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CRITICAL ENVIRONMENTAL SECURITY: RETHINKING THE LINKS BETWEEN NATURAL RESOURCES AND POLITICAL VIOLENCE

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CHAPTER 12
BODIES ON THE LINE: THE IN/SECURITY OF EVERYDAY LIFE IN AAMJIWNAANG

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When you walk onto the Aamjiwnaang First Nations reserve, residents tell you to pay attention to your body.[1] Your lips might tingle, your body temperature may rise, a rash may appear, you may get a headache; you will smell the stench of pollution in the air. Smokestacks on the horizon dominate the landscape. Your heart may race as fear and anxiety about the unknown health effects set in. Psychosomatic affect becomes a real, embodied experience. Community members express anger, laugh off the experiences through black humour, or turn inward and deny their circumstances.[2] These are common emotions of normalization, for those living amidst uncertainty "on the volcano of civilization" at the "contours of a risk society."[3] This paper is about the location of risk and insecurities of everyday life, where some bodies are emplaced in vulnerable environments, bearing the burden of modern civilization more so than others.

In the kind of risk society Ulrich Beck describes, advanced modernities, which are part of globalized economies, come at a cost. In this respect, wealth couples risk.[4] As a consequence, some individuals live a more 'at risk' life, where the potential to be exposed to toxins in the environment is heightened. In such environments – which can be seen from the Achuar in Peru, to the Q'eqchi' in Guatemala to Aboriginal[5] peoples in Canada – uncertainty reframes health circumstance, being and citizenship.[6] In our globalized world, some risks take precedence over others. With the creeping influence of transnational security threats, in societies increasingly defined by risk, new problems call for new solutions. In this context, risks appear somewhere 'out there' necessitating security, and simultaneously 'attached' to some specific site as potentially everywhere. For some communities, transnational threats are not all that 'new.' In one such risky environment, on the Aamjiwnaang reserve, surrounded by a high concentration of noxious chemical, sewage-treatment and landfill facilities, in Canada's 'Chemical Valley,' changes happen to the body at an unknown pace. Consequently, I argue that those living in Aamjiwnaang – a community downstream from this Chemical Valley – live with their bodies on the line. The line I refer to is the space in between security and insecurity; it is a place of liminality, where scenes of everyday life are politicized.

Rather than thinking about security issues as inherently tied to the state, or to a conventional scale of government, I contend that we can understand practices and processes of security in, upon

and internal to the body. I am writing neither about a site that registers as part of 'Canada's foreign policy agenda,' nor about a site that 'should be' securitized; instead, I am particularly interested in the experience of those at the intersection between local/global harm, where conventional boundaries dissipate, and new borders can be found. I contend that the body is a site where demarcations between the local/global, national/international, secure/insecure, internal/external break down. It is the ultimate translocal site, where power relations are enacted, contested and resisted.[7] The body becomes a site for multiple boundaries. Following critical political geographer Louse Amoore, bodies become the carriers of borders as they are inscribed with multiple encoded boundaries of access.[8] To this, I add that they internalize borders, as toxic environments affect body-borders from within. While security scholars have discussed the (in)security of bodies as the focus of targeted border management practices, I contend that the body is equally rendered (in)secure through more informal practices of seemingly latent environmental harm.[9] In this respect, global security threats seep through traditional scales or levels of government to the body, where processes of accumulation, crisis and risk management manifest. In particular, I suggest that environmental violence or harm occurs within and upon the bodies of those living in precarious space. This space is not a dead or passive space; rather, the spaces of liminality I discuss produce meanings and experiences that are revealing about the state of politics in Canada at the local/global interface. The Canadian First Nations reserve is a place that often finds itself at this nexus.

All spaces have histories. Some histories are visible, others invisible.[10] I discuss place as a variable shaping the materiality and corporealityof bodies through subtle, yet harmful environmentally uncertain, insecure practices.[11] The central concern of this paper is a move toward a place-informed, locally situated understanding of (in)security as it manifests on and within the human body. In toxic environments, at the nexus of security and insecurity, borders become de-territorialized; yet, the body internalizes territories through the infiltration of invisible harm in the form of chemical exposure. To demonstrate this empirically, I present this discussion in three sections. First, I discuss the body-place relationship drawing from the Aamjiwnaang First Nation experience. Second, through a reading of how environmentally violent places form toxic bodies from within. Third, I examine how toxic bodies are formed in and through (non)places, in places between places, liminal spaces, or "third spaces."[12] This provides a lens through which policy theorists, security experts and policy-makers alike can begin to think about a place-based understanding of bodies in risky spaces as part of a kind of global ecology.

Situating the Body at the Global/Local Interface

The Aamjiwnaang First Nation Reserve, home to about 850 Aanishnaabek peoples, is just across the Canada-US border from Port Huron, Michigan, approximately seven kilometres south of Sarnia, Ontario. For nearly half a century, their land has been almost completely surrounded by Canada and the United States' largest concentration of petrochemical manufacturing. Much of the original reserve, founded in 1827, was sold to industry through suspect land deals in the 1960s, and is now occupied by pipelines, factories and dozens of petroleum storage tanks.The location of this community in Canada's Chemical Valley profoundly affects the local residents.

Continuously waking up to the shrill of chemical plant warning sirens caused Ada Lockridge, member of the Aamjiwnaang First Nation, to begin to wonder about the effects of neighbouring chemical plants on her community's health. Consider the following:

> On a recent autumn day, Lockridge stood in the Aamjiwnaang band's cemetery. The burial ground occupies a gently sloping patch of ground sandwiched between a petroleum storage tank farm and a low cinder-block building with half a dozen pipelines running through it.[13]

This imagery juxtaposes the reserve with neighbouring industrial development, both in Canada and the United States, encircling Aamjiwnaang. In an article published in *Environmental Health Perspectives,* Lockridge and her team of researchers made a shocking discovery: two girls are born in her small community for every boy.[14] It is hard to dispute that this sex ratio indicates serious environmental contamination by an unknown mixture of toxic chemicals in the air, soil and water.

The area has come to be dominated by its surrounding industry, and is now commonly referred to Canada's 'Chemical Valley' by residents and the media. Tension between industrial development and environmental protection remains strong in the valley. According to a report by non-governmental organization, Ecojustice (formerly the Sierra Legal Defence Fund) entitled *Exposing Canada's Chemical Valley,* there are 62 large industrial facilities, literally in their backyards.[15] The report states that Canada's Chemical Valley contains many of the toxins listed in Canada's *Environmental Protection Act*, yet, economic productivity as a beneficial component of community living remains a strong priority. In fact, many companies express an interest in partnering with the Indigenous community to provide employment for members of the Aamjiwnaang First Nation. For example, the Chippewas of Sarnia Business Park is a group organized to promote local employment of the members of the First Nations community. Consequently, industrial development and conceptions of progress come into tension with questions of ecological responsibility and environmental health.

The unbalanced sex ratio appears as vivid evidence that the environment plays an adverse role affecting reproduction on the reserve. Scientists have used the sex ratio as a very sensitive indicator demonstrating the effects as a result of exposure to chemicals disrupting the endocrine-system and reproductive health. In a recent Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) documentary, it was illustrated that pollutants known as endocrine disrupters can interfere with the hormones that determine whether a couple will have a boy or a girl.[16] Furthermore, statistics collected by Lockridge and her team indicate that one in four Aamjiwnaang children has a behavioural or learning disability. Children suffer from asthma at nearly three times the national rate, and four of 10 women on the reserve have had at least one miscarriage or stillbirth.[17] There are few cases of such a disproportionate gender imbalance in the world as on the Aamjiwnaang reserve, let alone the other health-related harms facing this community.

As synthetic organic chemicals begin to interfere with natural hormones, several scientists and members of the Aamjiwnaang community believe that these hormone-mimicking endocrine disrupters are to blame. Because hormones are so important to the development and healthy performance of the body's organs, endocrine disrupters have the potential to cause a wide range of effects, from damage to the brain, sex organs, to decreased sperm production and immune suppression in

adults.[18] Furthermore, some biologists argue that endocrine disrupters could influence sexual behavior and violence. Biologist Theo Colborn suspects that endocrine disrupters may be responsible for physical, mental and behavioural disruption in humans, which could affect fertility, learning ability and aggression.[19] In addition, endocrine disrupters may be responsible for rising rates of testicular and breast cancer, a higher frequency of reproductive tract abnormalities, declining sperm counts and increases in learning disabilities. While much of the science remains 'unknown,' the Aamjiwnaang community lives with these unknowns on a daily basis, waiting for the security of the known.

For low-level exposures, the effects of endocrine disrupting chemicals are subtle and hard to document. Research is not clear about the effects of low-level exposures. According to Marc Weisskopf, a research associate at the Harvard School of Public Health, there are a lot of unknowns. In a 2003 study, he and several colleagues found that mothers who consumed large amounts of polychlorinated biphenyl (PCB)-contaminated fish from the Great Lakes were more likely to have girls.[20] It is difficult to say exactly what effects the endocrine disrupters are having on the *general population*,[21] however, there is little doubt that endocrine-disrupting pollutants are affecting the sexual development of wildlife next to the Aamjiwnaang reserve. In Lake St. Clair, about 30 miles from their reserve, fish have both male and female gonads. The condition, known as intersex, is caused when a young fish that is genetically male is exposed to chemicals such as the fertilizer atrazine, which causes female gonads to develop by acting like the hormone estrogen.[22] Research has identified increased reproductive abnormalities for women who consume the fish. Weisskopf's findings suggest that maternal exposure to polychlorinated biphenyls may decrease the sex ratio of offspring.[23] The phenomenon has been documented all over the southern Great Lakes, not just in fish, but in birds and amphibians as well.[24] It is significant that that the environment here appears to affect both wildlife and human health.[25] While the science is revealing about the impact of toxins in wildlife, the human health impacts remain unproven.

Consequently, members of Aamjiwnaang are increasingly worried about the pollution of their reserve. While it seems clear that the environment has a physical, organic impact on health, there are also considerable cultural and emotional effects. Community members express a growing sense of fear – fear of the sirens, fear of the outdoors, fear of the air, fear of the water – the list goes on. As Ecojustice articulates:

> These chemicals and related incidents have significant impacts on their cultural life, including hunting, fishing, medicine, gathering and ceremonial activities. Health impacts include asthma, reproductive effects, learning disabilities and cancer. The most common reported impact was fear. People on the reserve feared the outdoors, the warning sirens and unreported incidences.[26]

According to Aamjiwnaang environmental community activist and father Ron Plain, members of their community have to worry what is wrong with every child that is born.[27] Unlike adults, children cannot excrete or store contaminants and are more vulnerable to toxins. Toxins are generally stored in fat, and during pregnancy and lactation, women's fat is metabolized and exposes fetuses and newborns at vulnerable stages of development to these chemicals.[28] Toxic endocrine disrupters mimic natural hormone production, consequently disrupting reproduction and fetal development.

As such toxins are found in food and wildlife sources, avoidance becomes impossible and exposure an everyday reality.

In response, the Aamjiwnaang have engaged in a variety of tactics to raise awareness about the severity of the situation. Tactics include blockades, body mapping, biomonitoring and bucket brigades to resist the bodily and psychological harms.[29] At the current time, the band does not have its own resources to fund large-scale environmental monitoring and enforcement initiatives. Lockridge currently partners with community health officials, academic researchers and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) to lobby government and industry for change. In a *Sarnia Observer* article, scientist Dr. Ted Schettler states: "We know enough now about the exposures. Reducing exposures is the prime objective."[30] Research continues; however, little government or industry action takes place.

The Aamjiwnaang environment committee is frustrated by the lack of government and industry intervention. Band member, activist, mother and self-declared "victim of the Chemical Valley," Ada Lockridge is lobbying for more stringent government regulations on industrial emissions.[31] In an interview published in *The Sarnia Observer* she showed her frustration: "How much studying do we have to do to get the government to toughen emission standards?" she asked.[32] Progress – albeit at a snail's pace – is being made. At the very least, the community is the only First Nation to be provided an air monitoring station from Ontario's environment ministry. Subsequent air monitoring by Aamjiwnaang's environmental committee found elevated levels of the carcinogen benzene in the area, and the province is looking into establishing a standard.[33]

Unsatisfied with the progress to date, the Aamjiwnaang community is pressing for further government action. Lockridge teamed up with the NGO Ecojustice to request a provincial environmental review and to create environmental legislation. On 30 January 2009, Ecojustice filed a formal application with the Environmental Commissioner of Ontario calling on the Ministry of the Environment (MOE) to fill serious gaps in Ontario's pollution laws that currently put the health of Ontario residents at risk in highly polluted areas of the province.[34] On 7 April 2009, Ontario Minister John Gerretsen introduced Bill 167, the *Toxics Reduction Act* with the aim to: (a) to prevent pollution and protect human health and the environment by reducing the use and creation of toxic substances; and (b) to inform Ontarians about toxic substance.[35] According to the legislation, enforcement remains voluntary. In general, this local issue has yet to receive federal government and international recognition through concrete action.

The current Canadian regulatory environment fails to address the issue of chronic exposure. Part of the problem is the challenge of accepting the reality that chronic pollution and low-dose exposures characterize life in the industrialized world. The Canadian government continues to attribute the declining birthrate to *choices* such as smoking rates, nutrition, obesity and addiction.[36] The lifestyle choice model does little to address the Aamjiwnaang concerns. As Dayna Scott argues, individualistic interpretation of public health policy coincides with the dominant epidemiological paradigm, which is a "set of practices and beliefs embedded within science" where government and official understandings emphasize individual behaviour factors rather than environmental or social factors as keys to disease prevention.[37] The legal structure further does not support interventions. Scott states that environmental health harms appear as "incidental" to industrial production, making it legally challenging to comprehend the fusion between a polluting environment and a economically

productive one.[38] At present, only high-profile spills and leaks warrant government attention.

In addition, the international policy-making regime does not envision an environmental health approach to the issue of possible endocrine disruptors in humans caused by chemical pollution. As the Public Health Agency of Canada (PHAC) takes much of its regulatory direction from the World Health Organization (WHO), we might turn to this organization to see what it has to say about this issue. Take, for example, the International Programme on Chemical Safety (IPCS), which is a collaboration among three United Nations (UN) bodies – the WHO, the International Labour Organization (ILO) and the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP). An IPCS report discussed the weak evidence that endocrine-active chemicals adversely affect human health. The report's first chapter states that analysis of the human data by itself, while generating concerns, has so far failed to provide firm evidence of direct causal associations between low-level (i.e., levels measured in the general population) exposure to chemicals with endocrine disrupting chemicals (EDCs) and adverse health outcomes.[39] The report does not address the effects of endocrine disrupters and the population at large. Chapter five of the report states that there is limited evidence to suggest that changes in the sex ratio may represent a general trend in society as a consequence of exposure to EDCs.[40] The report did, however, note the *potential* effects of endocrine disrupters, and highlight the need for future research. Consequently, we await the appearance of general trends before the severity of this latent public health crisis becomes recognized.

There appears to be a disconnect between what lived-body experience tells us about the impacts of the environment on our bodies and what scientific evidence tells us. It is clear that environmental exposure involves an unpredictable, unknown mix of chemicals with a wide variance and duration, making epidemiological, population-based health strategies challenging. Evidently this unknown space creates problems for policy-makers. In the meantime, while policy-makers wait for the science, something is happening to the body in this environment, as the external environment affects the body from inside. In this context, it is difficult to know where the body ends and environment begins, blurring the strict demarcation – the 'body-border' – between bodies and environments.

Toxins at the Body-Boundary

Our bodies are becoming environments, and environments are becoming bodies. As Steve Kroll-Smith and Joshua Kelley discuss, in our present climate, increasingly environments form the body from within.[41] Many of these processes seem invisible, as they operate in the realm of the unknown and the uncertain. There is often "more than meets the eye" (or nose) in environmental stories.[42] Sensory perception, affect and emotion become mobilized, the body – embedded within material and discursive contexts – takes form through a process of *emplacement*. This process of becoming in place – em*place*ment – is a two-way flow. Not only is the body *in* place – the *place* forms the body from within.

Bodies are shaped by *space* from within the body. The location of the Indigenous reserve is a unique space – a geographical site – which produces certain *meanings*. In effect, these meanings reveal 'place.' Health geography literature distinguishes between space and place to suggest that space refers to a physical location, while place refers to the symbolic and interpretive meanings that

emanate from individual and collective relationships to a space.[43] Both are of interest here. The space of the reserve contains multiple meanings – discursive constructions – which accompany the toxins as they infiltrate the body in Aamjiwnaang. Interpretations of these meanings about environments, or spaces, produce understandings of *place*.

Residents of Aamjiwnaang interpret their experience differently than many policy-makers. In response to the health circumstances in Aamjiwnaang, government officials frequently blame the unfortunate health scene on individuals themselves as a result of their irresponsible lifestyle practices (smoking, drinking, poor diet, lack of exercise, obesity, diabetes).[44] Governments, however, fail to take responsibility for the systemic harm produced in the Chemical Valley. In the 2007 National Film Board of Canada documentary "Toxic Trespass," Dr. Devra Davis bluntly states: "you can say 'no' to drugs, sex and alcohol, but you cannot say 'no' to breathing." Along similar lines, Winona LaDuke argues:

> Our health conditions are a result of the environment and the economic, political, legal situations that we're in. They're not caused by our genetic, biological makeup. We are not dying from our physical inheritance. We are dying from the environments that we live in, and the conditions that we have to survive in.[45]

The relationship between bodies and land takes on particular meaning in an Indigenous context. This relationship is made tenuous as consequence of precarious, toxic environments.

Speaking about Indigenous communities in Canada cannot be excluded from the legacy of colonialism. Moreover, colonialism has specific gendered affects on First Nations women living in close proximity to heavy industrial environments. As Cherokee scholar Andrea Smith discusses, in a colonial context, Indigenous lands and territories have become marked as violable, culminating in a simultaneous violation of Indigenous women's bodies.[46] Consequently, attacks on nature are concurrent attacks on native women's bodies. Andrea Smith phrases it even more strongly when she states: "[t]hrough rape of the earth, Native women's bodies are raped once again." Smith raises serious questions about the legacy of colonialism and raises questions about environmental racism, which have specific effects on marginalized people, particularly women. She discusses environmental racism in the context of uranium production, which has also been associated with high cancer, miscarriage and birth defect rates.[47] A closer examination of the experience of women on the Aamjiwnaang First Nation reserve reveals these synchronous colonial, paternalistic and oppressive practices.

Place as a concept plays an active role in identity formation, as individuals take on meanings about their personhood in relation to their environment. Borrowing from intersectionality literature, I suggest that bodies and places are not devoid of identity, social formation or attachments; they are simultaneously classed, raced and gendered.[48] The birth experience is not devoid of meaning in such precarious places. As Leanne Simpson discusses, pre-contact, Indigenous peoples lived in a healthier time, women were valued for their roles and responsibilities as life-givers.[49] The birth experience, the physical and symbolic power to transform, create and recreate is central to being an Indigenous woman. Full-time mothering was recognized for its importance in growing and maintaining healthy nations. With colonialism, this important place within many Indigenous cultures changed. Cal-

culated colonialism changed the birthing process. By targeting the power of Indigenous women as life-givers, colonizers were able to disintegrate communities and move people toward genocide.[50] In Aamjiwnaang, the legacy of colonization is manifested in the present through the transformation of bodies exposed to a multitude of chemicals and disruption of the endocrine system, culminating in an array of reproductive health harms, including a skewed sex ratio and high miscarriage rate.[51] Through the transformation of bodies and the birth experience, colonization and gender intersect in a precarious, toxic place, revealing environmental violence from within the body. Resisting and challenging one's own body becomes an almost insurmountable feat.

Locating injuries in precarious spaces goes beyond physical geography. Some geography literature refers to the importance of locating health clusters of harm and illness in order for environmental health concerns to garner the attention of policy-makers.[52] Recognition of the racialized and gendered body in Aamjiwnaang, embedded within the historical legacy of colonialism, adds a few more dimensions to the already complicated health cluster story. For example, the Aamjiwnaang reserve sits next door to the first rubber polymer plant in Canada, which was erected during the Second World War. Today, a plaque marks the site of the former plant. The plaque indicates that in 1966, residents were moved away from the nearby community of Blue Water, which no longer exists, due to 'health and safety concerns.' Aamjiwnaang, Indian Sarnia Band 45, remained. Finding harm clusters is not enough to garner the government's attention for adequate policy response; precarious place continues to creep on to the body in Aamjiwnaang.

Places form the body from within. According to environmental sociologists Kroll-Smith and Kelley:

> Tinker with a place – change its ambient air, its flora, its fauna, or the quality of its water, for example – and the body responds by making physiological, organic, and perhaps at times, psychical changes. The retina contracts smartly when exposed to bright light; a sinus detects cat dander and as a defence releases millions of histamines; far more troubling, reduce the ozone in the atmosphere and ultraviolet radiation creates metastizing skin cells. And the dance goes on.[53]

Bodies react to environments; they react to places. The "imaginative fixture" of considering "environments *in* bodies" proves a vexing problem for medical professionals and individual bodies resisting such impositions.[54] Resisting against the invasive nature of modern places is no simple feat. Bodies react, but resistance remains allusive: ideal in theory, difficult in practice. For many citizens in precarious, toxic places, this challenge is more provocative. As "anthropoid molecules find their way into bodies," residing in the bloodstream, tissue, nerve centres and bones, we must re-imagine industrial environments entering bodies.[55] Considering this emplacement of toxins in the body is certainly unsettling and terrifying.

In Aamjiwnaang, place affects the materiality and symbolism of the body; bodies are simultaneously infiltrated with toxins and discursive meanings. The close proximity of the Aamjiwnaang reserve to pollution, surrounded by the highest concentration of chemical facilities in North America, reveals the racialized nature of pollution. Residents tell stories of the days when it was 'normal' for industry employees to dump toxic waste right on to the reserve, commonly considered to already be a junkyard or wasteland.[56] Today, landfills and sewage treatment facilities litter the

Chemical Valley, as a few more toxic features adding to the landscape's pollution burden. The distribution of environmental health harms in Aamjiwnaang reveals the importance of locating bodies in a particular geographic context, and moreover, locating these contexts in bodies.

Environments can place bodies in danger. As Kroll-Smith and Kelley articulate, "bodies and environments are in a relentless embrace, a dance of sorts that never ends."[57] Such dances are material and symbolic. As mentioned, this precarious dance between the body and environment makes it difficult to determine where the body begins and the environment ends, and vice versa. It is clear that these boundaries are fluid, porous and in continuous reproduction. The toxins – from the environment – are continuously flowing, advancing and infiltrating; however, bodies in these environments remain somewhat static, trapped in place, accumulating harm from within. As environments impose themselves on bodies, policy-makers will have to develop the tools to respond.

The effects of industrial harm can be understood through location. Some individuals bear the burden of environmental harm more than others. Authors have discussed the inverted or disproportionate burden that many of lower socio-economic status face in this respect.[58] In Aamjiwnaang, not only do the Indigenous peoples live 'more downstream than others,' they also live 'across the tracks,' and are sandwiched between heavy industry. Talfourd Creek, once a site of pleasure and play, now gathers pollution and runs through the reserve to Lake St. Clair. The Aamjiwnaang burial site is encircled by chemical facilities, with the closest edge being the location of a waste disposal site for one of the plants. Individuals report leading funeral prayers, when the alert sirens go off, startling the ceremony participants. It is often only the sound of the weekly test siren, and ceremonies can resume.[59] This raises another concern, that the indicated burial site is not necessarily representative of the ancestral burial ground; many bodies remain unmarked beneath the chemical plants.

Obfuscating this scene, the current Canadian health and environment policy framework makes claims based upon tangible harm elusive. As Scott suggests:

> No one mother could ever prove that she specifically was harmed; that she specifically should have conceived a boy. No child has been harmed. But it is difficult to fathom that there is no harm being done. It is clear that there is wounding to be accounted for.[60]

Harm is legally permitted through an ad hoc provincial certificate permit and legal tort system. In this environment, harm is an invisible cost of state-sanctioned acts of productive economic activity. Generally speaking, the *provincial* governing statute contains a general discharge prohibition on "contaminants" in combination with the issuance of "permits" for emissions in accordance with a certificate issued by the relevant authority.[61] The certificate is a legally binding license that sets out the conditions under which a facility can operate, including, often, the maximum permissible contaminant emission levels.[62] Harm caused by legally sanctioned, permitted pollution is considered to be a by-product or an accidental side-effect of the economic activity. It remains "unintentional," and yet, pollution is a "fixed feature" of modern economies.[63] Furthermore, the current environmental regulatory context in Canada is largely voluntary.[64] In Canada, responsibility for environmental health harms is loosely regulated.

While the provincial government shares a responsibility for environmental issues with the

federal government, the provincial government does not formally have a role in on-reserve health issues. The federal-provincial division of powers produces a zone where environmental health issues become "lost in a limbo of inter-jurisdiction or layered jurisdiction."[65] The location of the reserve as a federal responsibility adds another layer to this complex array of responsibilities. Consequently, the reserve becomes lost in jurisdictional battles over who has to foot the bill for those wounded in this space. An explanation for the disproportionate effect of chronic pollution on this community's landscape becomes clear through a spatial and historical location in place. The place mandated by the colonial authority of the Canadian government simultaneously produces a lack of place for those who do not see themselves in an environment where they are truly able to 'be' who they desire.

Liminality, (In)Security and Places-in-Between

The bodies in Aamjiwnaang are on reserve. The reserve can be understood as a place between spaces, and simultaneously as a place through space. It is a place at the nexus of security and in-security, as individuals on this reserve live with the everyday reality of unknown harm. In Foucauldian terms, it is a "place without a place."[66] In Canada, it is a space outside the federal, provincial or municipal concentrations of power. It is not a neutral space, it is a *place*, with many stories, narratives, interpretations and meanings. I maintain that the reserve is a paradoxical space: it places bodies on reserve, as a mode of preservation. However, this preservation of a 'traditional way of life' is delineated by the boundaries set by the federal Canadian government (Indian and Northern Affairs Canada), and produces a structured, pre-modern, colonized way of life. On one hand, members of this community are free to live a traditional life; on the other hand, any way of living is being squeezed out through the continuous creep of progressive heavy industrialization beside their land, challenging their very existence. As their ponds, creeks, rivers, homes, burial sites and bodies become sedimented with toxicity, their ability to 'be' bears the mark of a colonial creep in the form of a body burden. At once, the Aamjiwnaang are trapped in the past, and trapped by the future as progress through economic materialism shapes the physical becoming of the body in this space.

The reserve is a space of juxtapositions. The reserve sets Indigenous peoples 'free' to practice their way of life in a pre-contact time, associated with a mythic ideal of the hunter-gatherer inherently connected to nature and able to live off the land. Simultaneously, the space, or literally the land provided, is often toxic, unusable land. This is especially salient with the Aamjiwnaang community. Individuals who swore they would never leave this place, home to the burial of their ancestors, are leaving. Mothers who have left the reserve to give birth are not returning. As community member and activist Ron Plain articulates: "our culture is dying. We have nowhere to *be*."[67] Play and outdoor activity is highly restricted in this toxic space. Parks erected over closed landfills leave much to be desired from the landscape. Limitations to play and outdoor enjoyment undoubtedly have harmful psychological impacts on this resilient community, who appear to be "living in a bubble."[68] The chemical alert sirens go off weekly, the community is frequently ordered to maintain a 'shelter-in-place,' and one never knows if it is a test or a real spill. Regardless, Aamjiwnaang residents are expected to remain indoors, and wait until the potential harm clears and security of life resumes. So

they wait.

The reserve is a space that keeps people in *place.* As Sherene Razack argues, the marginalized body appears almost transparent, forgotten, left behind as a part of earthy debris.[69] The Indigenous body as part of the natural landscape is perceived as an obstruction to industrial progress. This raises important questions: how are people kept in place? What contested meanings are derived from this space? Colonization and empire building is inextricably linked to space. During the initial years of settler contact, many colonial explorers have, and continue to think of space as an empty concept, something to be filled. As a result of the colonial perpetuation of the notion of *terra nullius* – empty land – Indigenous people are not seen as civilized masters of the land.[70] Consequently, they are reduced by the White settler society as natural savages to be controlled and contained through confinement in the reserve system. This (mis)conception of land as an empty space has permitted, and continues to permit its colonization.[71] *Terra nullius* produces an 'empty zone' or space to be fortified through state boundaries. The pre-contact notion of *terra nullius* historically justified European settlement and moving Indigenous peoples on to reserves cut off from necessary resources.[72] Today it justifies filling these spaces with toxic waste.

Meanings derived in space reveal power relations. It is a powerful act to name, claim and blame in (non)spaces. Foucault articulates how power relations are revealed across space, as subjects are produced.[73] Space is fundamental to the exercise of power. Bodies, individuals, citizens – delineated as abject or well – become ranked, classed and segregated across space. As discussed in the documentary "Toxic Trespass," location, in this context, is perhaps the "greatest carcinogen" infiltrating the body.[74] Foucault explored the physical segregation of marginal populations in spaces – asylums, prisons and clinics. His institutional work in this respect provides evidence of the exclusionary practices embedded within the modern liberal state. Later work on biopolitics and biopower reveals how power no longer takes shape by the hand of a sovereign state authority; rather, control and surveillance take form at the individual level of the body, thorough micro-practices of responsibilization and self-governance.[75] Agency, freedom and mobility in this context are limited.

Time, progress and movement have different meanings on many reserves than in the rest of Canada. Reserves – spaces – are highly demarcated, delineated, structured spaces, with colonial histories. As Razack argues, the marginalized space, a liminal space, is the border between "civilized" (i.e., the city) and "primitive"(i.e., the reserve) space. The civilized only appear in these chaotic zones to assist the vulnerable toward modernity, justifying a "moral topography" of chaos, where the privileged White people come in to justify their own policies (or lack thereof).[76] The way in which knowledge about modernity is constructed in this liminal zone is of central concern. A complex historical mapping of bodies and their relationship to space is necessary for a rigorous interrogation of how to understand bodies that have travelled across time. Any mobility, freedom or agency is highly demarcated by the colonial delineations of the reserve. Mobility and freedom of the body are not the same in a liminal zone as they are in a privileged space. Following Razack, this case reveals the ways in which persons of privilege have much more freedom of mobility. Individuals situated on reserve do not necessarily have the resources, means or desire to leave. Rather, they must form resistances to their environment through an appropriation of responsible self-monitoring practices. While the movement and mobility of capitalism and market possibilities in Chemical Valley require endless expansion, this possibility continuously drips with the threat of tox-

icity and fatality.[77] Modern discourse creates the "need" for development, expansion and movement, while simultaneously trapping communities like Aamjiwnaang in place. Should the Crown desire them to move, they could, but they would be leaving part of their place, part of their being behind. Therefore, mobility in this zone is always already soiled with a colonial history.

Conclusion: Fleshing out a Politics of Place

Politics occurs in and on the flesh. The flesh in this story has symbolic meaning, as the site at which invisible, unknown harm manifests. Moreover, the symbolic space of the Aamjiwnaang First Nation reserve has been filled with physical and discursive meaning. As a White middle-class female, my location in this symbolic reproduction is an essential one to demarcate and challenge. It is my anticipation that by questioning how spaces came to be, and tracing what meanings they produce and what produces those meanings, I will contribute to the discursive project of creating possibilities for difference, identity and voice, as a means to unsettle problematic everyday risk experiences facing communities such as the Aamjiwnaang First Nation, which is revealing of the ways in which some Canadians are rendered more insecure than others.

Through a situated, place-based analysis of the (in)security of everyday life, it is the intent of this discussion to bring place into conversations about politics at the local/global interface. I argued that bodies operate at the local/global interface, as an ultimate site of (in)security. By discussing bodies at this interface of the local/global, where the body-boundaries become increasingly blurry, and where environments form corporeality from within, I sought to demonstrate how some bodies are rendered more vulnerable than others through the persistence of a kind of toxic colonialism.

Bodies, I suggest are 'on the line' at the nexus between the local and global, secure and insecure. While some bodies are on the frontlines, sooner or later the risks associated with this social positioning catches up with the producers and immediate beneficiaries of industrial production. Risks in this respect, display a kind of "boomerang effect" through their diffusion.[78] These seemingly latent, dormant externalities of production and extraction render even the most secure bodies insecure through the creep of environmental illnesses, of which many etiologies remain unknown, unscientific and unproven. Consequently, we must begin to re-imagine the ways in which our bodies relate to environments.

To conclude, then, future discussion of environmental violence, security and harm will benefit from a rigorous examination of global political ecology, which take into consideration the multifaceted ways in which the lines between bodies and environments increasingly coalesce.[79] A critical global political ecology approach to studies of (in)security turns away from an over-emphasis on the role of the nation-state to look at broader human-nature connections across a variety of political scales. The site of utmost importance in this context is the human body, as increasingly, all of our bodies are on the line.

Notes

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1. This paper is a work-in-progress, based upon research assistance and field-work for Dr. Dayna Scott, who is conducting a SSHRC-funded project entitled "Constructions of Risk and Cause at the Local/ Global Interface: Environmental Justice for the Aamjiwnaang." These sentiments from the community are also expressed in a variety of documentaries and news articles. See, for example: Melody Petersen, "Industrial Pollution Health Hazards: The Lost Boys of Aamjiwnaang," *Men's Health Magazine*, 2009 available at http://www.menshealth.com/men/health/other-diseases-ailments/industrial-pollution-health-hazards/article/442a7febcb6c4210vgnvcm10000030281eac.
2. Isaac Luginaah, Kevin Smith and Ada Lockridge, "Surrounded by Chemical Valley and Living in a Bubble: The Case of the Aamjiwnaang First Nation, Ontario," *Journal of Environmental Planning and Management*, Vol. 53, Issue 3 (April 2010), available at http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/content~content=a920031943~db=all~jumptype=rss.
3. Ulrich Beck, *Risk Society* (London: Sage, 1986).
4. Discussed by Beck, *Risk Society*; and Anthony Giddens, *The Consequences of Modernity* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1990).
5. Following from the language in the 1982 Constitution of Canada, I use the term 'Aboriginal' to refer to peoples of 'Indian,' First Nations, Inuit and Métis descent. I also use the term 'Indigenous' to refer to First Nations, Metis and Inuit peoples of Canada, in line with the language used by Indigenous scholars Jeff Corntassel and Taiaike Alfred. When quoting an author, or speaking about a specific community, we will make attempt to use the term appropriate to that community.
6. Discussed in the following: Beck, *Risk Society*; Giddens, *The Consequences of Modernity*; Adriana Petryna, *A Life Exposed: Biological Citizens After Chernobyl* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006); Nikolas Rose, *The Politics of Life Itself* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007).
7. Thanks to Jenny Vermilyea for sharing her reflections on 'translocal' sites of security. Also see: Louise Amoore and Marieke De Goede 2008; Claudia Aradau and Rens Van Munster 2008, 2007; Dennis Broeders 2007; Didier Bigo 2006; Benjamin Muller 2004).
8. Louise Amoore, "Biometric Borders: Governing Mobilities in the War on Terror," *Political Geography*, Vol. 25 (2006).
9. See for example Amoore, "Biometric Borders," and Benjamin Muller, "(Dis)Qualified Bodies: Securitization, Citizenship and Identity Management," *Citizenship Studies*, Vol. 8, No. 3 (2004), pp. 279-294, among others, for an extensive discussion of biometrics and bodies at the border.
10. The concept of place has garnered considerable interest in environmental justice and health geography literature. See, for example: Anthony Gatrell and Susan Elliott, *Geographies of Health: An Introduction* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2008); Tim Cresswell, "Introduction: Defining Place," in *Place: A Short Introduction* (Coventry: Blackwell, 2004), Julian Agyeman, Peter Cole and Randolph Haluza-Delay, *Speaking for Ourselves: Environmental Justice in Canada* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2009); Phil Brown, *Toxic Exposures: Contested Illnesses and the Environmental Health Movement* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007); Sally Macintyre, Anne Ellaway and Steven Cummins, "Place Effects on Health: How can We Conceptualise, Operationalise and Measure Them?" *Social Science and Medicine*, Vol. 55 (2002); David Harvey, "The Environment of Justice," in Frank Fischer and Maarten Hajer (eds), *Living with Nature: Environmental Politics as Cultural Discourse* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999); Doug Torgerson, "Images of Place in Green Politics: The Cultural Mirror of Indigenous Politics," in Frank Fischer and Maarten Hajer (eds), *Living with Nature: Environmental Politics as Cultural*

Discourse (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999); Steve Kroll-Smith, Philip Brown and Valerie Gunter, *Illness and the Environment: A Reader in Contested Medicine* (New York: New York University Press, 2000). Much of the environmental (in)justice literature seeks to understand the societal effects of environmental racism, equity and justice, in terms of institutional rules, regulations and policies that result in the disproportionate exposure of toxic and hazardous waste. Where these injustices occur have particular locations, which produce meanings of place. Specifically, the concept of place seeks to explore differential health impacts of physical (spatial) environments as a social, or "environmental (in)justice" issue, as a determinant of health.

11. Drawing from Elizabeth Grosz, I understand this concept to refer to the experience of the body as a continuous process of knowledge production, emanating from the very real, tangible physicality of the body. This *includes* emotional – psychosomatic – and organic or physical health experiences. See Elizabeth Grosz, *Volatile Bodies. Toward a Corporeal Feminism* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994).
12. The terms of liminality, thirdspace and heterotopia are discussed at length in Edward Soja, *Thirdspace: Journeys to Los Angeles and Other Real and Imagined Places* (Cambridge: Blackwell, 1996); and Michel Foucault, "Of Other Spaces," *Diacritics*, Vol. 16, No. 1 (1986), Translated by Jay Miskoweic.
13. "Pollution on Native Reservation is Probed," CTV News, 18 December 2005, available at www.ctv.ca/servlet/ArticleNews/story/CTVNews/20051218/reserve_pollution_051218.
14. Constanze Mackenzie, Margaret Keith and Ada Lockridge, "Declining Sex Ratio in a First Nations Community," *Environmental Health Perspectives*, Vol. 113, No. 10 (2005).
15. Ecojustice, *Exposing Canada's Chemical Valley*, 2007.
16. CBC, "The Disappearing Male," 2008.
17. In response to the 2005 article in *Environmental Health Perspectives*, the Aamjiwnaang First Nation conducted a Community Health Study with the assistance of the Occupational Health Clinic for Ontario Workers, in Sarnia. These results were published by Ecojustice, "Exposing Canada's Chemical Valley," 2007.
18. Discussed in several films: CBC, "The Disappearing Male," 2008; National Film Board of Canada, "Toxic Trespass," 2007.
19. Theo Colborn, Diane Dumanoski and John Peterson Myers, *Our Stolen Future*, 2009, available at http://www.ourstolenfuture.org.
20. Marc Weisskopf, Henry A. Anderson and Lawrence P. Hanrahan, "Decreased Sex Ratio Following Maternal Exposure to Polychlorinated Biphenyls from Contaminated Great Lakes Sport-caught Fish: A Retrospective Cohort Study," *Environmental Health: A Global Access Source*, Vol. 2, No. 2 (2003).
21. This presents the significant challenge of proving "general population-based trends" through epidemiological research vis-à-vis local embodied knowledge and experience.
22. Richard Kavanagh, et. al., "Endocrine Disruption and Altered Gonadal Development in White Perch (*Morone americana*) from the Lower Great Lakes Region," *Environmental Health Perspectives*. Vol. 112, No. 8 (2004).
23. Mackenzie, Keith and Lockridge, "Declining Sex Ratio in a First Nations Community."
24. *Ibid*.,
25. It is important to recall that humans are animals as well. In addition, many Indigenous cultures value the relationship between human and animal health as inherently linked. Andrea Smith discusses this at considerable length in *Conquest*: *Sexual Violence and American Indian Genocide* (Cambridge: South End Press, 2005).
26. Ecojustice, "Exposing Canada's Chemical Valley"
27. Matt Crenson, "Canadian Natives Blame Toxins for Fewer Sons," Associated Press, 19 December 2005,

available at www.msnbc.msn.com/id/10531498/from/RS.1.

28. Andrea Smith, *Conquest: Sexual Violence and the American Indian Genocide* (Cambridge: South End Press, 2005).
29. Dayna Scott, "Confronting Chronic Pollution: A Socio-Legal Analysis of Risk and Precaution," *Osgoode Hall Law Journal*, Vol. 46, No. 2 (2008).
30. See Dr. Ted Schettler, quoted in Jack Poirier, "Birth Rate Hot Topic to Reserve," *Sarnia Observer*, March 2008, available at http://www.theobserver.ca/ArticleDisplay.aspx?archive=true&e=958890; or Jack Poirier, "Push for Stronger Emission Controls: Leading Scientists Gather at Local Health Symposium to Discuss Impact of Pollution on Aamjiwnaag Residents," *Sarnia Observer*, 27 March 2008, available at http://www.nationtalk.ca/modules/news/article.php?storyid=7937.
31. Interview with Ada Lockridge for Dr. Dayna Scott, 20 January 2010.
32. Poirier, "Push for Stronger Emission Controls."
33. Ecojustice Press Release, "Aamjiwnaang Bucket Brigade Discovers Alarming Levels of Toxic Chemicals in Sarnia," 20 February 2008, available at www.Ecojustice.ca/media-centre/press-releases/aamjiwnaang-bucket-brigade-discovers-alarming-levels-of-toxic-chemicals-in-sarnia.
34. Ecojustice Press Release, "Chemical Valley Residents Demand New Law for Ontario's Pollution Hot Spots, 30 January 2009, available at www.ecojustice.ca/media-centre/press-releases/chemical-valley-residents-demand-new-law-for-ontarios-pollution-hot-spots?searchterm=hotspots.
35. Legislative Assembly of Ontario. Bill 167 *Toxics Reduction Act*, 2009, available at www.ontla.on.ca/web/bills/bills_detail.do?locale=en&BillID=2168.
36. Scott, "Confronting Chronic Pollution."
37. *Ibid*.
38. *Ibid*.
39. Terri Damstra, et. al., "International Program on Chemical Safety. World Health Organization," *Global Assessment of the State-of-the-art Endocrine Disruptors*, 2002.
40. *Ibid*.
41. Steve Kroll-Smith and Joshua Kelley, "Environments, Bodies and the Cultural Imaginary: Imagining Ecological Impairment," in Pamela Moss and Katherine Teghtsoonian (eds), *Contesting Illness: Processes and Practices* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008), pp. 304-322.
42. Joy Parr, "Smells Like? Sources of Uncertainty," *Environmental History*, Vol. 11 (April 2006).
43. Anthony Gattrell Susan J. Elliot, *Geographies of Health: An Introduction* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2008).
44. Scott, "Confronting Chronic Pollution."
45. Winona LaDuke, *Recovering the Sacred: The Power of Naming and Claiming* (Cambridge, MA: South End Press, 2005).
46. Smith, *Conquest: Sexual Violence and the American Indian Genocide*.
47. An intersectional analysis of gender, development and the environmental impacts of uranium production on Indigenous communities has also been discussed by John O'Neil, Brenda D. Elias and Annalee Yassi, "Situating Resistance in Fields of Resistance: Aboriginal Women and Environmentalism," in Margaret Lock and Pamela Kaufert (eds), *Pragmatic Women and Body Politics* (Cambridge Studies in Medical Anthropology, No. 5, Cambridge University Press, 1998). This article looks at the conflicting interpretations of the residents of Wollaston Lake in Northern Saskatchewan and the proximity of uranium development.
48. An intersectional analysis is discussed at length by the following scholars: Kimberle Crenshaw, "Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics and Violence against Women of Colour," *Stanford Law Review*, Vol. 43, No. 6 (1991); Pat Collins, Julia Abelson and John Eyles, "Knowledge into Action," *Health Policy*, Vol. 80, No. 1 (2007); Marina Morrow, Olena Hankivsky and Colleen

Varcoe, *Women's Health and Social Change* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007); Patricia Monture-Angus, *Thunder in my Soul: A Mohawk Woman Speaks* (Halifax: Fernwood Publishing, 2002); Smith, *Conquest: Sexual Violence and the American Indian Genocide*; Olena Hankivsky and Ashlee Christofferson, "Intersectionality and the Determinants of Health: A Canadian Perspective," *Critical Public Health*, Vol. 8, No. 3 (2008); Mary-Ellen Kelm, *Colonizing Bodies: Aboriginal Health and Healing in British Columbia* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1998); Lee Maracle, *I am Woman: A Native Perspective on Sociology and Feminism* (Vancouver: Press Gang Publishers, 1996); Winona LaDuke, *All our Relations: Native Struggles for Land and Life* (Cambridge, MA: South End Press, 1999).

49. Leanne Simpson, "Birthing as an Indigenous Resurgence: Decolonizing our Pregnancy and Birthing Ceremonies," in Dawn-Memee Lavell-Harvard and Janette Corbiere Lavell (eds), *Until Our Hearts are on the Ground: Aboriginal Mothering, Oppression, Resistance and Rebirth* (Toronto: Demeter Press. 2006), pp. 25-33.
50. *Ibid*.
51. Mackenzie, Keith and Lockridge, "Declining Sex Ratio in a First Nations Community"; Ecojustice, "Exposing Canada's Chemical Valley."
52. Gatrell and Elliott, *Geographies of Health*.
53. Kroll-Smith and Kelley, "Environments, Bodies and the Cultural Imaginary," in Moss and Teghtsoonian (eds), *Contesting Illness*.
54. *Ibid*.
55. *Ibid.*
56. Interviews with Ron Plain, 18 January 2001 and Ada Lockridge, 20 January 2010 for Dr. Dayna Scott.
57. Kroll-Smith and Kelley, "Environments, Bodies and the Cultural Imaginary," in Moss and Teghtsoonian (eds), *Contesting Illness*.
58. See for example: Timothy Luke, "Rethinking Technoscience in Risk Society: Toxicity as Textuality," in Richard Hofrichter (ed.), *Reclaiming the Environmental Debate: The Politics of Health in a Toxic Culture* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2000); Beck, *Risk Society*; Harvey, "The Environment of Justice," in Fischer and Hajer (eds), *Living with Nature*; Brown, *Toxic Exposures*; Kroll-Smith, Brown and Gunter, *Illness and the Environment*; Robert Bullard (ed.) *Confronting Environmental Racism: Voices from the Grassroots* (Boston: South End Press, 1993).
59. Interviews with Ron Plain, 18 January 2001 and Ada Lockridge, 20 January 2010 for Dr. Dayna Scott.
60. Dayna Scott, ""Gender-Benders": Sex and Law in the Constitution of Polluted Bodies," *Feminist Legal Studies*, Vol. 18, No. 1 (2009).
61. In Ontario, it is the *Ontario Environmental Protection Act* (OEPA), ss. 6(1), 9(1).
62. Scott, "Gender-Benders."
63. Discussed by: Luke, "Rethinking Technoscience in Risk Society," in Hofrichter (ed.), *Reclaiming the Environmental Debate*; and Scott, "Gender-Benders."
64. Julian Agyeman, Peter Cole and Randolph Haluza-Delay, *Speaking for Ourselves: Environmental Justice in Canada* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2009).
65. *Ibid*.
66. Foucault, "Of Other Spaces."
67. Interviews with Ron Plain, 18 January 18, 2010 and Ada Lockridge, 20 January 2010 for Dr. Dayna Scott.
68. Luginaah, Smith and Lockridge, "Surrounded by Chemical Valley and Living in a Bubble: The Case of the Aamjiwnaang First Nation, Ontario."
69. Making this image strikingly clear, one simply has to tour the perimeter of the Aamjiwnaang First Nation

reserve in order to see landfills, disposal sites and sewage treatment facilities, in addition to the numerous chemical facilities surrounding the small space this First Nation group has left from its initial treaty agreements. In fact, conversations with residents reveal the history of repeated dumping of toxic waste on land that was already 'wasted' through Indigenous occupation. Field notes from 20 January 2010 for Dr. Dayna Scott.

70. Taiaike Alfred, *Peace, Power, Righteousness: An Indigenous Manifesto* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).
71. Michael Taussig, *Shamanism, Colonialism and the Wild Man. A Study in Terror and Healing* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1987).
72. Sherene Razack, *Race, Space and the Law* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2002); and, Alfred, *Peace, Power, Righteousness*.
73. Jeremy Crampton and Stuart Elden, *Space, Knowledge and Power: Foucault and Geography* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2007).
74. "Toxic Trespass."
75. As discussed by scholars: Michel Foucault, *Society Must be Defended* (New York: Picador Books, 2003); Rose, *The Politics of Life Itself*; and Michael Orsini, "Discourses in Distress," in Michael Orsini and Miriam Smith (eds), *Critical Policy Studies* (Vancouver, University of British Columbia Press, 2007).
76. Taussig, *Shamanism, Colonialism and the Wild Man*.
77. Thanks to Jen Bagelman for this notion of "dripping with fatality." 26 January 2010.
78. Beck, *Risk Society*.
79. See, for example, Matt Patterson, "Green Politics," in *Theories of International Relations* (2nd ed.; New York: Palgrave, 1996).