"What options for a sinking world anchored in sour carbon fossil soup?": Climate Crisis, Petro-Capital Extractivism and the Poetics of Eco-protest in Nnimmo Bassey's *I Will Not Dance to Your Beat*

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Abstract

In this age of destructive consumption, the reckless extraction of crude petroleum and the consequent oil-driven modernity leading in turn to increasing climate change and disruption of ecological harmony, constitute the subjects of serious concern to all the intellectual thinkers and the environment-conscious literary artists, around the globe. In Nigeria, the most significant "oil cursed" (Michael Ross) African country, the poets along with the fiction writers have stood united against the petro-capital extractivism in the Niger Delta region. Their poetry creates anthropocenic awareness and raises its voice against the oil-induced environmental violence. Nnimmo Bassey's volume of poetry I Will Not Dance to Your Beat (2011) is a poignant poetic account of this problem of "petro-violence" (Michael Watts) in the Niger Delta region of Nigeria. It reflects the idea of ecopoetry by issuing a warning about the incremental violence against the ecosystem in oil-extraction sacrifice zones and contemplating how this 'sinking world' can follow a 'sustainable path' (Nnimmo Bassey). The theme of "eco-protest" is at the centre of Bassey's poetry. This paper will critically examine the representation of the climate crisis, the politics of petro-capital extractivism, and the call for environmental justice in selected poems from I Will Not Dance to Your Beat, analyzing them through the lens of Petrocriticism, as outlined by Michael Rubenstein.

Keywords: climate change, petro-capital extractivism, environmental violence, ecopoetry, eco-protest

Introduction:

In the twenty-first century, which is characterised by a destructive pursuit and exhaustion of natural resources, especially petroleum, eco-environmental crisis is no more a speculation; it is rather an inescapable reality. Thus, it is high time to acknowledge that climate change is now by no means a "little change" (*I*... 62). The increasing global temperatures, night skies burning with gas flares, melting glaciers, and floating oil-soaked dead fish and birds—all warn us that something is

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Volume 18, 2025

DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.62424/JDE.2025.18.00.09

seriously wrong with our Earth under the neoliberal petro-capitalist system and provoke reflection among environmentally conscious writers worldwide. The issuance of warning and evocation of eco-centric thought is in harmony with the line quoted in the title of my essay¹. It throws light on the function of "ecopoetry" in this age of environmental crisis. The term "ecopoetry" is a recent coinage and it has entered the discourse of environmental humanities with the growing consciousness of the poets in the face of overwhelming eco-environmental exigency. According to Samantha Walton, "Ecopoetry can be defined as poetry that addresses, or can be read in ways that address, the current conditions of our environmental crisis" (Walton 393). Thus, it is a mode of expressing the environmental and ecological concerns which emerge as a direct experience of the anthropocenic environmental crises and an acknowledgement of responsibility for anthropogenic environmental devastation. Kate Dunning while differentiating ecopoetry from environmental poetry argues that a "potentially critical difference between environmental poetry and ecopoetry is the desire to issue a 'warning' of some kind" (70). Thus, one of the important aspects of an ecopoem is its ability to give caution to the modern human beings towards their insensitive activities that are constantly causing harm to the environment and various ecosystems.

With the unprecedented growth in the automobile industries in recent times, there is an escalation of petroleum and natural gas extraction throughout the oilproducing regions around the world. The Niger Delta region of Nigeria, which has been a constant sufferer because of the petro-capital extractivism in the region since the discovery of crude petroleum there in 1956, is now facing more acute environmental challenges and is on the verge of eco-environmental catastrophe due to the regular spillage of crude petroleum from the oil rigs and ill-maintained pipelines. The host communities of the region, who live in proximity to the oilextraction sites, constantly suffer from incurable health hazards, and life expectancy in the Delta has significantly decreased. The Niger river, which plays a pivotal role in providing livelihood to the ecosystem people² of the region, is so polluted by the toxic chemical wastes of the state-backed oil industry that the ecosystem of the river is entirely endangered. The local fishermen have become totally helpless as the number of fishes, in the Niger river and other brooks, is drastically reduced, and they do not have any substitute source of income. Thus, oil endowment has proved to be an absolute curse for the Nigerian people and their environment. Unsurprisingly, environmental degradation, climate crisis and the harsh reality of life in the Niger Delta constitute matters of grave concern for the eco-conscious poets of the region who have first-hand experiences of living in the polluted environment. Their poetry often addresses the petroleum induced environmental violence in the region and the plight of the poor host communities who are not only exposed to tremendous environmental degradation but also brutally treated by the multinational oil companies as well as the Nigerian Government. The Niger Delta ecopoets like Tanure Ojaide, Albert Otto, Ibiwari Ikiriko, Nnimmo Bassey among others have taken the self-imposed task of

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DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.62424/JDE.2025.18.00.09

emancipating their land from the state-sponsored environmental violence owing to the careless extraction of crude petroleum by raising their voices through poetry.

Nnimmo Bassey is undoubtedly one of the pioneering figures among the socioenvironmental activists in Nigeria and his poetry offers new and practical insights into the changing Niger Delta ecology and environmental crisis. His volumes of poetry I Will Not Dance to Your Beat (2011) and We Thought It Was Oil, But It Was Blood (2002) are powerful attempts at creating global awareness of the ongoing petro-violence³ in the Niger Delta. However, his Niger Delta ecopoetry not only acts as a reminder or warning about anthropocenic climate crisis but also aims to dismantle the evil mechanism of the profit-motivated Nigerian oil industry and the environmental injustices inherent in it. In the prefatory remarks to I Will Not Dance to Your Beat, Bassey himself states, "This collection is a response to the prodigality of today's man. Time is running out. We must see what lies so openly before our eyes" (8). Thus, a sense of responsibility and immediacy is at the epicentre of Bassey's ecopoetry. Moreover, Bassey also defends his poetry-writing as a medium of protest against all sorts of socio-environmental exploitation and he sees it as a veritable weapon in the restoration and reclamation of environmental harmony in the region. However, a common allegation against poetry since the time of Plato is that poetry, unlike science, cannot resolve the problems of the physical world. This observation impels us to ask a few fundamental questions regarding the validity of writing poetry, especially ecopoetry, in this age of environmental crisis: Can poetry really solve the anthropocenic environmental problems? Is ecopoetry capable of finding solutions to the environmental crises for the poor ecosystem people who are the victims of environmental injustice? In this regard, Nnimmo Bassey himself argues that poetry has an important function in reclaiming our humanity in today's petro-modern world suffering from anthropogenic planetary devastation. According to him, "A poem may not place food in empty bowls, quench the gas flares of the Niger Delta or halt the downward progress of the Sahara" but it can motivate us to "raise our fists, our voices and stamp our feet on the earth, reclaiming our humanity" ("I..." 8, 9) that will pave the way for environmental justice.

Therefore, the poems included in Bassey's *I Will Not Dance to Your Beat* and *We Thought It Was Oil, But It Was Blood*, with their explicit criticism of the petrocapital extractivism and environmental injustices in the Niger Delta are of immense ecocritical interest and deserve adequate scholarly attention. But, a careful reading of the critical works on Bassey's poetry unravels the fact that though we have a few articles on the representation of eco-activism in Bassey's poetry, little to no research has been carried out on *I Will Not Dance to Your Beat*, especially focusing on the major tropes of environmental degradation, climate change and petroviolence in the Niger Delta. Thus, the purpose of the present paper is to critically examine the representation of climate crisis, petro-capital extractivism and environmental injustice in select poems of *I Will Not Dance to Your Beat* by reading them from the lens of Petrocriticism. However, it will also take into account

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DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.62424/JDE.2025.18.00.09

Bassey's We Thought It Was Oil, But It Was Blood for critical consideration since both of these volumes are scathing responses to the resource extractivism and the associated socio-environmental rights abuses in the oil rich Niger Delta. This paper will also focus on the theme of eco-protest and the call for environmental justice in Bassey's poetry in order to bring out the importance of ecopoetry in raising environmental consciousness, ethical responsibility and in finding solutions to the eco-environmental problems to save our collective future.

Environmental Exploitation and the Climate Crisis:

The Nigerian resource extractive oil industry, since its early stages in the 1960s, has been the root cause of the nation's environmental calamities, especially in the Niger Delta. Nnimmo Bassey's I Will Not Dance to Your Beat delves deep into this chronic challenge of "destructive extraction" in the region and, thus, the issue of environmental exploitation is at the core of Bassey's Niger Delta ecopoetry. One of the chief functions of an ecopoet is an act of witnessing the human desecration of the environment and thereby forging narratives that evoke human awareness through the creation of an "ecopoetic space" which "should recreate the experience of being in nature" (Dunning 70). Thus, "a genuine ecopoet is charged with double responsibilities: being an imaginative geographer and a historian who records the unfriendliness and despoliation which accompany the birth of civilization" (Esamagu and Yerima 244). Bassey's ecopoetry offers a visualisation of the Nigerian oil industry as a destructive force that has inexorably altered the ecoenvironmental symmetry of the oil rich Niger Delta region. In most of the poems of this volume, Bassey concentrates on the idea of climate change in an age where "we splash on in luxury and fossil traps" avoiding the "calamities postponed and banked" for the "generations unborn" (I... 15). Due to the reckless extraction of crude petroleum in the region, gas flaring is very frequent in the Niger Delta. This burning of natural gas associated with crude extraction leads to the production of a huge quantity of CO₂ which disrupts the natural carbon cycle of the region, brings in disharmony to the ecosystem and creates excessive pressure on the carbon sinks⁵ that absorb the carbon from the atmosphere. What is even more interesting is that Bassey doesn't simply stop by referring to the "skies" that "get burnt" by gas flaring, he also draws our attention to "a thousand other polluters", including the "automobiles" that "load the skies with the choking gas" (I... 16). In this regard, one may remember the poem "Justice Now" where Bassey reflects on the gas flaring due to the insensitive extraction of crude petroleum by the multinational oil company Shell: "If you think chilli is hot / Slide an inch closer / To Shell's gas flares" (I... 31). The burning of natural gas during the flares produces tremendous heat that leads to the increase in temperature of the atmosphere which in the long run causes global warming. Thus, the "roasted skies" (I... 31) hint at the fact that climate change is now an unavoidable reality in Nigeria due to the continuous statebacked exploitation of the environment. In another poem "Walking Blind" Bassey vividly portrays the adverse impact of climate change on the human beings as well as the non-human species, like birds, and finally on the entire environment:

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DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.62424/JDE.2025.18.00.09

The clouds tell discordant tales
The birds erupt in cracked voices
Wrapped in mixed signals
Trusting farmers go for futile harvests
In planting seasons

. . .

Climate change changes things
Green to grey; grey to death
Climate change changes things
Pond becomes the sea; seas become graves (*I...* 37-38)

The lines thoroughly reveal how climate change alters the natural environment and leads to the defamiliarization of the earth. Again, in the poem, Bassey directly refers to the greenhouse gas, "carbon dioxide" (*I...* 37), which is the most significant contributor to global warming and the main polluting chemical compound produced during fossil fuel burning. However, in the poem, Bassey wants to emphasize that it is the "bottomless greed" of the multinational oil companies that is responsible for the "disappearing wealth" (*I...* 37) and environmental despoliation of the Niger Delta. Thus, he tries to expose through his poetry the climate criminals—the corrupt government officials and the neocolonial oil companies—who use "mother Earth as punch bag" and commit endless "environmental crimes" (*I...* 18).

Again, the poem titled "Bottled tears" voices the bitter anguish of the poet who is well aware of the environmental degradation and climate crisis in Nigeria. The poem is particularly important for its special focus on water pollution as an emergent environmental crisis in the Niger Delta. At the very beginning of the poem, it is poignantly hinted that in the past one could "labour and freely shoot watery sweat" without caring much about the environment, but now it is "not so" (I... 54) because of the alarming environmental crisis in the region. Bassey categorically points out that the riverbeds have turned into dustbowls and creeks turned into "rivers of salt" due to the "international finance plans" and the "deceits of reckless tycoons", whose plan is "to subjugate and to squeeze and commodify" the "sweat and tear drops" (I... 54) of the poor native communities. He brings out the fact that in the past, before the meteoric rise of the Nigerian oil industry, the water of the "streams and rivers, creeks and lagoons" of the Niger Delta was "clear, odourless, tasteless, healthy" (I... 54). But now the presence of gases like SO₂, NO, NO₂, and others at high levels in the atmosphere causes frequent acid rains which pollute the water of the ponds, lakes and rivers and lead to the destruction of the ecosystems. The poor people of the region become helpless, having no clean water to drink and irrigate their crops, no fish to catch in the creeks and rivers polluted by "toxic sediments" (I... 20) of the oil industry.

Petro-capital Politics and Energy Colonialism:

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DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.62424/JDE.2025.18.00.09

In Nigeria, the oil industry is solely run by a collaborative force of the Nigerian Government and the multinational oil companies like Shell, Exxon-Mobil, Chevron, Texaco, etc. Bassey renames the assimilation of these exploitative forces as "The United Niger Delta Oil Company", a term which he also used as the title of a poem in the volume We Thought It Was Oil, But It Was Blood. These petrocapitalist oil companies try to accumulate as much capital as possible based on the revenues generated by petroleum. In this context, one may recall the lines: "The United Niger Delta Oil Company incorporated / Keeps sailing off with its booty of dollars, greed and crude" ("We..." 24). On the other hand, the Nigerian Government also tries to get the maximum share of the petro-dollars from the oil companies. Thus, there is always a tension between these two forces regarding the distribution of profits. Apart from this, the native host communities also demand for their just equity of oil revenues since they are the sole bearers of the environmental cost of crude oil extraction and transportation. This leads to the creation of a complex web of politics revolving around the oil industry and its profits.

Again, the extraction of petroleum is heavily dependent on the availability of suitable land for drilling oil wells and in most cases, it is found that these lands (though they legitimately belong to the Nigerian Government) are actually used by the poor ecosystem people of the Niger Delta for their survival necessities. Thus, in order to continue the oil explorations, the native people are often dispossessed of their farmlands and even forced to relocate to a new place by the Nigerian Government. In this regard, Graeme Macdonald argues that "As petroinfrastructures multiply, distance shrinks and travel increases, polluting sea, land and air alike; ancient agricultural land is tunnelled out, mountaintops removed and natural geology reshaped, securitized and privatized. The soil progressively erodes as the cyclical agricultural regime cedes to the new fuel-based evacuative process of world-petroculture" (Macdonald 11). Thus, the petro-capital politics of accumulation of capital via dispossession, displacement and deprivation of the host communities is the basis of the state-sponsored Nigerian oil industry. Bassey's poetry shows how the "mountains of profit" (I... 42) of Nigerian petro-capital economy obscure the vision of the government regarding the harsh reality of the land to which these people belong. The poet is quite sceptical of the attitude of the neoliberal organizations like WTO (World Trade Organization), the World Bank and IMF (International Monetary Fund), who use to "confuse, disunite, fool and bemuse" (I... 29), towards energy transition and decarbonisation. Bassey shows how the neocolonial powers, the oil companies, "built synergy" with the Nigerian Government in order to "spread energy" (I... 12) in their homelands or to enjoy the energy benefits of destructive petroleum extraction at the expense of the disempowered native communities. The poem titled "Mountains of food ...oceans of hunger" offers amazing insights into the petro-capital politics and the "energy colonialism" which have turned the "proud people from fertile soils" of the Niger Delta into "the wretched of the earth" whose hands are now "stretched out with empty bowls" (I... 27) because their farmlands are contaminated by the poison of

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DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.62424/JDE.2025.18.00.09

the oil industry, and they are forced to give up farming on their long-cherished lands. The informed reader may recall the lines quoted below from the aforementioned poem:

Mountains of food
Oceans of hunger
Once enslaved with chains
Today ensnared by our belly
Shall we eat...or shall we not
If we are hungry
Must we fill our stomachs with poison? (I... 28)

The antithetical lines starkly point out the pathetic condition of the indigenous people of the Niger Delta whose "diets altered beyond recognition" (I... 27) because now they are forced to eat the genetically engineered food aids like GE corn, GE soya, etc. given by the multinational oil companies as compensations for the contamination of their farmlands. The bitter politics of neocolonial intervention of the oil companies is revealed when the poetic persona claims that "we stand on mountains of food" as they have fertile croplands, but still "food aid is forced on us" (I... 28) in order to occupy those lands for oil exploration for fuelling "the engines of wrath and pains" (I... 66). Thus, the intervention of the multinational oil companies in the lives of the poor people of the Niger Delta is an instance of energy colonialism, which is a "continuation of historical relations of domination exercised by states and corporations of the Global North over the Global South" (Contreras et al. 5). In the colonial period they were exploited by their colonial masters and now even after independence their "stomachs rumble" with hunger and they are compelled to consume the poisonous foods that are "still undergoing tests" (I... 28). Thus, Bassey's poetry focuses on the destructive pursuit of petroleum energy of the neocolonial oil companies, moving beyond extractivist relationalities, and emphasizes the eco-environmental exploitation and petroterritorial dispossession of the Niger Delta host communities.

Eco-precarity and the Call for Eco-protest:

Bassey's ecopoetry is a response to the unrelenting ecological violence on the Niger Delta environment by the state-backed multinational oil companies. One may remember the poem "Bottled tears" which raises voice against the desecration of his motherland, Nigeria and thoroughly depicts the uncertain future of his countrymen who are now at the receiving end of "nature's revolt" against "man's mega schemes" that are "driven by torrents of greed" $(I...\ 20)$ of the petro-capitalist oil companies. Let us quote a few lines from the poem:

Last night kids danced in acid rain Doubly warmed by infernal dragon tongues From gas flares Empty shells, lifeless sockets, death everywhere Forlorn men, backs broken, homes long gone

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DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.62424/JDE.2025.18.00.09

Sit on benches of plastic bamboos Whistling for fishes from acid lakes Craving for mudskippers from tar ponds (*I.*.. 55)

The lines eloquently encapsulate the intricate notion of "ecoprecarity" which, according to Pramod K. Nayar, "is at once about the precarious lives humans lead in the event of ecological disaster... and also about the environment itself which is rendered precarious due to human intervention in the Anthropocene" (Nayar 7). The Niger Delta environment and its various ecosystems of ponds, lakes and rivers along with the human habitations of the region "have been rendered fragile and precarious" (Nayar 8) due to the continuous environmental violence in the region. The imagery of the kids dancing in acid rain to soothe themselves from the extreme heat of infernal gas flares and also the graphic picture of the disenfranchised men with fractured skeletons, who are searching for fishes in the contaminated water bodies, terrify us as we go through the lines and reveal the uncanny and precarious nature of the environment in the Niger Delta. Thus, Bassey's ecopoetry vividly portrays the unsurmountable predicaments of the poor host communities of the Niger Delta in the moments of petroleum induced environmental disasters like oil spills, gas flares, acid rain, etc. caused by the exploitative practices of the neocolonial oil companies.

It is against such ceaseless exploitation of the environment and the socioenvironmental injustices meted out to the ecosystem people of the Niger Delta that Bassey's ecopoetry issues a clarion call to the poor inhabitants of the region to join the ongoing battle for environmental justice and the liberation of their land from the destructive practices of the oil companies. Bassey's eco-activism finds a poignant expression in his representation of utter disillusionment in the eponymous poem "We thought it was oil, but it was blood". The discovery of crude petroleum, which was supposed to bring prosperity to the Niger Delta, brought only poverty, environmental degradation, injustice, militarization of the region and the ruthless execution of the "environmental warriors" (*I...* 30) from the protesting native communities like Ogonis and Ijaws by the allied force of the Nigerian Government and the oil companies. In this regard, one may remember the lines from the aforementioned poem:

> First it was the Ogoni Then it was the Ijaw Who will be slain the next day? (We... 14)

The lines sharply point out the anxiety of the Niger Delta people who cannot trust their own government. The poet asks the government point-blank that "on whose side, are you?" (I... 17) and "what is your task?" (I... 19) at this moment of ecoenvironmental crisis. Is it to "uncover the climate criminal" or to "cover the polluting goon"? (I... 19). He admits that "battles are not fought alone" (I... 23). So, in order to "dismantle the monsters" (I... 24) they need to organize and resist

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DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.62424/JDE.2025.18.00.09

together. In this regard, one may recall the lines from the poem "The pirates are coming!" where he firmly declares:

We have taken our stand You will not overrun our land We will *terminate* your evil march (*I*... 36)

He asks his fellow people to "stand up", "rise" and "stop the drillings" in order to "save our land" (I...~33). However, his voice of eco-protest is most prominently articulated in the eponymous poem "I will not dance to your beat" where he openly declares his disobedience to the Nigerian Government and his firm determination to fight against its evil policies. In this context, one may quote a few lines from the aforementioned poem:

I will confront you with my fists
If climate change means death to me but business to you

. . .

I will drag you to the Climate Tribunal If you pile up ecological debt and refuse to pay your climate debt. (*I*... 11)

Through the poem Bassey tries to establish the fact that for the Niger Delta people, especially the "forest communities" who are forcefully driven "away from their land" (I... 11), violence remains the only path of attaining salvation from exploitation. Therefore, the poet says that he "will make you see red" unless the government and the oil companies "walk the sustainable path" and work for "real solutions" (I... 11). The same ecopoetic voice of protest and demand for sustainable solutions is present in the poem "I will take issues with you" where the poet speaks of his resolution to fight against the "dirty development mechanisms" (I... 44) of the neocolonial oil companies. The poet's call for eco-protest and environmental justice in the poem is too pronounced to be overlooked. The informed reader may remember the lines:

I will take issues with you
If climate change makes you smile
I will take issues with you
If you can't stop drilling for oil

. . .

I will take issues with you Unless we walk the sustainable path ... Together (*I*... 44)

The lines reflect the poet's absolute commitment to fight for environmental justice and bring about substantial change in the petro-capitalist economic system of Nigeria. Thus, Bassey's Niger Delta ecopoetry moves beyond ordinary environmental poetry not simply by representing the anthropocenic climate crisis and the intricate eco-environmental problems caused by petro-capitalist

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extractivism in the region, but by working "towards finding solutions to these existing problems, thereby affecting a change" (Esamagu and Yerima 244).

Conclusion:

Bassey's ecopoems are exquisite imaginative responses that warn us to the climate crisis at hand. In I Will Not Dance to Your Beat Bassey tries to expose the conspiracy of the profit-devouring oil companies and the Federal Government of Nigeria to carry on the incautious extraction of crude petroleum in the Niger Delta at the cost of destruction of the environment and the victimization of the poor inhabitants of the region. Through his ecopoems Bassey wants to raise ecoenvironmental consciousness and thereby forming a socio-environmental movement for the emancipation of the Niger Delta from the evil clutches of the giant oil companies. The poems seem to resonate with John Shoptaw's observation that "ecopoetry can also help make environmentalism happen" (Shoptaw 401). Though the endeavour to make humans aware that "climate change sells us draught" (I... 29) and "we have one earth" (I... 40) often makes his poems amenable to the charge of didacticism, which, according to Shoptaw, is the "more immediate hazard for ecopoetry" (Shoptaw 401), we cannot but admit that Bassey maintains a careful balance between aestheticism and activism in his poetry and his ecopoems never cease to be lacking in poetic craftsmanship. The morality in his ecopoems serves the purpose of evoking environmental imagination which is deeply imbued with a sense of responsibility and a benign exertion to save humanity from the fossil-chains. Though his poetry is solely inspired by the oilravaged Niger Delta, it transcends the regional fervour and geographical boundaries to attain a universal significance. Thus, Bassey's ecopoetry voices humanity's cry for "bandaging the earth's many bleeding spots" (I... 65) before the clock hasn't run out and to "stand on guard" against environmental exploitation by defending "the roots that feed us" (I... 52).

Notes

- 1. The first part of the title ("What options for a sinking world anchored in sour carbon fossil soup?") is quoted from the poem "Sequestered carbon" included in Nnimmo Bassey's volume of poetry *I Will Not Dance to Your Beat* (2011).
- 2. The term "ecosystem people" is a coined by Gadgil and Guha who first used it to refer to the subsistence people who "depend on the natural environments of their own locality to meet most of their material needs" like shelter and sustenance.
 - See Madhav Gadgil and Ramachandra Guha, *Ecology and Equity: The Use and Abuse of Nature in Contemporary India* (Routledge, 1995), 3.
- 3. The term "petro-violence" has been borrowed from Michael Watts who coined it to refer to both the environmental and the social violence associated with the extraction of crude petroleum.

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DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.62424/JDE.2025.18.00.09

See Michael Watts, "Petro-Violence: Community, Extraction, and Political Ecology of a Mythic Commodity" in *Violent Environments*, ed. N. Peluso and M. Watts (Cornell University Press, 2001), 189-212.

- 4. The term "destructive extraction" has been borrowed from Nnimmo Bassey who used it as the title of the fifth chapter of his work *To Cook a Continent* (2012).
 - See Nnimmo Bassey, *To Cook a Continent: Destructive Extraction and Climate Crisis in Africa* (Pambazuka Press, 2012).
- 5. The term "carbon sink" refers to the elements of the environment like forests, oceans, soil, etc. that absorb more carbon from the atmosphere than they release.
 - See https://www.clientearth.org/latest/news/what-is-a-carbon-sink/
- 6. "Energy colonialism" is a concept which refers to "how past, present and future energy systems are shaped by (neo)colonial imaginaries and practices" and the neocolonial interventions associated with "energy transition processes".
 - See Franziska Muller, "Energy Colonialism" in *Grassroots: Journal of Political Ecology*, vol. 31, no.1, 2024.

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DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.62424/JDE.2025.18.00.09

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