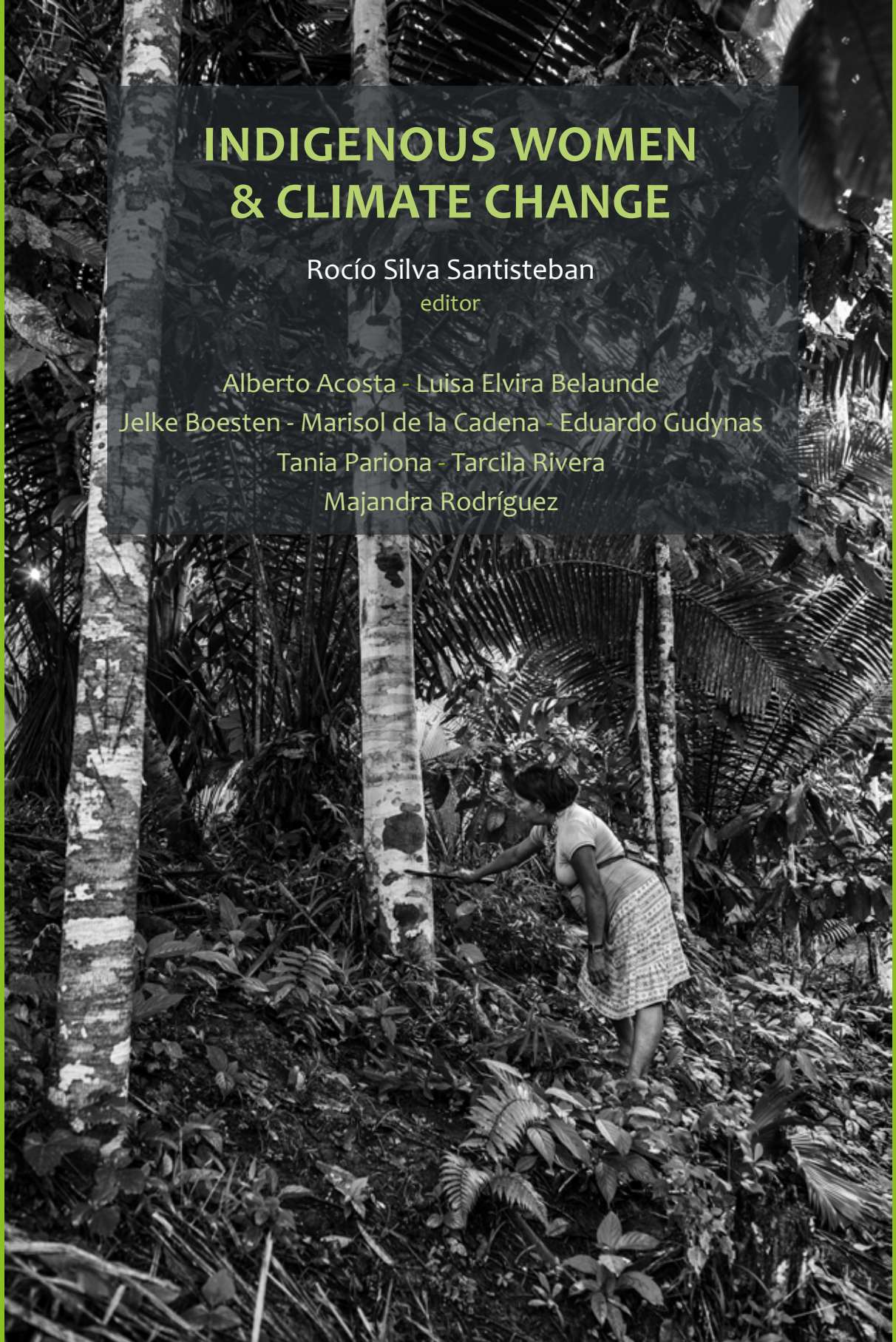


INDIGENOUS WOMEN & CLIMATE CHANGE

Rocío Silva Santisteban
editor

Alberto Acosta - Luisa Elvira Belaunde
Jelke Boesten - Marisol de la Cadena - Eduardo Gudynas
Tania Pariona - Tarcila Rivera
Majandra Rodríguez

INDIGENOUS WOMEN & CLIMATE CHANGE

Rocío Silva Santisteban
editor

ALBERTO ACOSTA - LUISA ELVIRA BELAUNDE
JELKE BOESTEN - MARISOL DE LA CADENA - EDUARDO GUDYNAS
TANIA PARIONA - TARCILA RIVERA
MAJANDRA RODRÍGUEZ - ROCÍO SILVA SANTISTEBAN

INDIGENOUS WOMEN & CLIMATE CHANGE

COMPILATION AND EDITING: Rocío Silva Santisteban

COVER AND INTERIOR DESIGN: Gredna Landolt
EDITORIAL PRODUCTION: Alejandro Parellada
TRANSLATION: Elaine Bolton
PHOTOS: Leslie Searles (Cover); Malú Cabellos (P. 32), Jorge Chávez O. (P. 40)

ISBN: 978-87-93961-00-5

HURRIDOCS CIP DATA

Title: Indigenous Women & Climate Change
Edited by: Rocío Silva Santisteban
Pages: 154
Language: English
ISBN: 978-87-93961-00-5
Index: 1. Peru – 2. Indigenous Peoples – 3. Women – 4. Climate change
Geographical area: Peru
Publication date: January 2020

INTERNATIONAL WORK GROUP FOR INDIGENOUS AFFAIRS
Prinsessegade 29 B, 3rd floor DK 1422-Copenhagen, Denmark
Tel: (45) 53732820 E-mail: iwgia@iwgia.org
Web: www.iwgia.org

SERVICIOS DE COMUNICACIÓN INTERCULTURAL
Web: www.servindi.org

ORGANIZACIÓN NACIONAL DE MUJERES INDÍGENAS ANDINAS Y AMAZÓNICAS DEL PERÚ
Web: onamiap.org

CONSEJO HARAKBUT, YINE Y MATSIGUENKA
Web: www.coharyima.org

NICFI Norway's International Climate and Forest Initiative

CONTENTS

Indigenous Women and Climate Change: an introduction

> *In most cultures, women have been the custodians of biodiversity. They produce, reproduce, consume and conserve biodiversity in agriculture. However, in common with all other aspects of women's work and knowledge, their role in the development and conservation of biodiversity has been rendered as non-work and non-knowledge.*
>
> Vandana Shiva, *Women's Indigenous Knowledge and Biodiversity Conservation*

It is nothing new for women to be disproportionately experiencing the effects of climate change: on our bodies, on our children, on our territories, on our daily chores. Why? Precisely because we are women, pure and simple; because our basic rights continue to be denied us in different ways and to different degrees the world over, particularly in the Global South. We know that gender inequality limits not only women's physical and economic mobility but also, in many places, their representation and opportunities, making us more vulnerable to growing environmental tensions and to climate situations that present multiple hazards, above all for the poorest women, the subordinate ones, including those who remain unrepresented in the area of public policy.

Different studies have shown that women's bodies are more vulnerable to the harmful effects of toxic pollution – contamination with cyanide, arsenic and the heavy metals created by extractive activities – and there is increasing evidence that demonstrates the many ways in which women, as the bearers of life, are affected and can pass on serious environmental health problems to future generations. Indigenous, peasant and rural women, along with the majority of women in the Global South, bear an even greater climate change burden in this regard, due to the historic and ongoing impacts of colonialism, racism and inequality; above all, however, they are more dependent upon natural resources for their survival.

Drought, flooding and extreme and unpredictable climate patterns present life and death challenges for many women because it is they who are responsible for providing food, water and energy to their families: they are both player in and manager of the family's food sovereignty. In many communities, gender and sexual violence against women must also be added to the

harmful impacts of extractive companies that are today affecting the most vulnerable.

In the case of Peru, we have the example of Máxima Acuña de Chaupe, who is defending her territory in Tragadero Grande, Sorochuco, Cajamarca, not only so that she can retain her property (23 hectares at 4,200 m.a.s.l.) but because of her intrinsic link to the land —the aquifers, forests, stones, gullies, hills, bushes— everything that it comprises. It is precisely in relation to this relationship, which challenges us with its ontological change, that Marisol de la Cadena maintains in this book: "[Máxima] is a subject in relation to an object. However, the "refusal to leave" may express a different relation: one from where woman-land-lagoon (or plants-rocks-soils-animals-lagoons-humans-creeks-canals!!!) emerge inherently together: an ecological entanglement needy of each other in such a way that pulling them apart would transform them into something else. Refusing to leave may also refuse the transformation of the entities just mentioned into units of nature or the environment for they are part of each other".

We will return to this aspect later but suffice to mention here that this "intra-beings" relationship that de la Cadena talks about is fundamental to understanding the special relationship indigenous women have with their environment. It would be impossible to understand their heroic resistance to climate change and to devastating capitalist depredation (extractive activity) without distinguishing, even intuitively or through "lateral" knowledge, this relationship of being and belonging. In her essay, de la Cadena raises this relationship as an epistemic challenge not only in terms of theorising from the sanitised academic laboratories of the North or university lecture halls but in order to implement concrete and urgent negotiations aimed at their very survival.

In turn, against all odds and in the face of the tremendous challenges the new global order has set Latin America, in which we play no more than a role of extraction (including knowledge extraction), women are demonstrating each and every day that we have ideas and unique, essential skills to propose a radical change in the civilising matrix at this crucial time in the history of humanity. There are many examples of this. One is the experience of the Association of Women Protectors of the Páramos de Ñangalí, in Piura, which, despite numerous difficulties, has worked to preserve the Quinawiros forests.[1] These trees, which seem to shed their skin like vertical snakes, forming

1.Yeckting, Fabiola. "Mujeres en la protección de los bosques y defensa de los páramos. Adaptación y mitigación del cambio climático en los bosques de polylepis y páramos en Huancabamba". Silva Santisteban et al, *Mujeres indígenas frente al*

a twisted landscape of wood and moisture, help maintain the aquifers and increase the flow of the lakes and lagoons of Huancabamba. In bureaucratic terms, the state considers them "water producers" but, to return to de la Cadena, they are symbolic of the sacred power residing in the area: in the north of Peru, the famous 14 black lakes of Las Huaringas are considered to be healing waters.

Faced with this crisis of survival, it is the women that have been capable of proposing radical change, not only in the way in which we share among ourselves and with our children and partners but in our relationship to the territory, the aquifers, forests and with regard to different ways of life, in harmony with nature. For the women of the Ñangalí forests, caring for the Quinawiros is a "natural" experience because, in reality, the women's culture, based on the care and careful management of seeds and water, as well as the bonds of sisterhood that bind us, enable us to reconsider the relationship between humankind and nature.

Climate change is the result of a culture of "control" of nature and of deforestation and extraction for utilitarian purposes. In turn, however, these practices would not have resulted in such devastating and cruel companies without a common understanding, throughout all the years of colonialism, of the seductive nature of adventurism, courage, bravery and other features of settlers, discoverers, adventurers and navigators: most of them men. From this perspective, Alberto Acosta indicates that: "The very essence of the prevailing anthropocentrism is expressed with equal force in androcentrism and colonialism (the congenital roots of capitalist civilisation). And yet it is women who are increasingly leading the resistance and building alternatives, for they very quickly come to understand the effects of such violence." Precisely: women are affected by a series of concomitant violences and so we absolutely must consider this an oppressive and interconnected world system that focuses only on one model of civilisation, one that has brought devastation.

Through its plundering —in no small part due to extractive activities such as mining, hydrocarbons, monocropping— capitalism has reached an agreement with different patriarchies, peripheral or central, to organise the architecture of the global system over the course of this century. From the United States to China, countries with solid economies are requiring the countries of the south to "extract their resources" or, in the words of indigenous women, "take our very souls", thus leaving their clumsy marks as wounds on the earth. There are ideological connections between natural exploitation and women's exploitation within the hierarchical/patriarchal system of extractivist capitalism and they cannot be seen in isolation.

---

cambio climático. IWGIA-ONAMIAP-SERVINDI, Lima, 2019, p. 73-90.

Jelke Boesten, a lecturer at King's College researching violence against women in Peru, Africa and South America, explores the relationship between the different sources of multiple "gender violences", the climate crisis and different ways of blocking feminist struggles for the environment by stigmatising women's discourse on the basis of an obscurantist and ultra-conservative counter-discourse. The aggressive masculinities of leaders who deny climate change —from Donald Trump through to the very people in charge of community relations in the African or South American mining companies — use violence against women to stigmatise these causes in the imaginaries of the Global South and North. It is impossible to understand the current environmental crisis without considering the political crisis, defined by a powerful counter-movement against recent progress made in terms of gender and equity. For this reason, Boesten links the new anti-rights movements in Brazil, Costa Rica and Peru to a predatory discourse that denies climate change and which continues to be colonial and racist.

Furthermore, to understand the relationship between women and climate change, it is not enough to use an intersectional perspective to argue that women are the worst affected. For the young leader and feminist, Majandra Rodríguez Acha, this is not only reductionist and ignorant of the complexity of power relations and cultural contexts but can also result in a superficial understanding of the kind of change that is needed. In her article, Rodríguez Acha states that: "We cannot draw a complete picture of the systemic crisis we are living in without centring the structural and historic systems of power and oppression based on race, ethnicity, class, gender, and sexuality, as well as other roles and aspects of identity, that characterize our societies. In other words, how the 'system' functions cannot be understood without seeing who occupies the role of the 'dominant', and who the role of the subaltern on a structural level. The 'dominated' are those whose bodies, lives, and dignity are taken as a means to the end of accumulation: indigenous groups who have been colonised, workers on the lower rungs, black and brown 'minorities', and women who are at the crossroads of multiple kinds of oppression. Understanding the mechanisms by which this plays out, and how these systems of oppression rely on each other to function, is fundamental to understand what 'system change not climate change' means and looks like". This is the crux of Rodríguez Acha's article: to resist climate change we have to subvert the patriarchal-extractivist-capitalist system.

To bring about lasting change, it is therefore essential that we recognise, understand and transform the dominant social constructs that lie at the root of gender inequality and its links to the destruction of the Earth. We need sys-

temic change and we need to challenge the old paradigms of patriarchy, colonisation, imperialism and capitalism. Women's culture makes this connection more visible: we are ready to unite across borders to challenge systems of oppression and build a healthy and possible future.

Eduardo Gudynas maintains: "Based on my own personal experience, cases such as those of Patricia Gualinga, an indigenous leader in the Ecuadorian Amazon; Toribia Lero, from the peasant communities of the Bolivian Andes; and the women's group that has been denouncing contamination in the Quinero y Ventana area of Chile, to name but a few, are all good examples of these efforts. In some situations, the women's actions have not only been in relation to the local impacts of extractive activities but also against the different facets of a local patriarchy". Indigenous and peasant women are thus the ones facing up to climate change on a daily basis and from their culture of care: ignored and under-represented in dialogue or prior consultation spaces, in reality they are the ones managing water or adapting seeds and sowing practices to the effects of real climate stimuli, moderating or resisting harm.

It is the women, carrying their children on their backs, who - guided by the inspiring symbol of Nagkui among the Awajún or of Yakumama among the Quechua – on a small scale are raising the need to adapt to the difficulties of these times, a situation that Western civilisation as a whole should imitate but one that simply gets overlooked under the burden of centuries of prejudice. It is true that, in the case of Peru (and other countries), the state has published a Gender and Climate Change Action Plan (PAGCC) that acknowledges "the growing international recognition that climate change impacts men and women differently, and that its effects tend to exacerbate social and, particularly, gender inequalities" (p.10) and that this plan was put out to consultation with different groups, both in Lima and the provinces. However, the most recent political crisis (dissolution of the Peruvian Congress by President Martín Vizcarra on 30 September 2019) has left these good intentions simply paving the road to hell. In other Latin American countries that have also experienced deep political crises in 2019, such as Chile, Ecuador or Bolivia, these good intentions of linking actions to mitigate climate change with the effect on women remain just that: good intentions in plans and policies that have not translated into day-to-day practice, far less into public budgets.

This book is now being published in English and this first edition differs slightly from that published in January 2019. It seeks to go beyond simple public policy aspirations in order to reconsider the impacts of climate change on women on the basis of their actions of resistance, their daily practices, the

links between these practices and the need to re-think their contributions from the centres of power. It is, of course, essential to clarify the what, where and how of these negative impacts. By analysing the different relationships with this tangled web of violence, however, we have gradually been able to elucidate how ancestral practices are becoming coordinated with different leaderships and empowerments in the face of new challenges.

In this book, the Peruvian anthropologist and specialist on Brazil's and Peru's indigenous peoples, and lecturer at the Federal University of Río de Janeiro, Luisa Elvira Belaunde, conducts a detailed analysis of the new links being established between Asháninka and Kukama communities and the settlers. Some of these relationships are taking place through direct kinship, i.e. marriage to indigenous women, with different tensions becoming established between their own ancestral communal practices and the new practices brought in by the settlers, particularly those settling since the turn of the millennium. Belaunde maintains that the settlers are not all the same: some adapt fully to the community, such as the case of the murdered leader, Edwin Chota; others introduce alien understandings of work and economic relationships, set up "stores" in the communities and encourage local consumption of beer, *llonque* and other non-traditional products. The lands allocated to settlers who marry indigenous women are worked from another perception, very often with the aim of serving as a guarantee for the purchase of further lands outside the community. This article examines all these impacts of colonisation and deforestation, together with gender and kinship relationships, among these indigenous peoples of the Amazon. At the end of the article, an interview with Kety Marcelo López, an Asháninka from Pucharini Native Community and current president of ONAMIAP, offers a deeper reflection on the role of women fighting climate change from their organisations.

Alberto Acosta, an Ecuadorian economist and former president of Ecuador's Constituent Assembly, is someone who has promoted the concept of *sumaq kawsay* as a model of alternative development. One of the greatest defenders and theorists of natural rights, Acosta returns to an issue to which he has devoted much of his life: what is "extractivist dependence", how is it renewed, and how it is observed through violence on the bodies, territories and visions of a post-extractive world? The article focuses on the perception of extractivism as pillaging and destructive activity and on the specific impacts on women's bodies.

At the other end of the age range, but as vehement and passionate as Alberto Acosta, the young Peruvian activist Majandra Rodríguez Acha speaks to us

about the urgency of "changing the system and not the climate" in order to be able to resist this crisis of civilisation. She believes the intersectionality between women's struggles and environmental and climate justice is fundamental. In this regard, Rodríguez Acha considers that the climate struggle must also be anti-patriarchal because, if not, it will not be systemic. The text, written in English in the original, shares with the readers the experiences of many young Latin American feminists in their concrete anti-patriarchal and anti-extractivist resistance.

As noted in the opening paragraphs of this introduction, Marisol de la Cadena suggests an in-depth consideration of the issue: an ontological shift in political negotiations between indigenous peoples. She has called this debate "the struggle for the uncommon" because it is not only a question of proposing "cultural translations" from a basis of academic research but of proposing strategies for political struggle in traditional spaces where politics is still perceived as something anthropo-Eurocentric.

In turn, the Uruguayan geographer and post-extractivist theorist, Eduardo Gudynas, considers the intersections between South American extractive activity and climate change. With a clear focus on concepts, Gudynas insists on the importance of a current definition of extractive activity that focuses on two key aspects: on the one hand, the ability to confirms its links to climate change and, on the other, to provide alternative solutions. In this article, Gudynas points out the impacts of climate change on the region and, in particular, on women. He presents the idea of alternatives, and the conceptual frame of different kinds of arguments with regard to development. Gudynas weaves in examples of the participation or vision of women on a number of levels, and analyses the particular South American conditions in which the global rhetoric may be very radical but the practice back home is insufficient to challenge climate change or extractivism. While it can be tentatively argued that progress has been made in raising the visibility of women in these issues, at the same time there is a marked diversity of positions among them, their organisations and the institutions in which they are most visible. For Gudynas, the feminist contribution can sometimes remain trapped within the problem of not including extractivism in the debate, although there are now significant contributions from eco-feminism that are breaking this mould.

In this English version, I myself have included a text in which I review the necessary relationship between the search for climate justice and the age-old histories of indigenous women who, for centuries, have been protecting nature and the territories not because they feel a subject-object bond but

because they feel they are a part of them: "I don't own the land, I am part of the land" is just one way in which indigenous Quechua, Aymara, Kichua, Awajún, Wampis, Yanesha and other indigenous women think. My text analyses the "rights of nature" paradigm and the dissemination of *sumaq kawsay* as a concept that proposes a profound epistemic change and which, within the context of a decolonial strategy, is being implemented in the alliances that women and their bodies forge in the context of extractivism and climate change.

We have also included in this book two long interviews with two indigenous Peruvian women, both Quechua, both of whom emerged from the Chirapaq Centre for Indigenous Culture of Peru: Tarcila Rivera and Tania Pariona. Rivera is currently a member of the UN Permanent Forum and Pariona has been one of the most noteworthy Congresswomen in Peru since 2016. Both share their deep and sincere thoughts with us on the climate change situation in Peru and the need for specific public policies to mitigate the effects on indigenous women.

Finally, as Majandra Rodríguez Acha notes in this book: "We need feminist and climate justice movements to work together – and our climate justice movements must be feminist in principle and practice, whether we adopt the term 'feminist' or not." In fact, from the south of the Río Grande to Patagonia, women such as the Mapuche traditional healers understand that *mapu* —the waters, air, living and dead beings, animals, spaces, language, the psychic and spiritual sphere — or in the Quechua version, Pachamama, has been fractured by systemic violence and so the ways in which we resist need to strengthen the bond between human beings and earth-beings in order to protect the never-ending life cycle.

Rocío Silva Santisteban

EXTRACTIVE DEPENDENCY RENEWED

Violence against people, territories and visions

Alberto Acosta

> *"When the women saw the dead fish they cried with sadness; they cry too because they are afraid, they cry because their families are sick, they cry because the constant risk they are living increates anxiety, insecurity, ongoing concern. And I cry because I am a motherand it worries and scares me that they will tell me my son has cancer and we won'thave enough money to provide treatment for the whole family".*
>
> Testimony of a woman from the Amazon."Las Palabras de la Selva". Psychosocial study of the impact of Texaco's oil operations on Amazonian communities in Ecuador
>
> Carlos Martín Beristain, Darío Páez Rovira, Itziar Fernández

Summary

Evidence suggests a correlation between poverty and natural wealth. Countries that are "rich" in natural resources, whose economies depend on their extraction and export, find it more difficult to provide for the wellbeing of their citizens than countries without such a wealth of resources. This situation is specific to societies with a legacy of cruel colonialism, who are forced by the international division of labour to continue feeding global capitalist accumulation. In this context, the different forms of extractivism that occur are based on multiple forms of violence, violence that affects women disproportionately, and even permanently.

Key words

Extractivism, violence, territory, patriarchy, colonialism, accumulation, plundering, devastation, Good Living.

What an accursed paradox! Recent evidence and, indeed, evidence accumulated over many years, suggests a correlation between economic poverty and natural wealth.[1] Countries that are "rich" in natural resources, whose

1. Jürgen Schuldt y Alberto Acosta, "Petróleo, rentismo y subdesarrollo: ¿Una maldición

economies depend on their extraction and export, find it more difficult to provide for the wellbeing of their citizens than those that do not enjoy such enormous natural wealth. Those with substantial deposits of one or more primary products seem condemned to *under-development* (as the contraposition to *development*, if indeed we can still use these terms[2]). This can clearly be seen in societies with a legacy of cruel colonialism, who are forced by the international division of labour to continue feeding the global capitalist accumulation of their former colonisers.

The significant availability of natural resources, in particular minerals or oil, accentuates the distortion of economic structures and the allocation of factors of production in these "accursed" countries, a situation imposed since the consolidation of the global capitalist system. National income is thus very often redistributed regressively, with wealth concentrated in the hands of a few, while economic value is sucked from the periphery to the capitalist core. This situation is exacerbated by different endogenous and "pathological" processes that accompany such an abundance of natural resources. Such a context creates structural dependence because the survival of whole countries depends on the global market, as this is where the demands of global accumulation are shaped.

Despite these observations, free market dogma - now the alpha and the omega of orthodox economics and of the social reality generally - stubbornly clings to the old argument of comparative advantage. Defenders of free trade argue that we must exploit the bounties of Nature and take maximum advantage of them (rather like the torturer who seeks a confession at any price). In addition to this, there are a number of different free trade dogmas that support extractivism *per se*: indisputable globalisation, the market as unparalleled regulator, privatisation as the only path to efficiency, competitiveness as a virtue *par excellence*, the commoditisation of all human and natural aspects...

In sum, - as Jürgen Schuldt (2005) suggests to force the discussion -, these countries are poor precisely because they are "rich" in natural resources.[3] And, in this almost structural impoverishment, violence is not only crucial but also systemic.

This gets right to the heart of the matter. Violence in the appropriation of natural resources, extracted by violating both human and natural rights, "is not a consequence of a certain kind of extraction but a necessary condition for

sin solución?", revista *Nueva Sociedad,* No. 204, Buenos Aires, July/August 2006.

2. Always bear in mind that development is a spectre (Quijano 2000) that has already caused many different kinds of destruction in the world.

3. See the important contribution of Jürgen Schuldt, *¿Somos pobres porque somos ricos? Recursos naturales, tecnología y globalización*, Fondo Editorial del Congreso del Perú, Lima, 2005.

this natural resource appropriation," emphasises Eduardo Gudynas (2013). It takes place with no concern for the harmful impacts - social, environmental, political, cultural or even economic - of the extractivism itself. Extractivism is imposed with the promise of progress and development, but actually by violating territories, people and identities. Extractivist violence could even be deemed to be the concrete expression of capital's structural violence in peripheral societies condemned to primary-export accumulation. As Marx clearly indicates, such violence is a hallmark of a capitalist system that came into the world "dripping from head to toe, from every pore, with blood and dirt".[4]

In this context, women are the primary victims of an extractivism that is characterised by machismo and racism; in other words, the very essence of the prevailing anthropocentrism is expressed with equal force in androcentrism and colonialism (the congenital roots of capitalist civilisation). And yet it is women who are increasingly leading the resistance and building alternatives, for they very quickly come to understand the effects of such violence. Who better to have such an understanding than those who protect life in the broadest sense of the meaning?[5]

Extractivism as plundering and devastation

Extractivism, a concept conceived more than 500 years ago, explains the plundering, accumulation, concentration, destruction and devastation caused by colonialism and neocolonialism, as well as the way in which capitalism has developed to this day. It is clear that imperialist domination did not end with conquest and colonisation. "Development" and "under-development" are both faces of the same process.

In simple terms, we understand extractivism as activities that remove large volumes of natural resources with little or no processing, above all for the export market in line with the demands of the core countries.[6] Extractivism

4. Marx, Karl. Capital, Vol. I, Part III, p. 950. Mexico, Siglo XXI, 2005 [1975]

5.The works of Silvia Federici, such as *Calibán y la bruja. Mujeres, cuerpo y acumulación originaria*. Madrid, Traficantes de Sueños (2010), are fundamental in this regard. The contributions of Ariel Salleh are also essential, for example her article: "Una estrategia eco-feminista. Militar por el agua, el clima y las luchas post-desarrollo" (2018). This debate is a growing one, as can be seen from this contribution to Revista Ecología Política No. 54 (2017): Ecofeminismos y ecologías políticas feministas http://www.ecologiapolitica.info/?product=54-ecofeminismos

6. Broadly speaking, extractivism is when non-renewable natural resources are extracted in large quantities or using intensive processes; some of these resources do not require processing or are processed only in a limited fashion; most – but not all – of the significant investment has significant macroeconomic effects; the process has deep social, environmental and cultural impacts on the affected territories and, by

is not limited to minerals and oil; it can also involve agriculture, forestry, fisheries or even tourism.[7]

Along with the conquest and colonisation of the Americas, Africa and Asia, the fact of the matter is that the global capitalist system was founded on extractive accumulation. This latter was consolidated as a fundamental element of this civilisation, and it has been determined ever since by demand coming from the metropolitan centres of capitalism's birthplace. Broadly speaking, some regions became specialised in extracting and producing raw materials - primary goods - while others became manufacturers, generally drawing on the natural resources of the poor countries. The result has been the immutable validity of primary-export accumulation models, and one of the main manifestations of this is extractivism.

With enormous monetary and financial reserves, transnationals and emerging economies such as China and India have now begun to acquire ever greater assets throughout the world, including oil and mineral fields, thus rapidly expanding their influence.

In sum, Marx's "primitive accumulation", which "plays more or less the same role as original sin in theology",[8] was a precondition of capitalist accumulation. Then came Rosa Luxemburg's "land grabbing" (*Landnahme*), on an even larger scale, undertaken by usurping the wealth of precapitalist societies, primarily via colonial domination. This finally became what David Harvey calls "accumulation by dispossession", constantly extending this commoditisation into ever more and even previously unimaginable spheres. This concept was extended yet further in Eduardo Gudynas' "extractive accumulation",[9] which covers all natural resource appropriation when conducted violently, in violation of human and natural rights. These forms of accumulation are expanding everywhere through the increasing and massive exploitation of natural resources, commoditising all expressions of life. It explains both colonial and neocolonial plundering, accumulation, concentration and devastation, as well as the evolution of modern capitalism.From this perspective, "extractivism"

is helpful in understanding the scope of "development" and "under-devel-

gearing these products largely towards export markets, they become commodities.

7. Eduardo Gudynas's book is highly recommended: *Extractivismos – Ecología, economía y política de un modo de entender el desarrollo y la Naturaleza*, CLAES - CEDIB, La Paz, 2015

8. Marx, Karl. Capital, Vol I, Ch. XXIV, Mexico, Siglo XXI, 2005 [1975]

9. See Eduardo Gudynas' article (2013): "Extracciones, extractivismos y extrahecciones", *Observatorio del desarrollo*, No.18, pp.1-17.

opment" as two faces of the same global capitalist expansion: concepts disguised by the illusion of progress, and supportive of capitalist modernity, that still need to be defined.

Apart from a few minor differences, extractive accumulation lies at the heart of the productive proposals of both neoliberal and "progressive" governments, who are undergoing a second neoliberal phase, as Raúl Zibechi (2011) conveniently notes. Meanwhile, the global market's addiction to extractivism has not paled; on the contrary, there are clear indications that it is increasing among both neoliberal and "progressive" governments.

If we accept Marx's analysis, we can clearly see the importance of the "mode of production", this being a particular arrangement of the social relations of production and of productive forces in a society. The capitalist mode of production creates capital accumulation, and this structures and determines the organisation of labour, even the geographic location and technical knowledge of the productive forces, in addition to the means and technical processes used.

We know also that the primary-export accumulation model dominant in "under-developed" countries is decisive in economic, social and even political structures. Moreover, cultural influences derive from it that end in aberrations such as, for example, a kind of extractivist DNA that is entrenched in our societies: large segments of the population, including some intellectuals and politicians who renounce capitalism, end up trapped in the (il)logic of extractivism and rentierism.

A key point to note in this analysis is the fact that capital accumulates under any circumstances: this is its essence and its *raison d'être*. The capitalists' objective is achieved by increasing the added value extracted through the exploitation of labour: either by lengthening the working day, reducing wages to below subsistence levels (temporarily, particularly during times of crisis), or increasing labour productivity through technical improvements. When capital is unable to accumulate through production, however, it seeks to accumulate through speculation. Hence the current hunger to extract massive quantities of natural resources at virtually any cost, products that are sold even before they have been extracted: all to perpetuate accumulation. This can be seen in the increasing destruction of Nature and even of the communities who live near these areas of exploitation.

In essence, extractivism is therefore predatory, as is "the capitalist mode of production (which) lives by suffocating life and the living world; this process has been taken to such an extreme that the reproduction of capital can only

take place alongside the equal destruction of human beings and nature",[10] according to the Ecuadorian philosopher Bolívar Echeverría (2010).

The deep structures of extractivist violence

Extractivism and its violence have a long history of destruction and alienation. This history is, moreover, a perverse one as - all too often - extractivist plundering has been accepted as the price to be paid for progress and development. Neither the demographic, social or cultural catastrophe caused by the arrival of Europeans in the Americas, nor its consequences (at the root of so many structural problems), are thus of any importance. Nor is the plundering and ruin being caused by extractivism today. The end (accumulation) justifies the means and sacrifices have to be made…

Capital is not interested in understanding the origins of either the structural inequalities or the structural inequities common in primary-export economies (and which result in a highly complex socio-economic reality). Moreover, the dominant circles do not understand that extractivism is essentially a violation of Nature, and of human beings themselves. In brief, the aberrations deriving from economies that are historically tied to a system of unjust and unequal foreign trade are not included in the conventional analysis - capital's henchman - even in environmental terms. They are not interested in the harmful impact of neoliberalism's or neodevelopmentalism's extractivist policies (which perpetuate the dependence of primary-exporting countries). They do not care about the devastating effects of extractivism, packaged up in the "coloniality of power".[11] I repeat: the only thing that matters is accumulation.

No mention is made of the historical and ecological debts that should be borne by the imperialist nations. And these are not just climate debts. The origins of the ecological debt lie in colonial plundering - mineral resource extraction or the massive felling of natural forests, for example -, and can be seen both in the "environmentally unequal trade" and in the "free occupation

10. The capitalisation of "Nature" throughout this text is the author's choice.

11. For a better understanding of the historical background to the underdevelopment on which global power is based, we need to clarify, as did the great thinker Aníbal Quijano (2001), that "the current pattern of global power consists of a coordination between: 1) the coloniality of power, i.e. the idea of "race" as the basis of the universal pattern of basic social classification and social domination; 2) capitalism, as the universal pattern of social exploitation; 3) the State as universal and central form of control of collective authority, with the modern Nation-State being its hegemonic variant; and 4) Eurocentrism as a central form of subjectivity/intersubjectivity, in particular in the method of knowledge production."

of the environmental space" of countries impoverished by the effects of the predatory lifestyle of those living in the core as well as elites living in the periphery. It is important to include, here, the environmental pressures created by exporting natural resources - trade that is normally badly paid and which do not take into account the loss of nutrients or biodiversity, to mention another example - from the periphery, exacerbated by the growing requirements of "openness at any cost". The environmental debt is growing, moreover, because the richest countries have seriously exceeded their national environmental balance, and are directly or indirectly transferring contamination (waste or emissions) to other regions without any payment in return.

To all of the above must be added the biopiracy that is currently being promoted by various transnationals who are patenting multiple indigenous plants and indigenous knowledge in their countries of origin. The damage this causes to Nature and the communities should also be noted, particularly to peasant farmers through the use of genetically-modified seeds; these crops are ever more critically and conspicuously affecting women, both as farmers and even as mothers.

For all the above reasons, we can therefore state that not only is there an unequal financial and commercial exchange, as dependency theories postulate, but also an environmentally unbalanced and unbalancing exchange in which the iniquities specific to the patriarchy and coloniality surface on every occasion. There are numerous examples if one considers that the violence caused by extractivism is a project of biopolitical domination. One only has to recall what happened in Saraguro, in the Ecuadorian province of Loja, in August 2015, when the brutality of the public security forces, under Rafael Correa's government, was vented against indigenous women; or the brutal repression of Chaparina in Bolivia during the 7th TIPNIS Indigenous March in September 2011, under Evo Morales' government.[12] There are numerous occasions, too, when violence has been concealed behind different offers and promises of development projects, always focused on psychological control in the context of laws that permit all kinds of extractivism; there are many examples, and one only has to recall the irregularities and illegalities in the mining operations of the Fruta del Norte project (Soliz 2018), where the list of consequences is a long one: a weakening of the State's fragile institutions; subjugation of the communities; deterioration in families' health; psychosocial harm and violations of rights; and the destruction of Nature, to name but a few. And the first and primary victims of these were women.

12. The text by Rocío Silva Santisteban is recommended for an analysis of the Peruvian case (2017)

Many other forms of violence flourish, albeit not as brutal as the above; even in dialogue processes, where women are openly discriminated against or even marginalised. This gives rise to another kind of violence, one that takes place through a disregard for or trivialisation of women, something very specific to the patriarchy.

Each in their own way, both the promoters of neoliberalism and their "progressive" rivals take on the role of providing the "solution" to "under-development" but, far from proposing an in-depth debate, they cling like castaways to a single lifeline: that of obtaining access to the global market under the mantra of comparative advantage as a basic reference point for economies specialising in the production and export of raw materials. And they defend this ideology – more like a theology – regardless of its predatory consequences for Humanity and Nature. They defend a consumerist ideology, with either the market or the State as the regulator of socio-economic relations (ensuring that capital's exploitation and domination is maintained). In addition, both "progressive" and neoliberal governments, regardless of their colour, are fervent believers in the religion of economic growth (whereby material growth is a nirvana and GDP its revelation).

The absence of these issues from public discourse prevents us from clearly seeing the path to a dignified and harmonious life for Humanity and Nature.

Plundering territories and people

Within the extractivist countries, the communities in whose territories or neighbourhoods these activities are conducted are suffering a number socio-environmental, cultural, physical and symbolic forms of violence. In Ecuador, for example, the Amazonian oil provinces are recording serious environmental problems and greater poverty, despite the fact that this is precisely the area from where the bulk of export financing has come since August 1972, when Texaco's tanker Ana Cortez set sail.[13]

The misery of the masses would therefore seem intrinsic to the presence of enormous stores of natural resources (with a high income differential).

Nature "blesses" us with huge potential and humankind transforms it into a

13. The list of destruction caused by the then Chevron-Texaco company is a long one. You only have to read the book *Las palabras de la selva- Estudio psicosocial del impacto de las explotaciones petroleras de Texaco en las comunidades amazónicas de Ecuador* by Carlos Martín Beristain, Darío Páez Rovira, Itziar Fernández, Hegoa, Bilbao, 2010.

curse… a real, complex and crude conclusion.[14]

This mode of accumulation does not require the domestic market and can even function when wages are decreasing. The income from extraction kills the social pressure that would otherwise force reinvestment in productivity improvements and respect for Nature. What's more, the income from Nature, as the primary source of finance in these economies, stunts production and other social relations. On top of this, extractivism - particularly oil or mining - promotes clientelist social relations (patronage), benefiting the transnationals and hindering any appropriate economic planning. Take, for example, the pernicious effects of these companies' community relations and investments, which end up replacing the State itself in the provision of services, even though this is not their role. There are other similar situations where contracts are granted to men while leaving the women in the local spaces, managing the water.

And that's not the end of it… foreign companies, together with complicit national governments, establish a favourable legal framework and even exploit the fact that their own officials and intermediaries are embedded in governments, not only seeking to bring foreign investment into the country but, above all, ensuring that legal reforms are advantageous to them. This interference - promoted by bodies such as the IADB and its big brothers: the World Bank and the IMF - can be noted in various forms, particularly in oil and mining, where the same company executives or their lawyers go as far as to run State-controlled bodies: this situation, known as the "revolving door", is the order of the day. This subordinate and subordinating relationship is then reproduced in the management of the State oil or mining company; even the relevant ministry is often run by people openly in the pocket of the transnationals. Another twisted situation occurs when people with no background knowledge take over the management of these companies, running them into the ground and creating the conditions for the transnationals to become their saviours. It is equally perverse to note that the State companies act in a similar manner to the transnationals albeit under a banner of nationalism.

Patriarchal and colonial violence finds a fertile breeding ground in this complex world of corruption, where State and market are both based around the same logic. You only have to look at the role of each human group in the

14. These countries are trapped in a perverse logic known as the "paradox of abundance" or simply "accursed resources" or, in controversial terms, "the curse of abundance". See the book by the author of these lines: *La maldición de la abundancia*, CEP, Swissaid and Abya–Yala, Quito, 2009. http://www.extractivismo.com/documentos/AcostaMmaldicionAbundancia09.pdf

different forms of extraction: the men take on the vast bulk of the "hard" labour, as being specific to "the male", out of a compulsion derived from the imperative of masculinity.[15] This is the case whether in the oil, mining, fishing or agroindustrial industry, while women normally take less "hard" but equally exhausting occupations, in addition to other "additional" roles such as prostitution, particularly in extractivist enclaves. Nor is it surprising that women are severely affected by these distortions in their daily life and in their communities, particularly by the enormous physical and social contamination created by the environmental damage and by drug addiction and alcoholism.

Extractivism's multiple forms of violence

Violence - in its most diverse forms - is fundamental to the life of countries trapped in the "curse of abundance".[16] This violence forms an inherent part of an "ecocidal model".

Take, for example, the violence unleashed by the extractive companies and involving the destruction of Nature and the communities to differing degrees; take the State violence, linked to the former, and based on repressing, criminalising and prosecuting the defenders of life; and take the civil wars, open wars between countries, or imperialist aggression on the part of some powers committed to obtaining natural resources by force, above all hydrocarbons and minerals.

As previously noted, such violence is not a mere consequence of extractivism but a necessary condition. Michael J. Watts summarised it thus: "The whole history of oil [or mining or export plantations – ed. note] is replete with criminality, corruption, the crude exercise of power and the worst of border capitalism" (1999).

15. "The stronger the imperative of masculinity, the more exposed they are to situations of risk"
http://www.opsur.org.ar/blog/2018/03/15/cuando-mas-fuerte-es-el-imperativo-de-la-masculinidad-mas-expuestos-estan-los-trabajadores-a-situaciones-de-riesgo/
16. We can mention, here, by way of critical points related to the reality, various diseases caused by this mode of accumulation, which feeds into and boost itself in ever more pernicious circles: bad allocation/waste of resources and, thus, under- or poor development; vulnerability to recurrent external shocks and economic crises; "Dutch disease"; concentration of wealth and widespread poverty; proliferation of corruption and rentier "mentalities"; massive environmental damage with a net outflow of natural resources; weak governance and institutions; voracity and authoritarian governments; recurrent conflicts between oil companies and communities; deterritorialisation of states; civil or external wars, etc.

The exploitation of non-renewable natural resources enables the emergence of rentier States whose influence is linked to their political capacity to manage, to a greater or lesser extent, the participation of oil or mining revenues. To their monopoly of political violence, these States add a monopoly of natural wealth (Fernando Coronil 2002). Although it seems paradoxical, this kind of State (desperate to constantly increase State revenues) often delegates social responsibilities to oil or mining companies, thus abandoning - from the conventional perspective of development - whole regions (Amazonia, for example). In this "deterritorialisation" of the State, responses become consolidated that are reflective of a police state, repressing the system's victims while refusing to comply with its social and economic obligations (and even providing security and defence to the transnational aggressors).

A voracious and authoritarian political structure and dynamic therefore becomes established in these oil, mining, or agroexport enclave economies. This mix of economic and political depravity, particularly in the boom years, can be seen in a disproportional increase in public spending and, above all, a discretional distribution of tax revenues, as was the case in Ecuador in the 1970s or now in the 21st century with the "citizens' revolution",[17] not to mention more emblematic cases such as Venezuela. This political exercise - particularly during an export boom - can also be explained by the governments' desire to remain in power and/or by their intention to speed up reforms that appear essential to transforming "primal" societies (as seen from the still dominant vision of coloniality, which marginalises and represses ancestral knowledge and practices, along with anything that does not fit with its civilising pattern). This increased expenditure and public investment is also the result of the growing distributive conflict unleashed between different power groups. As Jürgen Schuldt (2005) recognises:

> "It is thus a dynamic game of infinite horizon derived endogenously from the boom. And public expenditure - which is discretional - increases more than the tax income attributable to the economic boom (pro-cyclical fiscal policy)."

This "voracity effect" results in a desperate search for, and the abusive appropriation of, an important share of the primary-export sector's surplus. Given the lack of national agreements in place to manage these natural resources, and in the absence of solid democratic institutions (which can only be built with wide and sustained civic participation), plus no respect for Human Rights

17. Alberto Acosta and John Cajas-Guijarro (2018); Una década desperdiciada – Las sombras del correismo, CAAP, Quito.

or Nature, there thus appear on the scene different non-cooperative power groups desperate to obtain a slice of the mining or oil revenues. Moreover, as a consequence of the opening up of large areas of forest or plains to mining or oil activities, other extractivist activities emerge, such as logging or monocrop plantations which, in turn, cause serious environmental and social problems.

Those involved in the dispute over natural resource revenues are, above all, the transnationals and their Creole allies, the international banks, large business and financial sectors, even the Armed Forces, along with some social segments with political influence, in addition to the "labour aristocracy"[18] linked to extractivism. And - as is easy to understand - this conflictual distributive struggle causes political tensions that demand authoritarian governments.

In many primary-export countries, the governments and dominant elites, the "new corporate class", have captured not only the State (without any great counterbalance) but also the mass media, polling companies, business consultants, universities, foundations and law firms.

The logics of rentierism and clientelism, even of consumerism, delay and prevent the construction of citizenship more broadly speaking, understood as individual citizenships, collective citizenships and even ecological meta-citizenships. And by encouraging individualism and consumerism,[19] these clientelist practices deactivate collective proposals and actions, affecting both the social organisations and, more worrying still, the very sense of community. These governments try to subordinate the social movements and, if they are unable to achieve this, they establish parallel structures controlled by the State itself, as Correa's government did in Ecuador, and Evo Morales' in Bolivia.

There is an inhibiting "one-track export mentality" in these economies that stifles creativity and incentives for national businesses that might potentially

18. In the terms proposed by Eric J. Hobsbawm (1981).

19. Without minimising the importance of guaranteeing adequate levels of consumption for the traditionally marginalised population, there is no lack of people who - naively - see consumerism as a democratising force, without considering either the patterns of imported consumption that are being consolidated nor that the growing demand is almost always met with goods coming from large economic groups or imports. The consumerist boom, which may last as long as the bonanza, is nothing less than a psychological issue in political terms. This increase in material consumption is confused with improvements in quality of life, in clear alliance with the fetishism of goods. Governments can thus gain legitimacy from a consumerist logic, and this is neither environmentally nor socially sustainable.

have invested in economic sectors of high added value and return. This almost pathological "pro-export mentality" has also been sown within the heart of government, and even among their citizens. All this leads to a disregard for the country's human, collective and cultural capacity and potential. As already noted, an extractivist DNA becomes embedded in social and political life, starting with governments and politicians.

The governments of these primary-export economies not only have significant resources with which to undertake the necessary public works, particularly when prices are rising, but they can also implement measures and actions that co-opt the population in order to ensure a "governability" that will enable them to bring about reforms and changes important to their interests. However, these good intentions frequently result in Messianic and authoritarian governments disguised, in the best case scenario, as "delegative democracies".

In addition, the greater public outlay on clientelistic activities reduces the latent pressure for greater democratization. A *"fiscal pacification"* (Schuldt) takes place aimed at reducing social protest. Examples include the different vouchers used to alleviate extreme poverty, particularly those framed in the purest and hardest form of patronage to reward the most devoted and compliant constituencies.

The government's high revenues allow it to displace from power and prevent the configuration of oppositional or independent groups and factions demanding political and other rights (human rights, justice, co-government, etc.) Significant resources are even devoted to prosecuting opposition leaders, including those who neither understand nor accept the "undisputable benefits" of extractivism. These governments may allocate large sums of money to reinforcing internal controls, including repressing those opposed to them. In addition, without effective civic participation, democracy becomes an empty word, however much the electorate are consulted at the ballot box.

Ultimately, the greatest curse is the inability to face up to the challenge of building alternatives to primary-export accumulation, which seems to persist forever despite its undeniable failures. There is a powerful and subjective violence that prevents the emergence of a clear vision of the origins and thus consequences of the problems, and this ends up limiting and even preventing the building of alternatives.

Overcoming violence

This problem is not going to be resolved overnight. Transitions will need to take place towards thousands and thousands of alternative practices that al-

ready exist across the planet, aimed at utopian horizons that espouse a life of harmony between Humankind and Nature. We will need to transition to a new civilisation, and this will not emerge spontaneously but will need to be built socially. This building and rebuilding will be patient and decisive, and must begin by dismantling the various fetishes and proposing radical changes on the basis of existing experiences. This will require us to disrupt the patriarchal and colonial bases of capitalism and to think specifically about the contribution of women from a different viewpoint, focused on the care and management of seeds and water.

This is the point. We have alternative civilising values, experiences and practices, such as the Andean and Amazonian indigenous communities' Good Living, *sumak kawsay* or *suma qamaña*.[20] Together with the visions of Our America, there are many approaches to such thinking, related to the search for a harmonious life, that can be found in inclusive philosophical visions from across the continents. Good Living, as a life culture, goes by different names and in different variations, but is known and practised throughout the different regions of Mother Earth, for example *Ubuntu* in Africa or *Swaraj* in India. It would therefore be better to speak in the plural of "Good Livings", to prevent the drive for a single, homogenous Good Living, which would in fact be impossible to achieve.

In sum, we have to build a world within which all societies can fit without any of them being marginalised or exploited, and where each and every person can live in dignity and harmony with Nature and each other.

20. The list of texts addressing this issue is growing ever longer. We can mention here contributions from Eduardo Gudynas, for example the article "Buen Vivir: sobre secuestros, domesticaciones, rescates y alternativas", in the book *Bifurcación del Buen Vivir y el sumakkawsay*, Ediciones SUMAK, Quito, 2014; and also an article by Josef Estermann in the same book: "Ecosofía andina – Un paradigma alternativo de convivencia cósmica y de vida plena"; Atawallpa Oviedo Freire, ¿Qué es el sumak kawsay – Más allá del socialismo y capitalismo, Quito, 2011; as well as this author's texts, such as *El Buen Vivir Sumak Kawsay, una oportunidad para imaginar otros mundos*, ICARIA, 2013.

Bibliography

Acosta, Alberto. *La maldición de la abundancia*. CEP, Swissaid and Abya–Yala, Quito, 2000.

---. "Delirios a gran escala - Correa en los laberintos de la megaminería". Rebelion.org, 2012. See: http://www.rebelion.org/noticia.php?id=142708

---. *El Buen Vivir Sumak Kawsay, una oportunidad para imaginar otros mundos*, ICARIA, Barcelona, 2013. (This book has been published continuously in revised and extended editions, in French - Utopia 2014, German – Oekom Verlag 2015, Portuguese - Editorial Autonomia Literária and Editorial Elefante 2016, and Dutch - Uitgeverij Ten Have 2018).

---. "Pos-crecimiento y pos-extractivismo: Dos caras de la misma transformación cultural". In: Various Authors, *Pos-crecimiento y Buen Vivir. Propuestas globales para la construcción de sociedades equitativas y sustentables*, FES-ILDIS, Quito, 2014. See: http://www.rebelion.org/noticia.php?id=196977

---. and Cajas-Guijarro, John. *Una década desperdiciada – Las sombras del correismo*, CAAP, Quito, 2018.

Beristain Carlos Martín, Darío Páez Rovira, Itziar Fernández. *Las palabras de la selva- Estudio psicosocial del impacto de las explotaciones petroleras de Texaco en las comunidades amazónicas de Ecuador*, Hegoa, Bilbao, 2010.

Bhagwati, Jagdish. "Immiserizing growth: A geometrical note", *Review of Economic Studies*, 25(3), 1958: 201-205.

Coronil, Fernando. *El Estado mágico. Naturaleza, dinero y modernidad en Venezuela*, Consejo de Desarrollo Científico y Humanístico de la Universidad Central de Venezuela-Nueva Sociedad, Caracas, 2002.

Echeverría, Bolívar. *Modernidad y Blanquitud*, Editorial ERA, Mexico, 2010.

Estermann, Josef. "Ecosofía andina – Un paradigma alternativo de convivencia cósmica y de vida plena". In Various Authors, *Bifurcación del Buen Vivir y el sumakkawsay*. Ediciones SUMAK, Quito, 2014.

Federici, Silvia. *Calibán y la bruja. Mujeres, cuerpo y acumulación originaria*. Madrid, Traficantes de Sueños, 2014.

Gudynas, Eduardo. *Extractivismos. Ecología, economía y política de un modo de entender el desarrollo y la Naturaleza*. CEDIB and CLAES, Cochabamba (Bolivia), 2016.

---. "Extracciones, extractivismos y extrahecciones", Observatorio del desarrollo, No.18, 2013.

Harvey, David. "The 'new' imperialism: accumulation by dispossession". Socialist Register, Vol.40: 63-87, 2004. Ver http://socialistregister.com/index.php/srv/article/view/5811/2707#.VigHeyswCfU

Hobsbawm, Eric J. "La aristocracia obrera, a revisión". In Various Authors. *Historia económica: nuevos enfoques y nuevos problemas*, Crítica, Spain, 1981

Marx, Karl; *Capital. A Critique of Political Economy. The Process of production of capital*. In *Collected Works, Vol. 35*, Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. International Publishers. New York, 1867.

---. *El Capital*, Book I, Vol III, Mexico, Siglo XXI, [1975], 2005.

Oviedo Freire, Atawallpa. *Qué es el sumakawsay – Más allá del socialismo y capitalismo*, Sumak editores, Quito, 2011.

Ricardo, David. *Principios de Economía Política y Tributación*, Fondo de Cultura Económica, México D.F., [1817], 1959.

Quijano, Aníbal. "Colonialidad del Poder, Globalización y Democracia", in *Tendencias básicas de nuestra era,* Instituto de Estudios Internacionales Pedro Gual, Caracas, 2001.

---. "El fantasma del desarrollo en América Latina". In Acosta, Alberto (ed.), *El desarrollo en la globalización – El resto de América Latina*, Nueva Sociedad and ILDIS, Caracas, 2000.

Salleh, Ariel. "Una estrategia eco-feminista. Militar por el agua, el clima y las luchas post-desarrollo", Revista Ecuador Debate 103, CAAP, Quito, 2018.

Schuldt, Jürgen. *La enfermedad holandesa y otros virus de la economía peruana,* Universidad del Pacífico, Lima, 1994.

---. ¿Somos pobres porque somos ricos? *Recursos naturales, tecnología y globalización*, Fondo Editorial del Congreso del Perú, Lima, 2005.

---. and Alberto Acosta (2006); "Petróleo, rentismo y subdesarrollo: ¿Una maldición sin solución?", revista Nueva Sociedad, No. 204, Buenos Aires, July/August 2006.

Silva Santisteban, Rocío. *Mujeres y conflictos ecoterritoriales – Impactos, estrategias y resistencias*, Flora Tristán-DEMUS-CNDDHH, Lima, 2017.

Soliz, María Fernanda. *Fruta del Norte: la manzana de la discordia*. Quito: Universidad Andina Simón Bolívar, 2018.

Various Authors. Revista Ecología Política Number 54: Ecofeminismos y ecologías políticas feministas, 2019. See: http://www.ecologiapolitica.info/?product=54-ecofeminismos

Zibechi, Raúl. "Extractivismos: segunda fase del neoliberalismo". Speech given to the Meeting of Peoples of Abya Yala for Water and Pachamama, Cuenca- Ecuador, 2011. See http://www.abong.org.br/biblioteca.php?id=7856&it=7873

PROTESTING FROM THE UNCOMMONS

Marisol de la Cadena

Abstract

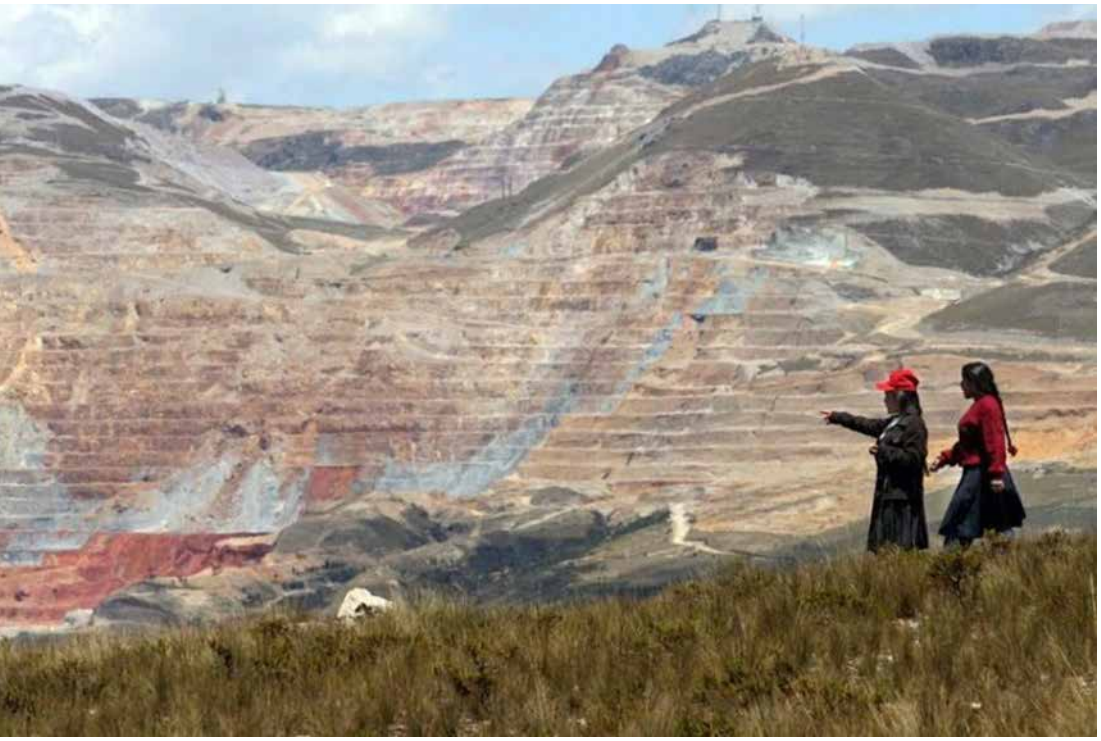
For the Andean human being (*runa*), there is no ontological difference between oneself and the earth-beings (*tirakuna*). The radical difference of the *tirakuna* exceeds modern politics, ontologically, however; in other words, modern politics cannot recognize that Ausangate could be anything other than a mountain. This text is a reflection on that difference and the political practices that Andean men and women put into each ontological operation.

Keywords

Earth-beings, commons, radical difference, ontological disagreement

It was August 2006, and I had just arrived in Cuzco for a two- or three-month stay; I received a phone call from Nazario Turpo. He could not come to the house where I was staying; instead, he asked me if I could go to the Plaza de Armas.[1] The people gathering on that day in the main square of Cuzco had come from the region where Nazario's village was located. A mining corporation was prospecting an earth-being, Ausangate, which *was also* a mountain, and thus a potential reservoir of minerals, possibly gold. Such complexity is not new in the Andes, where mining tunnels have cut across the bowels of many important earth-beings/mountains since colonial times, and have been capacious enough, both conceptually and physically, to allow for mining machinery and interactions with earth-beings to move through them with relative ease.

1. Nazario Turpo was a friend with whom I worked jointly on the book *Earth-Beings*. He was the son of Mariano Turpo, "*un sabedor*" who, like Nazario, lived around the Ausangate, a mountain that is also an earth-being. Mariano was an organizer of many peasant protests that led to the expropriation of the Lauramarca farm (Cuzco) before the Agrarian Reform of 1969 was inaugurated. Nazario was co-curator of the "Quechua Community" Exhibition shown in the National Museum of the American Indian, one of the Smithsonian Institution's Museums located in Washington DC.



The Yanacocha's open pit in Cajamarca. Photo: Malú Cabellos

Earth-beings were also known as *guacas*—entities for which colonial extirpators of idolatries such as Cristóbal de Albornoz in 1584 demanded destruction. Earth-beings is my translation from the word with which I met them: *tirakuna.* The word is composed of the Spanish *tierra* and its Quechua pluralization *kuna.* So *tierras* or 'earths' would be a literal translation (*runa*: people in the slide, *runkuna*—plural). De Albornoz translated *guacas* as 'stones' and 'hills' and took this as the cause of the difficulty in eradicating what he considered superstitions: removing them appeared impossible, for *guacas* were 'earths'! Five hundred years later 'earths' present the same plight to their new eradicators: mining corporations also translate earth-beings as mountains, and a source of minerals, and therefore wealth. Unlike their colonial counterparts, they have the power to remove mountains, redirect rivers, or replace lakes with efficient reservoirs of water.Extremely productive in economic terms, this technology is also extremely polluting environmentally and represents the ultimate threat to earth-beings: with it they face nothing less than destruction.

In 2006, mining ventures were knocking on the door of my friend Nazario's village—it was promising development. But its terms threatened earth-beings with destruction. The destruction of Ausangate would be a complex phenomenon for, rather than exclusively human, the earth-being would also participate in the event: in response to open-pit mining, it was to destroy the mining process and all those nearby, including *runakuna* of course. A discussion among people who would be affected resulted in a coalition of those who wanted to prevent this kind of mining from happening.

The demonstration in the Plaza de Armas was the public event that accompanied a delegation visit to *el Presidente de la Región,* the President of the Region. Ideally, they would convince him and the rest of the authorities that the mountain was not only a mountain, and thus summarily translatable, via its destruction, into minerals. Ausangate was an earth-being. But of course these terms were not easy for the authorities to accept. So the decision was to subordinate the defense of the earth-being to the defense of the environment; this, the state could recognize, perhaps even admit as rightful. The villagers achieved their end; prospecting for the mine in Ausangate was cancelled. The *mountain* had won, the mining attempt had lost but, to earn this victory, the presence of the earth-being had been hushed—if not completely silenced-by the alliance that was also defending it. In addition to political ecology and political economy, the above contest also transpired in the field of political ontology—yet political ontology was a subdued partner in the arena of contention; the fact that the mountain was also an earth-being was carefully hidden from the contest as it unfolded publicly. The reason: in the field of modern politics, *tirakuna* are cultural beliefs and, as such, weak matters of political concern when confronted with the facts offered by science, the economy and nature. Thus to save the mountain from being swallowed up by the mining corporation, activists themselves removed *tirakuna* from the equation. *Their radical difference exceeded modern politics,* which could not tolerate Ausangate as being anything other than a mountain.

The radical difference as a relationship

Radical Difference is not something 'Indigenous Peoples Have'; it is not to be understood as a quality of isolated indigeneity for there is nothing as such: as historical formation, indigeneity exists with Latin American nation-state institutions. Thus, rather than something that 'indigenous peoples have', radical difference is a relational condition emerging when (or if) the parties (all or some of them) involved in the enactment of a reality are equivocal (in the sense of Viveiros de Castro's notion of equivocation) about what is being

enacted. Not unusually in the Andes, radical difference emerges as a relationship of excess with state institutions.

And what is Excess? I conceptualize it as that which is beyond 'the limit' or "the first thing outside which there is nothing to be found and the first thing inside which everything is to be found" (Guha 2002: 7). Yet this nothing is in relation to what sees itself as everything, and thus exceeds it—it is something, a real that is not-a-thing accessible through culture or knowledge of nature (as usual). The 'limit' is ontological and establishing it can be a political-epistemic practice with the power to cancel the reality of all that appears outside it. Here is an example- ex-President García declared that earth-beings do not exist; they are unthinkable (to the state, to science, to modern politics) and thus they are explained away: an heir to Albornoz, in the 16th century, he declares they are superstition—yet rather than through baptism, they can be eradicated via modern education. Extirpation of idolatries secularized!

These attitudes not only represent political conspiracy, racism, or cultural intolerance. They also manifest the ontological power to define the real (or the possible).

As it turned out, Ausangate is not the only earth-being entering the political discussion in recent years. The accelerated allocation of mining concessions in indigenous territories (51% of indigenous lands in Peru have been offered to mining corporations) has provoked protests that have made several other earth-beings public. In neither of these cases were indigenous terms accepted, thus revealing the limits of recognition as the political relationship that the modern state, liberal or socialist, extends to its "others".

Modern politics *is* within a possible that can be recognized as historical. This means that the enactment of what cannot be historically verified is not a subject or object of politics because their reality *is doubtful*—to say the least. This ontological bottom line is not to be probed. It is the undisputed (blind) spot from where a reality is enacted. Hence… opening up that spot offers the possibility of questioning the self-evidence on which the ontological make-up of modern politics rests. Politics need not *be* historical—but it is, *indisputably* historical. I suggest that this requirement (to be historical) sustains the coloniality of modern politics and the way it "partitions the sensible".The latter is a concept Jacques Rancière uses to refer to the distribution of "the visible" into activities that are seen and others that are not, and the division of "the sayable" into forms of speech that are recognized as discourse and others that are discarded as noise. Underpinned by coloniality, entities, relations or circumstances have to *be ontologically historical* to be heard or seen in poli-

tics. Accordingly, the disagreement (cf. Rancière) that would undo such condition-and possibly alter the current practices of politics—would also need to be ontological.

Introducing the notion of ontological disagreement, I am tweaking Rancière's notion of disagreement. As he conceptualizes it, the disagreement that is politics emerges from a "wrong count of the parts *of the whole*" (Rancière 1999, 27). Instead I propose that politics emerges when that which *considers itself* 'the whole' denies existence to that which exceeds it-—or, to use Rancière's words, makes it 'count as not counting' because (in my words) it exceeds the principle that partitions the sensible into historical existence and ahistorical non-existence. This miscount itself is an ontological practice, and so is the politics that emerges from a disagreement with it. After this proviso, Rancière's terms continue to be useful.Politics he says, "exists through the fact of a magnitude that escapes ordinary measurement" and, he explains, "it is the introduction of the incommensurable at the heart of the distribution of speaking bodies" (Rancière, 1999: 125). Earth-beings and the people they are *with* (runakuna) introduce such an incommensurable—*they are the uncommons* disrupting the heart of the division between nature and culture, which separates the ahistorical from the historical and grants power to the latter to certify the real. *Tirakuna* with *runakuna* enact an impossible challenge to the historical ontology of the sensible: how can the ahistorical-that which has no part within (what considers itself) the whole—re-partition the sensible? Given this impossibility, in the specific case I witnessed, to protect Ausangate from destruction, the challenge that the earth-being posed was recalled by those who proposed it, who then remade their claim, joining that which could be recognized, and as historical at that: the environment. The negotiation was to take place within the partition of the sensible to protect what exceeded it…The becoming public of earth-beings disagrees with the prevalent partition of the sensible; it presents modern politics with that which is *impossible* under its conditions *and implies an alteration of those conditions*—this provokes a scandal followed by the trivialization of the profound disruption in the partition of the sensible that the mere public presence of those entities enacts.Immanent to moments like the dispute of Ausangate against the prospective mine, ontological disagreement emerges from practices that make worlds diverge even as they continue to connect to one another. Composed with stuff barely recognizable beyond the local, these moments travel with difficulty and are hardly cosmopolitan. Instead, they compose cosmopolitical moments with a capacity to irritate the universal and *provincialize* nature and culture—they alert to the historical and geographical specificity of the divide. These cosmopolitical moments may propose an alter-politics capable of alli-

ances or adversarialisms for which modern politics—left and right—has no ontological room within its field. Isabelle Stengers opened her *Cosmopolitical Proposal* with the following phrase:

> How can we present a proposal intended *not to say what is*, or what ought to be, but to provoke thought, a proposal that requires no other verification than the way in which it is able to "slow down" reasoning and create an opportunity to arouse a slightly different awareness of the problems and situations mobilizing us? (Stengers, 2005:994)

Thinking about Stengers' proposal and also tweaking it through my conversations with Mariano and Nazario, my own thought is that by diverging from the established partition of the sensible, the public presence of earth-beings proposes a cosmopolitics: relations among worlds as a practice of politics without the requirement of ontological sameness—slowing down thought, this is a proposal for a de-colonial practice of politics.

Of course, Isabelle Stengers' proposal is not *runakuna*'s proposal. Yet both are different from projects that *know what they are* and what they want and, therefore, more often than not, they command. Instead, Stengers' cosmopolitical proposal wants to speak 'in the presence of' those that are able to ignore commanding words, those that command to follow the partition of the sensible as a condition to have a political voice—in Stengers' philosophical proposal, ignoring such command may mean a preference 'not to' have a political voice. In my ethnographic reading of cosmopolitics, ignoring the command may also mean following it, in order to have a political voice that wants to remain outside of the partition of the sensible. The difference this political voice presents is that while being within the command, it also escapes it.

Runakuna practices both ignore the command for a nature-culture divide *and* also follow it—this complexity slows down the totality of the principle that partitions the sensible into humans and things. Including other-than-humans in their interactions with modern institutions (the state, national NGOs, international foundations) *runakuna* practices enact intriguing onto-epistemic ruptures with the world of those institutions and reveal divergence among worlds—*runakuna* practices refuse to convert to the hegemonic divide while nevertheless participating in it.

Modern politics was and continues to be a historical event in a complex arena whereby the proposal to build one world via 'cultural assimilation' has reached an agreement that was *not only such*—disagreement, or the practices of the part that has no part, continued to be *with* the agreement, *and*

exceed it. Paradoxically, it is through the coloniality of politics—its assimilationist resolve to force what exceeds it to fit the partition of the sensible *or* cease being—that those same excesses emerge in modern politics or better said: become a *divergent part of it*. Rejecting them (like ex-president of Peru Alan García did) does not cancel their emergence nor does it protect those that perform the rejection from being with the emergence—even if against it. The 'other' is always a part of them, as much as the other way around. This is the partial connection that neither modern politics nor indigeneity escape—rather they are entangled in it, exceeding each other in mutual radical difference while at the same time participating in similarity—one that complexly is not only such.

Divergence

Why is the notion of divergence useful? Because it allows me to think about *connections among heterogeneities that remain heterogenous*, and thus it enables analyses that complicate the separation between the modern and the non-modern and at the same time are able to highlight radical differences: those that converge in a complex knot of disagreement-agreement untying which, rather than agreement, may force the public acknowledgement of ontological politics.

Such a knot is currently controversially public in Bolivia, Ecuador and Peru. Unexpectedly in the history of Andean nation-states, under pressure from indigenous social movements and their allies, in 2008 the Constitution of Ecuador inscribed the 'rights of nature or Pachamama' and, in 2012, following its example, Bolivia decreed the Law of Mother Earth. While perhaps unintended, both documents challenge the Modern Constitution (and the partition of the sensible it effected) and manifest the work of politics as ontological disagreement. Specifically, and loudly in Bolivia, pundits and analysts complain about the incoherence between the legally declared defense of Mother Earth or Pachamama and the governments' choice of development policies based on mega-extractive projects— as in the declarations by Vice-President of Bolivia García Linera, and Rafael Correa, President of Ecuador.

Yet the problem these laws and their implementation articulate should include more than concerns about government incoherence. The problem reflects questions about *what* the practices, and the entities they engage with (either in confrontation or adherence), *are* and the way they might inconvenience the established sensible, threatening to tear its fabric—for now they at least poke it. Unsurprisingly, the discussion cannot reach an agreement: radical differences between Nature and Pachamama cannot be undone, and

their being more than one and less than many complicates the discussion. Inflecting Rancière's terms ethnographically: the quarrel that takes place in these Andean countries expresses the public manifestation of ontological disagreement. The disagreement cannot even be discussed—let alone overcome- -because the principle that partitions the sensible into nature and culture (and divides those who count from those who do not) *is not common to all parts*. Consequently, the disagreement currently witnessed in the Andes manifests the impossibility of a community, it *is an ontological dispute* made public—that continues to be dismissed.

Persistently present, even those politicians and pundits that impatiently denounce the scandal that the presence of other-than-humans in politics represents find themselves caught in the ontological dispute which, albeit unevenly, has become a constitutive element of the Andean political atmosphere. The quotes by García Linera and Correa (and the previous one by Alan García) are located at this precise site: they dismiss the disagreement by stepping into it as they contend that refusing extractivism to protect Ausangate (for example) is an inferior right compared to the right of the state to decide what the common good is.

But what if the ground of the common good—nature as resources, and universal nature- -is an ontological *uncommon* ground? Analogous to the defense of earth-beings in a dispute about petroleum extraction in a site called *Vaca Muerta* (Argentina), a Mapuche group declared: "Our territories are not 'resources' but lives that make the Ixofijmogen of which we are part, not its owners." In contrast, this is how Vaca Muerta is defined by developers from Neuquén, one of the states included in the alleged hydrocarbons deposit: "Vaca Muerta is an immense *páramo* [a barren cold plateau]. A desert that extends beyond what the eyes can see [….] It is a hostile territory that shelters enough energy to make Argentina self-sufficient and even export gas and oil to the world." The stark contrast suggests that the dispute over petroleum extraction is also a dispute over the partition of the sensible into universal nature and culturally-diversified humanity.Seemingly … nature may be *not only* such.

Not accepting this question, as heads of state do, does not cancel so-called 'conflicts over extractivism'- -they continue to spread and their concern is the environment of course, *but not only*. It is an ontological conflict about the right of what is *also* nature to be *uncommon to the state*—and this uncommonality threatens the political capacity of the state to ontologically claim the territory over which it exerts sovereignty. It is an ontological conflict indeed—between the state and those entities that are uncommon to it—even

if they are *also* common to it. Identified through their commonality, what follows is the extraction of natural resources for the common good, which can also be the destruction of earth-beings.

Now, the destruction of earth-beings is included in what I am calling the anthropo-not-seen: the world-making process through which heterogeneous worlds that do not make themselves through the division between humans and non-humans—*nor necessarily conceive as such the different entities in their assemblages*—are *both* obliged into that distinction *and* exceed it. Dating from the 15th century in what became the Americas, the anthropo-not-seen was, and continues to be, the process of destruction of these worlds *and* the impossibility of such destruction. Sustained by an allegedly superior human moral force, the anthropo-not-seen was, and continues to be, a war waged against world-making practices that ignore the separation of entities into nature and culture—*and* the resistance to that war.

The antagonism was clear in the 17th century, as illustrated by Cristóbal de Albornoz's will to destroy what I am calling earth-beings. The invention of modern politics secularized the antagonism: the war against recalcitrance to distinguish Nature from Humanity silently continued in the name of progress and against backwardness, the evil that replaced the Devil. Incipient humans became the object of benevolent and inevitable inclusion, enemies that did not even count as such. Until recently that is.The expansion of markets for minerals, oil, and energy, as well as the construction of infrastructure (necessary to market those resources) has made even the remotest territories an object of financial investment encroaching on indigenous worlds at an unprecedented rate. Yet the anthropo-not-seen is also composed of a strong local opposition that has forced the transformation of the silent war into a relentless demand for politics that reveals the presence of many worlds being forced into one. Among other demands, local worlds—labeled indigenous or not- defy the monopoly of modern practices to make, inhabit, and define nature. As nation-states see the sovereignty over their territorial rule threatened—and with their hopes for economic growth at stake—they waver between rejecting the demand for politics that local worlds extend, and ending the silent war to wage it overtly—in the name of progress as always. Those who oppose the transformation of universal nature into resources oppose the possibility of the common good as mission of the nation-state and are its enemies and deserve jail at the very least.And now I have to pause for I do not want to be misinterpreted: *runakuna with earth-beings are not a requirement* of the processes that have emerged to question the universality of the partition of the sensible into universal nature and humans. Here is another

example: in the northern Andes of Peru the mining corporation whose picture I showed earlier plans to continue drying out other lagoons—(look and read: to extract copper and gold from some, and to throw in mineral waste in others.) This time, they have offered, in exchange, that reservoirs with water capacity several times that of the lagoons would be built. Opposing the plan, environmentalists argue that the reservoirs will destroy the ecosystem of which the lagoons are a part: a landscape made up of agricultural land, high altitude wetlands, cattle, humans, trees, crops, creeks and springs. The local population adds that the lagoons are *their* life: their plants, animals, soils, trees, families *are with* that specific water which cannot be translated into water from reservoirs, not even if, as the mining corporation promises, they would provide more water. It would not be the *same* water, which they defend, organized as "guardians of the lagoons". People have died in this defense, making public another instance of the war against those who oppose translation of nature into resources. Yet in no case have the guardians of the lagoons said that the water is a being—it is local water, as such, nature, yet untranslatable to H_2O.

Máxima

Máxima Acuña de Chaupe.
Photo Jorge Chávez Ortiz

An iconic "guardian of the lagoons" can be seen in one peasant woman, Máxima Axuña de Chaupe, whose property the corporate mining project wants to buy to fully legalize its access to the territories it plans to excavate. The woman is refusing to sell—and probably for an amount of money that she will not see in her lifetime. Countless times, the national police force has attacked her, her family, even her animals—as I was writing this piece, the police were destroying the woman's crops. The property has been under siege for more than three years now. "I am fighting to protect the lagoon" has been one of her responses. And, asserting her attachment to place, she adds: "I am not going to stop; they will make me disappear. But I will die with the land."

Within the grammar that separates humans and universal nature, Máxima Acuña de Chaupe can be seen as defending the ecosystem: an environmentalist, and thus an enemy (and a fool) or an ally (and a hero) depending on who is speaking. In both cases, she is a subject in relation to an object. However, the "refusal to leave" may express a different relation: one from where woman-land-lagoon (or plants-rocks-soils-animals-lagoons-humans-creeks—

canals!!!) emerge inherently together: an ecological entanglement needy of each other in a such a way that pulling them apart would transform them into something else. Refusing to leave may also refuse the transformation of these entities into units of nature or the environment, for they are part of each other.

Máxima Acuña's refusal would thus enact a provincial nature—or a locally ecologized nature whereby *all* entities are interdependent of each other- which simultaneously coincides with, differs from, and even exceeds (also because it includes humans) the object that the state, the mining corporation, *and* the environmentalists translate into resources, exploitable or to be defended. Thus seen, she is agrammatical to the subject and object relation—or *not only* an environmentalist.

Occupying a space that "cannot be mapped in terms of a single set of three-dimensional coordinates", because what composes it is more than one and less than many, this complexly heterogeneous form (universal nature, the environment, and what I am calling ecologized nature—or nature recalcitrant to universality) allows for alliances and provokes antagonisms. Confronted with the mining company's proposal to desiccate the lagoons, its local guardians and environmentalists have joined forces against the mining corporation. Yet their shared interest—to defend nature, or the environment—is *not* the same interest: ecologized nature and universal nature exceed each other; their agreement is also underpinned by *uncommonalities*. This condition shapes a possibility for an alternative alliance, one that - along with coincidences - may include the parties' constitutive divergence—even if this opens up discussion of the partition of the sensible and introduces the possibility of ontological disagreement into the alliance. An oxymoronic condition, this alliance would also house hope for a *commons* that does not require the division between universal nature and diversified humans. A commons constantly emerging from the uncommons as grounds for political negotiation of what the interest in common—and thus the commons- would be. Instead of the expression of shared relations, and stewardship of nature, this commons would be the expression of a worlding of many worlds ecologically-related across their constitutive divergence. As a practice of life that takes care of interests in common, that are not the same interest, the alliance between environmentalists and local guardians (of lagoons, rivers, forests) could impinge upon the required distribution of the sensible into universal nature and locally differentiated humans, thus disrupting the agreement that made the anthropo-not-seen, and questioning the legitimacy of its war against those who question that distribution. The alliance would also queer modern politics' requirement of sameness, welcoming ontological disagreement *among*

those who share sameness and thus inaugurating an altogether different practice of politics: one across divergence.

References

Guha, Ranajit. “History at the Limit of World-History” (Italian Academy Lectures), Columbia University Press, 2002.

Rancière, Jacques. *Disagreement: Politics and Philosophy*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999.

Stenders, Isabelle. “A Cosmopolitical Proposal”. In Latour, Bruno y Weibel, Peter. *Making Things Public: Atmospheres of Democracy*. Cambridge, MA, MIT Press, 2005, [994–1003].

CLIMATE CHANGE, EXTRACTIVE ACTIVITIES AND GENDER:

Interlinked Crises within Development

Eduardo Gudynas

Summary

This article defines extractive activity as the intensive appropriation of natural resources and addresses its different links to climate change. Women's warnings and demonstrations have been key in raising awareness of the links between the two issues. They both rely on concepts of development that are largely shared across the different ideological trends, and all of which have women defending them. The ways in which these basic tenets are legitimised and reproduced is preventing us from addressing climate change and is enabling extractive activity to continue by creating a "common sense" or "common understanding" that blinkers these strategies and hinders the emergence of alternatives. This common sense is now being challenged by "insurgent narratives" and the contributions of ecofeminism have been key in this regard.

Key words

Extractive activity climate change ecofeminism post-extractive development

Warnings have been raised time and again within the Latin American environmental debate regarding the impact of extractive activities and the consequences of climate change. Voices have been heard in many fora denouncing the growth in well-known extractive activities such as mining, oil and cash cropping. Latin America's responsibility for generating greenhouse gases that increase global warming has also been noted, along with the impacts of climate change on the continent.

Although these issues have gained some attention in the press and are sometimes even discussed by the political parties, two important issues come to mind. The first is that there are numerous links between extractive activities

and climate change, they are not independent processes. And yet these links are often unidentified, and there are even academic groups and popular organisations that focus on one but not the other.

The second is that women can increasingly be seen at the forefront of the struggle in relation to both extractive activities and climate change. This female presence can be seen not only as activists in local groups but also as academics, politicians and so on. It is also the case, however, that there are a number of female voices defending such extractivism and minimising climate change.

This article will consider these issues. It starts by clarifying the concept of extractive activities, outlines some of the main links to climate change, and discusses how disputes over development are reproduced. These broad topics will be interspersed with examples of the positions taken by women, many of them from my own personal experience in different countries, and which form part of the debate on development and development alternatives. I do not claim to offer the whole range of different feminist views and their tensions, as there are clearly differing viewpoints but simply to offer some examples. Some ideas have already been set out in other publications in relation to different development alternatives and extractivist narratives.

The concept of extractive activity

The so-called "extractive industries" are undoubtedly the most serious, widespread and complex environmental and territorial problem in Latin America. I define them here as a form of natural resource appropriation that takes place in large volumes or at high intensity and where 50% or more is exported as raw material. The best-known examples are mineral or oil exploration, which accounts for millions of tonnes and barrels. High-intensity extraction is also included, however, and one such example is the illegal or informal alluvial gold mining that is taking place in the Amazon region. It may only result in a few grams of gold but, to obtain this, tonnes of sand and rocks have to be removed. It is therefore important to note that all the conditions of this definition must be met at the same time (see Gudynas, 2015 for more clarification).

Taking this concept as our starting point, it can be seen that there are many different forms of extraction. To the most well-known can be added cash cropping for export, some forestry initiatives and even offshore fishing. They are not "industries", however, and an insistence on calling them such contributes to the illusion that they are factories with workers, producing goods. This only reinforces their social legitimacy. The extractive industries do not

"produce" tonnes of minerals or barrels of oil but rather they "extract" them and so they represent a net loss of natural heritage.

Extractive activities are both local and global at the same time. On the one hand, they are rooted in specific locations where mineral or oil deposits or certain soil conditions are found, and so are immovable. They also depend on international markets, however; these resources are exported to other areas and it is the state of the global economy that determine what resources are removed and at what rate.

The need for a precise definition of extractive activity, including such clarifications, is not due to academic obsession but to very concrete needs. Firstly, it is essential to be able to analyse and propose alternatives to extractive activities. Secondly, this clear delineation enables a more robust analysis of its links to climate change.

In relation to this first aspect, if we are to seek different alternatives, we have to be very clear as to the situation we are challenging and the real options for transformation. There are, for example, a number of definitions that focus on a concept of extractive activity that only considers this activity when undertaken by transnational companies. Such an approach is attractive but does not adequately describe Latin America's situation: there is a great deal of extractive activity in the hands of state-run companies and public-private partnerships. Those who restrict themselves to such definitions often get bogged down in the search for alternatives because they often draw the conclusion that the alternative is to hand extractive activity over to the state. This overlooks the fact that such experiments have already been tried by progressive governments and were unable to address the social and environmental impacts.

A definition of extractive activity cannot be based on ownership of natural resources nor on access to them. You only have to look at the situation in the region to see this: there are private ventures, both national and international, and others run by state enterprises, along with public-private partnerships, cooperatives, etc. Extractive operations may take any of these forms, regardless of the natural resource in question, its ownership or how it is accessed.

Extractivism undoubtedly has serious effects; however, there are other activities that also have negative consequences but which are not aimed primarily at the export market. This is why this definition does not include this issue as a distinctive element. If we considered all activities that have serious environmental effects to be extractive activities, the definition would be much broader and far more diffuse and it does not, in any case, describe their specific feature of being export-dependent.

With these clarifications established, it is clear that extractive activities result in very serious impacts, whether environmental or territorial, social or economic (see, for example, the articles in Zhouri et al., 2016 for different countries; Garay Salamanca, 2014 for Colombia; de Echave, 2018 for Peru; Sacher and Acosta, 2012, for Ecuador; and Morales and Ribera Arismendi, 2008 for Bolivia, as an illustration of the problem).

The impact of these activities has resulted in all kinds of popular protests and in some regions these have escalated into lengthy or worsening conflicts, including mass demonstrations, clashes with the security forces and even murders of local leaders. These situations are well-known and have been widely reported (different cases across the continent have been reviewed in Gudynas, 2015, while the diversity of approaches can be seen in Seoane et al., 2013 for Argentina; Rodríguez-Carmona et al., 2013 for Peru and Bolivia; and Roa Avendaño et al., 2017 for Colombia).

Women have often been the most visible actors in this popular resistance, if not those leading it. This has been seen in very different countries, and with very different actors (see, for example, the cases described in Silva Santisteban, 2017, many of which are in response to extractive activities). In turn, examples of the growing consideration of and complaints around the issue can be found in Ulloa (2016), which looks at different countries; Bolados García and Sánchez Cueva (2017) for Chile; Alvaro et al. (2018) in Argentina, and CASA, 2013 for Bolivia; other contributions highlight the publicity given to women's testimonials (such as Yucuna, 2016 for alluvial mining in the Colombian Amazon).

In some countries, these grievances have been channelled through different national or even continental networks (such as the Latin American Network of Women Defenders of Social and Environmental Rights) and have, in turn, gained visibility internationally (see, for example, Bidegain, 2014, on coordinated demands for economic, environmental and gender justice). Enormous diversity can be seen in this regard and, based on my own personal experience, cases such as those of Patricia Gualinga, an indigenous leader in the Ecuadorian Amazon; Toribia Lero, from the peasant communities of the Bolivian Andes; and the women's group that has been denouncing contamination in the Quinero y Ventana area of Chile, to name but a few, are all good examples of these efforts. In some situations, the women's actions have not only been in relation to the local impacts of extractive activities but also against the different facets of a local patriarchy. They find themselves restricted by institutional spaces controlled by men, by the active exclusion of women from leadership or representational roles, and even by the fault lines

in male leaders, who are often happy to accept financial compensation that does not resolve the underlying issue. This whole dynamic is extremely complex and my aim is not to analyse it here but simply to highlight it as an issue.

It is also not uncommon to find groups of women activists working on environmental issues and on issues of quality of life and rights and, although most analysts would consider these to be feminist issues, some of their members reject that label. This is not unusual, in my experience: they focus on certain demands but do not wish to delve into others, such as issues of family, sexuality, etc. In any case, what they have learned and put into practice in terms of raising their own demands and resistance offers options to move towards ecofeminism in the future (see, for example, Bolados García and Sánchez Cueva, 2017 on this in relation to Ventana y Quintero in Chile).

Latin American extraction and global climate change

We can now move on to a consideration of the second element of interest in this article more properly: the relationship to climate change. Both direct and indirect links can be identified in this regard. The former occur when an extractive activity in Latin America generates greenhouse gases that feed into the climate change process. Such is the case of extractive activities that cause deforestation and changes in land use, for example, or the expansion of agriculture or livestock farming. This is of enormous significance as deforestation and land-use changes are a major source of the continent's greenhouse gas emissions. The best-known examples are the deforestation of tropical rainforest, particularly in the Amazon, and the huge spread of cash crops for export such as soya in Argentina, Brazil, Bolivia, Paraguay and Uruguay. Indirect links between climate change and extractive activities can be seen when a natural resource extracted in Latin America is exported because it then contributes to greenhouse gas emissions overseas. Such is the case of the oil and natural gas, whether conventional or not, that is exported to other countries: it is finally burned or degraded there, releasing greenhouse gases overseas.

Such is the case of oil extraction in countries such as Ecuador and Venezuela. They export crude oil to be processed or refined elsewhere, transforming it into fuel to be burned in cars, for example, in the United States. There is therefore a spatial dislocation between the impacts of this resource extraction in Latin America and the impacts created due to its end use in other continents.

In other words, in terms of their contribution to climate change, the consequences these extractive activities have in other regions must also be added to the local impacts, such as soil and water contamination due to oil spills.

These latter impacts create popular resistance and possibly conflict locally but it is not always clear at this level that there are also widespread and more extensive consequences for the climate.

Finally, a further link must be noted: it is possible to argue that places where there are local changes due to extractive activities will be more vulnerable to some of the consequences of climate change. This may be the case for areas where the loss of plant cover or degradation of the soil results in a deterioration in the ecosystem's capacity to absorb extreme events, such as flooding or drought, which are a likely consequence of climate change. The environmental deterioration that occurs due to extractive activity therefore, in turn, means that local communities' are more vulnerable to climate disruption.[1]

This link has not been totally ignored by the women's organisations. Evidence of this can be seen in the Women against Extractive Activity and Climate Change Meeting held in Quito (Ecuador) in 2014.[2]

Pro-extraction women

Those who defend the conventional development strategies upon which extractive activities are based use a variety of arguments and practices. They minimise or deny its local impacts, for example, or believe that science and technology can ensure that extraction is environmentally-friendly. Such a position is common in mining or oil-producing countries where people constantly repeat the fact that sustainable mining is possible and exaggerate the virtues of corporate social responsibility while denying or ignoring the negative environmental impacts. They further assume that the money derived from raw material exports is essential and, at best, that the nation's responsibility lies elsewhere, such as in preparing for the future effects of climate change. Such positions are taken by actors in political parties and state institutions, in companies (either specifically or via their professional associations), by many academics (from mining/oil engineering or conventional economics courses), and even by broad sectors of the population, particularly in the larger cities.

Women in key posts within their governments have clearly been active in defending these positions, for example, the Ministers for the Environment

1. This book also gives the case of Cuninico community, Loreto, Perú, developed by Sarah Kerremans (Ed. Note).
2. The statement from the meeting, held in Quito in October 2014, can be found at https://territorioyfeminismos.org/2014/10/15/encuentro-de-mujeres-frente-al-extractivismo-y-al-cambio-climatico/

in Ecuador during much of Rafael Correa's government; in Peru during the Kuczynski administration, and in Bolivia under Evo Morales and the Movement to Socialism. They have all enabled mineral and oil exploitation to be developed, they have minimised the risks and contributed to relaxing environmental legislation. Faced with the pollution crisis in Quintero y Ventana, the Chilean Minister for the Environment, Carolina Schmidt, also demonstrated enormous state weakness, at times openly defending the companies. Marcela Aguiñaga, former Ecuadorian Minister for the Environment and later Congresswoman, is possibly an extreme case, defending the opening up of the Yasuní Park to oil exploitation before Congress, along with the spread of mega mining.

Another variant on this position arose in a situation I experienced in Bolivia: a group of women, who could be defined as feminists in their own way, realised that the best way to demand their rights and autonomy was to set up their own mining cooperative. From their perspective, their identity was strengthened by doing what was almost always forbidden of them – mining – even if this meant imitating the men and reproducing practices with a high environmental impact. In other words, extractive developmentalism can create its own specific spaces for women to emulate practices that would normally be considered open only to men.

The functional feminism of pro-extraction governments is even more complex. This has resulted in something called "community feminism" under the leadership of Julieta Paredes in Bolivia. She is very closely linked to the Movement to Socialism government, whose authorities are considered chauvinistic and who have ignored women's suffering - particularly indigenous and peasant women - in the face of extractive activity. These and other tensions may not be surprising and similar splits are occurring around issues of reproductive rights and the discussion on abortion, in which women take all kinds of positions.

North/South

Similar lines of defence are taken around climate change. Most common are those that seek to reject or reduce its links to extractive activities. There is a common conventional view that claims that the countries of the South, including those of Latin America, emit comparatively small amounts of greenhouse gases and that the blame for climate change therefore lies squarely with the industrialised nations, being the largest emitters (the USA and Western Europe in particular). This reasoning demands that the wealthy North take responsibility for the most substantial reforms and

costs, insisting that this issue cannot be used in the South to prevent them from pursuing their own "development".

These positions hold some truth but they are used to support highly dubious conclusions. It is correct that the industrialised nations must take greater responsibility: total emissions since the start of the industrial revolution have occurred largely in the industrialised North. The problem, however, is that a number of countries in the so-called South now account for some of the largest greenhouse gas emissions. China, for example, has climbed to be the largest global contaminator (28% of global CO_2 emissions in 2015), followed by the United States with 15%, then India (6%) and Russia (5%). If we take the leading countries in this ranking as a whole, China, the United States, the EU28, India, Russia and Japan (home to 51% of the world's population and 65% of global economic product) together account for 68% of CO_2 emissions and 65% of all greenhouse gas emissions (Janssens-Maenhout et al., 2017).

The divisions between "South" and "North" are therefore no longer clear-cut, given that a number of so-called "developing" economies are accounting for an ever increasing share of emissions (for example, Mexico and Brazil). China's role is more ambiguous: sometimes it presents itself as a great economic power and sometimes a "developing" nation.

In any case, there are different actors who insist that because the emissions of nearly all other Latin American countries are low compared to China or the US, this makes it acceptable to continue to export coal, gas and oil, i.e. extractive activities. Moreover, they believe that some parts of the agenda to combat climate change are creating potential barriers to their natural resource exports and so they are challenging them. These positions are common in hydrocarbon-exporting countries such as Peru, Ecuador, Colombia and Venezuela. What's more, there is no lack of Venezuelan political actors ready to repeat the old rhetoric that environmental concerns are a form of northern imperialism aimed at preventing their own development (for the Amazonian countries in the context of Rio +20, see Gudynas and Honty, 2013).

A recent defence of the nation's oil activity together with a minimisation of responsibility for climate change was offered in Colombia by Brigitte Baptiste, a well-known transgender activist and reputed authority on conservation and biodiversity issues in her country. In her opinion, because Colombia emits very few greenhouse gas emissions, the country's needs justify extracting every last drop of oil. She furthermore believes that the oil sector can be effectively handled in environmental terms by avoiding its well-known impacts; she particularly defends the state-run company, Ecopetrol, stating that it is

pioneering incredible technological innovation that means its impact may be "nearly zero".[3]

This requires some additional clarification. That countries such as Colombia or other oil and gas exporters have comparatively low emissions overlooks the fact the gas or oil is exported to other nations where it will, finally, be burned thus releasing greenhouse gases. As noted, many of the United States' emissions, for example, come from hydrocarbons that were extracted in Ecuador or Colombia.[4]

Another common distortion focuses climate change management on the "energy" sector, which includes the burning of fossil fuels in factories and vehicles. This is the typical situation in industrialised countries but not in Latin America where the majority of emissions originate in other sectors (see Tables 1 and 2). Peru is a clear illustration of this: 44% of its total emissions come from changes in land use (for example, clearing trees to turn land over to livestock farming), with the agricultural sector following on 14%. More than half its emissions (58%) are directly dependent on different ventures taking place in rural areas. There are extreme cases such as Bolivia where more than 80% of its emissions come from agriculture or changes in land use but, even in countries with more diversified economies, such as Argentina or Brazil, these still remain substantial sources (see Tables 1 and two).

The links with extractive activities are therefore clear and, if we are to combat climate change, the main priority must be to challenge the serious imbalances in the development of agricultural, livestock and forestry activities in South American countries. These activities depend substantially on extractive activities; for example, deforestation is driven by the need to increase areas of grassland or agriculture for export ventures. This can clearly be seen in a number of Amazonian areas, such as the eco-regions of the Cerrado in Brazil, and in the Chaco, which is shared between Bolivia, Paraguay and Argentina. A close relationship can thus be seen and challenging agricultural and livestock

3. "I am opposed to popular consultations through media campaigns": Brigitte Baptiste, interview with A. Vargas Ferro, La Silla Vacía, 10 January 2018, http://lasillavacia.com/silla-llena/red-rural/historia/me-opongo-las-consultas-populares-hechas-por-campanas-mediaticas

4. This can be seen if, instead of ordering emissions by country of origin, we order them by the companies that extract, transform and sell the hydrocarbons. The biggest global emitter between 1980 and 2010 was thus the state-run Saudia Aramco, followed by Russia's Gazprom and ExxonMobil in the US. (Ekwurzel et al., 2017). The Latin American countries have notable positions (such as Pemex in fifth position and PDVSA from Venezuela in tenth).

activities is one way of reducing climate change. The protests being led by women against the impacts of fumigation in areas of soya cash cropping are notable in this regard. It is the women who are drawing attention to the health and the environmental impacts of the agrochemicals being used in these areas.

Table 1. Greenhouse gas emissions by source for selected Latin American countries. In metric tonnes of CO_2 equivalent ($MtCO_2e$). 2014 values, taken from the CAIT database http://cait.wri.org

	Total Emissions	Energy	Agriculture	Change in Land Use	Other
Peru	161.51	50.55	23.26	71.85	15.85
Ecuador	94.53	41.65	13.00	33.90	5.98
Colombia	182.39	88.75	53.63	19.52	20.49
Brazil	1,357.18	507.23	441.91	306.18	101.86
Bolivia	134.18	21.46	23.18	85.71	3.83
Argentina	443.26	209.77	112.38	94.61	26.5

Table 2. Percentage greenhouse gases by source for selected countries in Latin America.Percentages for each source in each selected country. Each source as a percentage of each country's total. 2014 values, taken from the CAIT database http://cait.wri.org

	Energy	Agriculture	Change in Land Use	Other Sources
Peru	31	14	44	11
Ecuador	44	14	36	6
Colombia	49	29	11	11
Brazil	37	33	23	7
Bolivia	16	17	64	3
Argentina	47	25	21	7

Disconnects between global discourse and national policy

It has become common for governments to "talk the talk" on climate change, committing to all kinds of action while their national strategies continue in

the opposite direction, defending conventional extractive activities which, as indicated above, are significantly responsible for this global problem. This situation is repeated across the whole spectrum of political parties, albeit with differing vocabulary and tones. From the conservative side it can be noted that, in Peru under the government of Ollanta Humala, his Minister for the Environment, Manuel Pulgar Vidal, demanded energetic action in his speeches to the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change. On the more progressive side, the Bolivian government made some extremely radical proposals within those same negotiations (some of which were highly original). In both cases, however, once back in their own countries, they continued to support extractive activities, including those focused on hydrocarbons and on agricultural and livestock expansion, with consequent problems of deforestation and expansion of cash cropping.

The difference between international rhetoric and national practice is possibly at its starkest in the Bolivian case: for some years, Evo Morales' administration drew attention to the rights of Mother Earth globally, recalling the contributions of indigenous knowledge and even proposing a mechanism. This mandate to defend nature by invoking its rights was not followed through within the country, however, where extractive activities continued apace. The idea was used superficially, perhaps more for publicity purposes than any more substantial aim. In fact, the concept of the global rights of nature has no meaning from the Andean peoples' native indigenous perspective. For them, where nature is defended as a subject, it is always at a local level, as part of mixed human and non-human communities anchored in a specific territory. It therefore has no meaning to talk of a global Pacha Mama because there are no experiences of this kind.

We can in this way better understand the warnings of Quechua and Aymara women's networks in the Bolivian Andes as regards the pollution and degradation of their specific territories.[5] They are experiencing the contradiction of seeing their national authorities making significant commitments at the United Nations level while they continue to suffer contamination or displacement locally.

Justifying a developmentalist approach

The persistence of extractive activities and the steady onwards march of climate change are both caused by development approaches that continue to enjoy wide consensus as to their legitimacy. The clearest expression of this

5. There are diifferent groups and networks that make up the National Women's Network in Defence of Mother Earth in Bolivia; http://renamatbolivia.blogspot.com/

can be seen either in Latin American rhetoric that maintains that natural resource exports are essential for economic growth and that it is this, in turn, that ensures the continent's development, or in the rhetoric of those that believe there are scientific technological solutions to mitigate the impacts. As noted above, this position of defending extractive activities and minimising the effects they are having on the climate can be seen across the political spectrum, among both progressive and conservative governments, and among all kinds of actors regardless of gender. This form of economic reductionism has been questioned from various angles (economic, social, environmental), all of which have demonstrated that such an approach does not necessarily result in economic progress, poverty reduction or global independence (these aspects are discussed in relation to extractive activities in Gudynas, 2015).

The economic benefits argument is possibly the most popular, claiming that ventures such as mining or the oil industry produce all kinds of benefits. This argument, however, relies on the fact that conventional economics does not take into account the costs resulting from the negative impacts of extractive activities. An illustration of this can be seen in the fact that the price of crude oil on the international market does not include environmental or social costs and nor does it include economic losses caused by damage to health or to the biodiversity, etc. These costs are not borne by the exporting companies but either by the local communities, local authorities or society, or by future generations. Far less does this price include the effect that burning these products has on the environment. With all these distortions, oil and gas exports are always good business because they are cheap and there is no rigorous accounting method by which to deduct economic costs from the profits. This distorted form of accounting is accepted, scarcely questioned, and thus those who present extractive activities as being of unquestionable economic benefit are strengthened in their position.

Another important element in creating an extractive-supporting narrative is a reliance on science. Assertions have been made that current technology is such that it can enable the safe or sustainable management of mining, for example, or that there is scientific certainty that agrochemicals are not toxic. Science is also used to dismiss the alternatives, often characterising them as backward or primitive.

In contrast to these positions, information being gathered on the impacts of extractive activities stresses the fact that technology has its limitations and is not immune to faults, many of which result in serious accidents. This minimisation of the impacts, denial or cover-up of accidents, is repeated across the continent.

Although much scientific information has been accumulated on the impacts of extractive activities and on climate change, it has not been possible to kickstart substantive political change. Reports published by the International Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) are of significant importance in that they can serve as a bridge between the scientific community and key actors in national governments and within the United Nations. Their importance and serious nature are clear but, despite their repeated warnings and calls for energetic action, governments continue to put off necessary action to some future date. This means that the gap between the action demanded by the IPPC and the measures actually taken by governments continues to expand. These reports and other studies show that the very viability of our species and state of the planet are at serious risk, and that urgent change is needed. And yet they continue to repeat the classic development strategies that led to this problem in the first place.

A third justification focuses on presenting extractive activity as necessary for poverty reduction. This may relate to local measures and activities established to offer financial compensation or direct or indirect support such as medical assistance, housing, food, jobs, etc., as if this could make up for the environmental, health and social damage done.

A similar justification is given by those who claim that extractive activity is the main source of funding for poverty reduction programmes, particularly the financial payment plans provided to the most vulnerable sectors. When extractive activity is criticised, its defenders thus claim that any withdrawal could jeopardise the support being provided to the poorest.

All kinds of distortions are at play. Financial payments cannot replace destroyed ecosystems or lost health. Instead, they end up creating public management instruments of the "I pay you to pollute you" kind, with all the perversity this implies. The profits from extractive activities are declining but governments are meanwhile providing them with all kinds of subsidies, aid, exemptions and tax benefits, resulting in paradoxical situations that end up with companies paying no tax. What's more, even where there they make a real contribution to tax revenue, this money does not then necessarily go into social programmes, and nor do those programmes represent an effective way of reducing poverty. All the above shows that developmentalist narratives are being maintained to support a certain argument, while distorting information and systematically concealing their own ignorance.

Common-sense development and women's dissident voices

More broadly speaking, countries are continuing to follow both extractive and greenhouse gas emitting development strategies. There are clearly dif-

ferences between them but these lie largely in how they organise and use of that development, what benefits are provided to investors and/or the role of state-run companies, how to enable or prevent people's participation, the importance given to macroeconomic indicators such as GDP, etc. The basic idea, however, remains the same whatever its expressions. It can be seen particularly clearly in South America, where very different political systems have existed side by side but which all agree on the need to maintain extractive activities and thus tolerate climate change. In other words, neither South American conservatives nor progressives, despite being very different in their political outlook, have reversed the continent's extractive dependency and nor have they led the struggle against climate change.

In the case of climate change more specifically, behind the public rhetoric, all countries remain stuck in a rut of totally insufficient measures. The commitments made in the Paris Agreement (December 2015) are, firstly, voluntary and, secondly, will be ineffective in halting increases in greenhouse gas emissions. The countries of South America are also focused on claiming financial support and considering risk management and the consequences of climate change. Laudable speeches have been made, such as that of Evo Morales (as Bolivian President) during the Framework Convention on Climate Change but they are not backed up with measures back home to prevent emissions in rural areas. Another example is the environmentalist rhetoric of José "Pepe" Mujica (Uruguay), which attracted widespread support but which, in reality, was far removed from the actual measures he passed in the country: the release of transgenics, the promotion of intensive agriculture and attempts to commence large-scale open-cast mining.

If this is the reality among those political leaders or governments that are nominally looking at possible alternatives then the chances of conservative governments facing up to climate change any more decisively are even more remote.

This dynamic shows that the basic idea of development retains its basic core concepts, including the appropriation of nature and a requirement for economic growth while focusing on the generation of knowledge, publicly-discussed information and decision-making. Progress, the myth of the strong and virile worker, the insistence on minimising or hiding damage or disease by interpreting it as weakness, along with other similar attitudes among men, all contribute to creating a shield that protects conventional development theory.

In contrast, there are voices within women's groups that have denounced the restrictions on information and civic participation, the state's neglect of social and environmental controls and the proliferation of all kinds of vio-

lence in extractive activities, including criminalisation and murder. The democratic quality of development policies is at risk. Development is being legitimised through shared knowledge and sensibilities but, when it is challenged or resisted, the reaction may turn violent to ensure the continuation of extractive activities. This production and reproduction of development can be analysed in various ways: seeing it as "common sense" or a "common understanding" that promotes the idea of "the extractive vocation of our countries". Images such as those of "Peru, country of mining" are a clear example. Complaints about the impacts of this kind of development, including those made by women's groups in defence of their water and their territories, are rejected or even attacked, interpreted as obstacles to economic growth. Extractivist political narratives are protected by this common sense, which assumes such activity is an established fact, something legitimate in and of itself and which, in turn, constantly rules out the search for other alternatives. This explains why, for example, the president of Ecuador, Rafael Correa, repeatedly described those opposed to extractive activities and demanding alternatives as "lunatics" who should be in hospital.

These narratives draw on some arguments while excluding others and selectively coordinate with yet others when they are useful to them, such as the need for economic growth or the supposed lack of education of those protesting. A patriarchal organisation has no other choice but to be developmentalist, drawing on all kinds of relationships of dominance, including dominance of nature. These narratives should not be seen as the imposition of the discourse of a minority over the majority but rather as the expression of a mutual bond in which broad sectors of society believe in the need to exploit every last gram of mineral and every last drop of oil, and so all these sectors contribute to reproducing these ideas.

It is relevant here to analyse how this "common-sense" understanding of extractivism became established and it is worth recalling Stuart Hall's contribution in a line of thinking that draws on Antonio Gramsci. Common sense refers to daily, simple, ordinary ways of thinking, in large part intuitive and which are widely shared by society (Hall and O'Shea, 2015). This common sense has a logic and is perceived to be coherent even though it may not necessarily be so. The example considered by Hall and O'Shea (2015) in the United Kingdom offers some guidance for analysing the current Latin American situation, as it analyses the gradual penetration of neoliberalism until it had transformed the whole collective psyche and culture of British society under Margaret Thatcher: structural aspects were shifted until the idea that society was a set of competing consumers, with emotional qualities such as anxiety or depression, had become normalised.

A similar process is occurring in Latin America with the extractive industries. Knowledge and sensibilities are gradually being disseminated that reinforce the old ideas of a great natural wealth to be exploited, while being updated with an adherence to economic developmentalist approaches that minimise local impacts and focus on a "trickle-down effect". This is transforming public policies to the point of normalising violence. It is this developmentalism that is preventing climate change from being adequately addressed and which is justifying all kinds of excuses for not reducing national emissions. This is common to both conservative and progressive political ideologies and practices, as the Latin American examples show. This specific British example, however, as expressed in Hall's work, has been very much taken up in countries such as Colombia, Chile and Peru because the political debate in these countries has a strong conservative flavour. Simple complaints of contamination from a member of the public are thus challenged as if they were the product of an extreme political radicalism or as if the country were on the cusp of a political uprising. The response is to criminalise these citizens.

As was the case among the British Left during those years of neoliberalism, difficulties arose due to factionalism, traditional approaches that were unable to address the new circumstances and a certain loss of critical capacity. It must not be forgotten that there are many well-known left-wing activists among so-called South American progressives who have succumbed to the prevailing narrative of extractive activity, reproducing developmentalist narratives that demonise civic organisations. A situation even arose at one point where Marxist-Leninist quotes were used to justify extractive activity and, at the same time, to criticise the social movements (e.g. Rafael Correa in Ecuador or Alvaro García Linera in Bolivia).

This point was reached in Latin America in part because those governments and the intellectuals supporting these positions neither listened to nor took any notice of the complaints and warnings emanating from their citizens, including indigenous peoples, environmentalists and women's groups, especially those in rural areas. These narratives, and support for this form of development, are also rooted in wide sectors of the population. The same tensions occur among these as are occurring within women's groups. Cases such as the above-mentioned women's mining cooperative in Bolivia represent a feminism which, in its rejection of the patriarchy, criticises one form of development (male-dominated mining) while accepting another that reproduces similar methods of natural exploitation. In contrast, other positions, including some eco-feminist positions, highlight the need for an alternative that goes beyond any of the current predominant conceptions.

Unresolvable contradictions within this development approach

The similarities between all these forms of development mean that its end goals are incompatible with each other and they cannot therefore solve our environmental problems, for example. The insistence on the need for economic growth, particularly through natural resource exports, is incompatible with ecological sustainability. In turn, reducing greenhouse gas emissions means reducing our reliance on fossil fuels and substantially reforming the agricultural and livestock sector, both of which immediately challenge the objectives of economic growth.

Conventional Latin American development policies rely on the intensive appropriation of nature which, in turn, is dependent upon the demand for natural resources on other continents. If we are to resolve problems such as climate change and extractive activity, the countries of the North therefore have to drastically reduce their consumption of natural resources from the South and stop spewing contaminants into shared global spaces (such as the atmosphere).

Latin American countries could begin to move in this direction simply by controlling the volume of raw materials they remove and export, as well as the market price they demand for them. This is not happening because a devotion to economic development immediately kicks in: any controls on these exports are perceived as a hindrance to economic growth and even a rejection of the "right" to such development.

Failing to use their own initiative, Latin American countries simply agree to continue to be raw material suppliers, as they have done since colonial times. The difference now is that the resources have changed, as have the technologies and the ways these ventures are organised, along with the rhetoric legitimising them. Some arguments state that primary exports are essential to ensure economic growth while others, for example in Bolivia, insist that the country's small size means it has no possibility of challenging globalisation until capitalism collapses in all countries at the same time. In the meantime, they simply implement a few adaptations to face up to climate change or demand technological or tax corrections of the extractive industries.

The end result is that these development approaches will resolve neither the problems of climate change nor those of extractive activities. As already indicated, if we were to take the environmental demands being made of extractive activities seriously, many projects would be suspended precisely for failing to meet minimum environmental standards. Likewise, if we seriously want to combat climate change then radical reform is needed, for example,

in the agricultural and livestock sector. All these measures are incompatible with any of the key components of current development ideas.

Ecofeminism and development alternatives

An acceptance of extractive activity is being continually disseminated and reinforced by narratives that feed into this mindset. It could almost be argued that, in some countries, particularly oil-producing ones, they have fallen into an "extractivist populism": the narratives serve to present this intensive appropriation of natural resources as balancing the different demands. Governments take advantage of this to present themselves as the only ones capable taking this task forward on behalf of the "people", thus fuelling a permanent confrontation.

Alternatives that really seek to overcome the problem of extractive activity or climate change have to attack this common sense, highlighting the hidden impacts and opening up the possibility for alternatives. These options for change go beyond conventional development as such, no versions of which offer solutions. Change is more radical and requires thinking outside the box in terms of development ideas.

There are different ways in which these possibilities can be explored, and I would include here the contributions of feminism as essential in dismantling one of the pillars of development: its patriarchal nature. In addition and even more important, however, is a consideration of ecofeminism because this will enable interactions with and the sensibilities of nature to be reconsidered.

Some steps have already been taken in this regard in Latin America. For example, an enormous amount of information has been accumulated on the impacts of extractive activities and climate change on women, as well as their leadership role in the popular movement. Many of the conceptual explorations have been based on a Latin American feminist critique in the broadest sense (such as, for example, Vargas Valente, 2008, or the influential Rita Segato, 2013). In terms of the environment, such inspiration is still generally drawn from other continents (such as the case of Vandana Shiva, in India, who is frequently cited), and it is therefore important that our own Latin American version of ecofeminism is able to emerge, adapted to the contexts of our own countries.

Work is underway in this regard and the following are some examples: Pizarro (2018) considers the struggles of two women's organisations (the Movement of Peasant Women in Brazil and the Indigenous Women's Council for Living Well in Argentina) and analyses them in conversation with Vandana Shiva, Maria Mies and Bina Argawal. Another illuminating example is offered by the

reflections of an Ecuadorian collective on territory from a feminist point of view, considering the post-extractive proposal of an oil moratorium in the Amazonian region of Yasuní which is, in turn, helping to combat climate change (CMTF, 2014). A relevant path can also be found by recognising that Latin American ecofeminism has to draw on a rich spirituality, whether Western or indigenous, that can offer the possibility of a different kind of relationship with nature (see, for example, the contributions of Ress, 2010).

These positions do, in some way, feed into "insurgent narratives". Their aim is to explore alternatives that are considered impossible, even unthinkable, by current extractivist and developmentalist thinking. They are ways of acting on the deepest roots of contemporary Latin American cultures. The common-sense position, summarised in the slogan of "extracting the very last drop" of oil, must be abandoned in favour of "leaving the oil in the ground" and "not a drop more". Such measures are needed if we are to put an end to the extractive industries and bring about climate change mitigation but they are insurgent positions because they involve subverting the accepted narrative. Clearly, there is a need for academics and activists to recover their ability for critical and independent thinking, as noted in the previous section. The popular resistance that is proliferating across the continent also needs greater understanding and support.

There are some pilot activities in this regard, particularly in Peru and Bolivia, under the concept of a transition to post-extractivism. These would fall within the alternatives encompassed by Living Well – in its original and strictest sense – a concept that seeks to overcome the dualism that separates society from nature along with current hierarchies such as humans over the environment or men over women.

Bibliography

Alvaro, María B., G.A. Correa, E. Vicens and A. Marré. "Transformaciones a la reproducción de la vida en contextos neoextractivistas. Relatos de mujeres en Allen, Río Negropara el Túnel de Agua Negra". RevIISE 11(11), 2018 (p.189-202).

Bidegain Ponte, Nicole. *Gender, economic and ecological justice demands in Latin America: toward an interlinked frame for collective action*. Latin American Policy 5 (2), 2014 (p.319-330).

Bolados García, Paola and A. Sánchez Cueva. "Una ecología política feminista en construcción: el caso de las "Mujeres de zonas de sacrificio en resistencia", Valparaíso Region, Chile. Psicoperspectivas 16 (2), 2017 (p.33-42).

CASA (Colectivo de Coordinación de Acciones Socio Ambientales). *Minería con "m" de machismo. Madre tierra con "m" de mujer*. Oruro: Colectivo Casa, 2013.

CMTF (Colectivo Miradas Críticas del Territorio desde el Feminismo). *La vida en el centro y el crudo bajo tierra. El Yasuní en clave feminista*. Quito: Acción Ecológica y Entre Pueblos, 2014.

De Echave, José. *Diez años de minería en el Perú*. Lima: CooperAcción, 2018.

Ekwurzel, B., J. Boneham, M. W. Dalton, R. Heede, R. J.Mera, M. R. Allen & P. C. Frumhoff. *The rise in global atmospheric CO_2, surface temperature, and sea level from emissions traced to major carbon producers*. Climatic Change 144, 2017 (p.579-590).

Garay Salamanca, Luis J. (ed) *Minería en Colombia. Daños ecológicos y socio-económicos y consideraciones sobre un modelo minero alternativo*. Bogota: Comptroller-General of the Republic, 2014.

Gudynas, Eduardo. *Extractivismos, economía y política de un modo de entender el desarrollo y la naturaleza*. Lima: RedGE, CooperAcción, 2015.

Gudynas, Eduardo and Gerardo Honty. 2013. Ambiente y energía en la Amazonia en el marco de Rio +20, pp 21-101, In: "Ambiente y energía en la Amazonia. Gobernanza, Rio +20 y economía verde en discusión" (C. Gamboa and E. Gudynas, comp.). Lima: DAR and CLAES.

Hall, Stuart and Alan O'Shea. "Common-sense neoliberalism" (p 52-68). In: (S. Hall, D. Massey & M. Rustin, eds.). *After neoliberalism?. The Kilburn manifesto*. London: Lawrence & Wishart, 2015.

Janssens-**Maenhout**, Greet, Crippa, M., Guizzardi, D., Muntean, M., Schaaf, E., Olivier, J.G.J., Peters, J.A.H.W. & Schure, K.M. "Fossil CO_2 & GHG emissions of all world countries". Ispra: *JRC Science Policy Report*, European Commission, 2017

Morales, Cecil B. de and M.O. Ribera Arismendi (eds.) *Informe del estado* ambiental *de Bolivia. 2007-2008*. La Paz: LIDEMA, 2008.

Pizarro, Tatiana M. "Mujer y naturaleza: ecofeminismo, amor y lucha". RevIISE 11(11), 2018 (p.55-61).

Ress, Mary J. "Espiritualidad ecofeminista en América Latina". Investigaciones Feministas 1, 2010 (p.111-124).

Roa Avendaño, Tatiana, M.C. Roa García, J. Toloza Chaparro and L.M. Navas Camacho (coords). *Como el agua y el aceite. Conflictos socioambientales por la extracción petrolera.* Bogotá: CENSAT Agua Viva, 2017.

Rodríguez-**Carmona**, A., M. Castro y P. Sánchez. *Imaginarios a cielo abierto. Una mirada alternativa a los conflictos mineros en Perú y Bolivia*. Madrid: ACSUR, 2013.

Sacher, William and Alberto Acosta. *La minería a gran escala en Ecuador.* Quito: AbyaYala and Universidad Politécnica Salesiana, 2012.

Segato, Rita. *La crítica de la colonialidad en ocho ensayos y una antropología por demanda*. Buenos Aires: Prometeo, 2013.

Seoane, José, E. Taddei and C. Algranati. *Extractivismo, despojo y crisis climática*. Buenos Aires: Herramienta, El Colectivo and GEAL, 2013.

Silva Santisteban, Rocío. *Mujeres y conflictos ecoterritoriales. Impactos, estrategias, resistencias*. Lima: EntrePueblos, AIETI, Demus, CMP F. Tristán and National Coordinating Body for Human Rights, 2017.

Ulloa, Astrid. "Feminismos territoriales en América Latina: defensas de la vida frente a los extractivismos". Nómadas 45, 2016 (p.123-139).

Vargas Valente, Virginia. *Feminismos en América Latina. Su aporte a la política y la democracia*. Lima: PDTG, Universidad Mayor San Marcos and CMP F. Tristán, 2008.

Yucuna, Jhoana. *La minería de oro de aluvión y de veta en la Amazonía. Testimonio de una mujer indígena.* Bogotá: Iniciativa Conservación en la Amazonia Andina (ICAA), Document No 7, 2016.

Zhouri, Andréa, Paola Bolados and Edna Castro (orgs). *Mineração na América do Sul. Neoextrativismo e lutas territoriais*. São Paulo: Annablume, 2016.

GENDERED VIOLENCE, DESTRUCTION AND FEMINIST STRUGGLES

Jelke Boesten

Summary

This essay explores the relationship between multiple forms of gender violence, the climate crisis and the different ways of stopping feminist struggles around the environment. The aggressive masculinities of leaders who deny climate change are using violence against women to stigmatise those causes in the imaginaries of the Global South and North. It is impossible to understand the current environmental crisis without analysing the political crisis as defined by a powerful counter-movement against recent advances made in gender and equity.

Key words

Gender-based violence, feminist movement, continuum of violence, masculinities

As this book shows, our current environmental crisis is highly gendered and racialised, both in terms of how different men and women experience the current crisis differentially as well as how this crisis has come about and is being sustained in and through gendered and racialised power relations. As such, an intersectional feminist analysis of this crisis is essential if we want to subvert it, as Majandra Rodriguez Acha argues in this volume. This book also clearly shows that the solution to the environmental crisis lies not in the environment but in the hierarchies and persistent violences that cause and deepen the crisis. Following this line of argument, I believe we are at a turning point not only because of our growing awareness of the damage done and the increasing visibility of those who resist but because of the violence through which the privileged, who have long controlled and exploited our world and its peoples, are aiming to hold on to that privilege. The burning of the Amazon in August-September 2019 confirmed the enormity of the de-

struction of forests and peoples locally and globally, and the arrogance and historic privilege with which this is permitted and facilitated.

At the time of writing, August/September 2019, iterations of "illiberal democracy" (Graff, Kapur and Walters 2019) have risen to power in the US, Brazil, the Philippines, the UK, Hungary, Poland, Italy and India. These are just the right-wing movements and leaders who have come to power through democratic electoral processes; there are arguably also their non-democratic allies throughout Latin America, Asia and Africa, supporting and undergirding these illiberal conservative governments. The anti-feminism and, indeed, anti-diversity and anti-rights focus that this surge in right-wing mobilisation has brought to light once again demonstrates the global nature of patriarchal power. As the authors of a Special Issue of *Signs* (2019) argue, "While the new global Right is by no means a unified political movement, there does exist a global anti-feminism—a counter-movement to transnational feminism, an internally diverse global coalition to roll back gender equality." In Latin America, the #ConMisHijosNoTeMetas movement relies on antiquated ideas of gender relations, aiming to roll back feminist gains made in gender equality over the last century and, as we know from earlier feminist writings on nationalisms (e.g. Yuval-Davis 1997), anti-feminism is easily mobilised for nationalistic purposes and, hence, anti-minority, anti-immigration and anti-diversity purposes.

How does this anti-equality and anti-diversity focus link to destructive anti-environment perspectives? And how does all this countering, this being *against* the currents of the time (increased equality and diversity, increased reliance on well-informed reason as opposed to a rejection of science and expertise) translate into a mass movement that has the power to elect leaders? What is the promise that makes this possible?

The promise is the return of colonial authority lost: control over nature and peoples, as forged by triumphant colonial armies, traders and settlers. This authority was male, masculine and macho, and it subdued plains, forests, seas, rivers, deserts and mountains, brown people and women to build an exclusive modernity that proved addictive to many around the world. The rise of ultra-right wing politics as part of mainstream electoral politics shows the level of complicity of the general population in supporting a violent and destructive form of privilege against a more equal and diverse world, against the thriving of "others", including the planet, or "*tirakuna*" as Marisol de la Cadena explains in this volume. Capitalism gave comfort and goods that many aspire to or do not want to lose. Of course, today's illiberal leaders can be and

are women and people of colour who are protecting the power and control they have gained throughout this process. The discourses of these leaders, however, despite the many differences among them, are all anti-feminist, anti-equality, anti-diversity, nationalistic, and anti-environmental protection.

The productive capacity of gender violence

I want to focus here on the work that gendered violence does in normalising inequality across genders and sexualities, races and classes. Given the levels of violence against women, this is not a luxury; authoritative epidemiological research has shown for years now that at least one in three women globally experiences intimate partner violence in their lifetime (De Vries et al 2013). Intimate partner violence, often referred to as domestic violence, is the most prevalent form of gender-based violence but other forms of widespread gender-specific violence include trafficking and forced prostitution, female genital mutilation, child sexual abuse, sex-selective abortion and infanticide, and sexual harassment and rape by non-partners or combatants in conflict (Watts and Zimmerman 2002). Specific gendered violence is increasingly targeting human rights defenders, be that through the impeachment of President Dilma Roussef or the murder of elected activists such as Marielle Franco in Brazil, or the less visible harassment and murder of activists in Honduras, Colombia and Peru. This gendered violence against human rights activists and elected officials is, of course, political, just as is the everyday violence in homes and institutions. Violence against women and girls because of their gender is thus widespread and needs to be addressed. However, this can only be done if we understand that this violence is in itself constitutive of gender, and that gender is, arguably, constitutive of violence.

Gender analysis refers to much more than differentiating between men and women, or between genders more broadly: rather, gender analysis refers to the understanding that our social world is made up of unequal power relations that are constantly contested and reaffirmed through political, economic and social processes. Perceptions of who is *naturally* more powerful than others based on known tropes of differentiation between people are part and parcel of this constant renegotiation. And so understandings of "natural" gender hierarchies are often skewed by understandings of "natural" hierarchies based on race, ethnicity, class (or caste in the case of South Asia) and sexuality. This is what black feminists such as bell hooks (1981) denounced, and Kimberlé Crenshaw (1989) named, intersectionality. I strongly believe that violence in all its forms, but particularly gender-based violence, contributes to this naturalisation of hierarchies and inequalities based on gender

and race, as well as class, ethnicity and sexuality. Gender-based violence is a message about who is boss over whom, and the persistence of such violence makes it seem normal, and the hierarchy natural (Boesten 2014). Understood this way, the relationship between gender and violence is a productive relationship that extends beyond the immediate destructive consequences of such violence.

In what follows I argue that gender is not only everywhere but is constitutive of violence and vice versa. In fact, I show that gender and violence play a central role in establishing and maintaining inequalities between people.

Subjectivity of violence

The idea of "violence"' is at once ubiquitous and widely understood as well as vague and contested. Discussions about what violence is tends to revolve around differences between, for example, immediate tangible violence versus more structural and long-term violence. Does focusing on structural violence not open the door to such a broad definition of violence that it becomes meaningless? Does that not limit our analytical capacity and, hence, our understanding of particular phenomena? When we focus on the gendered and racial dynamics of violence we clearly see that understanding physical violence in relation to other forms of violence -structural, symbolic, normative- expands our analytical capacity rather than limiting it (Hume 2009, Wilding 2012, Boesten 2014, Boesten and Wilding 2015).

As Judith Butler argues (2004), processes of normalisation render some violences invisible, or unintelligible. Butler continues by arguing that normative violence, understood as the violence of the norm, is what makes and constrains people into socially-acceptable boxes. As such, the perception of a male-female gender binary dictates our lives as men and women within certain context-specific (historical and cultural) normative boundaries of what we can be. Feminist work related to violence against women -first in research and activism, then in policy and law- shows that it is this naturalised gender binary of female and male human beings framed in relatively rigid roles and patterns of behaviour that facilitates male violence against women (Hearn 1998, Frazer and Hutchings 2019). In many societies, men and boys are expected to be violent, sometimes even predatory, while women are expected to be passive and weak. And this is precisely the message that is currently being conveyed by illiberal regimes around the world. The likes of Trump, Duterte and Bolsonaro espouse a masculinity that is sexualised and that affirms masculine dominance. They have made misogyny central to their political discourse and, scarily, it works. Sometimes religion is invoked, either at the global level (see the Pope's discourse around "gender ideology" (Case 2019))

or at the grassroots level (see the burning of a Judith Butler effigy (Jaschik 2017)) but, as Elisabeth Corredor writes (2019), religion is not its core. This is rather a push back against progressive aims of equality and diversity.

Violence against women has largely been normalised throughout history and cultural contexts -to different degrees and depending on who is the perpetrator and if violence is perceived as political or indeed "domestic"- but still often normalised because of men's "natural" propensity to violence and domination. Persistent widespread violence perpetrated by men thus seems to confirm that men are, indeed, naturally violent. And because this is "natural" and widespread and serves a particular gender order that is economic (division of productive and reproductive labour) and political (who has decision-making power and voice) as well as social, it becomes *normal*, within the acceptable boundaries of the social order. And this normality and naturalisation, in turn, maintains and reproduces both the persistence of gender violence and of intersecting inequalities (Boesten 2010, 2014).

One thing the current global upheaval around sexual harassment teaches us is the extent to which the entire society has been implicated (Rothberg 2019) in naturalising and normalising male violence against and harassment of women. Everybody knew, surely all women knew, the extent of the problem in their own lives but most thought that this was the way things are -violent and promiscuous men and vulnerable but resigned and, ultimately, available women. Most violence against women was long perceived as within acceptable boundaries of what violence means and is. The everyday-ness of this violence -made so clear through the mass consciousness-raising exercise that online activism provided, doing the formidable work of bottom-up theorising (hooks 1991) - not only naturalises the gendered binary of male and female behaviour but also the underlying racial hierarchies and heteronormativity. It was online activism not conventional activism or legal procedures, both with a long history of contesting and resisting gender violence, that allowed for public visibility, mass consciousness-raising, and a shift in understanding of what violence and harassment is.[1] Suddenly, gendered and sexual abuse and harassment was recognised for what it really was and is: violence.

Gender, politics, violence

One of the most important contributions of feminist analysis to the study of violence has been to draw into the public arena what was long understood as private and, hence, largely acceptable and irrelevant to politics and policy.

1. Online activism is a tool; what perhaps really draws attention is the public shaming and the mob justice that have become available through social media.

The idea that the personal is political, and that private and public spheres are highly gendered constructions that disadvantage women and privilege men, has exposed the levels of control that men have -through social, political and economic structures- over women and some other men.[2] Recognition of the persistent enormity of gender violence globally and of such structures as facilitators has firmly and inescapably placed this on the political agenda, despite the current conservative attempts to put all this back in the box. This recognition of gender violence as political has also shifted the debate about the nature of political violence itself: if gender violence is political, is political violence therefore not gendered?

The shift that took place in the 1990s with regard to understandings of sexual violence in conflict as political rather than collateral and private has further highlighted the gendered nature of political violence. It became clear that sexual violence was not "just" opportunistic and biologically-determined behaviour on the part of men but that such violence had political meaning for both the affected and perpetrator communities: whereas victimised communities suffer symbolic and physical subordination through the sexual abuse of women and girls, perpetrator groups create complicity, loyalty, masculinity, and internal hierarchy. Men and boys are often also sexually abused in conflict but this violence is largely unspoken and invisibilised, thereby contributing to the gender binary of who can be victim and further entrenching the idea of a natural hierarchy grounded in masculinity and femininity (Zalewski et al 2018).

In addition to the reproductive consequences of heterosexual rape, the continuum of violence against women between war and peace (Cockburn 2004) and across forms of violence (Kelly 1988) further helps to naturalise gendered domination/submission. So while the discourse of the biologically-driven and politically-deserving soldier normalises and privatises gendered violence and domination, unpacking the political meaning of the widespread and collective act of the practice of rape shows how, in fact, sexual violence naturalises much broader hierarchies (Boesten 2014). Race is redefined, appropriated or discarded through violent reproduction, ethnic identity fragmented and weakened through the appropriation of "enemy women"; women are purposefully domesticated through forced motherhood of children they do not want, and heteronormativity is emphasised and imposed on perpetrators and victims alike.

2. Frazer and Hutchings use the term "women and other feminised subjects". This recognises how sexualised violence is often perpetrated to feminise men, or to confirm the masculinity of the perpetrator. This feminised other may, however, be any man perceived of as not fitting the mould of domination, through religion, skin colour, sexuality or ability.

This is not only the case in war, of course; the same enforcement of inequalities through rape happened during the appropriation of colonial bodies by the coloniser (McClintock 1995, Stoler 2002), the slave holder (Ramey Berry and Harris 2018), and is now reproduced in contemporary sex trafficking rings, sex tourism, the widespread abuse of poorly paid domestic workers often perceived as racial others and, arguably, in everyday life. In the context of the environmental destruction we are facing, we must see the violence meted out on women human rights defenders such as Berta Caceres in Honduras, murdered in 2016, or indeed Maxima Acuña, constantly harassed in the Peruvian northern highlands by police and private security forces employed by transnational mining corporations, in the light of postcolonial hierarchies that value certain bodies more than others. The complicity of wider society, as well as elected governments, in allowing this must be recognised. As decolonial scholars argue (Lugones 2007), colonial relations permeate contemporary society, and this is particularly tangible with regard to hierarchies of race, class, sex and gender. The political power and importance of sexual violence lies, then, in this constant naturalisation and reproduction of inequalities based on gender, as well as race, ethnicity, class and sexuality, and not only in war, but also in so-called peace.

If we assign gender violence the power of reproducing and naturalising hierarchy and domination across such a wide spectrum then we will have to seriously consider that violence in all its forms is informed by gendered understandings of the social order. Indeed, in her ground-breaking text "Gender: A useful category of historical analysis" (1986), Joan Scott argues that gender is a "constitutive element of social relationships based on perceived differences between the sexes" and a "primary way of signifying relationships of power" (p1076). In sum, feminist scholars have analysed the constitutive interconnectedness of gender and violence for several decades now but, to this day, most scholars of political violence see gender analysis and feminist scholarship as marginal to their work. So do many leftist politicians, who consider feminist concerns at the margins of the contemporary global political crisis we find ourselves in and, hence, are not able to provide viable political alternatives (Graff, Kapur and Walters 2019).

What seems to have been forgotten in everyday political speech is that the perpetrators of violence are, in the vast majority, men. This is relevant. Scholarly debates around conflict-related violence tend to revolve around the nature of the political and economic organisation of perpetrators: is it the state, are they rebels, terrorists, criminals? Who are the bosses of extractive industries, which company, what nationality? Of course, these are essential

debates in analysing violence and destruction, particularly in legal battles to hold perpetrators to account; however, the starting point should surely be the common denominator of the vast majority of perpetrators of violence around the world, and across political or economic motivations: they are male. The 2012 book *Sex and World Peace* (Hudson et al.) statistically confirms the direct relationship between gender inequality and violence at national level and the incidence of conflict and war. Violence against and discrimination of women at the domestic level is related to high levels of male violence, as is conflict and war. This does not confirm the idea that this violence of men is natural, or biologically-driven. It confirms that the organisation of society, of the economy and of politics is gendered and that, in its current form, this facilitates violence and destruction. The violent behaviour of men in patriarchal society and the relationship of this violence to the structures of power in any given society needs to be far more debated and researched if it is to be addressed.

The way violence and destruction is talked about is highly political in any context, and essential in addressing violence. Violence is sticky, as is prejudice and inequality. Changing the narrative of power is therefore essential to creating more inclusive societies. How history is narrated, who and what is remembered, and what for, how commemoration takes place and what broad narratives of violence are prioritised is central to transitions to democratic relations after violence, as well as in re-stating the fault lines of inequality and dominance (Lynch 2018). It provides the building blocks for who is included in the polity, and how. Narratives of past violence also tend to re-confirm the legitimacy of the state's monopoly on violence.

The prevalence of the remembrance of battles and heroes, or the emphasis on heritage understood as buildings and bridges, continues to dominate urban space and museums around the world. Such commemorative practices tend to be highly masculine and exclusive to those in power. Gendered harms and female heroes are rarely considered worthy of remembrance, nor is the harm done to the natural world. While the boom in transitional justice frameworks and transnational policy networks has made "gender" an obligatory element of the design and implementation of truth commissions, criminal prosecutions, and material and symbolic reparation, this is largely interpreted as paying attention to women rather than to power relations, and even then, women are still largely absent (Bell and O'Rourke 2010, Ní Aoláin 2012, Swaine 2018). Unfortunately, this, in turn, has a tendency to focus on women's gendered suffering and tends to reproduce the gender binary of male domination and authority and female submission and vulnerability. Power relations are not shifted, and this would be essential if post-conflict

processes of transition were to go beyond the idea of repairing what was broken - for women and other victimised and marginalised groups, going back to what was before the conflict is not good enough. This must be true for what one might call fully-fledged war, violent conflict over natural resources, and post-authoritarianism, as well as transitional processes initiated around historical abuses against particular populations. A more transformative post-conflict intersectional gender justice would need to unsettle pre-conflict power relations, expose the multiple underlying violences that have led to conflict and harm, and highlight alternative ways of relating to violent power (Boesten and Wilding 2015, Swaine 2018).

Resisting violence with non-violent means is necessary and possible by changing the narrative, making public what was seen as private, and resisting the normalisation of everyday violence. Everyday violence is often juxtaposed with the idea of spectacular violence while, in terms of statistics, more harm is done in the everyday than in the spectacular (e.g. see Esser 2014 on Kabul). Spectacular violence refers to the highly visible violence that a significant proportion of the population wants to witness. While many who witness do so out of a desire to take note and condemn, not repeat or affirm, spectacular violence also suggests that something is exciting to watch. And gendered violence is widely watched and enjoyed in crime shows and books as well as consumed in the global media. Only the tip of the iceberg is visible, however: the brutal gang rape and murder of a young woman on a bus in India, the mass kidnapping and rape of Yazidi girls, the systematic rape of Bosnian and Rwandan women in the mid-1990s, or the political murder of an elected activist in Rio de Janeiro. The everyday gendered violence of criminal gangs, of husbands, ex-husbands and would-be husbands, of traffickers and traders in sex and girls, of security forces protecting capitalism, and of women in wars and conflicts around the world that is not mediatised, is not. A strategy to denounce and make society and politics notice is thus to spectacularise.

This is what the Latin American *Ni Una Menos* movement does. This feminist resurgence emerged in different countries between 2015 and 2016 around specific cases of violence and impunity (Boesten 2019). Activists consciously spectacularised such cases to draw attention from mainstream media, politicians and institutions and to create mass outrage across society. In Peru, cases of femicide continue to be drawn into the public space, using social media to continue to pressurise mainstream media and political institutions. This is strategically spectacularising what would otherwise be considered “normal and everyday” violence. While it is difficult for conservative forces to support violence against women and oppose activism against such violence, they

have found other ways to oppose this feminist resurgence: by reinforcing men's control over women's bodies by controlling their reproductive rights, and by sending a clear message -through the courts and politics- around men's legitimate access to women's bodies, and their land. As we see with particular force in Trump's US, Bolsonaro's Brazil, and Duterte's Philippines, this misogyny is accompanied by a strong resistance to diversity more generally. This current powerful conservative backlash against women's rights can thus be read as evidence of the central role that gendered violence plays in the maintenance and perpetuation of gendered, racial, class and sexual hierarchies throughout the Americas and beyond (Graff, Kapur & Walters 2019). The natural world, the planet we live on, seems to be the current battlefield, and it is a very dangerous one. The only way to resist is to realise these disastrous politics require an intersectional feminist understanding of the current renegotiation of power relations.

In sum, the current environmental crisis is steeped in a crisis of politics defined by a powerful counter-movement against recent advances made in terms of equality and diversity, including in global frameworks such as the UN, international humanitarian law and its Courts, and the European Union (Graff, Kapur & Walters 2019, Corredor 2019). Echoing the authors in this book, the environmental crisis can therefore only be addressed if that gendered and racialised organisation of power, informed by ideas of a binary gender order grounded in natural sex differences and, hence, natural racial difference, is unsettled, subverted and transformed. Gendered violence informs and reproduces forms of domination and subordination across vectors of difference and inequality such as race, class, caste and sexuality. An intersectional feminist perspective, understood as a perspective that urges us to unpack those power relations beyond crude binaries and across social, economic and political spheres and differences, helps to better understand prevalent violent configurations and ways to resist.

Bibliography

Bell, C. and C. O'Rourke 2010. 'Peace Agreements or Pieces of Paper? The Impact of UNSC Resolution 1325 on Peace Processes and their Agreements', *International and Comparative Law Quarterly*, Vol 59 (4) 941-980.

Boesten, J. 2010. *Intersecting Inequalities. Women and Social Policy in Peru*. Penn State university Press.

Boesten, J. 2014. *Sexual Violence in War and Peace. Gender, Power, and Post-Conflict Justice*. Palgrave, Studies of the Americas Series.

Boesten, J. and P. Wilding, 2015. Transformative Gender Justice: Setting an Agenda. *Women's Studies International Forum* 51 (2015) 75–80.

Boesten, J., 2019. Peace for Whom? Legacies of Gender-Based Violence in Peru. *Politics after Violence: Legacies of the Shining Path Conflict in Peru*, p.157-175.

Case, M. A. 2019. Trans Formations in the Vatican's War on "Gender Ideology", Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society 44, (3) 639-664.

Corredor, E. S. 2019. Unpacking "Gender Ideology" and the Global Right's Antigender Countermovement, *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 44 (3) 613-638.

Cockburn, Cynthia. "The Continuum of Violence: A Gender Perspective on War and Peace." In *Sites of Violence: Gender and Conflict Zones*, edited by Wenona Giles and Jennifer Hyndman, 24–44. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2004.

Crenshaw, K. 1989. Demarginalizing the intersection of race and sex: a Black feminist critique of antidiscrimination doctrine, feminist theory and antiracist politics. *University of Chicago Legal Forum, special issue: Feminism in the Law: Theory, Practice and Criticism.* University of Chicago Law School: 139–168.

Devries, K.M., Mak, J.Y., García-Moreno, C., Petzold, M., Child, J.C., Falder, G., Lim, S., Bacchus, L.J., Engell, R.E., Rosenfeld, L. and Pallitto, C., 2013. The global prevalence of intimate partner violence against women. *Science*, *340* (6140), pp.1527-1528.

Esser, D.E., 2014. Security Scales: Spectacular and Endemic Violence in Post-Invasion Kabul, Afghanistan. *Environment and Urbanization*, *26*(2), pp.373-388.

Graff, A., Kapur, R. and Walters, S.D., 2019. Introduction: Gender and the Rise of the Global Right. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, *44*(3), pp.541-560.

Hearn, J. (1998b). *The violences of men: How men talk about and how agencies respond to men's violence to women*. London: Sage.

Hooks, b., 1987. *Ain't I a Woman Black Women and Feminism*. Pluto Press.

Hooks, b. 1991. Theory as Liberatory Practice, *Yale Journal of Law and Feminism*, Vol 4, (1).

Hudson, V.M., Ballif-Spanvill, B., Caprioli, M. and Emmett, C.F., 2012. *Sex and World Peace*. Columbia University Press.

Hume, M. 2009. *The politics of violence. Gender, conflict and community in El Salvador*. Bulletin of Latin American research book series. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell.

Jaschik, Scott. 2017. "Judith Butler on Being Attacked in Brazil." Inside Higher Ed, November 13. https://www.insidehighered.com/news/2017/11/13/judith -butler-discusses-being-burned-effigy-and-protested-brazil.

Kelly, L. 1988. *Surviving Sexual Violence*, Feminist Perspectives. Cambridge and Oxford: Polity Press, B. Blackwell.

Lynch, G. 2018. *Performances of Justice: The Politics of Truth, Justice and Reconciliation in Kenya*. Cambridge University Press.

McClintock, A. 1995. *Imperial leather: Race, gender, and sexuality in the colonial contest*. Routledge.

Ní Aoláin, F. 2012. Advancing Feminist Positioning in the Field of Transitional Justice. *International Journal of Transitional Justice*. 1-24.

Rothberg, M., 2019. *The Implicated Subject: Beyond Victims and Perpetrators*. Stanford University Press.

Ramey Berry, D. and Leslie M. Harris 2018. *Sexuality and Slavery: Reclaiming Intimate Histories in the Americas* (Vol. 1). University of Georgia Press.

Stoler, A.L., 2010 [2002]. *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule*. Univ. of California Press.

Swaine, A. 2018. *Conflict-Related Violence Against Women: Transforming Transition*. Cambridge University Press.

Watts, C. and Zimmerman, C., 2002. Violence against women: global scope and magnitude. *The Lancet*, *359*(9313), pp.1232-1237.

Wilding, P. (2012). *Negotiating boundaries: Gender, violence and transformation in Brazil*. Springer.

Zalewski, M., Drumond, P., Prugl, E. and Stern, M. eds., 2018. *Sexual Violence against Men in Global Politics*. Routledge.

DEFORESTATION IN THE MOSAIC OF CHANGES AFFECTING GENDER RELATIONS AMONG AMAZONIAN PEOPLES

Luisa Elvira Belaunde

Summary

This article examines the impact of colonisation and deforestation on gender relations among the indigenous peoples of the Amazon and includes an interview with Kety Marcelo López, an Asháninka woman from Pucharini Native Community and current President of the National Organisation of Indigenous Andean and Amazonian Women of Peru (ONAMIAP).

Key words

Deforestation, settler marriages, indigenous sociability, gender.

An anthropogenic forest

Despite the prevalent belief that the forest is a natural place, and that the abundance of its resources owes nothing to the historical endeavours of its native inhabitants, recent ecological, botanical and archaeological studies show that the Amazon is in large part an anthropogenic forest, i.e. historically created over the centuries by human intervention (Balée, 2013; Roosevelt, 2014; Denevan 2001; Heckenberger *et al*, 2008). According to the specialists, the impact of humans on the formation of the Amazonian environment dates so far back that it is difficult to differentiate the natural from the artificial. Many areas that now appear pristine primary forest were in the past cultivated, managed and inhabited by indigenous populations who later migrated or were decimated by disease, missionary expeditions, war or the slave trade, all of which occurred from the 16th century onwards following European colonisation (Denevan 2014; Clement *et al*, 2015: 4).

Studies emphasise the need to distinguish between different kinds of deforestation and their historical consequences on the Amazonian environment.

The exogenous forms of deforestation currently taking place under the impetus of the market economy result in irreparable damage to ecological cycles, radically altering the composition of both plant and wildlife, destroying the diversity of the landscape and resulting in degradation of water sources, soil and climate. In contrast, age-old indigenous practices of slash-and-burn deforestation form an inherent part of the ecological cycle of tropical forest regeneration, encouraging reproduction, diversification and speciation at all levels of the tropical forest biosphere.

We now know that the Amazon has been the greatest centre for the experimentation and domestication of plants in the world (Clement *et al*, 2015:3). Domestication of the forest began at the end of the Pleistocene and the beginning of the Holocene and resulted in the speciation of more than 85 edible plants of immeasurable value. Many plants were adopted by the European settlers and transported to other continents where they became human foodstuffs, for example, cassava, sweet potato, tobacco, peppers and pineapple. Other edible species escaped the colonial economy, for example palms, but they are of great importance in understanding the historical processes of indigenous peoples' forest production and the links between crop growing in their fields and their wider forest management. The distribution of palm trees in the Amazonian environment is one of the main testaments to human intervention in the forest. Some palms were grown domestically in the fields, such as the peach palm (*Bactris gasipaes*), others semi-domesticated or managed in their environment, such as the moriché palm or aguaje (*Mauricia Flexuosa*), hungurarui (*Oenocarpus batau*), huasai (*Euterpe precatoria*), urucuri palm or shapaja (*Attalea phalerat*), shabon (*Attalea Butyracea*), chambira (*Astrocaryum chambira),* iriartea or pona (*Iriartea deltoidea*), walking palm or cashapona (*Socratea exhorrhiza*) and yarina (*Phytelephas macrocarp*). Many of the food, construction, medicinal and artistic technologies of the indigenous Amazonian peoples depend on their management of a wide variety of palm trees.

All these plants that form part of the forest landscape tell a story of the social relations that made the domestication, cultivation and management of plants possible over the centuries. In particular, the plants tell us about how the Amazonian indigenous peoples organised their work and their different gender roles. Both men and women have specific knowledge of the plants in their fields and the forest and each has specific ways of using them. According to ecological, botanical and archaeological studies, "indigenous technologies were not only necessary adaptations to changing forest conditions but also intentional actions for managing those changes" (Clement *et al,* 2015:7). The

gendered forms of work organisation current among the Native Communities of Peru and in other Amazonian countries thus offer a longitudinal vision of how the biophysical and social changes of the past have led to the current formation of the forest and distribution of plant and animal species. Forest landscapes give a current picture of the gender relations being implemented in order to produce food and obtain housing technologies appropriate to the Amazonian environment (Posey, 1985).

Palm trees are an example of the multiple uses derived from plants through a gendered organisation of work. Their fruits, their hearts and the larvae that grow in rotting trunks are all notable for their high nutritional value both for humans and for land-based species, birds and fish which, in turn, provide food for humans. The palm tree fruit season is therefore a time of abundance for all as the spoils of hunting and fishing are fat and particularly tasty. Their trunks, leaves and fibres serve to build houses, lay floors and weave baskets, sieves and hammocks that enable the people to store their produce at home, prepare food and sleep at night. Women are typically responsible for gathering mature fruits when they go out to harvest with the children, while men are responsible for construction work, basket making and the production of tools for use around the house. Palm tree management also has important cosmological and ritual aspects. Many indigenous peoples tend to hold their major festivals at harvest time and establish relationships with the spiritual owners of the flora and fauna. These powerful beings in the indigenous world vision govern resource extraction and tend to be closely linked to the places where there is an abundance of palm trees (Virtaten, 2011).

As Gow (1991) argues in his study on indigenous perceptions of their own history, the forest landscape is a history of human kinship because, from the point of view of the Amazonian inhabitants, creating history means creating fields and managing forests in order to create places in which to live, to prepare “legitimate food” and to bring up children together. The historical relationship between humans and the forest cannot be detached from the crucial role that gender relations have played, and continue to play, in the life of the Amazon. This idea also applies to current situations whereby indigenous methods of work organisation and gender relations are being replaced due to the destruction of the forest and settlement of the Amazon by people from outside. What happens when deforestation enters onto the scene and extinguishes the history of the indigenous peoples? It is impossible to understand the destruction of the forest unless we consider how this process of destroying the Amazonian environment is linked to current changes in gender relations among indigenous peoples.

Direct and indirect causes of deforestation

As an explicit project to permanently change the way in which land is used in the tropical forest, Amazonian deforestation has been promoted since the start of the Peruvian Republic through a national policy of internal settlement, based on the idea that the forest is a natural space with no specific history and which needs to be incorporated into Peruvian history and national society. This policy of denying the background of historical relations existing between indigenous peoples and their forests has been the main reason for the incentives offered by successive national governments to poor families from other regions of the country and abroad to migrate to the forest. It has also been the reason why an institutional logic of land rights that favour settlers and the improvement of land has been implemented, the area being understood as deforested land suitable for intensive agriculture along production patterns alien to the ecological cycle of the tropical forest. This policy of denying indigenous history and of integrating the Amazon into the nation-state continues to be reflected in national economic development projects and international agreements that prioritise the implementation of energy and transport megaprojects, such as the construction of highways, dams and other infrastructure works, oil and gas exploitation and mining, as well as the establishment of large-scale agroindustry, particularly oil palm. Other crops in great demand on the Peruvian urban markets, such as papaya, as well as the expansion of coca leaf production for the international cocaine trade, are also decisive factors in the increasing deforestation (Valqui *et al*, 2012: 124; SERFOR, 2015; FAU, 2916; FAO, 2016).

Studies consistently emphasise that road construction is a structural driver in encouraging a change in land use towards an intensive agricultural use of the forest. On the one hand, highway construction is a cause of direct deforestation during the construction process; on the other, it is an indirect cause through the territorial penetration and settler migration that it encourages. Most deforestation occurs within a 20 km zone of the main road (Valqui *et al*, 2012: 125), thus facilitating the extraction of timber from neighbouring areas and a mass influx of patterns of agricultural production and mineral extraction alien to the region.

Although half of the high and low tropical forests remaining in the country are located in the customary territories of indigenous peoples, the Peruvian state still does not fully recognise the contribution that Amazonian inhabitants have made over the years to preventing and halting deforestation, despite the pressures and threats they face. The state has still not completed

the official titling of a large part of the customary territories and Native Communities, nor implemented security practices that will guarantee the physical and moral integrity and rights of the indigenous women and men who are defending their forests from invasion by settlers, from theft of their timber and non-timber resources, and from contamination of their waters and soils with the by-products of the legal and illegal construction, productive and extractive industries, all of which have a destructive effect on the Amazonian landscape. To this day, state systems of environmental monitoring and control remain extremely weak and ineffective in practice, particularly in terms of implementing ecological prevention plans and collecting the fines incurred by companies and private individuals who are duly prosecuted for their environmental crimes.

This ineffectiveness is largely due to the ambiguity of the different state institutions' regulations which, instead of working towards the same goal of protecting the forests and their inhabitants, frequently contradict each other and end up encouraging an increased lack of control over forest resource management and a proliferation of activities that are highly profitable but also highly destructive and bordering on, if not totally, illegal.

One of the main reasons for this institutional lack of coordination lies in the fact that many oil, timber and mining concessions have been superimposed on zones officially recognised as protected natural areas, and on the customary territories and Native Communities (titled and untitled) of the Amazonian indigenous peoples (Dourojeanni *et al* 2010). The inconsistencies and lack of integration in the regulatory system for and planning of deforestation protection actions has resulted in a rapid increase in the destruction of plant cover, the selective felling of commercially valuable trees and the pollution of the water and soil. These destructive forest activities co-opt the indigenous population into their economic systems by offering them occasional monetary gain if they are prepared to cooperate. The resulting working conditions are, however, marked by their precarious and abusive nature, including the use of child labour and involvement - through human trafficking and slavery - in the growing market for sexual services that tend to accompany the establishment of work camps (Nureña 2010; CHS Alternativo 2014; CNDDHH 2016).

When indigenous populations refuse to allow farmers, loggers, miners, traders and other agents of the market economy onto their lands, they suffer direct threats and physical violence. Endemic corruption in both public and private sectors, along with the presence of criminal organisations involved in land trafficking, logging, illegal mining and drugs trafficking, hinder the lo-

cal regional and national authorities in their efforts to prevent deforestation (Valqui *et al*, 2015:125). A climate of social dislocation and terror is being established around deforestation.

Deforestation, intermarriage and changes in gender relations

Underlying the dynamics noted above lies an implicit project of intermarriage associated with internal settlement and forest destruction. The issue of mixed marriages, however, is rarely considered specifically in studies on deforestation. These instead reflect on settlers as agents of deforestation more generally, without going into detail about their differences and specific features (Valqui *et al* 2014; Ríos, 2012; FAO, 2016). I believe that when we focus on settlers as one of the main agents of deforestation we need to specify that there are different kinds of settlers; for example, it may be whole families from other areas of the country settling in the forest on land allocated to them by the state or which they believe is not being used. It may relate to single men seeking a wife among the local indigenous population in order to settle on indigenous lands. Or it may relate to temporary workers not seeking any permanent link with the area's indigenous population and whose attitude is openly predatory, both towards the environment and the indigenous population. We need to distinguish between the different kinds of settlers and their attitudes towards the indigenous population in order to understand the different methods of social interaction that become established and to see the impacts these agents of deforestation have on the gender relations of the local indigenous populations.

In the first place, when it relates to families of settlers, the deforestation takes place outside of the Native Communities, threatening the integrity of their lands and their way of life by surrounding them and depriving them of freedom of movement and of the forest resources to which they traditionally have access. These families' way of life also acts as an influence on the indigenous communities. In the second case, when it relates to young men seeking indigenous wives, male settlers manage to integrate themselves into the dynamic of the Native Communities and encourage a process of land-use change from within the family and territorial group. In the third case, young people working in logging and other activities may have only a passing presence in the area but leave permanent consequences in terms of the areas they deforest and the women and children they leave behind in the communities. These three kinds of settler are often present in the same place at the same time, and may be there for several years. They are therefore not three totally distinct categories of social agent but interrelated modalities the

impacts of which have a combined effect on deforestation and on the local indigenous population.

In the last 40 years, as the migration of Andean settlers towards the forest has become a crucial driver of the political/environmental transformation of the Amazon region, settler attitudes towards the indigenous population have changed and an upsurge in antagonism and violence towards the local population can now be seen in many areas. The rapid settlement of the Amazon has been caused by a lack of planning in the logging, mineral and hydrocarbon industries, the introduction of cash crops and the construction of large infrastructure projects. The economic face of migration also has important political features, as many of the Andean migrants now are the children and grandchildren of the violence that took place during the internal armed conflict from 1980 to 2000. Many of them come from Andean peasant communities that suffered forced displacement to cities or other rural areas and who tried to return to their communities of origin once peace had returned. Because the state failed to fulfil its reparations plan, however, two-thirds of those displaced by the violence were forced to return home at their own expense; they did not receive the expected economic support from the state and were unable to successfully reintegrate either economically or socially (PROMUDEH 2001). Their failed return meant that many of those displaced, or their children, went back to Lima or on to other cities. Others moved to the Amazon, penetrating ever further into the lowland forest.

In previous studies conducted among the Kakataibo, Asháninka and Shipibo-Konibo peoples of the departments of Junín, Huánuco and Ucayali (Belaunde 2010; 2011; Llacsahuanga & Belaunde, 2017), I looked at how indigenous women are directly affected by this settlement of the Amazon. In this article, I will pick up the arguments presented in that research but focus more specifically on the issue of settlement as a matrimonial strategy based on differences between types of settler and their impact on gender relations. The text includes quotes from indigenous inhabitants and settlers which were gathered during the fieldwork conducted in 2010 and 2011.[1] To protect

1.Research in the communities around Aguaytía was conducted alongside consultancy activities undertaken for the Chicago Field Museum and the Instituto del Bien Común. I would particularly like to thank Alaka Wally and the Kakataibo community members for their warm welcome. The study methodology consisted of participant observation, the application of individual semi-structured interviews and the organisation of workshops and focus groups.

the anonymity of the research participants, I do not give the names of those interviewed nor their communities. I simply specify the gender and approximate age of the person interviewed given that generational differences are an important factor in the study.

In previous publications, I have argued that settlement not only represents a threat to the Amazonian forests lying outside the indigenous lands but also to the titled Native Communities themselves because it links into processes of matrimonial change, particularly the increase in mixed marriages between settler men and indigenous women. These matrimonial changes are, in turn, linked to increasing involvement of the indigenous population in the market economy and to the communities' desire for more urban planning, i.e. to have streets, pavements and industrially-made houses connected to the water, electricity and drainage networks. The most noticeable long-term motivation relates to their children, however, and the desire for them to be able to complete their studies. The most frequently mentioned reason for an indigenous woman to marry a settler man was given as the possibility of accessing contacts in the city which would, in turn, mean better access to commercial goods and money and thus the ability to guarantee the education and "professionalisation" of their children. For indigenous women, intermarriage is a path towards the professionalisation of future generations.

> "This is how indigenous women used to live, way back. They knew how to fish, work, eat, have children and no more. Now this generation thinks that studying is also important. If you are a student you can achieve and make something of yourself. This is what the young people think and so they go off to study" (indigenous woman, 30 years of age).

The desire for their children to gain a good qualification is ultimately a desire for an income, a less exhausting job and greater prestige, but it is also a desire to achieve indigenous peoples' demands and struggles for their rights: "We need professional children so that they can defend the community, so that they can write documents and make the necessary approaches to the regional authorities." From an indigenous point of view, the education of their children is crucial to the very future of their communities and their lands. People are prepared to make great efforts to obtain money and establish links with settlers if this will ensure them educated children who can defend indigenous peoples' rights. Although it may appear contradictory, this objective can be achieved through marriage to a settler because indigenous men have fewer economic possibilities with which to finance their children's studies. Marriage

to a settler man is one path to achieving the equality of civic rights promised by education and the professionalisation of their children (Belaunde 2010).

> "There is no work here. You work the fields to sell your produce but you make little because of the transport costs. This doesn't pay for our children's studies because quite often some families don't even have money for clothes. It's OK with the *mestizos* but indigenous men have little work" (indigenous woman, 37 years).

For the settler men, marriage to an indigenous woman is often a strategy for integrating into the Native Communities and thus accessing lands and social networks that, in turn, will enable them to accumulate money for their families. Female indigenous and male settler perspectives on marriage are different but both agree on the importance of ensuring the schooling and education of their children through new ways of working in the community.

As I have argued (Belaunde, 2011), among the Shipibo-Konibo, Asháninka and Kakataibo, the possibility of settler men accessing lands when they marry indigenous women is based on the premise that the women tend to remain living close to their parents after marriage and therefore have access to lands in their communities of birth. Indigenous matrimonial practices are characterised by matrilocal residence: following the marriage, the man moves to live with his wife near to his parents-in-law. If the man is from another community, he has to leave his family and set up home in his wife's community where he will raise his children under the care and supervision of his wife's family. This applies both to indigenous and settler men. The official statutes of the Native Communities tend to concur with this customary practice although, in some cases, the statutes were written in accordance with models of ownership and residence alien to the indigenous peoples and which favour male lines of inheritance. In practice, however, it is usual that a man from outside who marries an indigenous woman from the community is admitted as a community member and receives lands on which to work with his wife.

Matrilocal marriage and the incorporation of men into their wives' family group reflects the key importance of affinity relationships between the parents-in-law and their son-in-law in kinship relations and residence. In general, marriage among the Amazonian peoples begins with a trial period during which time the young man must provide "service to the bride-to-be and her family", more specifically to the bride-to-be's mother and father in order to demonstrate - through work and diligence - that he is capable of carrying out all the tasks required of a good husband and future father. If the youth does not manage to convince his in-laws that he is ready to be a good son-in-law

during the period of service, he is rejected and has to find himself another wife. Despite a mosaic of cultural differences among Peru's indigenous peoples, this "trial period" is found right across the region. The authority of parents-in-law over their sons-in-law is so ingrained that it often involves greater (and definitely more ritualised) respect than the respect that exists between father and son. The son-in-law not only supports his mother- and father-in-law in their different tasks and shares the bounty of his hunting and fishing trips with them but he also has to treat them with special modesty, to the point of avoiding speaking to them directly. The son-in-law often speaks to his in-laws through his wife, does not look them in the eye and, when eating, waits until they have both been served. Both the mother- and father-in-law are respected and both have authority over the son-in-law, although it is the father-in-law that is in most contact with him, guiding him and exhorting him to work. After one or two years of trial, the new couple tend to establish their own house close to the wife's parents, in a matrilocal residence in which the women of the matrifocal group comprise mother, daughters, sisters and nieces.

Given that the authority older men and women have over their sons-in-law is a major political instrument within the circle of residence, married couples want to have daughters so that they will have access to a son-in-law in the future and, with the passage of time, thus expand their circle of influence through a network of politically-related families. Not so long ago, a marriage would have been arranged by the bride's parents. For example, few women over the age of 40 are likely to have married "for love", i.e. falling in love with their husbands, given that he would have been chosen by their parents and not them. Men had to demonstrate that they were ready for marriage and pass tests set by their future in-laws, who would often be related to them in some way. Living close to one's mother and sister offers a female solidarity and power that is characteristic of indigenous gender relations. While limiting women's, and partly men's, possibility of choosing, this system did offer control and protection for the woman and her children, as her mother, father and sisters would have oversight of her well-being and the upbringing of her children (Belaunde, 2011).

A mestizo son-in-law and his grocery store

We need to be aware of the importance of the relationship between parents-in-law and sons-in-law if we are to understand the changes in gender relations that have occurred, and continue to occur, due to increasing intermarriage between settler men and indigenous women in the Native Communities. In many of the Shipibo-Konibo, Kakataibo and Asháninka communities

in which I conducted my research, there was a high percentage of settlers who had settled among the community members through marriage to an indigenous woman, sometimes more than 20% of couples. There were also cases of settler women married to indigenous men, albeit far less common, precisely because marriage tends to be matrilocal among these indigenous peoples, i.e. the man usually moves to live close to his in-laws.

Marriage between settler men and indigenous women triggers a dynamic of internal social transformation which often encourages deforestation and land-use change within the community and surrounding area. The community assembly typically grants land to the settlers on which to grow food for their family and for market but the settlers often use more community land than the indigenous families to grow cash crops such as banana, papaya, pineapple, etc. As commercial production increases and they manage to accumulate some capital for investment, they open up a small store with groceries and alcohol, beer or spirits, pure or prepared with fizzy drink as is currently the fashion. In other words, the settlers use their access to community lands as a stepping stone to investing in other activities inside and outside the community. They rapidly become cash crop farmers, traders or intermediary transport providers. These stores are instrumental in increasing and circulating their capital and extending their influence over the population as they often sell on trust and create circles of debt. The stores operate as centres for the dissemination of an urban *mestizo* culture and encourage new consumeristic desires among the local indigenous population.

The stores also become poles of attraction for other settlers not living in the community but who are working in deforestation or other extractive or commercial productive activities nearby. In other words, the stores act as a bridge between settlers inside and outside the community: between those living there permanently and those passing through. As loggers, miners and other workers pass through the community, the store becomes a bar, where settler and indigenous men from the area get drunk and indigenous girls establish sexual or amorous relationships with the visitors, sometimes resulting in pregnancies (Agustí 2008, Sánchez 2009). In some cases, the visiting settlers decide to settle down with the indigenous woman from the community but, in others, they have no interest in getting involved either in the community or in the upbringing of the children born of these passing relationships.

> "Most of the *mestizos*, the loggers who come, they stay in the forest a few months. They come here to the community and deceive the women. They give them some money and then they end up preg-

> nant. They abandon them and the girl hasn't even asked their name to be able to report them" (indigenous woman, 40 years).

The stores are also places where indigenous youths find work in deforestation activities outside the community. This occasional work offers money but under precarious working conditions.

> "I work in wood in this area, sometimes I have logger friends who come and say 'help me cut wood' so I help them. I need to make money somehow. My fields only provide for our subsistence. I have *moquichu* rice, cane, *dale*, yam, everything for the family. And to make money, well it's easy for me to make money because I talk to people" (indigenous youth, 27 years).

Many students are forced into paid economic activities to finance their studies and stay in the town. The men tend to work as day labourers on farms or for loggers, coca growers, miners or in construction work. Others migrate to the coast, to Lima or to rural areas where they work in construction, baking and agroindustrial activities.

> "There are a few people who have completed secondary school but most tend to go out to work fairly quickly: logging, coca, the farm plot. There are some with livestock but they are from other areas, not from around here. Quite a few young men from round here have left to find work. They go as far as Lima" (young indigenous man).

For indigenous women, work in the logging camps frequently leads to some kind of sexual exploitation.

> "The loggers come looking for a cook. Previously the women would have gone, but not any longer because now they realise what they want them for. They want to take them by force. The girls don't go any more because they know" (indigenous woman, 30 years).

Although many Andean settlers come from a peasant background, in the Amazon they take on the features of an urban *mestizo* identity and encourage integration into the national urban economy. In general, they are called "*mestizo*" or "*serrano*" in the communities. Use of the word "*colono*" or "settler" is less common but, in any case, the general idea is that they are people from outside, who have recently arrived and who have not come from a different Amazonian indigenous people. Given their better command of Spanish and their contacts in the towns and with commercial transport routes, they tend to become the proponents of market consumption in all its forms: foods,

objects and technology, and of a monetisation of the community economy. They also reproduce attitudes of contempt or abuse towards the Amazonian indigenous population because they think "they don't know how to work", in other words, they don't know how to make money to invest in agriculture, transport and marketing in order to generate more money.

When asked what distinguishes the economy of a mixed marriage from that of an indigenous couple, men and women from different communities noted that both rely on their plots of land for subsistence and for sale. In this regard, they are similar. The difference lies in the capacity to produce and transport greater quantities of agricultural products for sale due to their links with the local town. The settlers have family in the towns and they speak good Spanish, which means they are better able to communicate with the traders and undertake any administrative formalities.

Indigenous sociability and mestizo son-in-law logics of use and change

Indigenous men and women are acutely aware that their settler sons-in-law and brothers-in-law make a profit by buying local products at a low price but selling them at a high price in town. They know that controlling the transportation of their goods is the best way to strengthen their cash economy. At the same time, they also understand that, from the point of view of their settler relatives, the greatest obstacle to their community's commercial development is an indigenous sociability that emphasises the contribution of both genders when producing and sharing within the family. The settlers tend to complain that the indigenous people do not understand that they should save more to anticipate future costs and that they are unable to store food because their relatives pressure them to share it with everybody, particularly at times of scarcity.

For indigenous married men with sons and grandsons, it is a source of pride to be able to share food within the matrifocal group. What's more, for indigenous women, the production of food and drink is a source of female self-esteem that keeps connections between relatives and community members alive and which offers protection from the vagaries of the cash economy (Belaunde, 2018). An abundance of food connects the community to the produce of their fields and forests because the collective consumption of palm tree fruits and other forest plants forms part of an understanding of well-being and abundance rooted in the history of relations with the forest environment. For the settlers, however, food does not have this historical relationship with the environment and is viewed as a product with a commer-

cial value that needs to be consumed in moderation within the nuclear family in order to be able to save money and continue investing in order to produce greater quantities of produce for sale.

Openly sharing food with relatives is incompatible with the settlers' desire for economic growth, focused on their own well-being and that of their children. Subordination towards their in-laws is also something that settler husbands are not always ready to accept. These discrepancies are a source of frustration and tension within the couple and not only reflect different perceptions of the economy but also deeply different perceptions of masculinity within a different gender register. Capital growth through economic strategies that combine production, marketing and transport are important both for the monetisation of the local economy and for the formation of the new masculinity promoted by the settlers, in which the forest becomes an economic resource. Because of these tensions, settler husbands often ban their children from speaking the indigenous language at home or from spending too much time with their indigenous relatives to prevent them from picking up this behaviour.

It is, however, important to emphasise that there are marked differences between settler generations. These differences have become more acute recently, insofar as the attitudes of men who married and established their families in the 1980s, for example, are much closer to and more respectful of the indigenous world and its relationship with the forest than those of young settlers who are now settling in the communities or on land adjacent to the Native Communities. The inhabitants state that, in recent years, there has been increased refusal to respect the parents-in-law's authority and, in general, greater disregard of the indigenous population among those arriving in the most recent waves of migration. They also note an increase in abandoned, "deceived" women, in other words, single mothers, and greater pillaging of the nearby forest. Forest destruction goes hand-in-hand with the destruction of indigenous gender relationships, which used to be structured around the authority of the parents-in-law over their son-in-law.

The difference in attitude between different generations of settlers is particularly notable in places where Andean colonisation has been taking place for a number of decades such as, for example, in the Kakataibo communities close to the town of Aguaytía. Ríos (2012) conducted an excellent study of the deforestation process in the Kakataibo territory between 1995 and 2010 which shows that there is a range of causes and agents of deforestation acting simultaneously but randomly to generate a complex mosaic. The study was undertaken using a participative methodology with the community members

and indicates that the causes of deforestation over this period were the same both on and off the community's lands. The main causes identified were: land trafficking, illegal logging, titling of plots to settlers, livestock rearing, the invasion of coca growers, illegal mining, indiscriminate fishing with poison, and the use of agrochemicals, as well as the renting of communal lands to outsiders. The same study shows that the agents of deforestation included loggers, local, regional and national authorities and institutions, community members, settlers and outsiders; it did not, however, clarify the difference between these last two. Is it possible that some outsiders eventually become settlers, or even community members? In the following, I intend to focus more closely on the distinctions between settlers inside and outside the community.

Settlers old and new: respect for community traditions?

During the research I carried out in the area, it emerged that indigenous inhabitants perceive marked differences between types and generations of settlers. Outsiders from other parts of the country who migrated as settlers and married indigenous women in the 1980s were accepted as community members and it was felt that they had managed to learn to relate properly to their parents-in-law and to participate in the kinship support networks and community tasks. They arrived in the community fleeing the political violence of the 1980s and 90s and found the indigenous peoples ready to defend their territories using bows and arrows. The older settlers that I interviewed therefore emphasised that, when they married and were admitted to live in the community, their indigenous wives' relatives were organised and preventing undesirables from settling on their lands. Moreover, they indicated that parents-in-law were generally very highly demanding of their sons-in-law and required them to behave well with their wives and relatives. The children of these mixed marriages, now young adults, are called "*cruzados*" ("mixed race") because they have a settler father and a Kakataibo mother; however, most speak Kakaibo and consider themselves Kakataibo. In other words, the mixing that emerged from this generation of settlers did not result in any breakdown in indigenous kinship relationships.

In contrast, marriages to more recent settlers, from the 2000s onwards, have taken place under very different circumstances to previous generations and, according to the inhabitants' views, have resulted in a breakdown in the internal kinship relationships of the communities. Many of the young women with whom I had a chance to talk met their husbands in the city or in a bar. They were studying at secondary school in Aguaytía when their future husband arrived in the area to work in logging or livestock and agricultural

production in the surrounding area. Others met them when they arrived to work as day labourers in the community or in the surrounding area and were drinking at the community store.

> "I came to work in the papaya fields three years ago. That all fell through, there was a disease, so I did some logging and have stayed on, I have my wife who is indigenous and my daughter. About 10 hectares of papaya has been grown within the community but it hasn't grown well" (settler man married to indigenous woman, 26 years).

When they settled in their wives' communities, they received land and began to sow cash crops and grassland to raise livestock to sell meat. Few young settler men managed to maintain relationships of mutual aid and respect with their parents-in-law, however. Many began to work in their own self-interest and did not take part in the required communal work days. Many ended up despising their wives' relatives and banning their children from learning the indigenous language or identifying with the history and cultural practices of their ancestors.

> "They don't listen to our authorities; they just ignore us. Some work in logging, others sow their produce: cassava, banana. There are some who live only from logging" (indigenous man with settler sons-in-law).

According to the community members, recent mixed marriages were having more negative consequences than older ones whose "mixed" children were considered full community members. This did not, however, mean that older settlers had not also introduced significant divisions into the bonds of indigenous kinship. One thing that older and more recent settlers had in common was that both were using their position within the Native Community as a launch pad from which to promote their personal projects of wealth accumulation. In some communities, in particular, the older and younger settlers were using their access to community lands to make money with which to finance the purchase of additional lands outside. In other words, older and younger settlers have dual access to land. On the one hand, they have lands within the community, which they access by marrying an indigenous woman and, on the other, they have access to lands outside the community, obtained through state programmes of land titling for settlers.

This dual access to land put settlers in a privileged economic position vis-à-vis indigenous people and created internal divisions in terms of social status and access to commercial goods. Some indigenous men had a few cash crops and

livestock on their community lands but not much because these lands were limited and they had little money to invest in crop production and marketing. A difference could also be seen in the internal market for day labour in the fields. Although both indigenous and mixed families were growing cash crops, only the mixed families had enough money to pay day labourers to sow larger areas for commercial sale. Using these economic strategies, settler men would thus manage to accumulate capital to invest in more lands, which in turn were deforested and used for commercial agriculture or, in some areas, for livestock. Their dual access to land also thus turned them into dual agents of deforestation. In addition, the settlers were acting as agents for the employment of day labourers outside the community.

> "There's not much grassland around here, that's in another area. Five years ago we managed to obtain title to the land. We knew we might have problems with the neighbours so we went out and looked for our own plot of grassland. But I also have my plot in the community" (indigenous woman married to settler).

When the settler men needed additional labour to work on their fields they would not generally use indigenous men from the community. They would normally prefer to bring settlers from outside the community to work as day labourers and avoid hiring indigenous men from the community because, as they explained, working with their wives' relatives could "cause problems" in the family. The arrival in the communities of day labourers from outside resulted in even more settlers passing through the community, and this encouraged new relationships between indigenous girls and settler men, creating more mixed marriages and an even stronger presence of settlers established in the community. There was also a rise in cases of abandoned women and sexual abuse related to the presence of day labourers in the communities and surrounding area.

It is important to again emphasise the indigenous population's perception of settlers, which is not homogeneous. In general, however, there is great distrust of the young settlers among indigenous men and women and older settlers who have lived in the community for a number of years. Many felt that marriage to an indigenous woman was merely a means to an end for young male settlers. In their opinion, young settlers only wanted to obtain land in the community so that they could sell produce and make enough money to buy their own lands outside the community through the settler land titling programmes. Many felt that the young settlers were exploiting their relationships with indigenous women in order to integrate temporarily into the com-

munity and then later abandon their partner when they had settled in the area and gained title to land for livestock rearing or other individual activities. From their perception, most of the young settlers who became amorously involved with indigenous women did so out of their own self-interest.

> "Of all the settlers, no more than around 10% are actually serious about the girl. The rest just want to gain a foothold in the community. In Aguaytía, in Pucallpa, they ask me, is there a girl in your community for me? They don't care which girl as long as it gets them into the community" (indigenous man, 30 years).

People also indicated that there were many cases of abandoned women and sexual abuse related to the presence of day labourers who were passing through the community or whom indigenous women met in the town of Aguaytía. Becoming involved with a settler man was a rather risky business. One could never tell if they actually wanted to settle and establish a respectful and collaborative relationship with their parents-in-law and their spouses or whether it was a passing relationship with no interest in establishing kinship relationships with the indigenous population in the long term.

> "The *mestizos* say, what will my son be like when he grows up? He won't be like me! And so they reject him. They leave the woman and she has to take her kid to her mum to bring up" (indigenous woman).

As in other regions of the Amazon, single mothers "deceived" by temporary settlers in the community had to rely on their parents' help to bring up the children without a father. The mother's parents formed a safety valve in the face of her deception and abandonment. In this regard, the parents-in-law continued to occupy a central place in indigenous gender relations but now, instead of being the ones imposing respect and receiving the support and loyalty of their sons-in-law, they were the ones having to support their daughters and abandoned grandchildren. According to the indigenous community members and older settlers, one of the main problems was that the parents-in-law had lost authority over their real and potential sons-in-law. This breakdown in the authority of parents-in-law due to incoming settlers had left indigenous young women highly vulnerable to neglect and mistreatment at the hands of their partners, both in marriage and in premarital relationships.

As the young settlers were no longer respecting their parents-in-law, the only thing that could have an influence over their behaviour was the law. However, indigenous women do not tend to turn to the courts to try and gain alimony from their child's father. According to the population, this is due to

a lack of knowledge of their rights and also related to the shame and difficulty in procuring legal services. In the face of impunity, young settlers could therefore continue to "deceive them" and the parents-in-law had to pick up responsibilities that should have been their son-in-law's.

> "The Andean settlers who previously came here married women [from the] community. Now they have sons, they have daughters, some have grandchildren. But the new settlers come from Huánuco, from Tingo María, they get the girls pregnant and they leave. They are mostly *mestizos*, loggers who come to work in the area. They stay two months, six months in the forest. Then they go to Aguaytía and trick the women. They give them some money and they end up pregnant. The girl doesn't even ask their name to be able to report them. They abandon her. There are a lot of single mothers. When the child is born, the mother and grandparents raise it. The mother leaves it with her mum or dad to look for work elsewhere. The grandparents end up being responsible for the child. The girls go to work in bars, in restaurants, in the town. And then they get pregnant again. But indigenous boys, if they get a girl pregnant they don't abandon her, they marry her. We know that once you've made a commitment you don't abandon the woman. This is our custom" (indigenous youth, 27 years).

As I have argued, anthropological studies of comparative ethnology show that abandoning one's children is not a traditional Amazonian indigenous practice (Belaunde, 2008). In contrast, rituals of the *covada*, whereby the father carries out many of the mother's traditional parenting tasks, and the authority that parents-in-law used to exercise over their son-in-law would act to strengthen male involvement in the care and upbringing of their children. However, with an increased settler population and the social breakdown that this has resulted in, abandoning children has now also become commonplace among indigenous men. Following in the footsteps of many settlers, indigenous men now also shirk their responsibilities and fall in and out of love with many adolescent girls only to abandon them when they fall pregnant or begin to demand guarantees over the well-being of their children. The monetisation of work and consumption introduced by the settlers through deforestation activities is accompanied by attitudes towards women that can be traced back to the *criollo* model in which virility is measured by the number of sexual conquests and offspring and not by the actual care provided to those children (Fuller Osores 2001, Mannarelli 2002). Relationships with the parents-in-law lose their political weight and become inverted. Instead of it being the son-in-law who has to provide support and demonstrate great re-

spect to his parents-in-law, establishing social affiliation to their kinship group by accepting their authority, it is now the parents-in-law who find themselves subordinate to their sons-in-law.

The situation I have described here on the basis of field studies conducted in 2010 and 2011 is still current in the region and has deteriorated, with a worsening of the violence between new settlers and indigenous populations. The panorama of relationships is a complex one and indigenous women find themselves at an uncertain crossroads. The desire for a relationship with a settler man exposes them to dangers of sexual exploitation, abandonment and mistreatment. And yet the attraction of a better income that can guarantee their children's education, and thus the defence of their indigenous rights, spurs on this process of intermarriage. (Posner 2010, Sánchez 2009, Tubino and Zariquiey 2007, Villapolo 2010; Llacsahuanga & Belaunde, 2017). We do not know whether relationships with the settlers will give rise to children who will enable the continuity and renovation of kinship relations or whether they will ultimately lead to their destruction, along with the destruction of the forests and the appropriation of their lands. In an interview with Asháninka leader, Ruth Buendía (Belaunde; 2011: 187), for example, she emphasised that the abandonment of children was a result of this influx of settlers and that the way these men are using Asháninka women is effectively a plan to plunder the indigenous lands.

> "The settlers often come to marry Asháninka women out of a desire for their land; they settle in the community, farm the fields and then kick the Asháninka woman out and bring in a settler woman. I've heard of several cases, it does happen. The settler woman thus lives in the community and the indigenous woman leaves. She leaves her home and goes to another place" (Ruth Buendía, Asháninka Organisation of the River Ene).

As I have tried to demonstrate in this article, however, we need to look at the different kinds of settlers and how they relate to the indigenous population in a particular area and at a particular time in history in order to understand their effects on indigenous gender relations and deforestation processes. In the same interview, Ruth Buendía painted a complex picture of the abuse and discrimination suffered at the hands of settlers in the Amazon and from *mestizos* in the towns, including harassment and abandonment of single mother. However, she also emphasised that she had found the comradeship of some settlers decisive in her own personal life and career as an indigenous woman leader.

Amazonian women's struggle for their territorial rights and forests

Since 2010-2011, when I conducted the fieldwork that served as the basis for my analysis in this article, violence and deforestation have only increased in the Amazon. In the area around Aguaytía, land invasions have proliferated and there have been clashes, deaths and death threats made against indigenous leaders and "mixed" children, in other words, the children of indigenous women and settler men who self-identify with their maternal family and defend indigenous rights (Canon, 2015). The murder, in September 2014, of four Asháninka individuals from the community of Saweto: Jorge Ríos Pérez, Edwin Chota Valera, Leoncio Quintisima Meléndez and Francisco Pinedo Ramírez, is just one example of the current violence occurring due to increased deforestation. It also demonstrates the need to distinguish between different kinds of settlers and ways of interacting with the indigenous population.

Edwin Chota was from Cajamarca but, through his marriage in Saweto, he became a defender of the rights of his wife's family, as he fully adopted them as his own kin through marriage. Five months before his murder, Chota called in writing for guarantees of his own safety from the environmental prosecutor while denouncing the titles that the state was granting to logging concessions on land for which the Saweto community had requested title. Chota denounced the fact that these concession holders were endorsing the entry of illegal loggers onto the community's territory (Luna Amancio, 2014).

The Saweto widows: Ergilia Rengifo, Avelina Vargas, Julia Pérez and Lita Rojas Pinedo, subsequently took the initiative to confront the state authorities and travelled to Lima to demand justice and that the community be granted the land title for which their husbands had fought so hard. They travelled with their orphaned babies in their arms, such s Edwin Jr., who never knew his father. They spent several months in Lima unable to return because of the loggers' continuing threats against their families in Saweto and the ongoing extraction of timber with impunity, despite the complaints. The case gained the attention of both national and international media and the daughter of Jorge Ríos, Diana, became the spokesperson for her family before both press and authorities, ensuring a new female leadership in defence of indigenous rights to their forests. After months of legal battles, the state granted title to the community in August 2015 but, to this day, the murderers have not been brought to justice. In 2016, the Pucallpa prosecution service closed its files on the case, allegedly for lack of evidence. Although monitoring posts have been established in the area, the removal of timber and the threats against the population of Saweto continue. This

is not the only place in the forest where a climate of terror now presides. (Servindi, 2015; Rain Forest, 2016).

Faced with the current speed at which Peru's forests are being decimated, indigenous women have taken up new leadership positions within their communities, fought for access to political positions and created women's solidarity organisations for the country's Amazonian and Andean indigenous peoples (Silva Santisteban, 2017). The National Organisation of Andean and Amazonian Indigenous Women of Peru - ONAMIAP - brings Peru's Andean and Amazonian indigenous women together around the struggle for their individual rights as women and their collective rights as indigenous peoples. The central organisation is linked to grassroots women's organisations across the country that are working for autonomy, equality, interculturality, solidarity and democracy, and it promotes understanding and mutual aid between the different indigenous peoples. The transregional nature of ONAMIAP distinguishes it from the national indigenous federations, which are divided into Andean and Amazonian regions. This effort to create links across all of the country's regions is aimed at overcoming rivalry and encouraging a common understanding of the historical processes of the country's indigenous peoples from a female perspective.

Kety Marcelo, president of ONAMIAP

The fight against deforestation is a priority for the indigenous federations, particularly ONAMIAP, as this phenomenon directly affects the lives of indigenous women throughout the country, especially in the Amazon. The degradation of land and water sources, the change in climate and decline in plant and animal resources for food, construction, ornamental and medicinal use are daily phenomena for indigenous women.

> We women from the communities understand the problems of our territory and communities. When there is deforestation, the rivers dry up, the animals move away. Everything that grows in the forest, that feeds us, that cures us, the traditional herbs, we have to go further to find them. Medicines, seeds for handicrafts, we have to travel long distances and, sometimes, we don't find them. With deforestation, the water sources dry up, making women's work doubly hard, and the heat increases. Because of the heat, women go out early because you can only work in the fields until 10 am. Between 11 and 4 or 5 pm the heat is such that you cannot go into the fields. We get up very early to cook and leave everything ready for our children to go to school and then at 4 or 5 am we go to the fields" (Kety Marcelo López, president of ONAMIAP).

The visible aspects of forest/river destruction and climate change must not, however, be allowed to overshadow the importance of their less visible social effects. The ways in which deforestation affects the lives of Amazonian women are not limited to the material destruction of the natural environment from which they derive their livelihoods. Deforestation forms part of an ongoing process of ethnocide that is operating on multiple environmental, social and cultural levels and which particularly affects women (CNDDHH, 2016). Violence against the forest is an attack on both the future and past of Amazonian peoples whose history, over the centuries, has been inextricably intertwined with the history of the forest environment. The fight against deforestation therefore requires a knowledge and defence of the territory that is based around women's daily endeavours. Recognition of the whole role of women and gender relations in the history of indigenous peoples, as played out in the Amazonian landscape, is at stake.

From ONAMIAP's point of view, the fight against deforestation begins by recognising the complex situations experienced by women in the current processes of change and their perception of the effects of settlers and deforestation on their lives and villages.

> Over the last 10 or 15 years, we have begun to reassess the value of Amazonian culture, with bilingual intercultural education to avoid losing our language. We now know our rights to territory, to a life free from violence, to speak our own language. When there are towns nearby or extractive companies arrive, there are changes, because the men begin to work, and the children too, and bars spring up. Men are earning money, so they get drunk. This affects the women, with *machismo*, violence. Some sisters begin to work in bars because they are looking for opportunities outside their communities. The women suffer a great deal. Many end up as single mothers. With the arrival of settlers, this also affects indigenous women because they abandon them with their children. This is a reality that we have to make known but also accept. I am a single mother, for example, but I've moved on with my children, religion has also had an effect. (Kety Marcelo López, president of ONAMIAP)

The struggle for the political inclusion of indigenous Amazonian women is aimed first and foremost at creating a new power relationship with which to face up to the changes affecting gender relations among indigenous peoples caused by settlers. Women are also fighting for inclusion within the new institutions of power, such as the community assembly, and for a fair distribu-

tion of political roles within the community, as these tend to reproduce the androcentric principles of national Peruvian political institutions and project structures of male/female subordination onto the Amazonian peoples, mirroring urban *criollo* gender relations. Indigenous women tend to participate in the community assemblies but often hold posts that are typically feminine, such as milk, exercise, childcare or food officer. One of the main barriers facing women in political positions is their mastery of the official language of the dominant national society. In fact, the political structures for indigenous participation are culturally predetermined and favour the hegemonic language of *criollo* and *mestizo* men. For women to be able to form a part of the new political power structures, we need to decolonise the gender relations that these forms of hegemonic language reproduce. (Mignolo 2000).

> For ONAMIAP, the issue of territory is key and above all the issue of women's participation in territorial governance. We have seen how our sisters do not participate in or are not present within the community's governing committees, and so we are working to raise awareness in the communities so that they can take a specific percentage of the roles on the committee; so that they can be present when decisions are taken that affect the community. We have a campaign called "Qualified Women" to make women more visible because only the men put themselves forward. It is the women who work the land; they who remain when their husband migrates to the city but, on a Sunday when there is an assembly, it is only their husbands that speak (Kety Marcelo López, president of ONAMIAP).

The demands that indigenous women are making within contemporary indigenous organisations are demands for recognition of their own female heritage. The struggle for territory will only be effective when women leaders open up spaces at all points in the negotiations with the state.

> Women defend the territory, and within the territory are water, forests, food and our food sovereignty, our medicines. We see the issue of territory as an issue that cuts across the whole agenda for defence of our rights. The defence of our territory is the defence of our life. We understand that without territory we are nothing. We will be extinguished as peoples because it is here that we have built our identity, our special relationship with nature (Kety Marcelo López, president of ONAMIAP).

The success of female indigenous politicians within the indigenous organisations is therefore decisive for the success of policies to defend the indigenous

territory from the state. In her study on the social impacts of the extractive industries in Ecuador, Gartor (2014:2) states that extractive activities in the Amazon have eroded the ways in which indigenous peoples organise their social reproduction and production, realigning them with the imperatives of the market economy. This is also the case among Peru's indigenous women. There are different kinds of settler in the Amazon who act as agents of deforestation in different ways and to different degrees and, in some cases, who join in defending indigenous kinship and their historic relationship with the forest. In most cases, however, their presence both inside and outside the communities has an impact on gender relations and introduces new patterns of masculinity among indigenous men, which emulate the hegemonic *mestizo* masculinity. Women's testimonials gathered by women's organisations from different Amazonian indigenous peoples working to defend indigenous rights warn that the settlement and pillaging of their forests is resulting simultaneously in an upsurge of violence against women and girls, an exacerbation of gender inequality and the sexual exploitation of indigenous girls and adolescents. (CHS Alternativo, 2011; Mujica & Cavagnoud, 2011; CNDDHH, 2016, Silva Santisteban, 2017).

In the words of Kety Marcelo López, indigenous women are tired of the disgraceful position to which indigenous male-dominated federations have relegated them. This gender imbalance within the indigenous federations is a consequence of a distancing of male indigenous leaders over the last few decades, who have gained an education and who are now reproducing the state institutions' gender hierarchies within their organisations.

> Guaranteeing our territories through titling is a strong demand of ours. And the Amazonian organisations are doing this but we want women to be included in this process not there just to do the cooking! We also know the forests, where the medicines can be found, the paths! Women need a presence as political actors, and recognition as rights holders. We are not asking for favours but simply for our rights. We want our contribution to be visible. And, once titled, we want there to be real governance, with women taking decisions for their community (Kety Marcelo López, president of ONAMIAP).

Bibliography

Agustí, Morgan. *Definición participativa de lineamientos para el estudio de la problemática del trabajo infantil en pueblos indígenas amazónicos y su enfoque desde el sistema educativo. Taller Subregional de Expertos sobre Trabajo Infantil Indígena*. Lima: FORMABIAB, 2008.

Balée, W. *Cultural forests of the Amazon: A historical ecology of people and their landscape*. Tuscaloosa Al: University of Alabama Press, 2013.

Belaunde, E. *El recuerdo de luna: género, sangre y memoria entre los pueblos amazónicos*. Lima: CAAAP, 2008.

---. "Deseos encontrados: escuela, profesionales y plantas en la Amazonía Peruana". In: *Revista de FAEEBA* (Salvador) 2010, v. 19, n.33, (119-133).

---. "La mujer indígena en la colonización amazónica: ruptura de la masculinidad, tránsitos y nuevos espacios políticos". In : *Mujer rural: cambios y persistencias*. Lima: CEPES, 2011, (181-206).

---. "Impactos de la explotación de hidrocarburos sobre las mujeres de los pueblos indígenas de la Amazonía peruana".. In: Chirif, Alberto (ed.) Deforestación en tiempos de cambio climático. Lima: IGWIA, 2018 (179-94).

CHS Alternativo (Capital Humano y Social Alternativo). *Explotación sexual e niñas e niños adolescentes en la ciudad de Iquitos*. Iquitos: CHS Alternativo 2014.

Clement, Charles; Denevan, William; Heckenberg, Michael; Braga Jungueira, André; Neves, Eduardo; Texeira, Wenceslau; Wood, Williams. *The domestication of Amazonia before the European conquest*. The Royal Society Publishing. rspb.royalsocietypublishing.org Proc.R.Soc.B 282:20150813, 2015.

Denevan, WN. Cultivated landscapes of Native Amazonia and the Andes. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.

---. Estimating Amazonian Indian numbers in 1492. Journal of Latin American Geography 13, 2014 (203-217).

Dourojeanni, Marc, Barandiarán, Alberto y Dourojeanni, Diego*. La Amazonía peruana en 2010.* Lima: SPDA, Pro-naturaleza, 2010.

FAO – United Nations Food and Agriculture Organisation, *Bosques y cambio climático*. Working Document 4. Rome, FAO, 2016.

Fondo de Acción Urgente (FAU) – América Latina y el Caribe. *Extractivismo en América Latina: Impacto en la vida de las mujeres y propuestas de defensa del territorio*. Bogota: FAU, 2016.

Fuller Osores, Norma. *Masculinidades: cambios y permanencias*. Lima: Fondo Editorial PUCP, 2001.

Gartor, Miriam, "El feminismo reactiva la lucha contra el 'extractivismo' en América Latina", 2014. In: http://www.lamarea.com/2014/02/17/ecuador-extractivismo-mujeres/

Gow, Peter. *Of Mixed Blood. History and kinship in native Amazonia*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991.

Heckenberg, M.; Russel, J; Fausto, C., Toney, J.; Schmidt, M.; Pereira, E; Franchetto, B; Kuikuro, A. *Pre-columbian urbanism, anthropogenic landascapes and the future of the Amazon*. Science 321, 2008 (1214 -1227).

Llacsahuanga, Ruth and **Belaunde**, Luisa. "Matrifocalidad y alternativas femeninas frente a la pérdida de los recursos alimenticios del bosque. Estudio de caso Shipibo-Conibo, Perú". Report produced for IGWIA-FAO, 2017.

Luna Amancio, Nelly. "Cuatro viudas contra el tráfico de madera", Ojo Público, 2014. In: http://ojo-publico.com/16/el-millonario-negocio-del-trafico-de-madera

Mannarelli, María Emma. "La infancia y la configuración de los vínculos en el Perú. Un enfoque histórico". In: Save the Children (ed.). *Políticas Públicas e Infancia en el Perú. Recomendaciones de política*. Lima: Save the Children UK, 2002.

Mignolo, Walter. "Diferencia colonial y razón post-colonial". In: Castro-Gómez S. (ed.). *La reestructuración de las ciencias sociales en América Latina*. Bogota: Centro Editorial Javeriano, 2000, p. 3-28

Mujica, Jaris; Cavagnoud, Robin. "Mecanismos de explotación sexual de niñas y adolescentes en los alrededores del puerto fluvial de Pucallpa". Anthropológica, XXIX, 29, 2011 (91-110).

National Coordinating Body for Human Rights, "Sobre vulneraciones diferenciadas a los derechos humanos de las mujeres indígenas en contextos de actividades extractivas en el Perú". Report submitted to the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights at its 159th period of sessions. Petitioner: Indigenous Peoples' Working Group of the National Coordinating Body for Human Rights of Peru, Lima, 2016.

Nureña, César et al. 2010. "Diversidad del comercio sexual entre hombres en tres ciudades peruanas". Manuscript awaiting publication.

Posey, D. *Indigenous management of tropical forest ecosystem. The case of the Kayapo Indians of the Brazilian Amazon*. Agroforestry Systems 3, 1985, (139-158).

Peluso, Daniela. “Ese Eja Epona: Woman’s social power in multiple and hybrid worlds”. Doctoral thesis. New York: Columbia University, 2003.

Posner, Emma. *Que sea algo: Una exploración de las esperanzas educativas de mujeres jóvenes de Santa Rosa de Huacaria*. Lima: SIT Perú, Pueblos Indígenas y Globalización (independent study project), 2010.

Rainforest, “Peru Refuses to Prosecute Murders of Indigenous Leaders” (transmedia), 2017. In: https://social.shorthand.com/RainforestUS/ugleh64v13/peru-refuses-to-prosecute-murders-of-indigenous-leaders

Ríos, Sandra, *El proceso de deforestación en el territorio cacataibo*. Lima: IBC, 2012.

Roosevelt, AC. “The Amazon and the anthropocene. 13,000 years of human influence in a tropical rain forest”. Anthropocene 4, 2014, (69 -87).

Sánchez, Melisa. “Cambios en los Machiguenga del Alto Urubamba-Cusco. Estudio comparativo de la organización social en Koribeni y Matoriato”. Graduate dissertation, Lima, National Federico Villareal University, 2009.

Silva Santisteban, Rocío. *Mujeres y conflictos ecoterritoriales. Impactos, estrategias, resistencias*. Lima: Convenio AECI, 2017.

SERFOR. Interpretación de la dinámica de la deforestación y lecciones aprendidas para reducirla. Lima: SERFOR, 2015. (p.14 causas de la deforestación)

Sudamérica Rural, “Perú: triunfo de asháninca de Saweto: ahora sí, ya es realidad el título, 2015. In: https://www.sudamericarural.org/noticias-peru/que-pasa/4186-peru-triunfo-de-ashaninkas-de-saweto-ahora-si-ya-es-realidad-titulo-de-propiedad-de-sus-territorios-ancestrales

Tubino, F. and **Zariquiey**, R. *Jenetian*: *El juego de las identidades en tiempos de lluvia*. Lima, San Marcos National Higher University, 2007.

Valqui, Michael; Feather, Conrad; Espinoza Llanos. Roberto. *Haciendo visible lo invisible: Perspectivas indígenas sobre la deforestación*. Lima: AIDESEP, 2014.

Villapolo, Leslie. Tajimat Pujut. *Para tener un buen vivir, las mujeres y los hombres sí podemos decidir. Un estudio sobre la participación de las mujeres awajún en el desarrollo local*. Lima: Terra Nuova, 2010

Virtanen, Pirjo. “Guarding, Feeding and Transforming: Palm Trees in the Amazonian Past and Present”. In: P. Fortis & I. Praet, *The Archaeological Encounter: Anthropological Perspectives*. Centre for Amerindian, Latin American and Caribbean Studies, University of St Andrews. Occasional Publication No 33, 2011 (12).

CLIMATE JUSTICE MUST BE ANTI-PATRIARCHAL OR IT WILL NOT BE *SYSTEMIC*

Majandra Rodriguez Acha

System change not climate change

Climate justice movements – our coalitions, collectives and organizations, activists, defenders and educators – ground our vision across regions in the imperative to build "system change not climate change". Through this, we recognize that climate change is a product of a system of extraction and exploitation of both nature and people – and that the dichotomy between "nature" and "people" is artificial, itself at the root of a system that categorizes life into the *dominated* and the *dominant*. By centering the "system", we acknowledge that climate change is not the problem but rather a symptom. Just as fever is a sign of an underlying illness in our body, global warming points to a deep-rooted imbalance in our predominant way of life.[1]The "system", when we begin to ground it in concrete practices and structures, is how our dominant societies, political institutions and economic systems organize and operate. In these, individualism, self-interest, logocentrism or the superiority of "rationality", and a binary view of the world, predominate. At the center is the possibility and desirability of power and material wealth, a zero-sum game that creates haves and have-nots. Within the current umbrella of neoliberal capitalism, these foundational elements are packaged and delivered as "profit", "competitiveness", "growth" and "progress". In this broader system, the Earth is a pool of material resources to be appropriated by "man" through our labor – as John Locke (1690) posited – and the environment is a set of conditions that humans can overcome with technological advancement and force.

As we rationalize and seek mass industrial production, hyper-consumption and accumulation, we have led ourselves to climate chaos and levels of environmental degradation comparable only to the beginning of prehis-

1. This article is a version of a previous paper published in Bhavnani, K-K, Foran, J., Kurian, P. & Munshi, D. (Eds). *Climate Futures: Re-imagining Global Climate Justice*. Zed Press, 2019 (Editor's note).

toric periods of extinction. We have forced a separation from that which gives us the possibility of life, extracting and polluting with disregard for the balance and interdependence of our ecosystems. In doing so, we are passing the limits of the stability of our planet as we know it. Climate change, as researched by a group of scientists housed by the Stockholm Resilience Center, is but *one* of *nine* planetary boundaries that ensure the possibility of human life on Earth (Steffen et al. 2015). We have surpassed the "safe operating space" for four of these boundaries, including biosphere integrity (biodiversity loss and extinctions), biogeochemical flows (excessive nitrogen and phosphorous from industrial and agricultural use) and, of course, climate change. Perhaps what is most alarming is what we do not understand: the full extent of our influence in disrupting the Earth's systems.

In this context of systemic crisis, how do we begin to break down these foundations, to center other ways of relating to each other, to ourselves, and to the "natural world"?

Capitalism and patriarchy are interdependent

We cannot draw a complete picture of the systemic crisis we are living in without centering the structural and historic systems of power and oppression based on race, ethnicity, class, gender and sexuality, as well as other roles and aspects of identity, that characterize our societies. In other words, how the "system" functions cannot be understood without seeing *who* occupies the role of the "dominant" and who the role of the subaltern on a structural level. The "dominated" are those whose bodies, lives and dignity are taken as a means to the end of accumulation: indigenous groups who have been colonized, workers on the lower rungs, black and brown "minorities" and *women* who are at the crossroads of multiple kinds of oppression. Understanding the mechanisms by which this plays out, and how these systems of oppression rely on each other to function, is fundamental to understand what "system change not climate change" means and looks like.

The young women and young feminists with whom I have worked in local and international gatherings and actions for climate and environmental justice understand the systemic nature of the current climate crisis very well. To many of us, climate change can not only be truly addressed by modifying our deep-rooted economic, political and social structures but also by acknowledging that **the system is capitalist as much as it is patriarchal**. As our lived experiences attest, our struggles as women, and as young women, are not separate from our environmental struggles. This is not only because how we

are perceived shapes our experiences and power relations as activists and environmental defenders – seen as vulnerable to harassment, not "important" or worth listening to – but also in terms of how the capitalist system and patriarchy are intertwined. The deep-rooted systems that are currently in place bring about *both* environmental degradation and the oppression of women.

Mainstream "gender analyses" of climate change often focus on the disproportionate effect of climate impacts on rural and indigenous women. As the World March of Women (*Marcha Mundial das Mulheres* 2012) describes, however: "It is not enough to identify that the impacts of the capitalist system are worse for women. An analysis of how capitalism uses patriarchal structures in its current process of accumulation is needed." This includes how the unpaid labor of women to reproduce and care for life is inherently taken as an indirect "subsidy" by our economic system. Women and female bodies create and care for life, often as a primary activity, or as a second or third "job", without monetary remuneration – that is, economically dependent upon habitually male wage-earners. This is compounded by women's socially, economically and politically subaltern position, which naturalizes these roles so that the system can continue to accumulate on our backs.

In the context of environmental degradation, women's care work shoulders the cost that polluters should pay to address human health impacts, particularly in rural areas. At the same time, child-bearing bodies are particularly vulnerable to chemical and other forms of contamination. The feminization of the countryside around the world further means that women are disproportionately relying on subsistence agriculture while men migrate to the cities for paid labor, meaning that women are most exposed and have the least economic resources to face natural disasters such as droughts and floods, and other climate change impacts. Of course, not all women are affected in the same way. The lives, bodies, territories and livelihoods of rural and indigenous women are at the core of these intersections, as well as women with precarious economies, the young and elderly, lesbian and queer women, trans and non-binary, women with disabilities, and those who inhabit other intersections of oppression.

From an intersectional feminist perspective, merely saying that women are the most affected by climate change is not only reductionist, glossing over the complexity of power relations and cultural contexts, but can also lead to superficial understandings of the type of change that is needed. Yes, climate initiatives of all kinds must ensure the meaningful participation of women,

the equitable distribution of benefits, and avoid increasing the burden and vulnerability of women and other marginalized groups. However, it is also necessary to go deeper and recognize, question and uproot the patriarchal configuration of our societies, and patriarchal power itself.

We must transcend the narrative of women as victims, and avoid the trap of essentialisms that naturalize care work as the responsibility of women, and that ascribe the reproduction of life solely to women's bodies, energy and time. To accomplish this, we must center the sustainability of life – caring for our own and each other's bodies, selves and lives – as a social, collective, political and economic priority, and recognize women's care work as an endeavor that requires strength, courage and wisdom. Essential to this is a breaking down of dominant, patriarchal dichotomies that separate and oppose "man" and "woman" with all the attendant essentialized binaries: strength-weakness; modernity (future)-tradition (past); civilization-nature; rationality-emotionality, and many others. Breaking down these dichotomies in our mainstream society is as key to destabilizing patriarchal dominance as it is to delegitimizing the mindset that distances "humans" from "nature" and serves to justify the depredation of the Earth.

Feminist climate futures

In mid-2017, in Nicaragua, I had the opportunity to work briefly with young women environmental activists and defenders from across Central America. They are powerful, courageous and wise. They are confronting all kinds of violence and harassment, from organized crime to left-wing governments that employ the same tactics of vigilance, repression and militarization, in alliance with companies vying to take over their community lands, territories and water, as any right-wing regime. Their groups and alliances are riddled with lawsuits, part of the global trend of environmental advocates being intimidated and burdened by illegitimate Strategic Lawsuits Against Public Participation (SLAPPs) (Saki 2017). These young women tell stories of how they transitioned from being primarily reproductive rights activists, in contexts such as El Salvador, where there are women in prison for having gone through an abortion after they were raped, to being environmental defenders as well. The imposition of large projects, from hydropower dams to urban expansion, mining and large-scale industrial agriculture on their communities cannot be separated from the other forms of oppression and violence that they experience. They are part and parcel of the same package and reinforce each other. As these young women have found, their environmental activism upsets political and

economic systems and institutions of power and, as a result, they are facing increased levels of gender-based violence and intimidation.If we are to have truly systemic change, it cannot be just those who directly live and experience the interdependence of capitalism and patriarchy that understand it and seek to transform it. In other words, we need feminist and climate justice movements to work together – and *our climate justice movements must be feminist in principle and practice*, whether we adopt the term "feminist" or not.

It is not a coincidence that, in many of the environmental activist spaces that I have been a part of, women have been a majority, yet it has been common for leadership and speaking roles to be held by male-identifying people, particularly those with socio-economic, racial and academic privilege. Acknowledging these dynamics, and actively seeking to build a different way of organizing, is key to building truly just, systemic and effective alternatives. When we walk into a meeting, when we work together on a campaign, when we are out on the streets, we cannot leave parts of our identity out – we come as our whole selves. Our bodies, voices, roles and relations are with us in our climate activism. Understanding the role that our identities play in our work, in how we are perceived and how we perceive others, and the need to counter all oppressions, is not "identity politics". As Kimberlé Crenshaw (2015), the black feminist legal scholar who coined the term "intersectionality" states: "Intersectionality is not just about identities but about the institutions that use identity to exclude and privilege. The better we understand how identities and power work together from one context to another, the less likely our movements for change are to fracture."

To bring about a "system change", we must center the voices, dignity and right to self-determination of those whom the system uses to keep its cogs turning, including but not limited to working-class women and indigenous and rural women. Our movements must defend their right, our right, to live free from violence and exploitation. Their participation in how we make decisions and how we build climate justice movements is not something to be "allowed" or "accommodated for" but a right that women have won across contexts. Those in privileged positions, and who have historically occupied leadership and visibility, must learn to step aside and out of the spotlight. Ultimately, we must build horizontal structures of operation, take down the spotlight and build strongly participatory movements.

Feminism, in the understanding of the eco-feminist groups that I am a part of, centers justice and fights against all forms of domination. We question

artificial binaries and recover the value and power of our emotional selves, as well as our deep interconnectedness with the Earth and all life. This entails unlearning narratives of "human" dominance over "nature", nurturing humility and recognizing the complexity of the natural systems that we are a part of and that we cannot pretend to understand or predict. It also entails focusing on building relations of solidarity and community, and grounding our activism in the fertile soil of our diversities.

One concrete way through which we can attempt to unlearn, and build systemic movements, is through feminist popular education. Paulo Freire's popular education seeks the transformation of society through dialogue and self-knowledge, organic and intuitive learning, awareness and the critical appraisal of reality, and the construction of new practices and forms of acting. From a feminist perspective, we start out by recognizing that we are all experts in our own realities and experiences and emphasize learning to think and act in ways that build our *power* in contradistinction from patriarchal notions of power. It is a power oriented by power to do, power to think and power to feel with autonomy from the mainstream; a power that is not characterized by the fear of its loss or by the taking of the other's power; a power that does not classify, and that does not need to destroy others and other existing life forms (Agua y Vida 2013, 19).

Examples of feminist popular education activities include the participatory mapping of our struggles and networks; "un-conference" spaces where participants become facilitators; bodily and other exercises that incorporate our emotional, spiritual, affective and subjective beings; the construction of critical and systemic thinking; learning in collectivity and through creativity; and the recovery of our voice and vision of the world (2013, 19 and 21). In this way, we are attempting to highlight the personal as political, make our diversities visible, rebuild our relationships, and legitimize our perspective and knowledge, always respecting our bodies and time in the process (2013, 34). It is one concrete way of strengthening our collectives, nurturing our vision and ourselves, and building healthy movements that are systemic in focus and action.

In conclusion

Climate chaos and environmental degradation necessitate inequality and domination: no being *wants* to experience these negative impacts. This is compounded by a sense of superiority and separation between "man" and "nature", which has for so long meant that we have not even *seen* these im-

pacts as negative. As the global effects of climate change become clearer and more tangible, however, those in dominant positions of power are doing everything they can think of, from technological fixes and back-up plans to spraying chemicals in our clouds and placing reflective shields in space to fleeing to other planets. They are seeking to escape the consequences of what we are doing, *without changing what we are doing*.

In this race for superficial "solutions" there will continue to be sacrificial zones, those first and most impacted, and those unable to escape the costs of the current system. Ultimately, this race can only end in short-term, ineffective answers to the root problems of exploitation and domination of people and planet. Will we export this to other planets when we are done with ours? When we call for "system change not climate change", we must ground that in *who* is most affected and *who* shoulders the costs of the current system, and we must build alternatives truly rooted in justice. For many around the world, it is clear that we are living a time of transition on many levels – from the climate and environmental crisis, to economic and political shifts and periods of uncertainty. The question must be *when and how* our current political and economic model will end, and *how we are building the foundations for what is to come, here and now.*

Bibliography

Agua y Vida: Mujeres, Derechos y Ambiente A.C. 2013. *Guía Metodológica para la inclusión de la perspectiva de género en el tema de los bienes comunes*. Chiapas, Mexico: Schenerok, A. & Cacho Niño, N. I

Crenshaw, K. 2015. "Why Intersectionality Can't Wait." *The Washington Post.* September 24. https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/in-theory/wp/2015/09/24/why-intersectionality-cant-wait/

Locke, J. 1690. "Of Property." In *The Second Treatise of Civil Government.* South Australia: The University of Adelaide.
Marcha Mundial das Mulheres. 2012. *O mundo não é uma mercadoria, as mulheres também não*. Brazil.

Saki, O. 2017. "How Companies are Using Lawsuits to Silence Environmental Activists – and How Philanthropy Can Help." The Ford Foundation. https://www.fordfoundation.org/ideas/equals-change-blog/posts/how-companies-

are-using-law-suits-to-silence-environmental-activists-and-how-philanthropy-can-help/

Steffen, W. et al. 2015. "Planetary Boundaries: Guiding Human Development on a Changing Planet." *Science*. January 15. http://science.sciencemag.org/content/early/2015/01/14/science.1259855

SUMAQ KAWSAY, RIGHTS OF NATURE AND TERRITORIAL DEFENDERS

Rocío Silva Santisteban

Abstract

The article analyses the rise of *sumaq kawsay* as a concept that proposes deep epistemic change and which, in the context of a decolonial strategy, is being implemented within the alliances forged by women and their bodies in relation to extractive activities and climate change, focusing particularly on the possibility of incorporating a defence of the rights of nature as a defence of other kinds of life.

Key words

Territories-body, ontologies, women defenders, natural resources, natural beings

In memory of Aníbal Quijano and Etsa Tsajuput

When I was just five years old, my grandmother found me with my ear pinned to the kitchen floor. "What are you doing?!" she reproached me. "Be careful or you'll hear the spirits and they'll pull you down to the centre of the earth." This was her way of stopping me from getting dirty from lying on the floor. But she gave me a real fright. In actual fact, all I had wanted to do was listen to the sound of the earth, of Pachamama itself, of which she had told me so much. I was always an urban girl, *mestizo*, an asthmatic from Lima, but that unique and mystical sense that we Peruvians - and many Latin Americans - have of our land is ancestral, and linked to traditions which we have concealed rationally in history but maintained emotionally in memory. I am referring to the multiple memories of ontological relationships with nature that transgress the treaties of positive and Western law, as well as anthropocentric epistemes.

In recovering the knowledge that has been passed down from our mother's ancestors and from the memory of emotions, I therefore believe that one of the great debates that should set the context for the work, research, public debates, national policies and analysis of the different problems of climate change and women, pluriverse development, extractivism and resistance in the bodies of women fighting for territory must be the concrete possibility of considering the rights of nature a part of Peru's legal order and the benchmark for an authentic Andean development in line with *sumaq kawsay*. Both must also take into consideration the other great contribution from the Andean South: the concept of colonialism and the different decolonising strategies that many women - in Ecuador, Bolivia, Colombia, Guatemala, Honduras and Peru - are proposing.

Colonialism and epistemic beginnings

We should first of all acknowledge the epistemic opening that enabled the concept of "colonialism" to arise in all its different meanings and, although we have not yet escaped this androcentric paradigm, I feel that in more recent texts, its author - the sociologist Aníbal Quijano - was able to take a critical view in this regard. In her introduction to Quijano's work, Rita Segato recognises that, within the limits of a non-feminist viewpoint, he was able to note that colonialism:

> "affected not only racial relations of domination but also the oldest relations, sexual relations of domination. Henceforward, the place of women, particularly women of inferior race, was to remain stereotyped along with other bodies, and how much more inferior was their race, both closer to nature and directly, than in the case of black slaves within nature. It is likely, although the question has yet to be considered, that the idea of gender was created after the new and radical dualism, as part of a Eurocentric cognitive perspective" (Segato 2014, p.15).

There have undoubtedly been changes in the concept of *colonialism* —as the "other face" of modernity— that have required openness from the very start to other ways of understanding our environment and the different and genocidal forms of development to this day being implemented by the hegemonic discourse of global capitalism, particularly the extractive activities that use plunder capitalism, the criminalisation of protest and perverse relationships between central patriarchy and peripheral patriarchy to impose their domination.

It is around these two last points that I would like to develop this work, specifically through the testimonies and discourse of different Peruvian peasant and indigenous women who have been involved in the protests to defend their territories, water, water sources, the destroyed or murdered bodies of their sons and husbands; women who have used their own bodies to defend life itself.

I am talking about such women as Máxima Acuña de Chaupe and Teresita Antazú —leader of AIDESEP during the Bagua massacre—, as Tarcila Rivera de Chirapaq, now a member of the UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues (2017-2019), and Elsa Merma, leader of the K'ana Nation (Espinar), as Yesica Patiachi, Harakbut woman and defender of her territory and the lives of indigenous girls. I have interviewed all these women during different work or research roles in the run up to this article and many of them have told me of the need to "get their voices heard" in academic works in order to disseminate an understanding of their resistance and struggle from "their way of thinking".

Ontological changes: assets, beings, rights of nature

I should also note the changes that have taken place in the concept of "natural resources" in recent years: happily, we are now moving away from a developmentalist and anthropocentric perspective. Today, thanks to a "rights of nature" perspective, inspired by the Quechua people's *sumaq kawsay* (or the Aymara's *sumaq camaña*), the perception of "resource" to "meet human needs" has changed diametrically, so much so that respect for nature has resulted in a conceptual change in this regard to nature's "assets", i.e., the elements intrinsic to it. Now, in a totally Western text such as the *Laudatio Si*, Pope Francis has recovered the ancestral peoples' concept and talks of "assets of creation" and states that "it is not enough to think of different species merely as potential 'resources' to be exploited, while overlooking the fact that they have value in themselves" (Francisco 2015, p.28).

I believe that discursive epistemic relationships with Amazonian and Andean peoples have long demanded that we rethink these changes and understand, in a much more profound way, that we are talking about "natural beings" with a completely different ontological constitution. It is precisely what my grandmother used to talk to me about, about the *guacas* or *tirakuna*, or *tiyakuykuna* ("those who live with them"), or in Ayacucho *yachaykuna* ("those who live") or *kawsaykuna* ("those who inhabit") and it is the way in which, from a perception of the completely different being, Andean men and women live/perceive what we inhabit and what inhabits us in order to be nature, which is alive.

The *kawsaykuna* are with Pachamama. It is not just the "environment" or "space" or "lands", as perceived from a Western culture and which rationally forces us to think of a subject-object relationship —one of ownership, for example— but something that is closer to what we currently understand by territory, namely, all the economic, social, cultural and symbolic links and bonds that originate in a particular space between all living beings in that space, even if this is still clearly a Eurocentric vision.

Marisol de la Cadena, who has written an article in this same book, has insisted in conversations with me that this proposal is very far from what is being proposed as "rights of nature" from an ecocentric vision. She maintains that, in the Andean world, *tirakuna* "exceeds" the episteme that enables the organisation of politics and law. Earth-beings are "presences that emerge from local living relationships, in which the people we know as humans and the people we call earth-beings have a joint space in a particular geographic location which in the Andes we call *ayllu* […] *ayllu* is a space in which earth-beings and humankind establish a relationship" (De la Cadena 2019, p. 15).

Can we argue that rights of nature somehow give earth-beings the possibility of a political life? I do not believe that rights of nature have been considered from this perspective but there is clearly a powerful link to a world vision that has Pachamama as its fundamental element.

But then again, do rights of nature propose separating the legal relationship from what we would usually think of as a paradigm of norms? In a world so bureaucratised with our positive law, is there some way of even touching upon the possibility of being able to include a concept that broadens this objectivising view of nature? There may be many differences between one proposal and another, regardless of whether they come from different conceptual ways of thought, but there is a thread that weaves, albeit slightly and precariously, some kind of approach that may be productively negotiated in the field of politics: the defence of these earth-beings. And this thread is woven by women in order to defend the earth-beings or natural resources from the unprecedented destruction of ecosystems and climate change.

Women and trees

During the 1970s, a peaceful movement of poor peasants, artisans and women emerged, known as *chipko*, whose challenges and protests consisted of hugging trees to prevent them from being cut down. These practices, first implemented in Uttar Pradesh, India, as a way of resisting deforestation, in line with Mahatma Ghandi's concept of *sarvodaya*, were so powerful that

legal tree felling was virtually brought to a halt (Jain 1984). One of the most important ecofeminists and seed defenders, Vandana Shiva, emerged from the vicissitudes of this movement's struggle for nature. Shiva emphatically maintains that: "The source of the *chipko* movement's capacity for resistance —whose two decades of activity have ranged from hugging trees to linking arms around hills and water sources — lies in the invisible strength of women themselves [peasants]. Each new phase of the *chipko* movement has been created by invisible women" (Shiva 1998: 130).

But let us return to the way in which some jurists in Latin America attempt to trivialise the concept of rights of nature: they argue that the defence of those rights is limited to considering a tree as being subject to rights. I do not believe that women hugging trees in Uttar Pradesh had even thought about whether these trees have rights or not: the need to prevent deforestation made them act with their bodies, hugging the trees to protect them. In this act, the caring role that women from most cultures exercise was brought to play, as was the powerful link between bodies and territories, between life and life. For this reason, **the close hug between a woman and a tree** results in a transfer from an anthropo-/androcentric vision to a biocentric vision: in reality, **the rights holder is the woman-tree bodily amalgam,** namely, the ecosystem formed of **body and territory.**

Defending nature and its rights is not crazy and neither is it a fashionable nor an outdated act: poor women in Uttar Pradesh, Sorochuco (Cajamarca) and the K'ana nation in Espinar (Cusco) are both doing it: "We are a group of women ready to defend our territories; we are in contact with our comrades in Lima, Puno; there is much work and sometimes… many attacks against us personally: 'There's that group of anti-mining terrorists,' they would say. But we carried on…particularly with our radio programme in Quechua, here in Espinar" (Elsa Merma, March 2019).

In addition, both Ecuador's and Bolivia's constitutions incorporate rights of nature, in line with the spirit of the famous *Earth Charter* (UNESCO 2000). It is important to note that the *Earth Charter* invites us to cease the self-destruction of the planet and to start again by developing a universal awareness of the importance of nature itself. The proposal is to move from the idea of protecting nature as a means of human subsistence to protecting it for its intrinsic value. Why? Because it is essential to protect not only the survival of our own species but of all species.

So, with examples such as that of the *chipko* women or Máxima Acuña de Chaupe, we need to move towards an understanding of nature as assets to

be enjoyed by men and women, while considering ourselves, as human beings, as a part of that nature, to be protected in its entirety. It is precisely on this issue that Máxima Acuña notes: "We women really understand, we have a relationship with the earth that we work, with the animals, and then this company comes along and tells us: 'You have no future, you have no development here, go to the city. There's your future, there's development, there you'll find money.' […] But we, as women, how can we accept this? We are used to living here, how can we leave our land, our animals, the water we use for free! They mistreat us, reject us, insult us, humiliate us, they go to our neighbours and say, 'That woman is ignorant, that woman is this or that, she doesn't want a future, she doesn't want development', but they don't realise what we are protecting…" (Interview with Máxima Acuña de Chaupe, January 2017).

In May 2019, during a seminar on indigenous women and territorial defence held in the Antonio Ruiz de Montoya University, a young economics student asked three Amazonian women —Yessica Patiachi (Harákmbut), Rittma Urquía (Yiné) and Betty Rubio, (Kichua from the Napo River)— about the possibility of "putting a value on" nature. I was the moderator and I realised that none of the three speakers had answered this question: I thought they had forgotten about it and so I raised it again. All three had ignored it on purpose, however. They were tired of this Western viewpoint being raised of giving nature a price and turning it into a commodity just so that Westerners could understand its value. Annoyed, the three insisted on the ill-advisedness of trying to "buy nature" in one place in order to plunder it in another —that this was the vision of REDD (Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation in developing countries) and, in some ways, of REDD+ too (conservation, sustainable management of forests, and enhancement of forest carbon stocks). This made no sense to the three women because the planet is totally interconnected and so the proposal lacks any coherence.

It is difficult for human beings, who have always been perceived as swaying between absolute domination and supreme insignificance: from being the King of Species, the mortal god, to being a simple grain of sand in an almost infinite universe, realising that we are not at its centre. Galileo Galilei almost ended up at the stake for suggesting something as logical as the fact that "we" might not be the centre of the system.

To close the discussion on this aspect and review territorial defence using the bodies of women, I would like to recall some ideas put to me by Etsa Tsajuput, one of my students at the Antonio Ruiz de Montoya University. Etsa was an Awajún from Imaza who, with an incredible craving for knowledge,

described - from his perspective as a student of philosophy and politics - some ideas from his own culture which he considered needed urgently raising among urban *criollo* Peruvians in order to achieve internal and external harmony, specifically, by re-assessing nature. Etsa Tsajuput said that in the Awajún world, human beings: "Achieve their '*dékamu'* of reality on the basis of an understanding of natural cycles, the wealth of the land, the diversity of seeds, the classification of other living beings, magical rites and other similar '*dékamu'*. But all this '*dékamu'* takes place in an imaginary in which nature and humanity form a single group, not determined but flexible according to the signs of the current time…" (Tsajaput 2010:19). For Etsa, human beings and nature are continuously fluid and their value are precisely expressed in this intimate identitary relationship.[1]

Defending territory with a woman's body

It is not possible to understand the tense relationships and different forms of violence in the juncture between territory, extractive activity and the lives of women without taking into account the relationships between dependent patriarchy, male chauvinism, colonialism, plunder or "booty" capitalism and the extractivist model, all within the context of a profoundly unequal society that considers otherness as "disposable" or symbolically "rubbishes" it.

The extractive activity that is being undertaken in our and many other countries of the Global South —mining, oil, gas, agroindustry, fishing, predatory tourism — through the plundering of territories is being imposed by means of a biopolicy that functions efficiently using state resources, by means of secret agreements with the national police and even the use of the Public Prosecutor to criminalise not only protest but opposition to extractivism, imposing a central patriarchy from its colonising perspective and bending it to the different local patriarchies.

Every Peruvian government since 1992 has considered extractive activities to be the way to integrate Peru into the global economy. They are not interested in the 200 dead, over a thousand injured and hundreds of people denounced for different reasons in the eco-territorial conflicts along the way. And while most people who die in these conflicts are not women but men (82%), this does not mean that women are not deeply affected by the different confrontations during such escalating conflict. The different forms of violence

1. Etsa or Éddingtong Tsajuput Anguash-Dawing, a politics student at the Antonio Ruiz de Montoya University, died of an aneurysm in 2010, aged 24. None of his intellectual work has ever been published. He left me a text entitled "*Formación y cosmovisión awajún*" ("Awajún formation and cosmovision"), which I have been trying, thus far unsuccessfully, to get published. I will continue in my endeavours.

they suffer often remain invisible and yet women have placed their bodies and raised their voices in spaces that are tremendously dangerous for them, and all because of the specific urgency of ensuring a fluid *dékamu* between nature and being that binds them into one.

For example, on 24 June 2011, at the Inca Manco Capac airport in Juliaca, Puno, one police officer shouted to another: "Kill that woman with *waraqa*, kill that shit *chola*, go on, go on". The woman, Petronila Coa Huanca, fell to the ground, murdered by a bullet from the national police force: racism, sexism, scorn, the brown bodies of indigenous women are permanently and insistently disparaged and *symbolically rubbished* (Silva Santisteban 2007, p.61). The protests taking place in Lima involved tear and vomiting gases; the protests in Juliaca, Celendín, Espinar and other towns around Peru were brought under control by force using Israeli-produced Galil rifles. And who says anything? Who defends us? No-one, because everyone believes that mining, although it may kill a few people, is Peru's salvation. That's the point! These people are collateral damage in Peru's triumph: these brown bodies of indigenous and peasant peoples from Espinar, Conga, Cañariaco, Tía María, Cuninico.

Extractivism as a development policy has achieved something quite unusual: it has managed to get its proposal accepted as common sense. People think of Peru as a mining country and, if its resources are not exploited then they are "unused goods", like the beggar who does not know what to do with the bank of gold he is sitting on. The extractivist model has been a perfect fit with the neoliberalism announced in the 1993 Fujimori Constitution. For example, the idea that the technical should prevail over the political, one of the slogans of Fujimorism, is also used by the huge mining, oil or energy infrastructure companies—such as Odebrecht— to impose their model and make us believe that those who question them are "anti-systemic terrorists". This victory of extractivist rhetoric is due not only to the investments made by large extractivist groups in the mass media but to **smear and stigmatisation campaigns** against those proposing the opposite or denouncing the contamination, specifically the women defending their territories. This is clearly what Máxima Acuña de Chaupe was referring to in her testimony when she maintained that "they undermine us".

The smear campaigns established, more often than not, by the extractive companies themselves as a desperate way of preventing the ethical leadership of women are one of the lowest blows against women defenders of territory. Company-hired journalists or their paid social media operators are responsible for creating, raising and maintaining this stigma. These are not

throwaway comments: they are planned campaigns, from various sources at the same time and, as in the most age-old situations on the planet, the most childish smears are chosen: whores, thieves or simply ignorant. This stigma is based on an extension of female stereotypes created by the patriarchy to disqualify women. These stereotypes are multiple and, moreover, of historic date. Such smears are not born of and disseminated solely by the media; they are sustained by the state and its conspiracy theory of an anti-mining boycott against Peru. This stigma can reach fanatical levels and one of its foundations, taken up by the state bodies in order to "resolve the conflicts", is that of a conspiracy theory. This theory and the authoritarian institutional system are so intertwined, so powerfully rooted, that they form a single whole. Women defenders are thus criminalised, accused of terrorism —as in the case of the economist Julia Cuadros from the institution Cooperacción— and also spied upon and monitored. These situations damage family relationships and expose their children to danger, and so woman defenders are under intense pressure when they realise they are also exposing their loved ones: "We have had some very difficult times when they tapped our phone calls, followed us, or even entered our homes. They have even monitored our children, and this has worried us greatly" (Interview with Mirtha Vásquez, February 2017).

In addition, the police and the authorities are constantly threatening women and their children in the context of social protest. When women defenders place their bodies in the path of attacks from the companies or security forces, the only thing they fear is that something might happen to their children: this is their Achilles heel. This issue could be taken into account by the leaders of the peasant organisations, the community security patrols or the water committees but there is, in turn, a great deal of resistance from male leaders to women participating as recognised and officially accepted leaders and so the risk they run is not considered seriously by the organisations. Sometimes, the women are "used" as a barrier in the protests on the assumption that the police would find it harder to beat them. This is not at all certain, however, and they are often hit with much greater force. And yet during the dialogue processes with the Peruvian state, women leaders do not participate or are confined to the kitchen preparing the communal meal. This has been the case in numerous different negotiation processes, such as in Conga, in the presence of priests Gastón Garatea and Miguel Cabrejos (2012), and in Cuninico, Loreto (August 2016).

Central and peripheral patriarchy: brotherhood among unequals

Plunder capitalism has an ally that helps it hugely: patriarchy or, better put, the different kinds of patriarchy that operate in these extractivist spaces "of

not being". Agreements between company officials, engineers or members of the central patriarchy and members of the peripheral patriarchy such as governors, patrol members or community or peasant presidents, are usually consolidated because they are "agreements between men". These links are totally asymmetrical and, often, the men in the peripheral patriarchy act in this way in order to gain prestige and recognition from the men of the central patriarchy that holds power. Women, however, are completely cut out of these interactions.

This is why Máxima Acuña said: "Let's say that your company workers need to enter that land, they quickly grab it, they find the man out there, they shake hands, they say: 'Hello, how are you, friend, if it's ok with you, let's go eat chicken, have a soda…' This is what the companies do and it's usually done by men. After that they tell them, 'This is what we're going to do.' He's already convinced... he goes home and he doesn't tell his wife, doesn't tell his children. It's only once everything's begun that the problems start, and only then do they tell their wife, their children" (Interview with Máxima Acuña de Chaupe, January 2017). It is an example of decision-making behind women's backs and of the problems that subsequently occur because, of course, the women are disproportionately affected and they then challenge their husbands but by then it is too late.

Another issue is that, within this peripheral patriarchy, there are also strategies in place to prevent women's recognition, despite the invaluable work they do in the protests and struggles: we have mentioned how the male leaders ensure that few, if any, women participate in the dialogue meetings but the state, too, does not realise that the discussions need to have a significant gender component in order to promote greater women's participation.

Faced with this reality, the women equip themselves in other ways: care, sisterhood, leadership positions completely outside of the male patriarchy, links between bodies and nature, because plunder capitalism preys on both equally. Women involved in different forms of resistance to extractivism have used many different creative strategies: from caring for other comrades' children to women-only protests to produce an amplifier effect in the press. And using these resources, women defenders have become promoters of their local culture and of their artistic practices, often using poems and songs to pass on the history of their struggle.

Although women have gained prominence in the various forms of resistance, they continue to be responsible for the care and reproduction of life, and this is still undervalued as a contribution to the struggle, although it is a fun-

damental element that makes it possible. The active involvement of women in leadership, as spokespersons, in the construction, coordination and positioning of an agenda enriched by their contributions, challenges men on a personal and family level, as well as within their organisations.

In addition, the alliance between rural and urban women to raise awareness of their demands has been an effective, albeit under-utilised, strategy in these conflicts. As in the case of Máxima Acuña de Chaupe, for example, the sisterhood between them has enabled highly productive strategies to be used: not only legal strategies reaffirming a spirit of respect for the law but also symbolic strategies reaffirming the paradigmatic visibility of women's cultures.

Personally, I am convinced there is a need to work on the issue of chauvinism in peripheral patriarchal spaces (rural men, illiterate, peasants or members of indigenous peoples). What must be emphasised is that bringing violence against women under control would be highly beneficial to the community as a whole: the freer women feel to participate fully in organisations, municipalities or in other regional spaces the better it will be for the community, especially for the children. Women's potential will be recognised: in how they organise, how they protect food sovereignty, in their ability to mitigate the effects of climate change, which is something they do on a daily basis. They are the ones helping to protect the diversity of plants for medicinal uses and they are the ones who can propose ways of protecting them from attempts to patent or appropriate them.

Recognising women's culture as a culture of peace, as a way of implementing a kind of care-based development in a fulfilled life, is something we must consider as a change in the civilising paradigm: it is a concrete action with which to face up to the devastations of climate change.

Bibliography

De la Cadena, Marisol. Protestando desde lo incomún. Silva Santisteban, Rocío (editor). Mujeres indígenas y cambio climático, Lima, IWGIA, 2019, p. 35-48.

Francisco, *Laudato Si, Sobre el cuidado de la casa común*. Lima, Paulinas, 2015.

Jain, Shobita. “Women and People’s Ecological Movement: A Case Study of Women’s Role in the Chipko Movement in Uttar Pradesh”, *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 19, No. 41 (Oct. 13, 1984), pp. 1788-1794.

Segato, Rita Laura. “La perspectiva de la colonialidad del poder. Introducción a la obra de Aníbal Quijano”, Palermo, Zulma y Pablo Quintero (comp.). *Textos de Fundación,* Buenos Aires, Ediciones del Signo, 2014, p.

Shiva, Vandana. “El concepto de libertad de las mujeres del movimiento chipko”. Shiva, Vandana and Mies, María. *La praxis del ecofeminismo. Biotecnología, consumo y reproducción*. Barcelona, Icaria, 1998, p. 129-136.

UNESCO, Earth Charter, English version, 2000. At https://earthcharter.org/virtual-library2/the-earth-charter-text/

Tsajuput Anguash, Etsa. “Formación y Cosmovisión awajún. Waímat, Ajútap y condición para una propuesta alternativa al desarrollo y nuevo estilo de vida actual”, 2010, unpublished manuscript.

TARCILA RIVERA

"CLIMATE CHANGE AFFECTS WOMEN FIRST AND FOREMOST"

Interview by Rocío Silva Santisteban

Tarcila Rivera Zea is one of the most renowned indigenous activists in Peru and, indeed, the world. She has been defending indigenous rights for more than 25 years from within her organisation, the "Centre for Indigenous Cultures of Peru" (Chirapaq). She has received awards from and been recognised by UNICEF, the Ford Foundation, the Fuego Sagrado Foundation, the Ministry of Culture and the Ministry of Women in Peru for her work on and contribution to the promotion and defence of indigenous peoples. She formed part of UN Women's Civil Society Advisory Group and is currently an appointed member of the UN Permanent Forum for Indigenous Issues (2017-2019). In this interview, Rivera reflects on the "natural" monitoring that women do of climate change, on the relationship between its damage and women's work, on "piped" water, the indigenous peoples' own agenda, women's empowerment (for example, the case of our other interviewee, Tania Pariona) and on the effects of REDD and carbon offsetting.

Rocío Silva Santisteban (RSS): Tarcila, how does climate change affect women, given that women are a particularly vulnerable group, and given their involvement in raising children, caring for nature and food sovereignty? Do you really think that climate change has a more negative impact on women than men or is it actually quite similar?

Tarcila Rivera (TR): No, it is greater on women.

RSS: Why?

TR: Because, unfortunately, of women's roles in the communities: they take primary responsibility for ensuring food is on the table. So in a time of drought or extreme weather, shall we say, when no food is being produced, it is the woman who has to meet the family's needs. In the Andes, for example, it is the women who tend the garden, growing a few vegetables, aromatic herbs or maybe seasonal crops. The situation is even more critical now because so

many men have left the communities to find work as day labourers to earn money to educate their children in the towns. The women stay behind, alone, in the community looking after the animals, caring for the young children and working in the fields. From one moment to the next, these women are running here and there: maybe there's a cow, sheep or donkey on the ground with a stomach pain and she doesn't know how to deal with it. And she can't leave the little ones alone but all of a sudden there's no extended family for support.

For me [climate change] affects women first and foremost because they are responsible for providing food for the family generally. The children don't go and ask their fathers for food, they go to their mother and say, "Mum I'm hungry." They don't go to their father! Women in the Amazon, for example, are the ones that go out gathering food. If they already have cassava, then they go out gathering other fruits for the family, not to sell but to eat themselves. In the past, the men would have gone hunting or fishing but that time is long gone. So the women have their small gardens and crops to meet the family's food needs. Every season or every extreme climate change, when the crop fails, they are the first ones affected because they don't have food or the possibility of providing for their family.

And if there is no water and no harvest then there are no seeds and so we have another problem. Women's knowledge of seeds is disappearing, particularly in relation to agrocentric farming. In our case, in the Andes, I have heard that there is a trend towards better observation (something that has been done historically) of the changes that are occurring due to climate change. For example, someone told me that there a little worm that is now being found at higher altitudes than before, which is eating the white flowers of the potato; not the brown flowers just the white ones. The women thus discovered that the ecosystem of this little worm is changing such that it has migrated to higher altitudes, damaging other crops. I don't know if this has been tested in laboratories but this is what the women are saying.

RSS: Given what you're saying, about the work women can do monitoring small almost imperceptible changes such as this worm, should the government take women more seriously?

TR: Definitely, we have always been the depositories of knowledge, based on our practical application and learning and doing. When did they discover this worm? When they were weeding. There comes a stage when plants are growing that you have to remove the weeds. So, when they were weeding, they discovered this worm at the higher altitude; they talked about it and discussed it and said, well it never used to be here, so why now? We are at high altitude,

why has it come here? Because it's getting warmer down below. Its ecosystem has changed and the worm was suffocating at the lower levels so it climbed up to a climate more suited to its life and began damaging the plants there.

Sometimes it seems that, on the one hand, knowledge is being lost but, on the other, new knowledge is also being generated from the same practice. This is why we say that indigenous knowledge is not static; [we have] this capacity to observe and innovate and respond to the new context. Now the women will need to find a way of removing that worm so that it does not damage the potato crop because, for example, if the flowers do not mature, the tubers will be stunted. And they learned something else important: which potatoes are most resistant to this worm? So they observed that the worms were eating the white flowers because they are sweet but not the red/brown flowers from the red potato because they are bitter. But what was it in there that was resistant to this worm? One way or another they have found tubers resistant to extreme climates.

RSS: So women's observations are generating new knowledge with which to combat climate change.

TR: They are even finding out which seeds are most resistant to drought or cold weather; this is another form of knowledge. The women observe and talk about these things and then share their thoughts with their husbands because, in this case, [knowledge] is still managed within the community and the family. Sometimes the response comes from the community, and then word gets around at fairs or markets. Now, all kinds of questions are arising in areas where they want to continue to produce healthy products without using agrochemicals.

RSS: Have agrochemicals penetrated into family production?

TR: There are areas where they are using products that can be adapted to the zone but that's more in agribusiness, you know? Monocropping. They use a certain product, a fertiliser or insecticide, and then when it rains it leaches into the ground and spreads, damaging everything. Where I live, for example, the women still prefer small potatoes because they have more flavour and are produced naturally.

What is the significance of placenta burial?

RSS: How would you define the link between women, land and territory? It's common to hear "my body, my territory" but is this really the case? How do women perceive of territory? Is it different to men?

TR: We don't talk in conceptualisations; we prefer action based on our practical lived experiences. For example, what does it mean for a woman to have to bury her unborn baby? Or the placenta? We believe you are giving back your mother because, for us, the placenta is our mother. Why shouldn't the dog eat it or it simply be thrown away? Because it has to be returned to Mother Earth and you have to – as we say in Quechua – you have to plant your mother, because if not it is like a shame that you will never forgive yourself for. You would be breaking with the whole process of generating life, so you must return it once more to the earth to continue generating life.

RSS: I wasn't aware of this custom. Beautiful …

TR: Yes, it is. The significance of the placenta for women – even those who have not given birth and never planted a placenta – is that it is a community tradition, you can see this from people not born in the community. I can see this from my youngest sister, who was born in the town. We grow up in the community loving everything there is. Why? Because from the minute you begin to crawl, my goodness! You discover the flowers, that you can eat this flower but not this one; then you begin to tend the fields with your parents and you see how the maize, chickpeas and beans grow and how they become food and give you life. This observation of the life process in the community is what makes us love the land and so we now know to say enough is enough. We eat, we drink and we live from the land and the environment.

In terms of spirituality, we believe the mountains protect us; one is male, the other female. This is why we create this awareness about everything. And give them the respect they deserve – because we are also afraid of them – for example, you can't just settle on any old virgin land because you might get your butt kicked.

RSS: (laughs)

TR: It encompasses you, Mother Earth wants to take you, because you are a little girl. On the one hand, you have this wonderful thing called Pachamama. Why Pachamama? Because it is Mother Earth. Because Pachamama is not simply the land we sow, Pachamama is...

RSS: … it is everything.

TR: It is everything, the whole that we are a part of. We also have this highly developed perception: if it were not for Mother Earth, nature, what would we live from? What would we eat? Breathe? Gather?

RSS: A woman from Junín, in Huancayo, told me: "I think that men sometimes fight over a centimetre of land and we women would say, I don't want to spoil this centimetre of land, you take it." In other words, I'm not going to fight over this centimetre; I prefer to lose it so that this land remains alive…

TR: But Huancayo is another culture, another conception. The people kill each other for land. Historically we did, too, because land means life. If you have no land you cannot live […] I would disagree with this woman, because it depends on the context. Huancayo is a far more commercial area. So what does land mean for her if not its use value? For us even a square metre is precious. My father used to share out land using a 15-metre rope so that everyone had the same amount. I am looking after something that was my ancestors, and I only began to understand this when I saw the reactions of different families. Why fight for this heap of stones? They're being greedy (laughs). But I am trying to understand and, in her heart, a woman will know she can't give up that plot of land because it was her father's and his father's before him: she will defend what is hers. Even if it is a square metre (laughs).

RSS: I understand…

TR: This is how we have grown up. A square metre doesn't mean the same to my little sister who grew up in the town.

RSS: What the woman from Huancayo was saying was that she felt that women protected the land for something more than just profit.

TR: Oh, she meant the opposite?

RSS: Yes. She lives on the road to Oxapampa. She felt that women protected the land for something more than profit; in contrast, the men would think, "If I can make some money, what does it matter? I'll sell the land." The women sometimes insisted on not selling, not because they were mad but because they felt they had to save that piece of land.

TR: So you have to ensure your continued existence in your lived environment. In our case, it's the same. It is a different way of understanding this relationship and, well, we kill each other for land.

The main obstacles to combating climate change

RSS: What are the main obstacles preventing women from playing an active role in climate prevention and mitigation? What are the main obstacles you have had to overcome in preventing climate change? Do these obstacles come from the state or from other communities?

TR: The main obstacles come from the state because there is no information about climate change and how fast it is occurring and their view is very different to that of the communities. We live from agrocentric production and we have a clos relationship to our whole universe. Peasant women read the stars, interpret the appearance or disappearance of small mammals; the migration of animals this way or that. All these are what we call signs in the Andean world. The women know how to manage these things but now changes are occurring with greater force and more unexpectedly.

Older people are saying: "I can't trust what I see in the stars any more." Why? Because now [the different phenomena] are coming more frequently and with more strength. "When have we seen a hailstorm like this?" they say. In the past, hailstones were the size of lentils, now they're huge things that destroy everything. And because the state provides no systematic information to warn us, to inform us, we are unprotected. If there was some kind of system to warn us, we could plan preventive action. They could advise us on what seeds to store, when to sow or when the rains are coming. We begin to sow, prepare the land between October and November, then we wait for the rain and it doesn't come. So the soil becomes hard again. It's double the work, hoping it will rain, then it doesn't and we lose the seed. Everything's changed. We think it is the state's duty to inform us in language that everyone understands. In terms of adaptation, there need to be context-appropriate seed programmes, they need to continue creating some level of infrastructure for adequate water, so that water isn't wasted.

Piped water

TR: Now we come to a problem related to the extractive industries in areas that depend on rainfall. Rain provides water which you then use throughout the year to sow, because the belief in Lima is that you need to pipe water simply to use in the house. This is totally wrong. The World Bank invited me to a meeting to explain this investment in piped water. I said, "I'm sorry, you mean well but if you pipe the water, what will the animals do? How will the fields be watered?" Or maybe the pipe leaks and the water's lost.

RSS: Yes, I wanted to ask you about this issue of water resources and women's role. In terms of protecting water, lakes, wetlands, do you think women can play a fundamental role? A role similar to the men who work in agriculture? In terms of saving water, it is the women that cook, wash, clean. As a woman in Cajamarca told me: "We are the ones who use most water".

TR: I think it depends on the context because if you use water for agriculture, in terms of preparing for sowing and dredging the river bed to keep water flowing, for example, these are men's roles. Women play a complementary role because it is the community that does the channel cleaning ceremony, you know? In many communities, they have put cement down to hold the course, and so the cleaning is down to the men. But in some communities, where they have communal work days, everyone is involved, men and women, according to their roles. Including music. You can't say it's only the women that look after it. A man from the community who needs and uses water will take care of it the same as a woman because he relies on it for his animals, his food, his agricultural production. Of course, women need it to prepare food but it is an essential resource for both men and women.

Framework Law on Climate Change

RSS: A Framework Law on Climate Change Prevention has just been enacted, which refers to the efficient use of water in industrial and mining activities. Do you truly believe it is possible to deal with the issue of water use in the extractive industries, when they then return piped water to the population, as in the case of the Yanacocha mining operation? The ecoterritorial or socioenvironmental conflicts that are taking place now in almost all these areas are over water management. Do you believe that it is possible for mining to make efficient use of water?

TR: I don't know what you mean by efficient use of water, perhaps use less than they have to? In the case of mining concessions, I am highly critical of our government. We are in discussions with the state, we are discussing now globally about companies and natural resources or rights, and indigenous peoples' rights. Until those in government become aware that what matters now is not taking out tonnes and tonnes of gold but of realising that we are destroying a non-renewable resource…nothing will happen. Can't they see that they are destroying, pillaging, in order to generate an economy that goes I don't know where? That's the truth! What conditions should the state be imposing on these extractive industries to ensure that we are not destroying a non-renewable resource? That's the challenge. I believe we need much more information and much more training. Water is a non-renewable resource. Who is going to guarantee to me that this water will continue to be available here, for us to use, to irrigate, to produce? This is the other thing: if people live from agriculture or livestock rearing in the area of influence of mining activity then they rely on the proper management of water. The water used in agriculture is returned to its water course through filtration… but in the extractive industries, the water is full of lead, where are they disposing of that?

RSS: This is the major problem now, for example, in Espinar. The women have been monitoring the water environment, and have found that rivers and streams have high levels of lead, cadmium, even arsenic.

TR: I don't agree with those who say, "they need to use the water efficiently". The mining companies need to guarantee that they will not simply use up all the water. There need to be controls on how much they use, how they use it and how they will return it, in what condition they will return the water! We can't go on allowing them to dispose of their waste in the river, with people and animals downstream drinking that water. And the buck doesn't stop with the mining company but with the state! This is why we are demanding free, prior and informed consent.

Does prior consultation work or not?

RSS: How do you think prior consultation is working right now?

TR: It's not! In the latter years of the Toledo government, we went to Congress. Pizango went with his advisor, we were all there, those of us with questions on indigenous issues. And they were [discussing], at that time, the Law on Indigenous Peoples. I proposed that we work on this law rather than pressure for the Law on Consultation; I proposed working on the law on the rights of indigenous peoples in relation to the Declaration, because it needed sorting or nothing would ever happen. No-one listened to me, they said I was wrong. The Law on Consultation came out…and now how many problems do we have with consultation and all that?

RSS: Do you think at some time a Law on Indigenous Peoples may be approved? Because I think that when they approved the Law on Prior Consultation – approved unanimously in Congress – the Congressmen and women didn't know, hadn't got the slightest idea, of what they were actually approving.

TR: On the one hand, they didn't consider it properly because they had no idea; on the other, when people are consulted they are being totally misinformed with regard to what they are being consulted about; finally, there are those who just want a "yes", they have ways of convincing people and making sure they get the response they want. Consciously or not, we've thrown a rope around our necks.

RSS: What do you mean?

TR: The truth is that in the end, they say: "No, this is the state's decision and it is of national interest." What can we do? Carry on saying, "We don't want

it, we don't want it"? On an international level, what alternatives are being developed? What do we want? How do we want it? What will happen in 10, 20 or 50 years' time when the mining goes? In case they spend 50 years wondering why there's no life in La Oroya!! Fifty years! How is the information being concealed? Beginning with those in government themselves, who do not love their country, who don't think about the future, but only about the here and now, and that's the truth…

RSS: Completely…

TR: It's shameful!

RSS: Following COP 20, Peru committed to a gender and climate change action plan. This action plan had a proposal, there were national, regional, local workshops …all this was coordinated by MINAM together with the Ministry for Women but how much do you know about this? What progress has been made? Have you been involved in the workshops?

TR: We were involved in the plan; we made our contributions, we contributed to the workshops at UNDP's offices. But right now we are asking, "What's become of this plan?" "Who's implementing it?" "What progress has there been on the actions in terms of their implementation and the organisations' participation?" We just don't know.

RSS: The plan has remained a good intention, approved at the last moment by the Humala government?

TR: It was approved but… they never thought about its implementation. And with the reduced powers of the Ministry for the Environment… they have sacrificed the continuity of action that was being proposed. What's more, they tell us all this has to be multisectoral: "Everything related to indigenous peoples is not just one sector, it has to be crosscutting, coordinated work." And this isn't happening.

Indigenous women's leadership

RSS: How are women participating as leaders in the dialogue, either with the state or with companies?

TR: I don't have information on this… but I do believe that we can't just go unprepared because, as I say to my brothers and sisters: "We can't just keep saying we don't want it, we don't want it." When we say, "We want to participate" and we open the space for dialogue, how are we going to participate? What are we going to participate with? What technical information do we

have in order to decide how we want something? This is what is missing. I think we need new tools for negotiations with third parties.

RSS: But there are a number of international financial institutions supporting indigenous peoples to gain these tools and to be able to have a seat at the negotiating table.

TR: These are still minor… In my opinion, as I said to the people from the Ford [Foundation], we need training from regional level down, because when they implement a consultation they go from the community to the region. How many regional leaders understand these tools, have the technical information to discuss on an equal footing in a negotiation? It's not enough for 8 or 10 people at national level to know something. Nor are we guaranteeing anything. I myself wouldn't have the capacity to discuss with a mining company who were asking me, "What do you want?" I would have to tell them but they would explain to me and, if I don't have the information, do I have to accept everything they tell me, all the fantasy, that they will not put lead into the river, that after however long everything will be fine? But if I have the information myself I can set the agenda for the dialogue.

RSS: What can you do in this case? Above all in the case of women, who are also excluded. We women can also be empowered and gain leadership positions, but an unequal situation with men always arises. What can be done?

TR: We need specific programmes. When I meet with people from the districts or interior, they tell me – even the men – they need workshops such as [those we ran in] Chirapaq. I don't have money or anything, the permanent workshop achieved its aim and now it's with ONAMIAP. But I see an important thing for us, that is also a critical issue that the men don't want to hear, but we have to be strategic to make it public. I say to them: "Whose agenda are we following now? Where's our own agenda?" We reached the conclusion that we were not following our own agenda because we are economically dependent. We are where they take us… we do this out of need.

RSS: How can we push the indigenous peoples' own agenda?

TR: We women now have a great opportunity – unless I'm much mistaken – indigenous women are at a point at which we must develop our own plan, our own agenda, and be capable of obtaining the resources to work on our agenda. Some foundations or sources believe that because they give you money once… that's an end to it. No. It's just the start. It has taken 14 years to train ONAMIAP's leaders from the bottom up… Tanita [Tania Pariona] has 20 years of training! From the cultural affirmation workshops in Ayacucho…

I had to go with my gut because I haven't got a social science background or anything, I didn't know anything about projects when we started Chirapaq. We started those workshops because I was fearful for our children. That's why we started the cultural affirmation workshops. I have never obtained enough money to turn it into public policy, but I have not lost hope. Tanita [Tania Pariona] began, as a little girl, to make pottery, to recover her voice, to feel safe, and then she grew, she began to get involved in the Ñuqanchik workshops with teenage street workers. Tania is a product of that experience. She affirmed her identity, her self-esteem for what she is. Then she began opening and strengthening her leadership, from childhood, from the local level, with children, adolescents and, since 2004, little by little, with indigenous women. Then she gained a platform nationally, internationally until achieving this global leadership now. It's taken 20 years... She must be 31 now because she was 30 when she entered Congress…

Carbon offsetting as an option

RSS: What's your opinion of REDD and REDD+ and the whole carbon offsetting process? How positive do you think it is and is there any possible harm?

TR: I don't know how this process has been going in Peru. But we were against REDD because, on the one hand, when we found out how much of the compensation or offsetting would go to the communities, what a pittance! We had to laugh. I have heard the Yanesha people say, "For so many hectares, they want to give us so much". The Amazonian peoples were so critical. What a story! You have to respect the communities' right to continue living in their environment, drawing on the resources of their living space to survive. If they were historically there, hunting, fishing, eating its produce, and not destroying the Amazon, how can you now say to them "all this is untouchable"? Some Amazonians have told me they were getting ten sols in compensation and I was like "How much??!!". This pittance is no compensation and leaves them in poverty because everyone needs economic resources. I also don't know precisely what the REDD+ proposal consists of…talking to a new generation of indigenous people involved in business, one of them, Rosario Garavito, a millennials leader from Arequipa…she got in touch with some businessman who purchases for Wallmart, the US chain. He purchases ginger from the Peruvian forest... She told me "This person wants you to guide him so that his business doesn't extract all the ginger." She had heard me talk about cat's claw and how it had been in demand in Europe and our own people had plundered it, taken all of it, such that the cat's claw that was here 50 years ago has now disappeared. A responsible company should think

about the regeneration of these plants… It is essential that, if indigenous people want to do business, they do it without pillaging, and through a rational use of resources. I don't know how long ginger takes to grow because it's a root that grows like a weed. Like the *muña* plant although now there's no more *muña* because it's been ransacked. Everything that was totally natural, wild, used to provide us with good food, is now at risk, with climate change, of being lost. So the impact for those living on the land, up there, is not easy… That's why we have to include migration within climate change.

RSS: One of the major problems is precisely migration, which has a much greater impact on women.

TR: Because of climate change, if there's no rain, you lose your seed. If you have no more seed, if there's no water, or you don't know when it's going to rain, you have to leave. Many people are leaving the area and this is harmful to the women.

TANIA PARIONA

"COMBATTING CLIMATE CHANGE WITHOUT WOMEN WOULD BE A SERIOUS MISREADING OF INDIGENOUS REALITY"

By Sol Univazo and Rocío Silva Santisteban

Tania Pariona Tarqui is a social worker, Quechua leader and human and women's rights activist. Since 2016, she has been one of the youngest members of the Peruvian Congress, representing Ayacucho department for the Frente Amplio por Justicia, Vida y Libertad *party. Since September 2017, she has formed part of the* Nuevo Perú *parliamentary grouping. Drawing on her own experience as a woman from Ayacucho, Pariona explains women's involvement in observing the "signs" of climate change, efforts to strengthen their communities with new strategies, the continuing domination of national spaces by men, relegating women to the local level, and the urgent need to organise within the state before thinking about empowering women for climate change mitigation.*

Sol Univazo (SU) – **Rocío Silva Santisteban (RSS)**: Let's start with a general question: do you think women are particularly vulnerable to climate change, given their parenting and care activities? Do they suffer a greater impact than men?

Tania Pariona (TP): I do question the word vulnerable. Because women - particularly, indigenous, rural or farming women - from the countryside, where the state has little presence, are in a state of vulnerability, yes, but that is rather different. Because saying they are "vulnerable" implies they don't have sufficient capacity to find a way out, and that they can be easily influenced by others. In my opinion, women are in a state of vulnerability because of a lack of attention, a lack of institutional presence. Women have to overcome a set of barriers… institutional barriers that are neither friendly nor accessible nor in line with our world vision. This situation combines with other issues: environmental, productive, water, and other social issues too.

SU – RSS: Do you think women have a special link to the land, the territory, and, if so, what is that link?

TP: Yes, I believe women have a link to the land because we have grown up on the land; this enables us to maintain this reciprocity, this attachment. Someone who has been very close to the fields, sowing, watching the crops grow, seeing what the land provides, seeing the fruit grow gradually from seed: you love those fruits like a person. They are living things that you are growing. So in the Andean world, we don't talk of seeds, animals, water like any other element but like elements that we care for as our own. There is an attachment that is also built in this close relationship with the land, through the roles on the land. For example, in many Andean villages – I don't know if it's the same in the Amazon but I think so — women's role in the fields is to sow the seed… the men don't do this. It is the women that sow while the men pull the yoke or cut the furrows. This shows you how close the bond is.

I also have very vivid memories of my grandmother. When she used to go to the fields, she would say, "Come with me and sow the seed". She'd say, "Ask the land and all those not physically here today from the bottom of your heart that this seed grows well and does not rot along the way." This shows you (she smiles) the real attachment to the land: it runs truly deep.

SU – RSS: It's like a connection that is not only spiritual but also cultural. Is there a more physical relationship? Between the bodies of women and the body of the earth? If so, what is that like? Because, for example, in many places in the Andes, after giving birth, they bury the placenta, they return it to the land. Is this a more "bodily" relationship?

TP: I don't know if it's bodily but it has a sense of life about it, right? Life, being, the person, and it could be linked to this is issue of the body or a more physical relationship. Perhaps everything is linked, sowing is not an automatic thing. There's always physical contact: they say that everything born of the earth returns to the earth.

SU – RSS: What impact is climate change having on women's lives? What are the main barriers women have to overcome to play an active role in climate change prevention and mitigation?

TP: The truth is that women are now taking on different roles such as, for example, caring for and storing seeds. Now more than ever, they know that, with climate change, the initial seeds – the original ones – will not last as long as before; they will lose their strength. For example, if you had ten varieties in one sowing season, you'd end up with one less the following season and so on. So the women are collecting and storing the seeds: "I'm not going to sow them now because I don't think we're going to have good weather."

The people are very careful about this: they classify, keep, store for the right time. And also to regenerate the ecosystem. In terms of more modern policies, this would relate to reforestation but there are experiences, for example the Quispillacta in Ayacucho, whereby the regeneration of the ecosystem is based on sowing plants that generate water. One of them is *putaja*: these plants have a special feature, they have tiny bubbles, small bubbles of water. If they are sown close to water sources, they expand, grow and regenerate the ecosystem. What you end up with is a green area suitable for agriculture. Both women and men participate in this work, particularly the young people, but the women play a fundamental role.

I don't believe there are separate roles "just for women". It would be wrong to think this; in some cases there are community roles, collective roles. But there are tasks that fall to women and, in some cases, that are shared between men and women. For example, the issue of water: water, at least in the Andes, is one of the main concerns because there are no longer any places where you can draw water with a bucket. So, because the women are in the fields, with livestock or tending crops, they are discovering that there are other areas where there is water and they are taking on a protective role. This is necessary because, if the water dries up, there will be none for the next sowing season. If you regenerate, you recuperate. The other thing is that the water sources are increasingly far away from their homes. They used to be close by, just a few steps away would be a water hole where you could go with your pitcher to draw water. I am talking about areas that are not necessarily highly populated, they are quite a way away but this is a growing reality the women are facing due to climate change. Another role I believe is particularly important relates to the recovery of some agricultural techniques, such as crop rotation: a particular crop on a particular plot…

SU – RSS: Can you explain more?

TP: They know which crops to grow when, and when the land needs to rest to recover and rotate. This is a practice I've seen increase in recent years, as the climate has changed. In the past, potatoes grew at 3,000 metres above sea level, now it's 3,500 or 4,000 metres. Women keep an eye on where they can sow potato. And if there is no space, they find ways of doing it. I think it's a reality that changes your outlook. When you live in the city but you move to the countryside, you say: "Look at everything they have to do!" Because we don't see these changes here. How do we feel the impact of climate change? Colder…

SU – RSS: Or hotter…

TP: Or hotter… but there the impact of the heat has forced us to go higher to sow potato, or lower to sow other products. Climate change doesn't only relate to getting sun burnt but to our very survival in the face of changes in water, seeds, land, the reading of the signs. This is increasingly difficult. The elders say: "In the past you could look at the horizon, the sun, the shade, the sky, even the colour and shape of the clouds and you would know what the weather was going to be like. Now no. Suddenly there's raging heat, and then a moment later rain. Or suddenly there'll be a fierce wind and the rain will come." In the past, they would tell us: "When there's wind and sun together, there'll be no rain." Generally, the wind drives away the rain. But now, no way! Everything comes together: heat, wind and rain. They say, "This is bad weather." But it's not true that climate change is something new…

SU – RSS: How long has it been around?

TP: The lean seasons, loss of food, loss of produce, that's occurred before. I've heard tales myself from throughout my people's history. Maybe 50 years ago or more, my people suffered a famine. There was a time when it didn't rain enough to produce crops and there was no harvest. The only thing to come out of that period was a variety of potato: *arac* potato. This is a wild potato that grows naturally, you don't sow it, it grows from the land. I assume it comes from seeds that fall there and, with the natural nutrients…in the end, the potatoes grow. This is how amaranth and other things grow, too, no need to sow them. But *arac* potato was unique because the people were able to eat it during the famine. I remember my mum saying to me: "My goodness, during those times there was no food, people had to go looking for those potatoes." They weren't there for the taking, either, you had to look for them. And I remember that, at that time, they were talking about climate change. The elders say the same now: "Now they complain about the weather, we experienced this in the past, too". Climate change is nothing new…

SU – RSS: How is it different now?

TP: The impact is much greater. Water, wind and rain all at the same time. Or huge hailstones that ruin your crop and leave you with nothing but stalks. It's far worse now. This was the case, for example, when we suffered the El Niño effect in the Andes. This re-activated the water sources under houses because 30, 40 years previously they'd dried up. People began to urbanise, to build houses, on areas where there used to be water sources and now with the rains, these sources sprang up again.

SU – RSS: Yes, yes, I heard about this…

TP: I visited a community in my province, Vilcanchos, and the people there told me: "Congresswoman, water sources have begun to spring up inside our houses." This filtration is not because the water's coming from above or because the rain is coming down the mountainside and filtering in. No, it's from within: there was nothing going on but it was really wet, muddy. They said it was the water sources reactivating. This is the role community members play when seeking alternatives to prevent damage, to prevent greater impact. Illnesses are becoming more common along with plant and animal diseases.

SU – RSS: In the interview with Tarcila Rivera, she told us about how potato was now being grown at a higher level and that they had found a variety of worm…

TP: Precisely…

SU – RSS: … that is eating the potato flowers a few metres higher, and which previously ate the white flowers much lower down and not the brown ones. It's like the women are monitoring these things.

TP: Yes, yes, yes…

SU – RSS: In relation to the changing roles … we are now seeing many more women leaders in the communities. Do you believe there is a link between more aggressive climate change and other forms of women's leadership?

TP: I believe that it adds to the whole set of demands, of instability, of things that generate exclusion, and also the need to make demands of the state, institutions, and the need to act collectively. Leaders are also emerging given that the situation, whether one of violence, poverty, a lack of opportunities or a lack of jobs, forces people to come together to reverse it and create change. They are gradually becoming empowered, finding out about their rights but, in the end, it is all linked to changes in the environment. Food provision is one of the tasks that falls to women. Who prepares the food? Some feminist comes along and tells women that they shouldn't be doing the cooking… but the reality is that they DO do the cooking, and they are responsible for providing breakfast, lunch, dinner and the basic food basket, whatever it is, wherever it is. The women make a tomato, a carrot, a pumpkin, whatever, appear and, yes, they are the ones who, seeing the needs, realise that there is no support, no opportunities, that the basic basket is not enough, that this is adding to the situation of violence, to the lack of a space for them in which to exercise a level of autonomy, so there are several situations. The men may

give five, ten sols but the women are the ones who have to make these five sols go around so that they cover their needs.

SU – RSS: Do you believe that indigenous women are more capable of introducing climate change mitigation measures, based on their traditions?

TP: I think so, yes, but not necessarily the only ones. I think there are a number of roles and actions that women are involved in and that we should play a leading role in deciding, designing, formulating bigger actions. Because the personal experience of one individual or family isn't going to change a problem as big as climate change but, if we all get together, organise to change public policies in a programme, a strategy, how much better it will be if it includes women! Tackling climate change without women would be a real misreading of indigenous reality, even our cultural reality and world vision: it would be incomplete, empty, because it is the women, now more than ever, who tend the fields given that the men are migrating to other sectors, to bricklaying, mining, business. [The men] leave for other jobs and the women are left to look after the crops. I've seen this in a number of communities. The women say, "My husband has gone to town to work, he's got a building job and he'll back in a month." I ask, "But it's harvest time?" And they say, "Well, yes, I'm bringing in the harvest alone but next week my husband will come and help me." This shows you that now they have a greater workload. It is unpaid work, sacrificial, and obviously the husband is going to bring money in, it's true, but she has to cope with everything meanwhile… It's not easy to bring the harvest in: you need day labourers, you need money to pay them, food for them, and so on…The roles related to farming and livestock rearing are now women's.

SU – RSS: Article 15 of Law 30754 on Climate Change Prevention states that we must prioritise the efficient use of water in industrial and mining activities in order to prevent the effects of climate change on the population. Do you think this is possible? What role can women play in this?

TP: Look, water is being hogged by the extractive companies, that's for sure. They use most of it and benefit most from it and this is one of the communities', of the women's, demands. They are affected because it is being taken away from them in terms of quantity, quality, because it's no longer clean, it's polluted. The companies can purify it because they have the resources, the means, but the families can't…and they have to wash, cook in some cases using contaminated water, not chlorinated. It is the women who have stood up to defend this and even used their bodies to say "Listen, this is how it should be." I can give you two very concrete experiences: in my province, in Víctor Fajardo,

the Taca zone is now virtually a mining camp. The mine is right inside the community and 70% of Taca's water is being taken by the mining company…

SU – RSS: What mine is that?

TP: Catalina Huanca. The people, who visited us not long ago, told me, "Congresswoman, the mine is living off of the community in all senses […] Firstly, the mine has no camp, so our community is housing them, they are using our restaurant, our toilet facilities, they are using our water, in addition to the water they use to wash the minerals, to get their machines to work and so on, they use it themselves… there are more mine workers than local population living in the village." The community has become a mining camp: they cook for the miners, house the miners, the toilet facilities are used by the miners… Faced with such a crude reality, you say, "Well, in the end the population will have to move away." But they don't want to, they're not going to, it is their land: it is the miners who have invaded it.

SU: Of course.

TP: They are in this mess and this fight to negotiate although it isn't even a matter of negotiating between the community and the mining company because the state itself has also caused this to happen and now the communities are truly seeing their collective and their individual rights violated. A whole range of abuses are being committed and the real victims of all this violent treatment are the women because… the miners, the bosses, are all men, within a male-dominated company. Women are the cooks at the mine. There is a totally asymmetrical relationship, not only asymmetrical but authoritarian; the mining company has the economic power and a whole infrastructure established in the community, which means it has all the control, it creates dependency. And agriculture is another worry: the people live by their farming and now they have no water…

SU – RSS: Or the water is contaminated…

TP: … or the water is contaminated, yes. They are fighting for a permanent water supply system because they don't have one. The mine has water all day, the community has it for a few hours. This is an emblematic case that explains how such harm can be done to women in an area that has become a focal point of extractive activity.

SU – RSS: Do women participate in organisational issues or are they excluded?

TP: No, no, they're all men. The women don't participate, even though they

are the ones facing [these situations]. They are mobilising but those who come here to negotiate [in Lima] are men. The men say that they are putting themselves at risk because the journey is a long one etc. etc. They think it's better for them to come here to deal with things, that they are the ones to protest, march and demonstrate at the mine's doors, exposing themselves to repression and murder. In my position as a Congresswoman, much more than in my previous experiences, I see so many men in positions of power … You've seen today's meeting [referring to her meeting with a group of livestock farmers].

SU – RSS: Yes, I was just thinking of that: "They are all men."

TP: They are all men! Only one of them, Maritza, an alpaca farmer, producer, community member… but…

SU – RSS: …but she didn't say much.

TP: Surrounded by all those men, all staring at her and so on [she laughs], how intimidating is that! I think even our public policies are masculine…masculinised - they don't create equal conditions.

SU – RSS: They are a product of patriarchy and *machismo*. We saw this in the recent regional and local elections. So few women were elected…

TP: Indeed! In fact, male representation remains in the majority, women are making little headway…

SU – RSS: Do you know of a woman councillor or mayor who has been able to influence public climate change policy?

TP: I know of one great experience of a sister from Urubamba, an alderwoman. She told us: "We are from such-and-such community in Urubamba and we live surrounded by hotels, we live alongside the *gringos*, the foreigners. We realised that the amount of water available for our homes was declining." And so she wondered: "Where is all this water going? Who is using it all? Why is there so little water?" As an alderwoman, she encouraged the women to begin to make demands in this regard…

SU – RSS: What was her name?

TP: I can't remember for the moment but she was from FEMUCARINAP. She organised the women and then called a Community Assembly and said: "Friends, this hotel you see in front of you, they are using in one day the amount of water we use in one week. How many guests are there? Twenty: they bathe, they drink, they swim in the pool, they have a jacuzzi." And so

they began to protest, to go on marches for water. I believe they negotiated with the hotel company; they entered into direct negotiations with the community to give them a percentage, an amount, I can't remember how much exactly, but it was a mutual agreement. They community made a commitment and they told the hotel company: "We look after the water, we clean the channels, we grow our crops up here so that the water falls down there". They told them everything the community does to preserve water. "We commit to caring for the water there, not here, not in the pipes but up there, where the water comes from…what's more, when we hold our festivals, celebrations, the tourists at your hotel get to see those too." So they entered into a negotiation and the community raised I don't know how many thousand sols to invest in improving the community.

SU – RSS: It is very important to learn to negotiate with the companies but also with the state. How can women's participation in disaster risk reduction be encouraged from within the state and the regional governments?

TP: Before thinking about this, the first thing that needs strengthening is the state itself. Because its capacity to react to a disaster…

SU – RSS: It's really slow.

TP: … it's not clear in terms of tasks: it's slow, bureaucratic, full of red tape; they declare a state of emergency in one place where a bridge has collapsed, where the link between the communities and the district capital has been destroyed, and then it drags on for a month. If you declare an emergency then it should be an emergency: raise the alarm and act to save people's lives. But declare it and then wait a month before doing anything: fill in the EDAN form, which goes off to I don't know where, and then send it to INDECI, then INDECI sends it to Lima: it's a mess, sister, a real mess.

SU – RSS: Unproductive state bureaucracy…

TP: …and until the state of emergency is declared, you can't get authorization to use the resources you need to help people. The first thing the state should do, before transferring knowledge or creating capacity among the women, is to restructure our National Disaster Risk Management System – SINAGER. We are tabling a bill of law so that INDECI can act officially and not wait for the paper declaring a state of emergency in an area to be able to supply sticks, poles, wheelbarrows, everything that is urgently needed. The emergency [means] lives are at risk and we need to help these people, even if it's not going to resolve all their problems. But the people in the Andes during the El Niño phenomenon, what did they need? Tractors! Because a whole

hilltop had fallen into the irrigation channels. The communities were left with no water because all the pipes had been buried by the mountain. They needed to dig them out, patch up the piping so that the water could flow again. And, so in truth, before talking of how women can be trained in prevention, the state first needs to organise better, because we've already had this El Niño experience which revealed their incapacity to act in an emergency.

SU – RSS: I understand the area is still a disaster zone in Piura.

TP: A disaster! And obviously, it also needs a national overview because what works in Piura may not work in the Andes: to think this way would be an error. Access roads, the area, geography, people…they're all different.

SU – RSS: Indigenous women are usually stigmatised, considered to be lacking in technical knowledge, taking no notice of their ancestral knowledge of how to protect themselves from disasters, deforestation, etc. How should the state promote this knowledge? You've spoken of the urgency to restructure the emergency system but this knowledge needs recognition too?

TP: That's precisely the question I asked the Minister for the Environment, or the Vice Minister, when drafting the regulations for the Framework Law on Climate Change…

SU – RSS: What was that question?

TP: I asked them: "What mechanism is there by which to include the communities' knowledge, which has already been demonstrated as an effective, less costly alternative to other remediation strategies but which requires organisation, support and investment? How will this be channelled through an Executive Power that is dealing with several things at once but which has a component that recognizes the law and traditional knowledge?" They couldn't give me a concrete reply. I don't think they knew themselves. I think they should draft their responses with the indigenous organisations themselves so that they know how things can be done.

There is a programme which, with all its limitations and weaknesses, is up and running. It is the "Sierra Azul" programme, which draws inspiration from the sowing and harvesting of rainwater in Ayacucho. It is a programme that is now financing projects to implement this ancestral technology with a modern twist and harvesting the rain in dykes, in wells. The idea is that they are not artificial but wells that produce water [from aquifers]. It's not a matter of digging a hole and then lining it with plastic to store the water, like catching rain in a bucket. It's about digging a well and surrounding it with water plants,

so that the place generates its own water sustainably. You're not storing it, what you're doing is regenerating the micro-ecosystem so that it produces water. Sowing and harvesting water: you're harvesting the water but you're sowing and continuing to store the rain. This technology – which for me is one of the best developments in Ayacucho, and which lasted more than 20 years in Chuschi, in Quispillacta— was the inspiration for this "Sierra Azul" programme. It is indigenous knowledge because all this has been done with community participation, homegrown plants, from our world vision, paying back to the land, producing water, rituals, a whole set of practices. You can't copy it and tell a community: "You are going to go and make a payment to the land". No, each people, each culture, has its own way of relating to the land.

What they've done [the state] is fund projects to dam the water, but not how experience indicates. This is also a form of cultural recovery for the communities. It's not about putting a bucket out when the rain falls, you store it and you are already harvesting water. It seems to me that there is no clear mechanism [in the state]. First, you have to convince people that the technology is valid. And I believe there are doubts among professionals and academics, those closely aligned with science and technology who say: "I'll waste time making a payment to the land or doing *minka* [communal work] with the people, better to get a tractor and do it more quickly." The communities say: "Let's use machinery to help us but only so far as is necessary; then we'll do the rest by hand." If there is no complementarity between Western science, or academia, and the people's knowledge, it won't work. This could lead us to failure. But if you have good practices we won't make these errors. What we need to do is replicate this with [community members] and value what they know. And if financial remuneration is needed: do it like when you pay a consultant, or an engineer that produces a project. If the community members know, better to use them for a transfer of technology from their knowledge of Andean technology. In Quispillacta everything is green, unlike other villages that are yellow, dry. The great problem we all have is water, and how hard it is to convince Peruvian agronomists, civil engineers... I fight with them to include ancestral knowledge. Deep down, the major challenge is to get them to understand, in its real dimension, what it means to have a strategy for generating alternatives to the impact of climate change using ancestral knowledge. The battle is to create the mechanism and, in addition, to make those who have this knowledge the central players.

SU – RSS: Talking about discrimination, what happens to defenders who challenge the power relations within their movements and communities and what effect does this have on them?

TP: I think that all of us who have come from such processes, from organisations where we have been called to speak out against a man, the president, the authority or a brother who believes that because he is a man he is superior…I believe all of us have had an experience of this kind, but it has given us the incentive to take up challenges and grow as leaders. I think most women who become community leaders, in their organisations, have had an experience of this kind. By answering back, for example, to authoritarianism or but saying something you were not going to say, challenging how the assembly is being run, how the organisation is being run, objecting to an action, this puts you in a position of vulnerability, with no-one to protect you if they are all men. But it has also been the trigger, in almost all cases, for the emergence of women leaders.

SU – RSS: But it's hugely difficult…

TP: I think organisation is key. A woman alone, in her first experience of questioning a power relationship, may achieve a change in attitude, a practice, an action, but if she is alone she may not do it again or she could feel disheartened. But if this woman is part of an organisation with two, three, four people all seeking the same, the situation is different. This doesn't mean that you start by taking power and showing you are the best. The idea is that you change these ways of thinking. People can change. And I think the new generation facing up to this challenge have a more open mind, more self-questioning rather than just questioning others, whether a girl, a teenager or a woman. We also have to create an understanding of equality. It seems to me that simply empowering women will not help build these relationships of equality, parity. We clearly need to work with women but there is also a need for other parallel or complementary spaces in which men are also seen in a context that enables them to self-question and self-reflect.

SU – RSS: What are some of the best practices for integrating women's rights into the climate change agenda?

TP: The best practices?

SU – RSS: How do you include these rights on the climate change agenda?

TP: Organisation, the collective, has been an essential tool in exercising women's rights and this can be a fundamental way of including them on the wider agenda. It is not just organisation that is the key but also women's capacities: those women you call together to consult or involve. These are women leaders who have developed great skills, with great professionalism. This doesn't happen because someone gets a degree or because they've studied

engineering or whatever, but because they have sufficient skills to take up a role not just of someone you consult but of someone who can be involved in a concrete action around prevention or mitigation: facilitators, promoters, trainers, supporters, *yachachis*.

SU – RSS: After COP 20 (2014), Peru committed to a gender and climate change action plan that had a concrete proposal, in the form of national, regional and local workshops, being coordinated by MINAM as regards gender mainstreaming. Do you know what progress has been made? Have you been involved?

TP: I understand that there is a gender and climate change strategy. I am not clear on its main focal points, the methodology, concretely even, what strategy we are talking about! I participated in an initial workshop where this was publicised, albeit in very, very broad brushstrokes: they only put "with women's involvement". Design, formulation and I don't know what, "with women's involvement" but it was as if they were involving women in actions that did not seem specific to the group that was the main reason for the strategy, rather they were simply paying lip service to women's involvement. I believe this may have changed now because I am talking about in 2015. I think that, with the decentralised workshops that the Ministries of Culture and the Environment, particularly the Environment, have run, they have been able to reach a better understanding in this regard… I hope so anyway. It is important, and necessary.

SU – RSS: What kind of development are indigenous women proposing and what role are they playing in the design and implementation of an alternative development proposal?

TP: Among organised indigenous women at least, they are focusing on *living well* (Buen Vivir) although we always see this as set within an environmental logic. In reality, it is much more than that. But there is a clear understanding with regard to our world vision, reciprocity with the land, not monetising or highlighting economic growth as the sole act of making a profit, as this is far removed from the *living well* project. This idea is growing on the basis of action being implemented by the organisations: meetings, discussions, above all in rural areas… In more urban areas, however, where the issue comes from a different perspective, for example, of violence or productive work, the link to development is not always present. What is development? People don't feel this is a central issue on which they can decide; they are simply living in the current system and all they want is opportunities: access to employment and such… There is no thought about what system, or what kind of devel-

opment, they would like other than what they have at the moment. Such questions are not very present or deep in the urban sphere. In rural areas, though, this is not the case because they continue to fight for the importance of water, land, fields, agriculture, nutrition. Changes are also happening in rural areas, though. Consumerism, for example, the preference for other foods: French fries, chicken and rice, Chinese/Peruvian fusion food. You go to a community, to the restaurant, and you won't find traditional food any more; everything is chicken or Chinese. I say: "There's no difference between Lima and my village any more. What's happened?" In the house you do find it, but in the local market, where the little restaurant is, you won't find traditional food. There are very different patterns of consumption, the culture is totally changing, it is dynamic, but some things are counterproductive, for example, with respect to food.

SU – RSS: Food is one of the first things that changes.

TP: If you see this happening, how are you going to challenge development! There is no in-depth reflection [on *living well*]; so, you can't idealise, can you?

About the authors

Alberto Acosta is an Ecuadorian economist and university lecturer who was previously Minister of Energy and Mining. He was also President of Ecuador's Constituent Assembly (2007) and a presidential candidate for the Ecuadorian Republic. He has published numerous books on economics and sociology, including *El Buen Vivir. Sumak Kawsay, una oportunidad para imaginar otros mundos* ("Good Living. Sumak Kawsay, an opportunity to imagine other worlds") (Icaria, Barcelona, 2013). The article published here gathers together and updates various of the author's thoughts on these issues made over many years.

Luisa Elvira Belaunde holds a PhD in Anthropology from the University of London. She also holds a first degree in Philosophy and a Master's in Sociology. She has taught at the University of Durham in the United Kingdom and is currently lecturing at the National Museum, Federal University of Río de Janeiro (PPGAS, Museu Nacional, UFRJ). She is the author of numerous specialist articles and books, including: *Sexualidades amazónicas. Género, deseos y alteridades* ("Amazonian sexualities. Gender, desires and otherness") (2018); *Viviendo Bien*. *Género y fertilidad entre los Airo-Pai de la Amazonía peruana* ("Living Well. Gender and fertility among the Airo-Pai of the Peruvian Amazon") (2001) and *El recuerdo de Luna. Género, sangre y memoria entre los pueblos amazónicos* (The tale of Moon. Gender, blood and memory among the Amazonian Peoples") (2005).

Jelke Boesten holds a PhD in Gender Studies and Latin American Studies from the University of Amsterdam. She has taught at the University of Leeds, held a Senior Research Fellowship at the US Institute of Peace in Washington DC, and a research fellowship at the University of Bradford. She is now Reader in Gender and Development at King's College London. Her latest book, "Sexual Violence During War and Peace: Gender, Power and Post-Conflict Justice in Peru" received the Flora Tristan Best Book Award in the Latin America Studies Association-Peru section. She is currently interested in transformative gender justice and is working on a research project with Peruvian veterans of the Internal Armed Conflict (1980-2000).

Marisol de la Cadena is a Peruvian anthropologist lecturing at the University of California – Davis and is the author of various books on different ways of developing indigeneity in Peru. Her latest book, *Earth-Beings. Ecologies of*

Practices Across Andean Worlds (Duke University Press 2015) is a reflection on political practices in the Andes that seriously questions Eurocentric ontologies. The article in this book is based in part on these reflections.

Eduardo Gudynas is a researcher at the Latin American Social Ecology Centre (CLAES). He has been Duggan Fellow at the Natural Resources Defense Council (USA), a visiting researcher at the National Wildlife Federation (USA) and an expert to the Friedrich Ebert Foundation's Amazonian Sustainable Local Development Programme in the six countries of the Amazon Basin. He coordinated the First Latin American Congress on Ecology (1989) and wrote the sections on the state of the Latin American environment for the UN Environment Programme (UNEP). In 2016 he was the first Latin American to receive the Arne Naess Chair on environment and global justice from the University of Oslo. His recent publications include *Derechos de la Naturaleza y políticas ambientales* ("Rights of Nature and environmental policies") (published in Argentina, Bolivia, Ecuador, Colombia and Peru).

Tania Pariona Tarqui is a social worker, Quechua leader and human and women's rights activist. Elected in 2016, she is one of the youngest Congresswomen in the Republic of Peru, representing the department of Ayacucho for the *Frente Amplio por Justicia, Vida y Libertad* party. She has formed part of the *Nuevo Perú* parliamentary grouping since September 2017.

Tarcila Rivera Zea is one of the most well-known indigenous activists in Peru and the world. She has been defending indigenous rights from within her organisation, the Centre for Indigenous Cultures in Peru (CHIRAPAQ), for more than 25 years. She has been recognised and honoured by UNICEF, the Ford Foundation, the Fuego Sagrado Foundation, and the Peruvian Ministries of Culture and Women for her achievements and contribution to promoting and defending indigenous peoples. She was a member of UN Women's Global Civil Society Advisory Group and is currently a member of the UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues (2017-2019).

María Alejandra (Majandra) Rodríguez Acha is an educator, social researcher and activist. She graduated from Swarthmore College (USA) in 2012 with double honours in Sociology, Anthropology and Sustainable Development. She has co-created and facilitated a number of educational and training initiatives focused on intersectionality, gender, social justice, activism and the environment. She is currently a member of the Governing Board of FRIDA | El Fondo Feminista Joven, and a consultant to Global Greengrants Funds' Next Generations Climate Board. She has worked to support the public consultation process on regulations governing Peru's Framework Law on Climate

Change and she co-founded and coordinates TierrActiva Perú, a national collective and network working for "systemic change aimed at living well".

Rocío Silva-Santisteban Manrique is a feminist, activist, university lecturer and human rights consultant. From 2011-2015, she led the management team of Peru's National Coordinating Body on Human Rights, providing legal, social and political support to victims of human rights violations. She has also been an OXFAM Gender and Youth advisor; GIZ human rights, mediation and reconciliation advisor; and UNICEF journalism and human rights advisor. She has published various fictional, journalistic and academic works, the most recent entitled *Mujeres y conflictos ecoterritoriales: impactos, estrategias, resistencias* ("Women and ecoterritorial conflicts: impacts, strategies, resistance") (Lima, AECID 2017). She is currently a member of NatureRights Watch's advisory committee and a lecturer at the Catholic University of Peru.

Sol Univazo is a journalism graduate from the Antonio Ruiz de Montoya University. She has worked on the press team for the National Human Rights Coordinating Body, as Press Officer for the Cámara Peruana del Libro and as community manager for the Programa Laboral para el Desarrollo –PLADES. She is currently working with Kancha.pe.

Se terminó de imprimir en los talleres gráficos de
Tarea Asociación Gráfica Educativa
Pasaje María Auxiliadora 156 - Breña
Correo e.: tareagrafica@tareagrafica.com
Página web: www.tareagrafica.com
Teléf. 332-3229 / 424-8104 / 424-3411
Enero 2020 Lima - Perú

Against all the odds, and despite the challenges that climate change represents for Latin America, not to mention the fact that the new global order seems to relegate the region to little more than a space for the "extraction of goods and knowledge", women are demonstrating day in day out that they have the ideas and the unique and essential skills to propose a radical change in the matrix of civilisation at this crucial point in humankind's history. This book talks about those challenges.

IWGIA INTERNATIONAL WORK GROUP FOR INDIGENOUS AFFAIRS
NICFI Norway's International Climate and Forest Initiative
ONAMIAP
COHARYIMA