aims to debunk the myths that have allowed pornography to become increasingly mainstream across the globe as it simultaneously becomes more violent and degrading towards women, children, and other vulnerable groups. These myths include the "libertarian conceits that pornography is simply about pleasure, self-empowerment and freedom of choice" in an otherwise sexually repressed culture, as well as the argument that producers of pornography exercise their guaranteed right to "free expression." The text contends that these myths have been largely accepted and even embraced by Western feminists and "the Left" more generally, which tend to be weary of pornography critics who are stereotyped and dismissed as being anti-sex, closed-minded, socially conservative, and religious.

Throughout the text's five sections the contributors work to challenge and re-frame mainstream discourses that shape the pornography industry. In "Part 1: Pornography Cultures" pornography is contextualized as an ideology which constructs men's sexual pleasure and masculinity as being contingent on the domination and degradation of women and other "feminized others" such as gay men, racialized groups, children, and animals. Next, in "Part 2: Pornography Industries," pornography is framed as a multi-billion dollar industry that is rooted in the exploitation of vulnerable populations for the sole interest of generating enormous profits for those who control it. Here it is also argued that, while academics and activists from the Left justly critique the ideologies and practices of corporate global restructuring, they tend to accept the liberatory myths of "Big Porn Inc," and thereby fail to problematize it alongside other exploitative industries such as "Big Food" and "Big Pharma."

In "Part 3: Harming Children" it is argued that mainstream pornography normalizes the sexual objectification of children through Pseudo Child Pornography, as well as through generating and reproducing the exploding global demand for child pornography. It further explores how the industry grooms adolescent boys into consumers of a manufactured, inorganic, and non-erotic brand of sexuality that only pornography and other sex industries can provide. Next, in "Part 4: Pornography and the State," the contributors problematize the legal rights claimed by the pornography industry by denouncing "free expression" that is not in fact "fair expression," in addition to exploring how pornography has been taken up and challenged through various international legislation. The text concludes with "Part 5: Resisting Big Porn Inc," which explores the efforts of international activists and

organizations who seek to challenge and raise awareness about the harms of the global pornography industry.

Those who are familiar with contemporary feminist critiques of pornography are unlikely to find anything ground-breaking in this text; however those who are new to the subject matter will find an accessible and engaging collection by contributors who are clearly informed and passionately invested in this area of research. Feminist proponents of pornography will certainly find reason to critique the text, as its contributors all but ignore the potential for women's empowerment and agency in acting as producers and consumers of pornography. For their part, however, the contributors acknowledge this gap as they emphasize their intention to deconstruct and challenge the ideologies and socioeconomic conditions that continue to normalize the selling and purchasing of women's (or any feminized "others'") bodies and sexualities. For these academics and activists, the potential for some women to act as empowered agents while producing and consuming pornography is not an adequate reason to withhold or dilute critique of the industry's broader deleterious impacts.

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SEX, LIES & PHARMACEUTICALS: HOW DRUG COMPANIES PLAN TO PROFIT FROM FEMALE SEXUAL DYSFUNCTION

Ray Moynihan & Barbara Mintzes
Vancouver: Greystone Books, 2012

REVIEWED BY CHERYL VAN DAALEN-SMITH

If you build it, she will come.

At least that's the promise. That the pharmaceutical industry is driven by profit margins, above all else, is not news. And that there is (always) something wrong with women's bodies requiring intervention hasn't really lost any of its medical veracity. For in creating disorders, diseases, and panic, Big Pharma can swoop in with just the right treatment. For a price. The trouble is, it's women again who pay most dearly when medicine and big business merge. Ray Moynihan and Barbara Mintzes have joined together to provide compelling evidence exposing pharmaceutical industry's role in *creating* a disease that they then plan to cure. And what's scary is that in just fifteen years, the mythic "Female Sexual Dysfunction" has gained inordinate popularity. Heck even Oprah quoted the industry-born and marketed "46 percent of all women 'suffer' from FSD" stat.

The pressure's on ladies. And not in a good way and probably not on the right spot either. No, the pressure is on for you to want it more, and that you just aren't ensuring he's ringing your bell. Yup it's your fault. And yes, I said he. You see same-sex sexuality isn't important here—so much so it has been rendered invisible. Probably because women usually get it right for other women. But I digress…

Moynihan and Mintzes' book *Sex, Lies and Pharmaceuticals: How Drug Companies Plan to Profit from Female Sexual Dysfunction* is a comprehensive investigation into this newly classified "problem" and the enormous push to place it in physicians' professional vernacular. And just in time, because Flibanserin—a drug that promises to fix us—has just come on the market. Another drug to fix our inadequacies. *Quel* surprise. Moynihan and Mintzes' research included interviews with retired pharmaceutical professionals who outed their own roles in the creation of FSD. In so doing, these courageous whistle-blowers assisted the authors to demonstrate how FSD is a grossly exaggerated phenomenon, barely earning the validity to be called a disorder in the first place.

Moynihan has a rich history in this area, most recently documenting in *Selling Sickness* countless examples of the medicalization of every-day life phases which then require medical and pharmaceutical intervention. Now he is out to discredit the very basis for what's being coined the Pink Viagra (again with the pink??), except it hasn't worked. Early research has shown that unlike men, women don't need more blood flow. And so the research has shifted. Up. Way up. Current research is exploring (brace yourselves) the usefulness of a pill targeting women's brains. There it is again: the tie between women's uterus and their minds. And of course the tie that binds is one of pathology.

So not only are women too emotional, too nervous, too fat, too irrational, and too dry, they're not sexually responsive enough. Does this remind anyone else of the years when women were called frigid? Brrrrr. Has me shaking, but I'm not sure if it's out of terror or anger. Probably both.

But at least one thing has stayed constant. The real reason for women being unresponsive sexually aside from:

- •being too tired;
- •made to feel ashamed about the appearance or scent of our bodies;
- •still reeling from a childhood or relational trauma; or
- •exhausted from trying to be taken seriously;

it's the pervasive absence of any exploration into the skill of her partner. So maybe instead of a pill, or a medical procedure to tighten her up, lift her bladder or re-boot her genito-urinary glands, would-be partners could be given a diagram of the clitoris' location. And at the top of the one-page précis should be this message:

> "You Suck. And not in a good way."

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SEXUAL ASSAULT IN CANADA: LAW, LEGAL PRACTICE AND WOMEN'S ACTIVISM

Elizabeth A Sheehy, Ed.
Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 2012

REVIEWED BY REZA BARMAKI

Sexual Assault in Canada: Law, Legal Practice and Women's Activism takes a comprehensive look at the socio-legal aspects of female sexual assault in Canada. More specifically, it looks at the variety of cultural myths and legal discourses and techniques that have historically helped with either denying its prevalence, normalizing it, preventing its prosecution, or portraying its harms as insignificant. This is an edited book of a massive proportion (819 pages) and an extensive range. It is divided into two parts that contain a total of 28 articles. Part I, containing the first fifteen articles, examines sexual assault from a variety of points of views: various ways of discrediting ("unfounding") of its reports by women by the criminal justice system officials, its promotion by the hyper-masculine sporting culture and other male-dominated institutions, the consequences of colonization and racism in its perpetuation in regards to Aboriginal women, and its denial in relation to disabled women. It also looks at various forms of political pressure exerted on activists and sexual-assault centres to abandon feminist politics, and progressive forms of feminist art and literature that aim to subvert the traditional, legal discourses related to sexual assault. As a whole, these articles describe the cultural and legal realities surrounding sexual assault and point to theoretical and practical venues of resistance and change. The two most interesting papers in this part are those of McIntyre and Odette. In "The Supreme Court of Canada's Betrayal of Residential School Survivors: Ignorance is No Excuse" McIntyre discusses the Supreme Court's responses to compensation claims by Aboriginal women and men who were sexually abused as children in residential schools. She argues that the Court ignored the extensive research on residential school abuse – which pointed to the racist social context as the main causes of such abuse – in its decisions and, instead, decided these cases using narrow and formalistic reasoning. In "Sexual Assault and Disabled Women Ten Years After *Jane Doe*" Odette examines barriers faced by disabled women who wish to resort to the legal system and/or various women's centres.

Part II, containing thirteen articles, focuses more on legal issues. The themes explored include prosecution of sexual assault in relation to racialized women, adjudication of sexual assault and linguistic practices that embody rape myths, sexism, and other systemic obstacles facing women who testify in rape trials, sentencing of males convicted of rape, and issues surrounding compensation for sexually assaulted women. Part II begins with Jane Doe's "Who Benefits From the Sexual Assault Evidence Kit?". It is based on interviews with women who have undergone Sexual Assault Evidence Kit (SAEK, which is the exam and treatment protocol and directions for evidence collection from sexually-assaulted women), nurses who administer SAEK, hospital counsellors, and sexual-assault crisis centres' workers. Doe points to a gradual shift towards medicalization of sexual assault as an illness and the consequent increase in the power of medical officials as expressed in administration of SAEK. She argues that inconsistent administration of SAEK, combined with its dubious legal utility, has brought sexually-assaulted women little legal benefit and lots of psychological harm. The two most interesting papers in this part are those of Ehrlich and Marriner. Using linguistic analysis in "Perpetuating – and Resisting – Rape Myths in Trial Discourse", Ehrlich demonstrates how the various forms of questioning techniques—for example, those demanding a yes/no answer, and those based on assumptions that the witness cannot reject if she answers the question—allow lawyers to control the kind of information

derived from the complainant and to exploit prevailing rape myths and victim-blaming presuppositions. In "Questioning 'Experts' Knowledges" Marriner analyzes the practices of expert assessments by courts, the male biases permeating psy-disciplines, and the results of the distortion of women's experiences by such disciplines. She shows the profound inadequacy of the use of such forms of expertise in sexual assault matters and calls on feminists to resist it through various forms of sociopolitical activities. She argues that such resistance also prevents cooptation of wome's grassroots practices by the expert industry.

This is a well-edited volume that is cohesive and comprehensive. Articles are well-written, well-documented, im-passioned, critical, and highly accessible to the reader. Although they mostly provide grim assessments of the criminal justice system in relation to women's freedoms and rights, however, they also contain many optimistic and practical strategies for improving the system and changing the general culture that informs it. As such, the book offers a unique contribution to earlier assessments of the Canadian criminal justice system. It is an important book well-suited to the needs of a variety of readers. Undergraduate and graduate students of women's studies and socio-legal studies, in particular, can immensely benefit from it.

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GLOBAL COLONIALITY OF POWER IN GUATEMALA: RACISM, GENOCIDE, CITIZENSHIP

Egla Martínez Salazar
Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2012

REVIEWED BY CAREN WEISBART

The legacies of colonialism continue today as marginalized women, men, and children throughout the world are subject to displacement, violence, and dis-crimination at the hands of an elite minority who seek increased power and profit. Egla Martínez Salazar's *Global Coloniality of Power in Guatemala: Racism, Genocide, Citizenship* provides an in-depth look into the roots of power, and how it has been wielded to suppress any form of resistance to it. Martínez Salazar's work offers a comprehensive interlocking analysis of oppression and resistance that will serve scholars and activists as they endeavour to 'decolonize' their own work. It also provides a timely analytical approach to understanding the geopolitics of knowledge and to debunking Euro-North American-centric epistemeologies of development, progress, and democracy.

In the preliminary chapters, the author introduces the key arguments of her book and provides a fascinating genealogy of power struggles. She asserts that power struggles, such as the war on terror, share common 'patterns' as they are the result of modern, colonial, and global processes. Political agendas, pursued not only by corrupt governments in the Global South but also by powers in the Global North, have violently disrupted the lives of millions of people through the 'thingification' and 'Othering' of those who challenge the hetero-patriarchal nationalist agenda. Martínez Salazar thus argues that through interlocking processes of oppression and subjugation, state and corporate discourses and policies have attempted to 'dehumanize' these Others by erasing their histories and foreclosing on their political partici-pation.

As an affront to this systematic process of erasure, the author briefly alludes to the socio-political and legal forms of organizing that pre-existed Spanish conquest in Guatemala. Although at times verging on an essentialized de-piction of indigenous organization and Mayan cosmovision, she astutely asserts the importance of uncovering the historically silenced and appropriated knowledge of Mayan people. Such work, she argues, can contribute to efforts to challenge the racialized, 'tribal,' and 'folkloric' conceptualizations of Indig-enous people that have been spun by those in positions of power since the arrival of the land-grabbing Spanish colonizers to the present-day race for mineral-rich territory led by the Otto Perez Molina government and Canadian mining companies. While the book only briefly touches on the impact of this latter issue and the ensuing processes of criminalization against *campesinos/as*, it does offer important theoretical consid-erations for connecting racism, the Guatemalan genocide, and notions of citizenship to the present-day conflicts exploding in and around large-scale development projects.

Martínez Salazar brilliantly adapts the work of Italian philosopher Giorgio Agamben to demonstrate how violence, including genocidal violence in the case of Guatemala, is rationalized through law, religion, education, and economics, and how certain lives become disposable. Drawing from Walter Mignolo's (2007) work as a way of building

upon Agamben's (1998) discussion of the concentration camp, she argues that colonialism and slavery constitute the first materializations of the 'camp' where racialized, gendered, and class-based conceptualizations of citizenship determined who deserved to live and who stood in the way of 'modernity' and 'progress.' This analysis forms the basis of the main assertions in the book related to racialized feminicide.

Through her discussion of the heteropatriarchal system imposed during the conquest and its implications for current 'gender-sexuality relations' in Guatemala, Martínez Salazar coins the term 'racialized feminicide.' To explore this concept, she implements a decolonial analysis of the everyday lives and experiences of Mayan women as interlocked with mechanisms of power. This complex analytical assemblage provides an innovative approach to theorizing on how racism has been linked to genocidal policies, discourses, and practices. She argues that hetero-patriarchal nationalist depictions of Mayan women lead to their exclusion as 'non-citizens' and serve to justify the often deadly violence that has been wielded against women and girls since the arrival of the Spanish to the present day.

By arguing that racialized feminicide has deep racist, heterosexist, and misogynist roots, she poignantly rejects the assertion made by some international human rights groups and some academics that the genocide that took place in Guatemala was not directed toward Indigenous people because of racism but because they were considered to be subversives. In order to demonstrate that genocide is indeed part of racist state policy, she draws attention to over 500 years of systematic discrimination and violence doled out against the Indigenous population and the ways in which they have been depicted as threats to the nation-building agenda.

Martínez Salazar's work points to the possibility of providing a space, through academic research, for the marginalized and excluded voices of Guatemala's past and present. By including life histories, poetry and music of resilience and struggle, along with extensive quotes from Guatemalan activists and the family members of those who were tortured, disappeared, and murdered, the author directly contributes to the decolonial process of 'rehumaniz[ing]' those whom state and corporate forces seek to erase.

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GAGA FEMINISM: SEX, GENDER, AND THE END OF NORMAL

J. Jack Halberstam
Boston: Beacon Press, 2012

REVIEWED BY DANIELLE COOPER

Drawing inspiration from Lady Gaga, the American pop singer famous for such over-the-top costumes and performances as arriving at the Grammys in a gigantic see-through egg, J. Jack Halberstam's *Gaga Feminism* is intended to be a "fun-user-friendly, and quasi-academic hand-book for a new feminism." Halberstam's "new", or, "gaga" approach to feminism most notably embraces excess, mon-strosity, and most importantly, the phony or unreal. Halberstam argues that the phony or unreal is necessary in our era of "Occupy" movements, economic collapse, and rapidly changing gender and sexual relations. Although new," Halberstam that gaga feminism draws on a non-linear tradition of "anarchist" feminism that includes: Shulamith Firestone, Judith Levine, and Gayle Rubin. And for those who dislike or are disinterested in Lady Gaga, fear not: Halberstam positions Lady Gaga as a launching point for a much broader discussion. Analysis of the figure Lady Gaga herself is, somewhat surprisingly, almost entirely absent from the book. In doing so, *Gaga Feminism* mainly achieves its aim to be an accessible and widely appealing read. The book, however—and the book's underlying feminist approach—ultimately lacks that provocative quality its namesake Lady Gaga.

Gaga Feminism in addition to providing a manifesto for gaga feminism also discusses recent issues and phenomena pertaining to sexuality gender that are relevant to Halberstam's

emerging gaga feminist approach. As gaga feminism is more "speculative" than prescriptive, the book focuses more on potential forms for social and political transformation as opposed to ends, including: embracing childishness, resisting the traditional marriage models (including gay marriage), and creating new approaches to family and kinship. In order to make these arguments, Halberstam utilizes a cultural archive that consists of recent romantic comedies and, similar to their other recent book *The Queer Art of Failure*, children's movies and television. Halberstam also draws on personal experiences, both within the academy and from their private life including their role as a parent.

As intended, *Gaga Feminism* is a quick, light read, perhaps best described as guilty pleasure beach reading for the queer theory inclined. The book is commendable for broaching "of the moment" issues in less clichéd ways, for example, finding meaning behind the Lady Gaga phenomena as opposed to dismissing her as a Madonna derivative, or, acknowledging the long-term and far-reaching implications of Occupy and related movements instead of pro-nouncing them short-lived and inconsequential. Although many of arguments are not highly original (indeed, many are identical to those made in their previous book), do have a talent for weaving recent theoretical trends into a clear and cohesive narrative. Halberstam also brings an enthusiasm and positivity to their writing that is often absent in queer and feminist theory.

The promise of gaga feminism, however, often feels disingenuous the book focus on what gaga feminism is or what it can be without demonstrating what gaga feminism can *do*. If Halberstam structured their book this way intentionally as a reflection of their "quasi-academic" aims, they have not given their readers enough credit. The book is a quick read, but it is also not as accessible as intended because Halberstam often relies on anecdotal evidence from academia (including extended descriptions of two conferences and a veiled critique of an unnamed anthropologist) that would lack relevance for those reading from outside the academy. The high degree in content- overlap from their last book, however, makes the book less compelling for those within the academy who are already familiar with Halberstam's work. As a result, *Gaga Feminism* is largely a fun read, but it is definitely not a "must read" unless you haven't read anything else by Halberstam recently and need a quick refresher.

Danielle Cooper is a Ph.D. student in Gender, Feminist and Women's Studies at York University. Her research focuses on LGBTQ grassroots information organ-izations and the queer information activities found therein. She also holds a Masters degree (M.I.) from the Faculty of Information at the University of Toronto in collaboration with the Mark S. Bonham Centre for Sexual Diversity Studies.

COLD WAR COMFORTS: CANADIAN WOMEN, CHILD SAFETY, AND GLOBAL INSECURITY

Tarah Brookfield
Waterloo: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 2012

REVIEWED BY CARALEE DAIGLE HAU

Cold War Comforts is an engaging study of Canadian women's domestic and international activism in the early Cold War period. Brookfield successfully argues that between the end of the Second World War and the Vietnam War, Canadian women utilized the twin concepts of maternalism (as either literal or symbolic mothers) and internationalism to engage with the policy-making process surrounding children's safety and welfare. In the early post-Second World War years, Cold War tensions created an urgent sense that women needed to prepare for a potential nuclear war, through civil defence and potentially investing in a home fallout shelter. *Cold War Comforts* examines how, as the nature of the conflict altered and the realities of a potential nuclear conflict became clearer, women's activism shifted from wanting to protect their families from the effects of nuclear war, to demanding, through disarmament and peace activism, that war never happen. In her study, Brookfield divides the subject into two parts: domestic and international, and examines Canadian women's involvement in the United Nations, through such organizations as the United Nations Association and UNICEF, foster parenting plans, activism during the Vietnam War, and international adoption. Brookfield convincingly maintains that their responsibilities and roles as mothers and Canadian citizens spurred these women on and made it possible for them to engage with child safety.

Although this study is thoroughly researched and well-executed, there are two relatively minor issues with which Brookfield might have engaged in more depth. In chapter two she uses some American-made civil defence materials, such as *Duck and Cover* featuring Bert the Turtle, to demonstrate Canadians' engagement with civil defence planning. However, there is little discussion of how American-made materials were used in Canada, nor does she distinguish in a meaningful way between Canadian and American materials. While this may seem a minor issue, her main argument circles around how Cana-

dian women were acting from a keen awareness of their status as Canadian citizens and mothers. Did Canadian women view themselves differently from American? Were civil defence measures in Canada different in any real way from those in the United States? If not, how might that change her overall approach? She does engage with this concept of a unique Canadian identity elsewhere in the book. When discussing Canadian women's reactions to the war in Vietnam she stresses that protest came from frustration that the Canadian government was acting against its international reputation as a peacekeeper. Since this internationalism is a key pillar of her argument, Brookfield needs to equally apply this attention to the word's meaning throughout her study.

In addition, since Cold War tensions and undercurrents are a key part of the setting of this story, a more thorough discussion of their effect on women in this period would be useful. When discussing women's activism, for example, during the height of civil service purges of suspected subversives, Brookfield briefly mentions that these women's status as mothers, interested only in safeguarding their children, protected them from accusations of communism. Indeed, the founders of Voice of Women deliberately stressed their roles as mothers interested only in peace, in order to be able to continue their work without suffering the same sort of censure as more radical groups. Therefore, the argument about the maternal nature of the work of these early activists needs clarification through a more thorough analysis of their self-presentation as maternal figures. What language did these women use in literature and correspondence? How did that self-conscious presentation change as second-wave feminism and women's liberation movements became prominent in the 1960s? Though the connection between motherhood and protection from the state security apparatus is linked in Brookfield's study, a more in-depth discussion would strengthen the argument.

These minor issues aside, this is overall an impressive examination of women's activism in the Cold War years. It is thorough, well-researched, and clearly written. While individual parts of the text, such as the material on civil defence, do not break new ground, this work shines by bringing together various histories of women's activism in one work. The exploration of the real, lived experiences of children both in Canada and abroad is nicely complemented by her examination of the symbolic child. Brookfield excellently demonstrates how concern over children became another front of the Cold War. In this sense, Brookfield's is a significant contribution to the growing body of literature which is expanding our understanding of the far-reaching effects of the Cold War.

Caralee Daigle Hau completed her Ph.D. at Queen's University in 2011. Her research looks at Canada's experience of the Cuban Missile Crisis and the Cold War. She is currently teaching Canadian history at the Royal Military College of Canada.

RETHINKING PROFESSIONALISM: WOMEN AND ART IN CANADA, 1850-1970

Kristina Huneault and Janice Anderson, Eds.
Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2012

REVIEWED BY MICHELLE GEWURTZ

Rethinking Professionalism: Women and Art in Canada, 1850 – 1970 is, surprisingly, the first collection of scholarly essays to focus on women, art, and history in Canada from multiple vantage points. Especially noteworthy is the volume's focus on historical work produced by women working in a variety of disciplines ranging from painting and photography to architecture and traditional handicrafts. As the editors Kristina Huneault and Janice Anderson note in their preface, in Canada there is a gap in scholarship when it comes to critically engaged studies of women's cultural production. This is the context for this publication, organized by the Canadian Women Artists History Initiative, a collaborative endeavour based at Concordia University involving a wide range of scholars.

This volume, which is the outcome of the Initiative's inaugural conference held in 2008, attests to the importance of a collaborative ethos that has yielded the rich variety of perspectives showcased here. The other framing device employed by both editors and authors is the issue of professionalism. While the editors acknowledge professionalism as a synthetic art historical framework, it is an atypical one used here to explore new understandings and perspectives stemming from the study of women as cultural producers. Organized into four sections that cover professionalization in the arts, careers for women, and the limits of professionalism for women, the volume opens with an introductory essay by Kristina Huneault that explores the relationship and limitations between women, art, and professionalism. She draws attention to the idea of professionalism itself and interrogates its role as a critical concept. Noting the pitfalls of privileging "professional" practice that can further marginalize women in the writing of art's histories, Huneault's study addresses the historiographical and methodological implications of professionalism as an analytic device

and also poses the question of the possibility of a distinctly feminine professionalism.

While the authors in *Rethinking Professionalism* engage with the central issue of professionalism to varying degrees, what does emerge is a collection of scholarly essays focused largely on lesser-known practitioners working primarily in the early 20th century. Canada's great "woman painter" Emily Carr does not feature as subject for discussion in any of the chapters, and when more recognized artists are discussed it is their more obscure accomplishments that are highlighted. That is the case with Anne Savage (1896-1971) who was a painter and founding member of Montréal's Beaver Hall Group—erroneously often viewed as a collective of women artists—and contemporary of the Group of Seven. Alena Buis' chapter focuses on Savage's work as a teacher and broadcaster, critically analyzing Savage's CBC programme *The Development of Art in Canada* (1939). Buis explores how Savage's lectures on art in Canada were written to address a broad public while furthering a nationalistic narrative that had previously been constructed by Canadian cultural elites. Buis does show that Savage's professional position was a subordinate one, as her broadcasts were written with help from A.Y. Jackson who had a vested interest in the shaping of Canadian art history. Yet Savage's accomplishment of making art accessible to all regardless of class or location is markedly contrary to established and elitist understandings of Canadian art and is worthy of attention.

What the framework of professionalism allows for is an exploration of women's contributions in the cultural sphere that is more far-reaching in scope. Women's roles in the formation and running of cultural institutions is considered in two essays, one by Lianne McTavish that examines Alice Lusk Webster's efforts to professionalize the New Brunswick Museum, and Anne Whitelaw's study of women working at the Edmonton Art Gallery between 1923 and 1970. The latter chapter is included in the final section of the book that considers the limitations of professionalism. Whitelaw's consideration of Maud Bowman's (1875-1944) work as director of the Edmonton Museum of Art (as it was then known) illuminates the difficulties in studying voluntarism in museums for, in spite of her role as director, Bowman was seen as a volunteer more often than as a professional. The closing section of the volume is a particularly strong one, allowing for discussions of Aboriginal art and craft including a comprehensive account by Shelley Farrell Racette of the challenges facing scholars writing Aboriginal women into Canadian art history.

The real strength of this collection of essays is that it showcases a number of women who remain un(der)recognized in the history of Canadian culture. Jennifer Salahub looks at the photography of Hannah Maynard (1834-1918), linking her images to needlework and domestic textile production. Salahub notes that there is limited critical engagement with Maynard's photographs even though her experimental work of the late 19th century is remarkable and could conceivably be said to anticipate the avant-garde movements of Dada and Surrealism had her work been known more broadly. This point of limited critical engagement with women's work is a recurrent one and can be extended to most case studies included in *Rethinking Professionalism.* One can only hope that by shedding light on a wide range of women's accomplishments in the arts new critical explorations of the history of women and art in Canada will begin to emerge.

Michelle Gewurtz completed her Ph.D. in the History of Art at the University of Leeds. She currently teaches in Humanities and the Critical and Curatorial Practice Program at OCAD University as well as in the Women's Studies Program at the University of Waterloo. Her current research focuses on modern art produced by women during the inter-war period in Europe and Canada while also considering feminist interventions in museum practice.

FEMINIST CONSTITUTIONALISM: GLOBAL PERSPECTIVES

Beverley Baines, Daphne Barak-Erez, and Tsvi Kahana, Eds.
Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012

REVIEWED BY MEGAN GAUCHER

Aiming to "rethink constitutionalism in a manner that addresses and reflects feminist thought and experience," *Feminist Constitutionalism: Global Perspectives* provides a comprehensive comparative examination of the complexity of constitutionalism as a viable option for feminist mobilization. Baines, Barak-Erez, and Kahana argue that the contributions—both actual and potential—feminism presents for traditional understandings of constitutionalism have largely been ignored; the impact feminist analysis has and continues to have on constitutional law, and vice versa, warrants attention.

Chapters by Nedelsky, Case, and Dixon and Nussbaum address potential contributions feminist constitutionalism could make to mainstream feminist debates concerning the division of household labour, the institution of marriage, and reproductive freedom respec-

tively. The authors outline the work of feminism in challenging the patriarchal foundations of constitution development and execution. Furthermore, they provide insight into how these debates can result in a reconceptualization of certain values initially intended by constitutional framers to further subordinate this particular population.

Subsequent chapters challenge the idea that feminist contribution to constitutionalism is uni-dimensional. While the authors recognize that constitutions have historically been and continue to be developed without female input, there remain opportunities for mobilization. Barak-Erez's chapter on feminist interpretation, and Roberts' chapter on female judges in Australia explore the utility of a feminist interpretation of the law while accounting for the challenges female judges face as they attempt to implement this interpretation within a male dominated forum. These experiences are often compounded by the limited capacity of legal mechanisms to assess gender-based equality, as demonstrated in Froc's chapter on the *Charter* and Loper's chapter on constitutional developments in Hong Kong.

Similarly, the success of feminist constitutionalism relies on the presence of feminist legislators as well. McDonagh and Monopoli argue in their chapter on the political representation of women in the United States that the inherently masculine nature of political institutions makes it difficult for women to gain access; moreover, those who are able to gain access often experience isolation from their male colleagues or are relegated to those policy domains traditionally conceived of as "female oriented." On the other hand, Rodriguez-Ruiz and Rubio-Marin contend that constitutionally imposed gender parity in state legislatures provides an ideal environment for feminist contribution. Finally, Katz examines how the success of female involvement in constitution drafting is context-specific and varies by country. This should not however deter us from recognizing the unique insight women bring to this process.

In addition to the need for feminist decision-makers, feminist constitutionalism depends on the mobilization of women's rights organizations. Constitutional challenges made by these groups have effectively challenged the so-called gender neutrality of constitutions and have forced courts to reinterpret rights in order to accommodate gender-based differences. The success of feminist constitutionalism is therefore multifarious and involves multiple levels of engagement.

This book's broad scope is both its greatest strength and weakness. While *Feminist Constitutionalism* effectively captures the complexity of feminist interaction with constitutional law, this book is premised on several problematic assumptions. First, the chapters fail to make any type of distinction between women and feminists, often conflating the two. The authors equate acts of non-feminist action with feminists being stifled by their patriarchal environment, ultimately ignoring the ways in which non-feminist women (judges, legislators, activists) have used constitutions in an attempt to block feminist gains. Second, the book addresses intersectionality in the last few chapters; however, the issue of access remains under-addressed. While constitutionalism does provide opportunities for feminist gain, it is imperative that we account for the costs (e.g. financial, political, emotional) that are associated with such action. This leads to a third and related assumption—that all feminists are supportive of constitutional law as an appropriate forum for mobilization. During the same-sex marriage debates in Canada, feminist scholars warned of the implications the extension of marital benefits to same-sex couples would have for lesbian relationships, as the patriarchal family fosters and maintains the subordination of women (Herman). This book focuses primarily on liberal feminist objectives, that being political inclusion, ignoring other feminist groups that might oppose such action. Finally, the book assumes that feminist constitutionalism leads to societal change; however, as Epp contends, the success of constitutional change—particularly with respect to human rights—depends on the presence of rights consciousness in popular culture (Epp). Feminist constitutionalism is therefore a necessary but not sufficient condition for societal change. That being said, *Feminist Constitutionalism* is a rewarding read that deserves thoughtful attention.

Megan Gaucher is a doctoral candidate from the Department of Political Studies at Queen's University. Her research focuses on the importance of relationship recognition in the execution of state power, particularly the privileging of conjugal and conjugal-like relationships in Canadian law and policy.

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QUEBEC WOMEN AND LEGISLATIVE REPRESENTATIONS

Manon Tremblay. Translated by Kathe Roth
Vancouver: UBC Press, 2010

REVIEWED BY HANS ROLLMANN

The politics of representation is complicated, but few take the time to consider how complicated it really is. Manon Tremblay is one of those few, and with the recent translation of her 2005 work *Quebec Women and Legislative Representation* into English, the non-Francophones in the field now have access to Tremblay's masterful resource. The work, which theorizes ideas and analyzes data pertaining to women's underrepresentation in political governance, has a broader appeal than its title would suggest. While offering an in-depth study of the Quebec case, it enters a discourse which is global in scope: how most effectively to increase women's representation in legislatures? Tremblay is among the key theorists in this field, and the book is destined to become a key text in Canadian political discourse.

The approach is methodical: it breaks down the question into its component variables (role of parties, role of electoral system, qualities of candidates, impact of women representatives, and much more) and addresses the significance of each variable, at both the provincial and federal level. Although Tremblay has a clear predilection for statistical analysis, the work is accessible and relevant for those with a more philosophical and qualitative bent. The first section of the book—a history of the Quebec suffrage movement—offers an unexpectedly gripping narrative; the book then gives way to denser theoretical debates. Tremblay does not so much provide answers as provide evidence: there are never any clear answers to big questions, but the value of this work lies in offering us a summation of the existing evidence and data. One thread which does emerge is the significant role of political parties in Canadian and Quebec politics: while many activists flag Canada's increasingly stale electoral model as a problem, Tremblay demonstrates the true problem—and potential—for women's representation may lie in party selection processes more so than in voting reform. She does, however, assess various proposals for voting and electoral reform, and often from a comparative perspective.

Of course, the politics of representation, being political, is a field that is constantly in flux, and no sooner does an exhaustive work of research appear in print than a dozen new political happenings occur to challenge and question its key findings. This is of course a positive thing: it is what keeps academics employed and encourages us to write new and updated versions.

A key question for the next edition of the book would be how the recent NDP electoral success at the federal level fits into the picture. The surprise success of the NDP—especially in Quebec—left researchers in many fields distraught, for it upset the careful theoretical models which require so many years of work (and, if one is lucky, years of electoral consistency) to construct. No less so with the question of women's representation in Quebec: the election of a non-traditional (in Quebec) party, coupled with the election of a number of women who are in stark contrast to all traditional models of elected women (young, limited experience in politics, in some cases with little to no involvement in local community or civil society) demonstrates the limits of models. But it demonstrates also that there are other factors which can play into voters' choices (the final component of representative selection). Considering the extent to which the NDP is dismissed in much of this book, it would be interesting to revise those assessments and consider what contributed to the unexpected triumph of women running under its banner in the recent election.

Another question worth considering is how existing models of representation reflect not only various models of liberalism, but how they reflect an essentialized gender duality as well. It is surprising more theorists of political representation do not address this, and speaks as much to the failure of leading trans and queer theorists to engage in critical—and concrete—debates about political representation, as it does about the lack of scope of normative political representation research. A good example is Tremblay's fairly positive—albeit qualified—assessment of the potential of parity legislation such as that adopted by France. Yet parity—a perspective on political representation that is grounded in the notion that the one universalizing, cross-cutting dimension of human identity is a division into the duality of male and female—requires a rebuttal from the perspective of queer and trans theory. The trans challenge to the notion of a basic duality of gender identity has implications not only for human rights but for political representation as well. This critique should not come from the perspective that transgender identity comprises an additional identity that is excluded: that would merely spark parity's well-seasoned rebuttal that a female-male duality is the primary and universal duality. The trans critique must challenge the existence of a universal gender duality itself. Yet it ought to do so not from a liberal perspective concerned only with pointing out an intellectual incon-

sistency, but rather with a discreet attention to the very real and concrete question of how to overcome men's domination of legislatures.

These minor critiques aside, Tremblay's work is masterful and a vital contribution to the study of representational politics that should be read not only by political theorists in Quebec, but around the world. It is the sort of 'state-of-the-field' overview which performs that rare function of combining an assessment of the key philosophical ideas grounding a debate, with the statistical and empirical data to anchor those debates in real-world policy. It is, in short, a book not just for the academics, but for the policy-makers and the politicians as well. It should be required reading for party officials—particularly given the strong evidence it provides that the parties hold the key to retrenching, or overcoming, gendered inequality in representation in Quebec and in Canada in the twenty-first century.

Hans Rollmann completed a Masters degree in Cultural Anthropology at Memorial University of Newfoundland and is currently a Ph.D. candidate in Gender, Feminist & Women's Studies at York University. His research focuses on gender representation and the labour movement.

MY LEAKY BODY: TALES FROM THE GURNEY

Julie Devaney
Fredericton, NB: Goose Lane, 2012

REVIEWED BY VICTORIA KANNEN

Julie Devaney's *My Leaky Body: Tales from the Gurney* is about pain and shit and the failures (and successes) of Canadian healthcare, and it is beautiful. It is not just beautiful in a breathtakingly-real, cliché sort-of-way, but it is beautiful for its uncomfortable truths. Devaney uses her body-story as a way to educate and entertain her readers in order to hear that which we (often) try to deny—the wilful ignorance of our individual experiences with Canadian social systems—within both healthcare and higher education.

Devaney's book is auto-ethnographic, performative, educational, and surprisingly funny. In it, she explores her physically and emotionally painful experiences negotiating the Canadian healthcare system. Through the treatment of what some believe is ulcerative colitis —while others claim it's Crohn's disease— she masterfully paints a portrait of the power dynamics involved in doctor-patient experiences: when our bodies don't fit with expert diagnoses, when our bodies leak without explanation, when what we feel is not heard or believed by those who are supposedly there to care for and heal our bodies. Her book is powerful for a variety of reasons, but it is particularly powerful because it is scary. We all want to be heard and she wasn't. Using refreshingly accessible language, Devaney invites us into a candidly-graphic account of her symptoms/'leaks', diagnoses, hospital-izations, and pain, but she also allows us in on her very 'normal' and youthful experiences of love, pets, and friendship.

Being an aspiring academic, Devaney simultaneously documents her struggles with the institutionalization of knowledge, as that process was developing alongside the medicalization of her body. These institutional forces in her life led her towards her work as a healthcare educator, activist, and performance artist. Devaney is inspiring because she is honest—this is not a one-sided exploration of triumph over illness. Rather, Devaney accounts for the varieties of emotions that we all encounter throughout our lives: the doubt, hope, love, fear, anger, and relief. She channels these encounters into her work and it allows us to see what transformative potentials are possible when we believe enough in social change.

If there were any critique that I could offer, it's that initially, while reading, I could not always locate the time period and follow the sequence of events within which I was finding myself. Upon reflection, however, I think that this strategy embodies what Devaney may have been experiencing. A blurring of time, pain, aggravation, and a confusion about where, how, and why these relapses and hospital visits keep happening again and again. (I think this needs a comment to tie it together – about the trade-off between clarity and verisimilitude. Implicitly, you're saying it's acceptable to deal with a bit of confusion/frustration/annoyance, maybe even desirable, but I think that needs to be explicit.)

Since reading this book, I find myself telling everyone I know to read it, but particularly the women in my life: women who are variously positioned in terms of age, racialization, education, etc. Devaney's candour, whether intended or not, positions her reader not as a spectator, but as a friend. She allows the reader to care about her body and struggle in solidarity against a system that we all—at some point—find ourselves within and find ourselves pushing against. Bodies leak, but for bio-women the leaking (or not leaking) of our bodies is imbued with gendered meanings that we are forced to acknowledge or encounter continually throughout our lives. For this reason, I feel that Devaney's text functions as a conversation between friends on our rights as patients, our reflections on our exposed and naked bodies, and our leaks.

In giving us her rage, pain, and sarcasm, Devaney forces us to account for our own wilful ignorances, and our fears of sickness, social power, and embodied struggles. She demonstrates that it is okay to *feel* through our lives and experiences and that those feelings—whatever they may be—matter.

Victoria Kannen holds a Ph.D. in Sociology and Equity Studies in Education from the University of Toronto. She teaches in the department of Sociology and Anthropology at the University of Guelph on issues of gender, race, privilege, and space. She has been published in a number of journals including Gender, Place and Culture: A Journal of Feminist Geography, Journal of Gender Studies*, and* Teaching in Higher Education.

THINKING WOMEN AND HEALTH CARE REFORM IN CANADA

Pat Armstrong, Barbara Clow, Karen Grant, Margaret Haworth-Brockman, Beth Jackson, Ann Pederson, and Morgan Seeley, Eds.
Toronto: Women's Press, 2012

REVIEWED BY RACHEL JOHNSTONE

Thinking Women and Health Care Reform in Canada explores women's roles as both patients and practitioners in the Canadian health care system. Armstrong *et al.* begin with the premise that although the value of universal health care is established in Canadian society, its unique implications for women are rarely addressed in calls for reform. Their study attempts to fill this lacuna by offering a gendered analysis of the organization of Canada's health care system and the social structures necessary to maintain it. By extending their research to include the role of unpaid care work in maintaining Canada's health care system they challenge previously held assumptions about the scope of health care analysis.

Written by members of Women and Health Care Reform (WHCR), this book is billed as a "legacy project" updating more than a decade of their collective research before they disband due to federal budget restructuring. The anthology's coherence belies the individual authors' varied backgrounds; their history of collaboration is evident in the cohesiveness of this work. Each chapter incorporates similar methodological tools and theoretical foundations achieved through the use of four complementary frameworks—feminist political economy, feminist epistemologies, sex- and gender-based analysis, and intersectionality—all of which allow for a conception of health that includes both individuals and communities. In so doing, they provide a broad overview of the organization of healthcare in Canada, while highlighting a cross-section of prominent issues in care that would benefit from a gendered analysis, including: residential long-term care, home care, the mental health of health care workers, private health insurance, and obesity.

This collection argues that all aspects of health care are, indeed, women's issues. Armstrong *et al.* grapple with the inherent problem of assuming a single category of "women" but opt to utilize this term in a strategic capacity, reflecting the use of this category in health policy, while recognizing the unique issues of identity and power that fundamentally divide this group. To this end, they ask not only "what are the issues for women?" in health, but also "which women are affected in what ways?"

Woven throughout this collection are references to women's unpaid care work as figuring prominently in the foundation of Canada's health care system. While the necessity of this labour to sustain current levels of care is not a new topic, particularly for feminist political economists, it has gone largely unrecognized in health care reform policy; indeed, naturalized expectations of unpaid care work, still disproportionately seen as the responsibility of women, have only been exacerbated by the downloading of health care services. The trend of privatization that now characterizes health reform in Canada assumes the availability of this labour without consideration for its deeply gendered implications.

Equally dominant is the theme of healthcare choices and their contexts; the clear goal is to lay the groundwork for equitable reforms to the health care system. To this end, a number of the book's chapters—including Barbara Clow and Kristi Kemp's "Caring at Home in Canada" and Karen Grant's "Overweight, Obesity, and Health Care"—wrestle with questions of culturally sensitive care and the unique obstacles faced by Aboriginal and LGBTT communities. The unique issues faced by these groups—specifically, assumptions of a white, middle-class, nuclear family model built into the health care system—reflect the complex power structures with which health care reformers must contend. These issues are raised in the book but are not discussed in great depth; nonetheless, the authors begin to engage with the emerging conversation about these often overlooked and undisclosed concerns.

This collection makes an important contribution to the growing body of work on health care reform by demonstrating why gender matters in healthcare. Its interdisciplinary focus reinforces understandings of health that extend beyond the sphere of formal health care to include often neglected aspects of health, such as

the importance of sanitation work in care centres and the value of emotional support. In so doing, it challenges deeply engrained understandings about the value of certain approaches to evaluating health care reform that are unable to account for gender discrepancies. Written for a broad audience, this thoughtful work will inspire reflection on the nature of Canada's health care system and encourage future cross-disciplinary research.

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BEYOND CARING LABOUR TO PROVISIONING WORK

Sheila M. Neysmith, Marge Reitsma-Street, Stephanie Baker Collins, and Elaine Porter with Judy Cerny and Sandra Tam
Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012

REVIEWED BY JULIE SINGLETON

In *Beyond Caring Labour to Provisioning Work*, Shelia M. Neysmith, Marge Reitsma-Street, Stephanie Baker Collins and Elaine Porter with Judy Cerny and Sandra Tam engage with the concept of provisioning in pursuit of "a fresh understanding of what constitutes work and security" for low-income women in Canada. The book presents the findings of their four-year project that worked in consultation with six different community organizations to explore the range of women's provisioning responsibilities and the relationships that motivate their provisioning work. The six sites were spread across Ontario and British Columbia, both widely recognized as provinces where social services have faced widespread cutbacks. Across all sites, a total of 138 informants—including site participants, volunteers and staff—participated in individual interviews and focus groups. The researchers also conducted field research and content analysis of relevant policy documents for each organization.

The authors place the concept of provisioning at the centre of their approach. Borrowed from feminist economists, this concept represents a response to the need for "new words" that can broaden our understanding of 'work' and foster a dialogue outside of the boundaries of traditional social economic theory. Here, provisioning refers to all types of work performed by women that is invisible to the market economy. Efforts are made to include, yet go beyond, the well-documented (if still undervalued) work often performed by women such as household labour, caring work and volunteer work. Included in the concept of provisioning work here are activities such as making claims to benefits for which participants are entitled, improving community safety, and efforts to envision a better future.

The book is divided into three parts, the first of which outlines the study itself and its major findings, with a separation of provisioning at the level of individual households and collective provisioning that is conducted through work with community organizations. The second part details the research findings for each of three key research sites, examining specific communities including young 'at-risk' women, low-income immigrant and refugee mothers, and older women. Findings associated with the remaining three sites are summarized in the closing chapter of Part Two that explores the intersection between the individual and collective provisioning of low-income women living in smaller urban areas. These chapters provide concrete examples of the more theoretical concepts introduced in the first part. The final section summarizes the wealth of data and the resulting theoretical and policy implications, ending with well-supported arguments that policies must better understand the realities of women's experiences.

The authors argue persuasively that the wide range of women's provisioning work needs to be recognized by policy-makers as central to the well-being of individuals and communities. When social services face repeated cuts and enduring insecurity, the needs of community members do not change—one still requires food, shelter, dignity— it is, rather, people's relationships of responsibility that take up the responsibility to provide for children, partners, relatives, neighbours, friends. Rather than continuing to blame low-income and marginalized groups of women for failing to succeed within a system that does not account for their realities, the authors turn the argument back toward policy-makers, arguing instead that it is their failure to perform effective social provisioning that continues to exacerbate the burden placed on low-income and marginalized women in particular.

One of the most crucial conclusions—that women's individual provisioning is interwoven with their collective provisioning activities—also supports the authors' argument that their conceptual use of provisioning enables them to highlight "how responsibilities flow along pathways of relationships." By asking women

to explain who they provision for and the forms that such provisioning work takes, this research exposes the multidimensionality of women's lives that is otherwise negated in a neoliberal policy context.

This approach also allows for a deeper exploration of the invisible work most often conducted by women, and is useful in going beyond the limits evident in much of the existing research on caring labour that focuses on the work associated with motherhood. By structuring their study around provisioning, the authors successfully broaden the scope of understanding to reach "beyond caring labour" and household duties to a wider understanding of the realities of work performed by women.

Julie Singleton is a PhD student in Gender, Feminist and Women's Studies at York University whose research is focused on gender and public policy, and the social relations of the non-profit sector. She previously worked in women's employment programs.

RURAL WOMEN'S HEALTH

Beverly Leipert, Belinda Leach, and Wilfreda Thurston, Eds.
Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012

REVIEWED BY CHERYL VAN DAALEN-SMITH

Beverly Leipert knows of what she writes. Born and raised a Saskatchewan farm girl, Leipert always knew that place mattered when it came to health and quality of life. With great interest, I've watched Leipert's career and scholarship emerge over the years, and the culmination of her ground-breaking work exploring rurality and health can be found at least in part in her new edited text *Rural Women's Health*. Together with colleagues Belinda Leach and Wilfreda Thurston, Dr. Leipert creates scholarly space for discourse surrounding, well, space. Geography, broadly defined, that is.

Leipert worked as a rural public health nurse in Saskatchewan for over a decade, and shared a similar awakening as did I. From that privileged perch afforded to Canada's public health nurses, we both came to understand health and quality of life as being affected by things far beyond mere biology or so-called "healthy choices." Her focus and thus the focus of the edited text is appropriately fixed on the social determinants of health. For as Canada's leading proponent of a social determinants of health lens, Dennis Raphael argues, "the primary factors that shape the health of Canadians are not medical treatments or lifestyle choices but rather the living conditions they experience." (www.thecanadianfacts.org) According to Raphael (2011) issues like education, income distribution, (un) employment/job security/working conditions, housing, social exclusion, social safety networks, health service access, aboriginal status, gender, race, and disability greatly impact health and quality of life. And the assembled scholars in *Rural Women's Health* have ensured the discourse considers all of these issues and then some.

And ok, I'll admit it. I just love that this is a primarily Canadian text, with discourse and debate representing the many different regions and living circumstances that make up rural Canada. Whether it be an exploration into the relationship of breast cancer and farm work in Ontario; exploring how assumptions affect Older Mennonite Women's health in Ontario; weaving together three generations of women in Newfoundland and Labrador; giving voice to the quality of life of elder Ukraninan women in Saskatchewan; re-framing pregnancy and health issues in the North West Territories; re-naming PTSD with women living in remote Aboriginal communities; or legitimizing Nova Scotian African Canadian women's definitions of health, this edited volume is as ruggedly honest as is Canada's terrain. Established and budding scholars alike will find the twenty-two chapters thorough and enlightening, to say the least. Who, except Leipert and the emerging group of rural women's health scholars she's assembled, would think about food provisioning practices or food sustainability as impacting rural women's health? In fact when reading those chapters, I was reminded of Vandana Shiva's work exposing women's gender-entrenched role in global food security. She tells us that women plant, nurture, and harvest the food we all need to survive, and works tirelessly to empower women and to keep food security in their hands. In fact, only recently Shiva travelled to Nova Scotia and spoke at several universities regarding gender issues, as they relate to food security, food sovereignty, and seed saving.

Yes, place matters, especially how it intersects with gender-relations, race, class, identity, and power. And *Rural Women's Health* goes there. That rural women's health is deeply linked to women's safety is sadly, perhaps, the most predictable commonality. So much so that in a text meant to illuminate how rural living spaces impact health, a chapter needed to be dedicated to the one issue experienced by many women regardless of space: gender-based violence. And so there we have it. Violence emerges as central. Again.

But Leipert's team didn't stop there. Discussion regarding the experiences, struggles, and required resiliency of rural health care providers takes a prominent spot in the text. For

the dearth of supports and the oft dangerous isolation experienced by care providers creates a further health inequality for rural and remote women living in Canada. We know that women as paid or unpaid care providers has long been an area of much needed advocacy and policy change, but now we can look at the specificities involved in rural care provision.

Rural Women's Health represents an explosion in this much-neglected area of women's health scholarship, and could well be used as a core text in a year-long course or as a stand alone in a rural-specific women's health course. It's no wonder that for several years, Leipert held the Ontario Women's Health Council Chair in Rural Women's Health Research at the University of Western Ontario. This was the first and only Chair in North America to be dedicated to rural women's health research. Pretty cool. If you want to stay up to date on this exciting research and activism area check out *Rural Women Making Change* out of the University of Guelph. Well done Dr. Beverly Leipert. Keep up the amazing work. Giddyup!

Cheryl van Daalen-Smith, is an Associate Professor at York University with appointments in the School of Gender, Sexuality and Women's Studies at York University, the Children's Studies Program, and the School of Nursing. In her (spare) time, she cares for and about a menagerie of cast-away farm animals at her farm in Caledon, Ontario.

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FEMMES ET EXILS: FORMS ET FIGURES

sous la direction de Dominique Bourque et Nellie Hogikyan ; préface de Gloria Escomel
Québec: Presses de l'Université Laval, 2010

REVIEWED BY SIMA APRAHAMIAN

Exile, a mindset intertwined with the fate of displaced peoples, has been a central concern since the second half of the twentieth century post-imperialist world, and has been given special attention and focus in scientific research along with Diaspora and Migration Studies. However, it is commonly known that women (and their children) constitute the great majority of the displaced[1]. The volume on *Women and Exile(s) [Femmes et Exils],* edited by Dominique Bourque and Nellie Hogikyan, focuses specifically on women's experiences as they are expressed in literature, visual and fine arts, as well as in other creative genres such as performance narratives and autobiography. The book, written in French, presents poetic and re-inventive attempts in the field of cultural displacements and can be considered as an important contribution to Cultural Studies. The essays in this anthology re-examine the nature and the set of terms associated with women's mobility since the emergence of women's writing and up-till present-day transnational migrations. For instance, as theorized by feminists, it has been widely established that women's transgression of national borders on one hand, and of the grounded categories of the social order on the other hand, has allowed them to experience flexible citizenship *avant la lettre*.

The anthology *Femmes et exils* offers a theoretical account that reviews the system of terms of exile and the multiple displacements of women in an increasingly fluid world, with examples of de/-constructed subjectivities in the writings of francophone migrant women across borders and generations.

The large-scope and innovative introduction situates socially (patriarchy, colonialism, globalization, hetero-normativity) and esthetically (« écriture migrante », « écriture au féminin », etc.) the multiple displacements of women. The introduction can be used as a rich and complex reference for the study of exile and diaspora for it offers a full theoretical frame that reviews the terminologies associated with exile and migration in general and proposes a new category, the post-exile, in order to account for the generational factor in the context of displacement.

It is important to note that the majority of the authors in this collection of essays are Canadian citizens and they discuss works produced by artists from various backgrounds and origins. This reflects Canada's fundamental politics and reality of multi- and interculturalism. Other contributions on European, Japanese and Islamic cultures add to the international dimension of the anthology.

In addition to a preface by Quebec writer and lecturer Gloria Escomel, the volume consists of two main sections: Thematic Exiles and Poetic Exiles. Each section has three subsections with a concise and clearly stated introduction. Thus in the section on Thematic exiles, we find the following sub-themes: Inner/Exterior exile, Identity of exile, Generational exile. Hence, the authors capture the internalization of exile and examine how this is expressed in terms of language. The focus here is on being in exile from one's own self; and the condition of exile is understood as a linguistic phenomenon, a process of metaphorizing this unique lived expe-

rience of rupture and rebirth. Special attention is given to family history and generational repercussions in the process of integration into new cultural landscapes.

Part II of the anthology *Femmes et exils* is on the poetics of exile and consists equally of three sections. We read about various voices on and in translation: the authors here speak of translation games as they deal with the themes of alienation and unheard voices. We come across the different interpretations of the Quran and the "Hebrewizing" of the German language, as well as the introduction of textual "de-marking" and the use of Japanese narrative technique, all of which contribute to the pluralizing of local literatures and marginal voices.

The anthology closes with a wonderful and substantial poem by Ottawa-based Angèle Bassolé-Ouédraogo, *Les Porteuses exilées* (*The Exiled Carriers)*, which gives voice to the courageous women of Africa, voices that go beyond the continent's outrageous devastations of colonialism. And finally, a post-script by Nellie Hogikyan beautifully articulates that "after exile, it is our roots that re-unite down-under".

In conclusion, the crossing of borders between theory and creativity encountered in this collection gives Virginia Woolf's famous quote "As a woman I have no country. As a woman I want no country. As a woman, my country is the whole world" its deepest meaning.

Sima Aprahamian is a Research Associate at the Simone de Beauvoir Institute, Concordia University where her research focuses on gender, ethnicity, and class. She holds a Ph.D. in anthropology (1989, McGill University). At the Simone de Beauvoir Institute she has taught many courses including Introduction to Women's Studies, Women's Organizing and Resistance Across Cultures, Women, Science and Technology [through the Gendered Cyborg]. She has also developed and co-taught a seminar course with Dr. Karin Doerr entitled Feminist Perspectives on Genocide. She has numerous publications and has organized several symposia and conference panels. She has also presented many papers in peer reviewed international conferences. She has conducted field research in Lebanon, Armenia and Canada.

[1]In a paper from the United Nations High Commission for Refugees, Susan Harris Rimmer writes that most refugees and internally displaced peoples are women and children (Harris Rimmer 2010 http://www.unhcr.org/4bbb2a589.pdf, p.3).

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