# Tiger Widows in the Sundarbans: Gender, Conservation, and Culture

Mia McElhatton (COL 2026) miamce@sas.upenn.edu Faculty Mentor: Kok-Chor Tan, Professor of Philosophy

### Context

### Imperialism, Colonialism, NGOs, and Conservation

- Conservation that forces people off of their land and criminalizes the use of that land is a direct legacy of colonial and imperial forces in India, Africa, and the Americas.
- Western NGOs continued involvement in countries in the global south perpetuates this dynamic, especially through the criminalization of indigenous hunting practices.
- Some NGOs have promoted shoot to kill and other extreme violent tactics as methods of policing conservation spaces.

### Climate Change and Environmental Destruction

- Human development, production, and expansion is directly involved in the harm occurring to the environment and animals.
- The current extinction rate is hundreds or possibly thousands of times higher than its past base line.

### Definition and Method

### Two Key Values

- We as humans have a responsibility towards animals and the environment.
- We as humans have responsibilities towards each other.

#### What is feminism?

- Defining feminism is a key debate in modern feminist theory.
- For my purposes, I used Khader's definition of feminism
- Feminism at its core is opposition to sexist oppression
- Khader's definition attempts to give feminist theory a normative ethic that is anti-imperialist but still universal.

### Attempting to define gender

- Gender is a complex, non-binary social structure
- With the complexity of gender in mind, for this piece and conservation to date has been focused on man/woman relations.
- My discussion is as such confined to these binaries

## The Tiger Widows

- In the Sundarbans tiger attacks are common and increasing due to the success of conservation efforts to increase tiger populations.
- There is a cultural stigma towards women whose husband are killed by tigers that is tied to religious beliefs.
- widows/widowers are disqualified from governmental support if the attack occurred on protected lands or if there was not proof the attack occurred in sanctioned spaces.

### A man's wife is killed by a tiger

- Some social stigma towards the widower but generally still accepted into the community.
- If not socially accepted, there are clear and accessible avenues for work and support outside of the community

### A woman's husband is killed by a tiger

- Ostracized from the community entirely.
- Unable to gather food or supplies from the same places the larger community does and barred from using the same equipment.
- Kicked out of her home by her husband's family along with any female children.
- Unable to access work or stability outside of the community due to lack of previous experience and gendered labor forces
- Manipulated/forced into sex work and other dangeorus, low paying jobs.



Ghosh, A. "The Tiger Widows of India Conserving the Mangrove Forest Where Their Husbands Died." Atmos, March 7, 2022 https://atmos.earth/tiger-widows-india-sundarbans-mangroves-climate/. Harris, N. et al. "Responsibility, Equity, Justice, and Inclusion in Dynamic Human–Wildlife Interactions." Frontiers in Ecology and the Environment n/a, no. n/a. Accessed August 1,

2023. https://doi.org/10.1002/fee.2603. Hughes, A. et al. "Smaller Human Populations Are Still Not a Necessary Condition for Biodiversity Conservation: A Response to Cafaro et al. (2023)." Biological Conservation 282https://www.nytimes.com/2023/06/06/science/whales-gulls-argentina.html. Kashwan, P. et al. "From Racialized Neocolonial Global Conservation to an Inclusive and 13, 2016, sec. World. Regenerative Conservation." Environment: Science and Policy for Sustainable

Development 63 (July 4, 2021): 4–19. https://doi.org/10.1080/00139157.2021.1924574.

—. Women and Human Development: The Capabilities Approach. The Seeley Lectures. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511841286. Nuwer, R. "Rhinos' Horns Were Cut to Thwart Poachers. After, They Didn't Go Out Much." The New York Times, June 12, 2023, sec. Climate. https://www.nytimes.com/2023/06/12/climate/black-rhinos-horns.html. Ogra, M. V. "Human-Wildlife Conflict and Gender in Protected Area Borderlands: A Case Study of Costs Perceptions, and Vulnerabilities from Uttarakhand (Uttaranchal), India." Geoforum, Rethinking Economy, 39, no. 3 (May 1, 2008): 1408–22. <a href="https://doi.org/10.1016/j.geoforum.2007.12.004">https://doi.org/10.1016/j.geoforum.2007.12.004</a>. "Public Lands Rule | Bureau of Land Management." Accessed August 14, 2023.

Katsnelson, A. "Gene Therapy May Offer Birth Control for Cats." The New York Times, June 6, 2023, sec. Science.

Kopnina, H. "Indigenous Rights and Ecological Justice in Amazonia: Exploring Ethics of Wilderness Conservation,"

Martin, D. et al. "Creating Conservation Strategies with Value-Focused Thinking." Conservation Biology n/a, no. n/a

https://news.mongabay.com/2018/10/citizen-ape-the-fight-for-personhood-for-humans-closest-relati

Nussbaum, M. C. "Beyond 'Compassion and Humanity': Justice for Nonhuman Animals." In Animal

Khader, Serene J. Decolonizing Universalism: Toward a Transnational Feminist Ethic. Studies in Feminist

Kimmerer, R. Braiding Sweetgrass: Indigenous Wisdom, Scientific Knowledge, and the Teachings of Plants.

McInturff, Alex, Clare E. B. Cannon, Peter S. Alagona, and David N. Pellow. "Meeting at the

Crossroads: An Environmental Justice Framework for Large Carnivore Reintroductions and

Recoveries." *Elementa: Science of the Anthropocene* 9, no. 1 (December 3, 2021): 00172.

https://www.nvtimes.com/2023/06/06/science/cats-birth-control.html.

Minneapolis, Minnesota: Milkweed Editions, 2020.

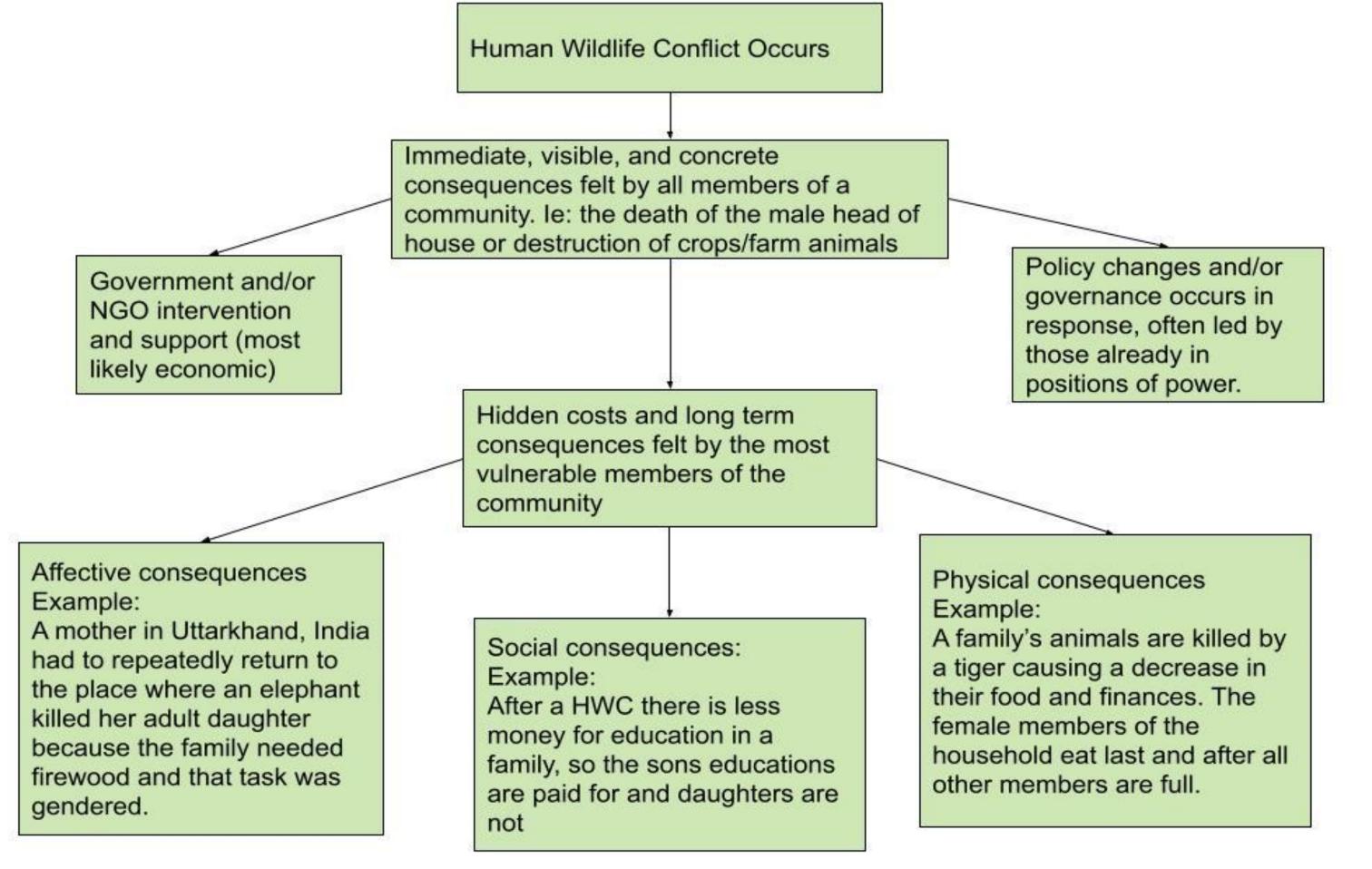
https://doi.org/10.1525/elementa.2020.00172.

C. Nussbaum, 0. Oxford University Press, 2005.

Relatives," October 24, 2018.

Philosophy. New York, NY, United States of America: Oxford University Press, 2018.

Roth, A. "Birds With a Taste for Flesh Threaten Whale Calves." The New York Times, June 6, 2023, sec. Science Rousseau, B. "In New Zealand, Lands and Rivers Can Be People (Legally Speaking)." The New York Times, July Penn Undergraduate Research **Mentoring Program** 



## Solutions and Questions

### Tiger Widows

- A group of conservationists with the help of local community, created a community for these women: conserving the mangrove forest and trying to save the sundari plant.
- Includes women from their late teens to 70s
- provide some economic stability along with community

#### Principles for conservation

- Keep gender and other identities in mind when creating policy and look for the invisible impacts
- collaborate with local communities in conservation
- promote a caring collaborative environmental justice

### Autonomy, Animals, and

- How can you balance the need for quick decisive action to mitigate climate change with the necessary thoughtfulness to not cause more harm?
- How do we balance the autonomy of animals in comparison to people?
- Who gets to decide who is in danger?

Sakurai, R. et al. "Public Attitudes and Intentions toward Engaging in Reintroduction of Wolves to Japan." Conservation Biology n/a, no. Sengupta, S. "How Africa Can Help the World." The New York Times, June 16, 2023, sec. Climate.

Shoreman-Ouimet, E. and Kopnina H. "Reconciling Ecological and Social Justice to Promote Biodiversity Conservation." Biological Conservation 184 (March 1, 2015): 320-26. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.biocon.2015.01.030. Smallhorn-West, P. et al. "Why Human Rights Matter for Marine Conservation." Frontiers in Marine Science10 (March 31, 2023). Souza, D. C. de, and Lex V. E. "Advances, Challenges, and Directions for Ecological Restoration by Direct Seeding of Trees: Lessons

from Brazil." Biological Conservation 284 (August 1, 2023): 110172. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.biocon.2023.110172.

Tiger Widows of the Sundarbans: How Religion and Myth Stigmatise Human-Wildlife Conflict | Feature fro https://www.kcl.ac.uk/tiger-widows-of-the-sundarbans-how-religion-and-myth-stigmatise-human-wildlife-co Wallach, A. D. et al. "Recognizing Animal Personhood in Compassionate Conservation." *Conservation Bio* Brown, A. *Washington Post*. "Climate Change Destroys Habitats. Relocation of the Animals Is Tricky." May https://www.washingtonpost.com/science/2023/05/19/assisted-migration-endangered-species/ Weisbrod, K. "Can Rights of Nature Laws Make a Difference? In Ecuador, They Already Are." *Inside Clima* (blog), February 21, 2022. https://insideclimatenews.org/news/21022022/rights-of-nature-laws-ecuador/. Wilkens, J., and Datchoua-Tirvaudey, A.. "Researching Climate Justice: A Decolonial Approach to Global (

Governance." International Affairs 98 (January 10, 2022): 125–43. https://doi.org/10.1093/ia/iiab209.

BBC News. "Kenya Maasai Olympics: Hundreds Gather for Lion Hunt Alternative." December 10, 2022, sec. Africa. https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-63932225 Bisset, V. "A Hippo Charged a Canoe, Killing a Baby. How Dangerous Are Hippo Encounters?" Washington Post, May 17, 2023. https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/2023/05/17/hippo-attack-boat-malawi/. Measures." Conservation Biology n/a, no. n/a (n.d.): e14106.

KINGDOM: Oxford University Press, Incorporated, 2011. http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/upenn-ebooks/detail.action?docID=834785 Duffy, R. Nature Crime: How We're Getting Conservation Wrong. Nature Crime: How We're Getting Conservation Wrong, 2010. https://doi.org/10.12987/9780300154351 Earth Law Center. "Protect the Environment/Right of Nature," August 16, 2016. Cook, C. N. "Progress Developing the Concept of Other Effective Area-Based Conservation https://www.earthlawcenter.org/international-law/2016/8/new-zealand. "Gender and Green Governance the Political Economy of Women's Presence within and beyond Community Forest June 1, 2023): 110053. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.biocon.2023.110053

/ - University of Pennsylvania." Accessed August 14, 2023. <a href="https://upenn.alma.exlibrisgroup.com">https://upenn.alma.exlibrisgroup.com</a>. Donaldson, S. and Will K.. Zoopolis: A Political Theory of Animal Rights. Oxford, UNITED