



Faculty of Social Studies  
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# Beyond development: socio-environmental movement in Latin America

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## Everyday revolutions: Horizontalism and autonomy in Argentina

“Rupture needs to be understood as a break in ways of doing things, as a shift in people’s imaginations from which new social relationships emerge... ..that are autonomous from forms of institutional power.”

Each No is a flame of dignity, a crack in the rule of capital. Each No is a running away, a flight from the rule of capital. No is the starting point of all hope. But it is not enough.

Dignity cannot be given. This is the cry of the piqueteros (the unemployed) and recuperated workplace movements.

People who were left on the margins of society have decided to take that margin and make it the center. They are creating dignity in where and who they are.

‘Horizontalidad’, ‘horizontality’, ‘horizontalism’, ‘commons’, ‘flat spaces of communication’, ‘from below and to the left’, ‘where the heart resides’ – all are words and expressions that have come to embody the social relationships and principles of organization in many of the new autonomous social movements throughout the world.

“...horizontalidad in particular, as something that is both a ‘tool and a goal’, reflecting that full participation of equals cannot happen yet since society is not equal...”

## Everyday revolutions: Horizontalism and autonomy in Argentina

- Active listening
- Always trying to reach consensus
- Autonomous forms of decision making
- Liberatory relationships
- Freedom
- Open participation and non-hierarchy
- Flat planes of communication
- Creation of alternative means of exchange and value
- Radical democracy, direct democracy, popular power
- 'Occupy, resist, produce'

Is horizontalism possible or is it just wishful thinking?

## Everyday revolutions: Horizontalism and autonomy in Argentina

Madres de Plaza de Mayo (abril 1977)

<https://lavaca.org/notas/historia-madres-de-plaza-de-mayo/>

The Take

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3-DSu8RPJt8>

Minute 5:00 – 8:30 (introduction)

Minute 17:58 – 23:45 (Zanon)

# Beyond development: socio-environmental movement in Latin America



Latin America

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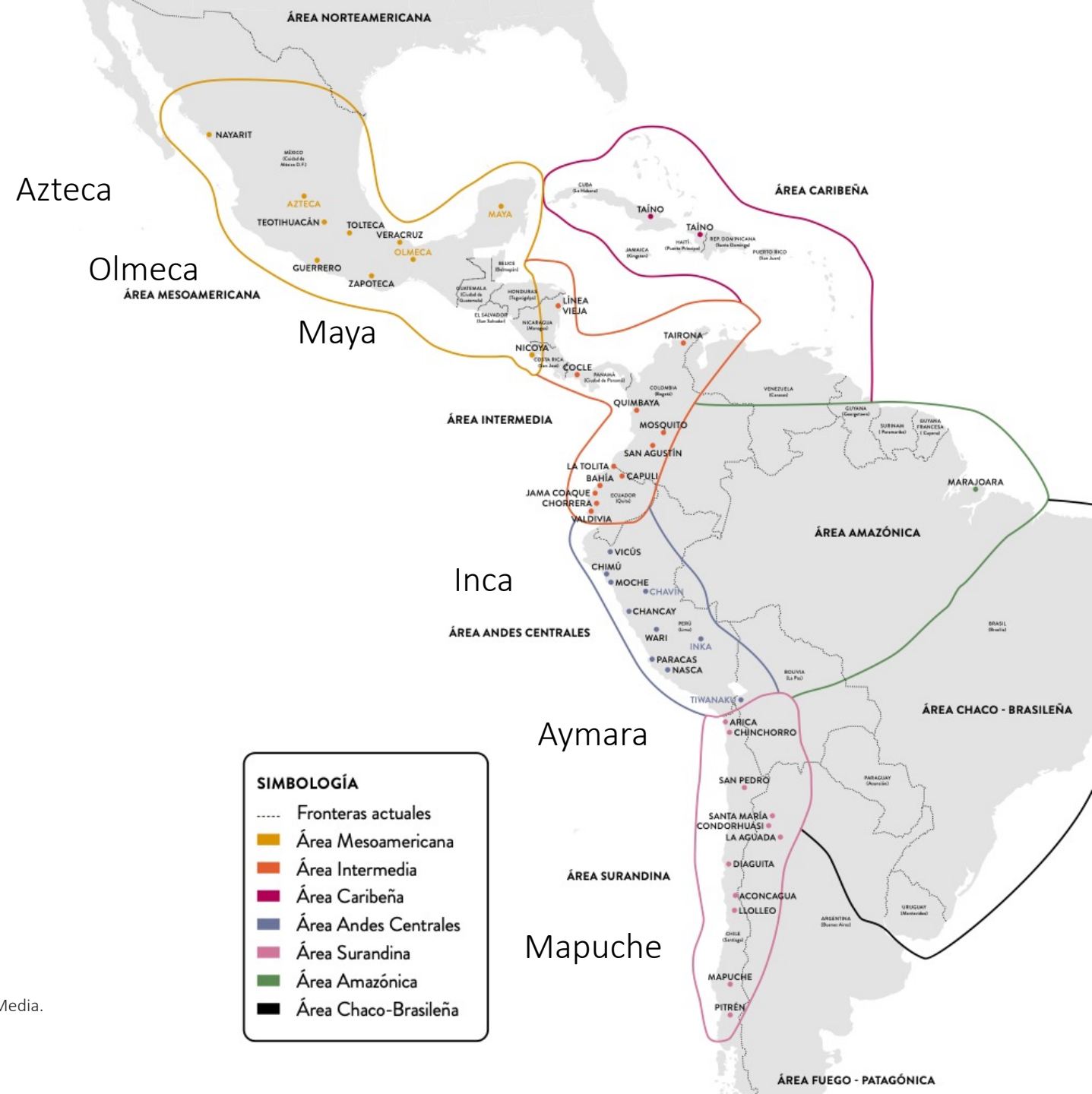


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STUDIES

Latin  
America?



# Abya-Yala





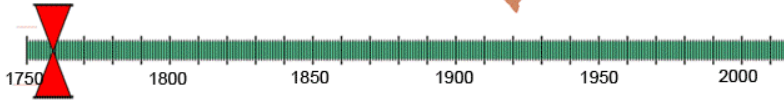
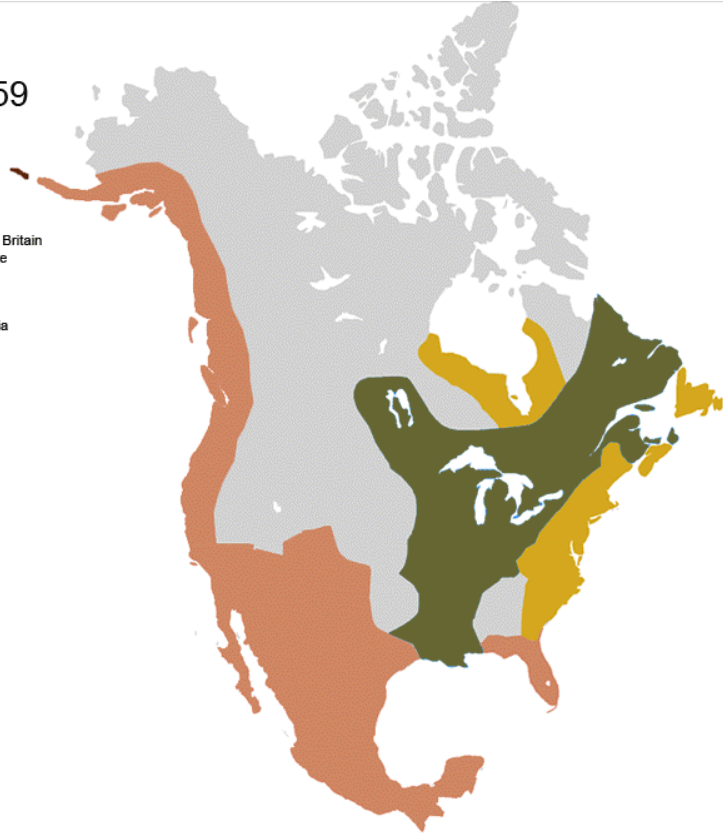
# Cantino planisphere 1502





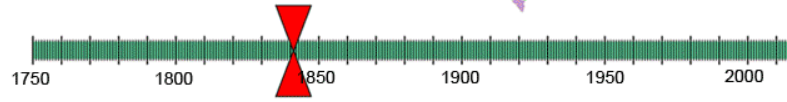
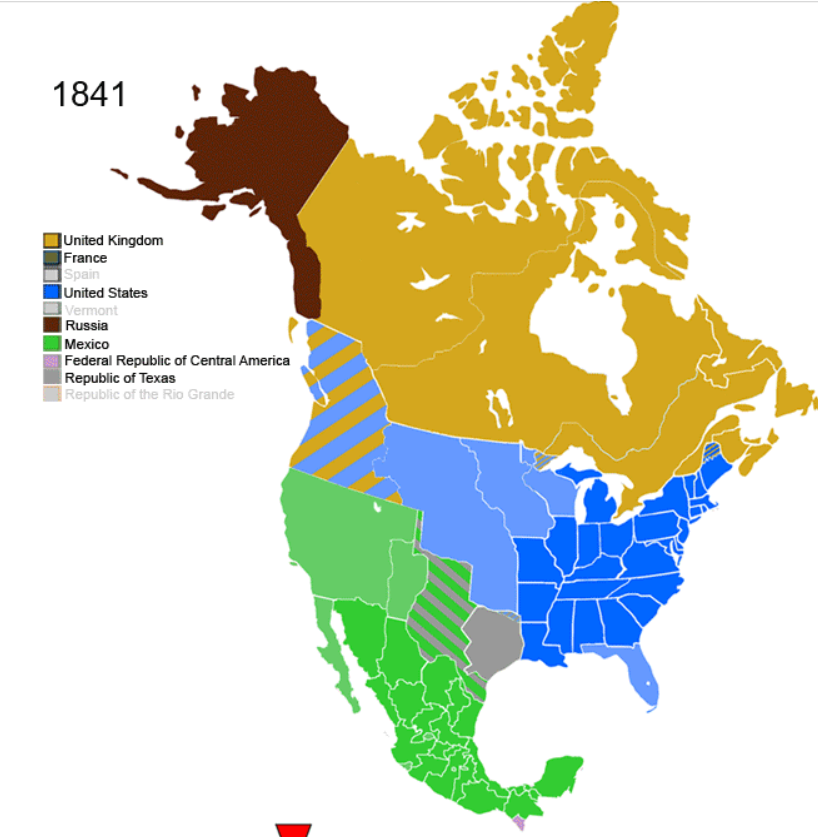
1759

- Great Britain
- France
- Spain
- Russia



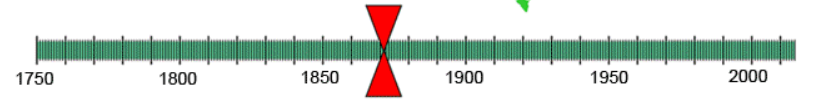
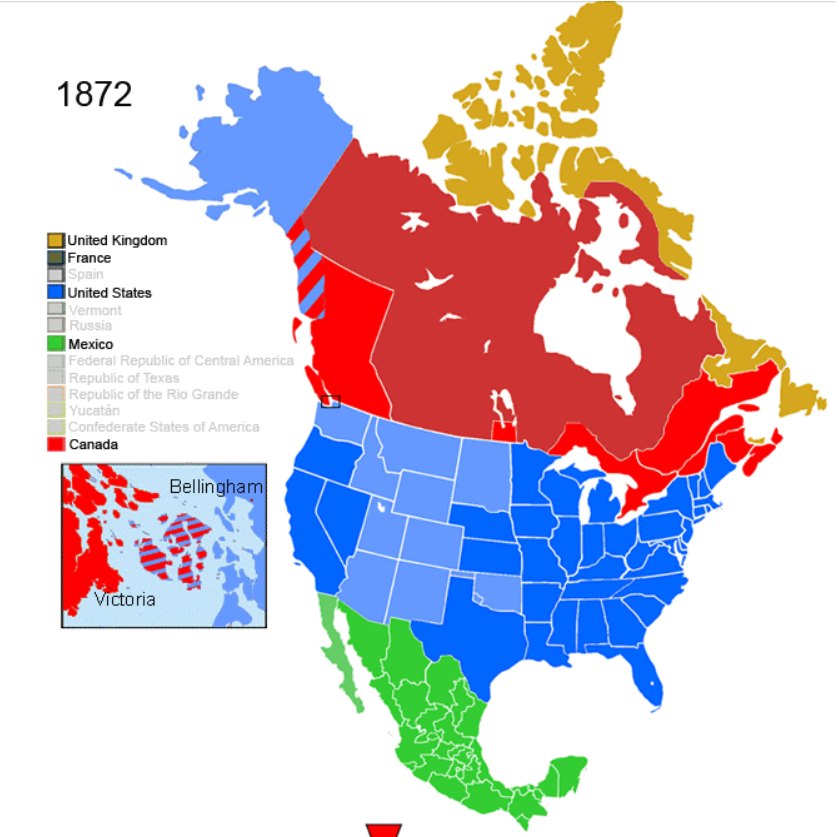
1841

- United Kingdom
- France
- Spain
- United States
- Vermont
- Russia
- Mexico
- Federal Republic of Central America
- Republic of Texas
- Republic of the Rio Grande



1872

- United Kingdom
- France
- Spain
- United States
- Vermont
- Russia
- Mexico
- Federal Republic of Central America
- Republic of Texas
- Republic of the Rio Grande
- Yucatán
- Confederate States of America
- Canada





# Latin America and Caribbean

## Time line

1492 Christopher Columbus  
= colonial era

1810 / 1821 Independency  
= formation of the nation states  
= liberal dictatorships

19th to 20th century:  
Dictatorships and wars

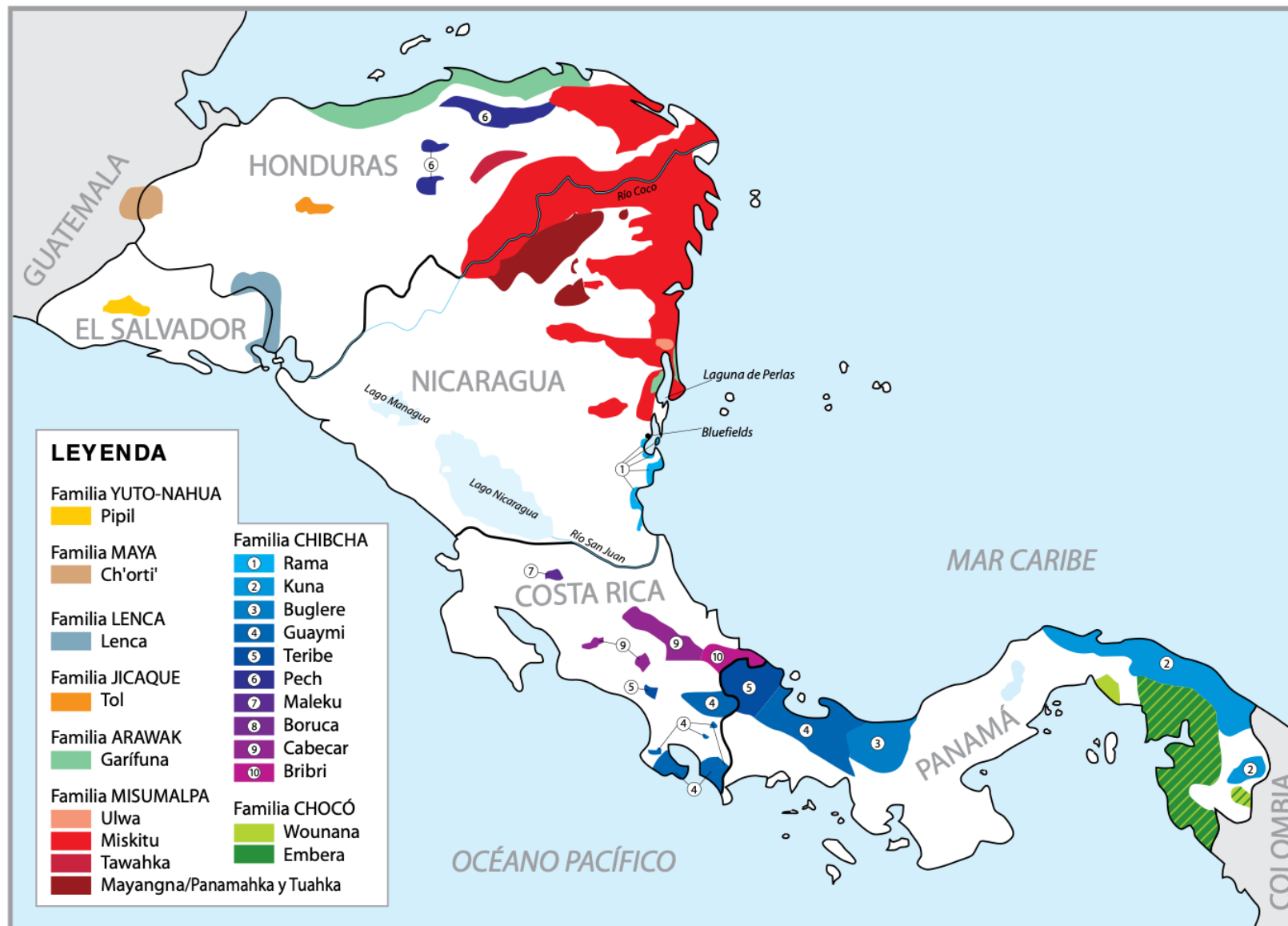
1980s:  
= democracy, peace and liberalism  
= (neo)liberal pacification / third wave of democratization

'invisible' layers...

# Mesoamerica



= garífuna  
 = lenca  
 = miskitu

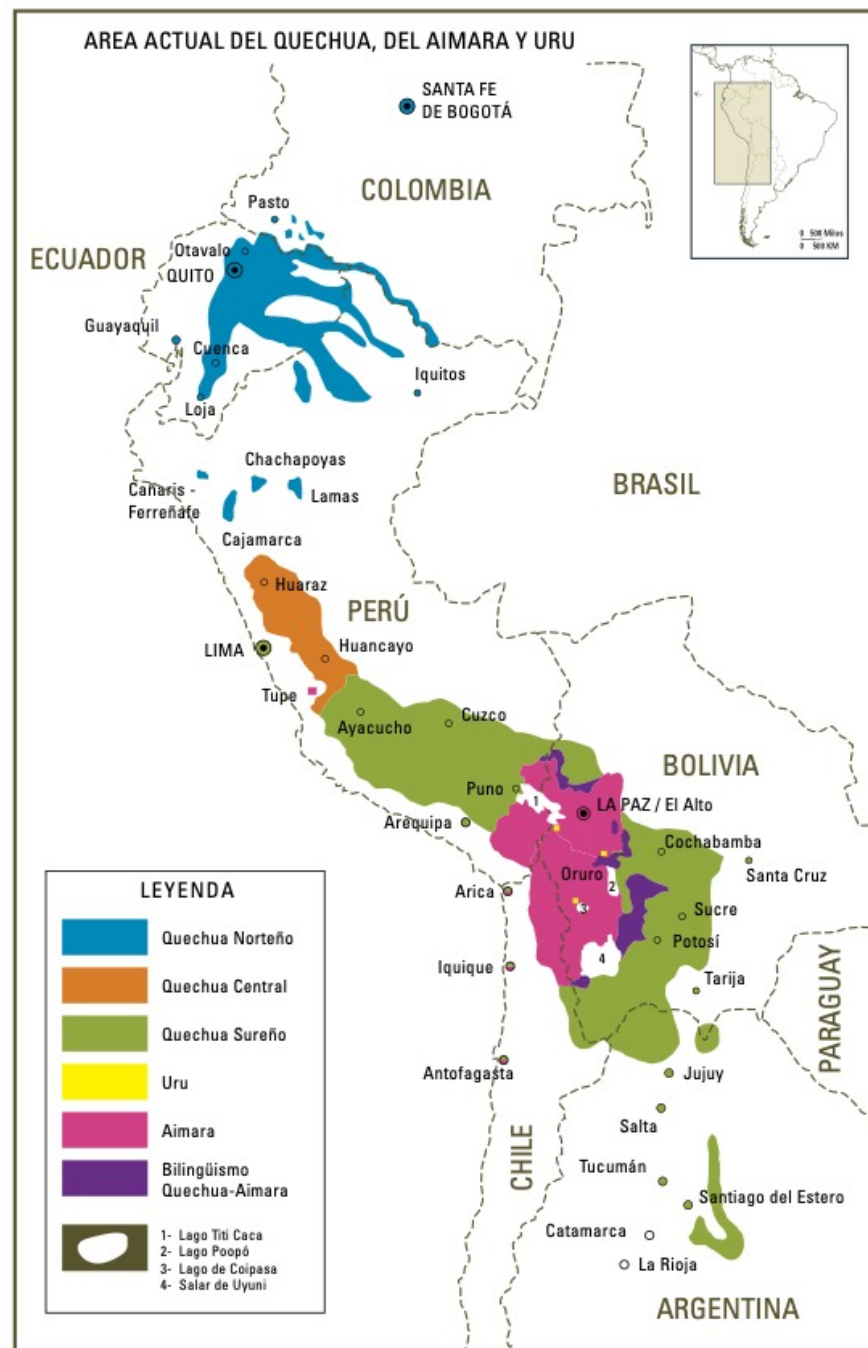




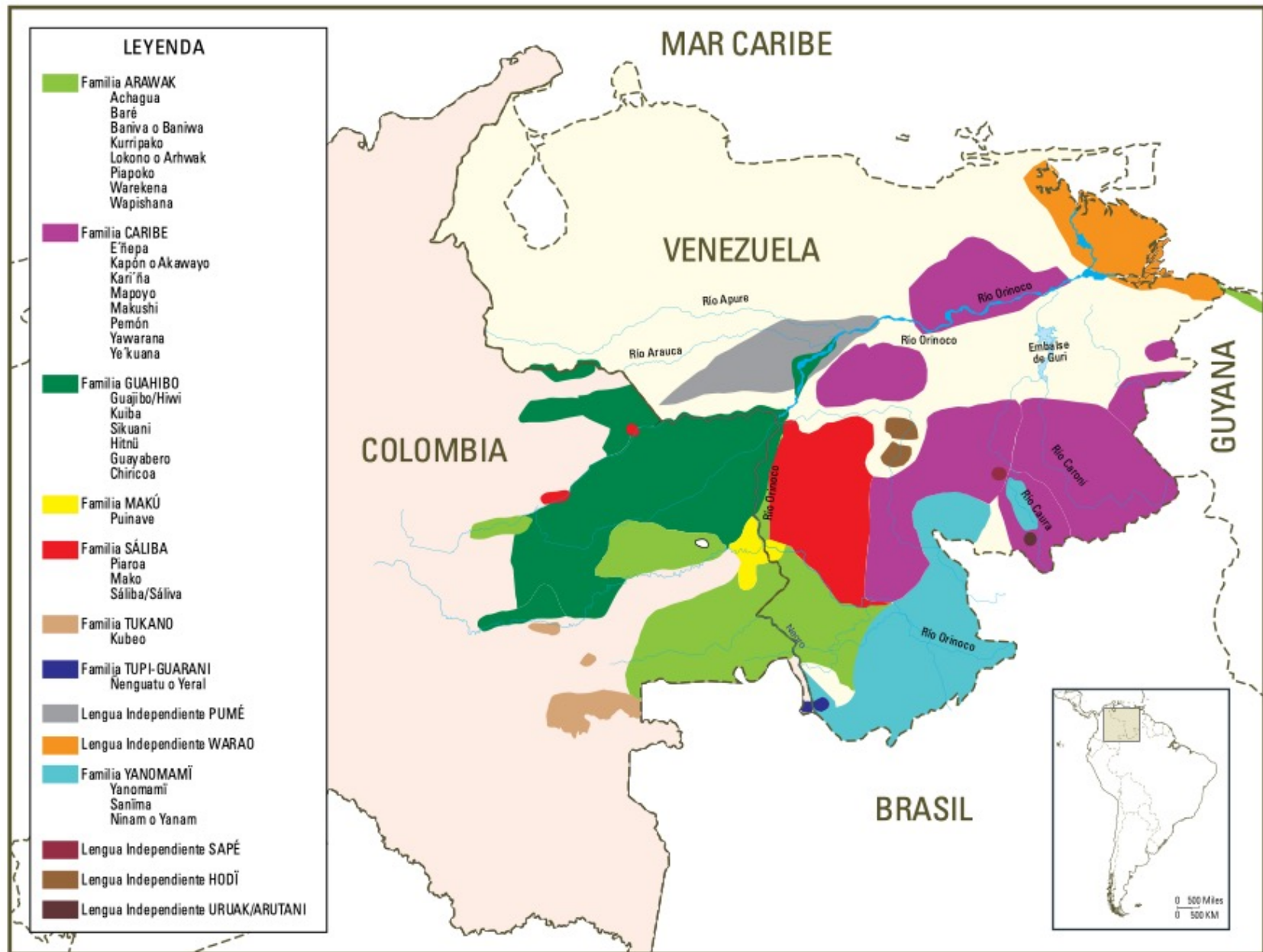
Pacific coast  
= embera



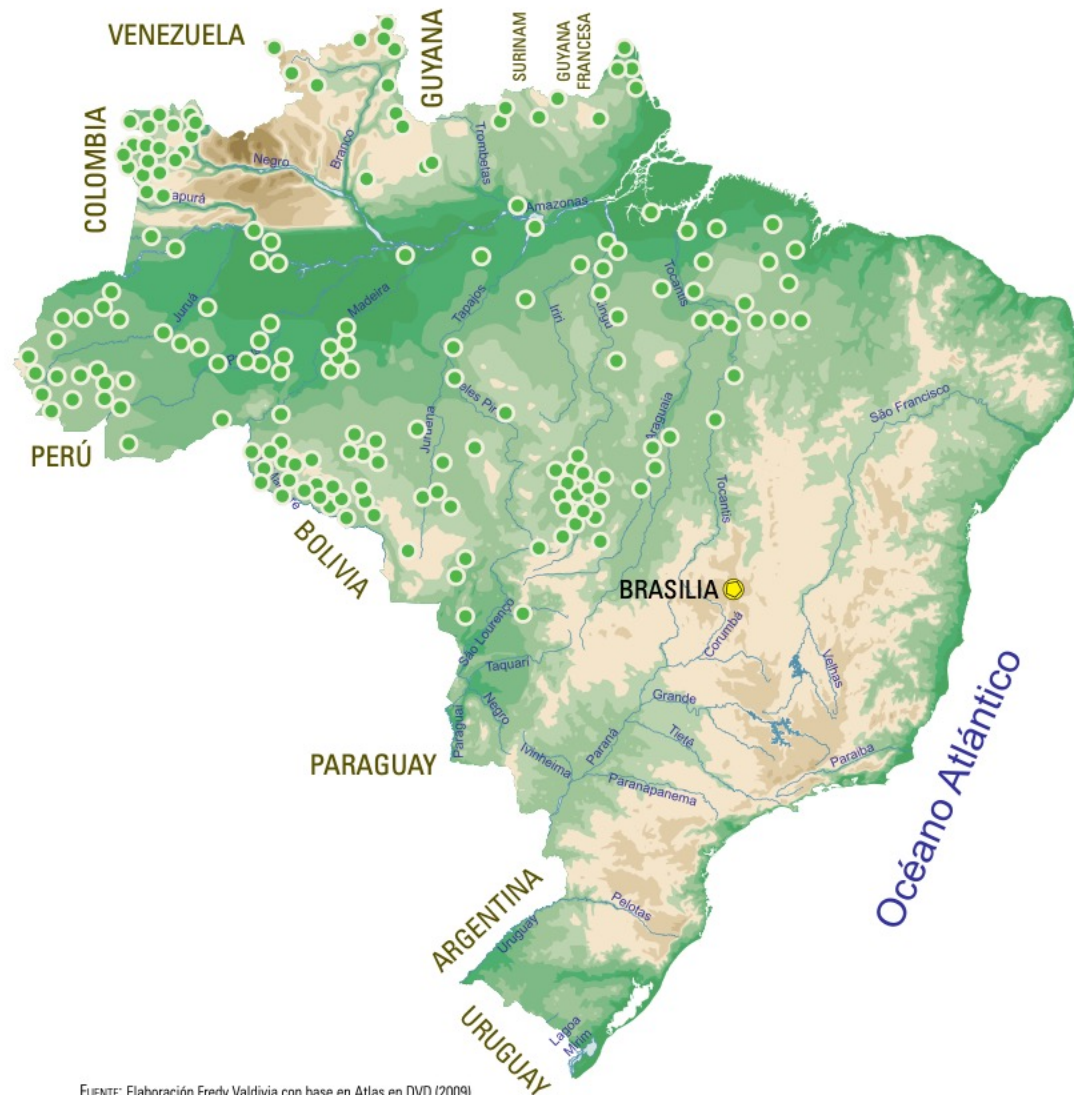
Andes  
= quechua  
= aimara



Orinoco river



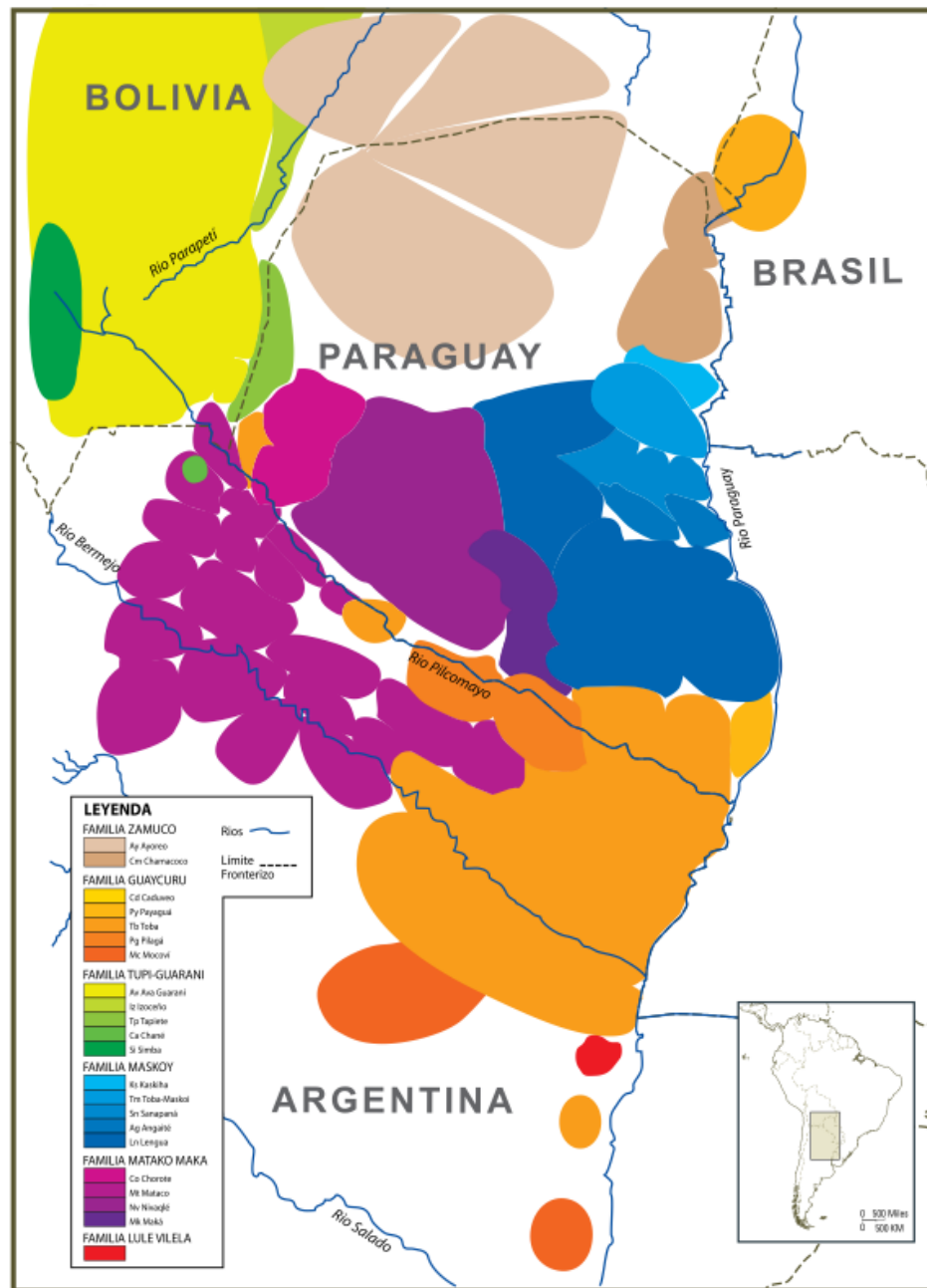
# Amazonas in Brazil



FUENTE: Elaboración Fredy Valdivia con base en Atlas en DVD (2009).

- Aikanã
- Ajuru
- Akuntsú
- Amanayé
- Amondawa
- Anambé
- Aparai
- Apiaká
- Apinayé
- Apolima-Arara
- Apurinã
- Arapaso
- Arara do Aripuanã
- Arara Karib
- Arara Pano
- Araweté
- Arikapu
- Aripium
- Aruá
- Asháninka
- Asurini do Tocantins
- Asurini do Xingu
- Aweti
- Bakairi
- Banawa-Yafi
- Baniwa
- Bará
- Barasana
- Baré
- Bororo
- Cinta Larga
- Dení
- Desano
- Diahóí
- Enawenê-Nawê
- Galibi
- Galibi - Marworno
- Gavião
- Gavião - Parkateyê
- Gavião - Pukobyé
- Guajá - Guajajara
- Hyxkariana
- Ikpeng
- Ingarikó
- Iranxe
- Jabuti
- Jamamadi
- Jarawara
- Javaé
- Jiahui
- Júma
- Ka'apór
- Kaiabi
- Kaixana
- Kalapalo
- Kamayurá
- Kambeba
- Kanamari
- Kanamati
- Kanela - Apaniekra
- Kanela - Rankokamekra
- Kanoê
- Karapana
- Karipuna
- Karipuna do Amapá
- Karitiana
- Karo
- Katuena
- Katukina do Biá
- Katukina Pano
- Katxuyana
- Kaxarari
- Kaxinawá
- Kayapó
- Kisêdjê
- Kokama
- Korúbo
- Krahô
- Krahô-Kanela
- Krikati
- Kubeo
- Kuikuro
- Kujubim
- Kulina Madihá
- Kulina Pano
- Kuripáko
- Kuruiaia
- Kwazá
- Macurap
- Maku
- Makuna
- Makuxi
- Manairisu
- Mapiidian
- Marubo
- Matipu
- Matis
- Matses
- Maxineri
- Mehinako
- Menky
- Miguelem
- Miranha
- Miriti Tapuia
- Munduruku
- Mura
- Nahukwá
- Nambikwara
- Naruvoto
- Náwa
- Nukini
- Orowin
- Paiter
- Pakaa-nova
- Palikur
- Panará
- Parakanã
- Paresí
- Parintintín
- Patamona
- Paumari
- Pirahã
- Piratupuyu
- Poyanawa
- Puroborá
- Rikbaktsa
- Sakurabiat
- Salamái
- Sanema
- Sateré - Mawe
- Shanenawa
- Siriano
- Suruí
- Suyá
- Tapayuna
- Tapirapé
- Tariano
- Taurepang
- Tembê
- Tenharim
- Tikuna
- Timbirá
- Tiriyó
- Torá
- Trumai
- Tsohom Djapá
- Tukano
- Tupari
- Tuyuka
- Txikão
- Witoto
- Umutina
- Uru-Eu-Wau-Wau
- Wai Wai
- Wairimi-Atroari
- Wajãpi
- Wanano
- Wapixana
- Warekena
- Waurá
- Wayana
- Wayurú
- Xambioá
- Xavante
- Xerente
- Xikrin
- Xipaia
- Yaminahua
- Yanomami
- Yawalapiti
- Yawanawá
- Ye'kuana
- Yudjá
- Zo'é
- Zoró
- Zuruahã

Chaco  
= guaraní



# Patagonia



ÁREA GEOCULTURAL	CANTIDAD DE PUEBLOS INDÍGENAS	CANTIDAD DE PAÍSES INVOLUCRADOS	POBLACIÓN INDÍGENA ESTIMADA
Amazonía	316	9	1.400.000
Mesoamérica	77	3	12.500.000
Orinoquía	41	2	300.000
Andes	36	7	11.500.000
Chaco ampliado	35	4	500.000
Caribe continental	31	8	1.250.000
Baja Centroamérica	21	5	1.000.000
Oasisamérica	18	2	250.000
Llanuras Costeras del Pacífico	9	2	55.000
Patagonia	9	2	300.000
Isla de Pascua	1	1	4.500
Caribe Insular	4?	4	5.500
Otras regiones no presentadas por separado en el Atlas	67	3	400.000
<b>Total</b>	<b>665</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>29.464.000</b>

# LA DEMOGRAFÍA DE LOS PUEBLOS INDÍGENAS Y SUS DINÁMICAS DIVERSAS

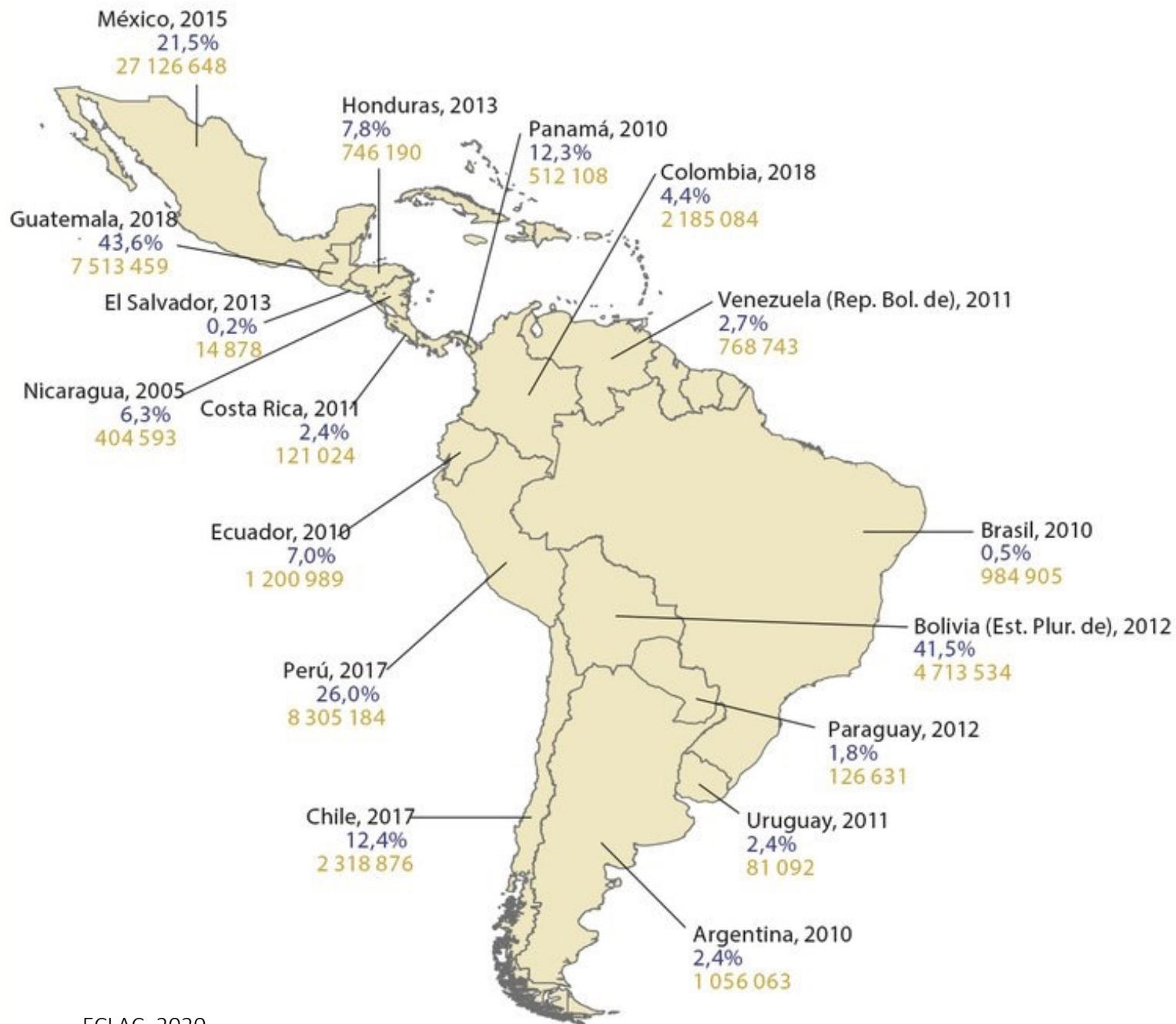
**58 MILLONES AL 2018  
MÁS DE 800 PUEBLOS**

Estructuras etarias más jóvenes, aunque han iniciado proceso de envejecimiento poblacional

Fragilidad demográfica y socioambiental de muchos pueblos

Alta diversidad: desde predominio rural a grandes mayorías urbanas

Asentamientos históricos y relocalización territorial: identificación de "municipios"



ECLAC, 2020

[https://twitter.com/cepal\\_onu/status/1292536157457260546?s=20&t=AT0maflBFPj4rynp8COZXw](https://twitter.com/cepal_onu/status/1292536157457260546?s=20&t=AT0maflBFPj4rynp8COZXw)



Indigenous people



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“There are multiple perspectives that all share the idea of **decolonisation**. For example, there is an **integral environmental perspective** that emphasises the idea of a good life; an indigenous, communitarian perspective; an eco-feminist perspective with a focus on the care economy and the struggle against patriarchy; and an eco-territorial position linked to the social movements that have developed a political grammar based on the ideas of environmental justice, common goods, territory, food sovereignty and the good life.”

(Svampa, 2012: 64)

The relationship of **indigenous peoples** with the forests within their **historical territories** is fundamental to their subsistence and survival as peoples, since forests enable the reproduction of their cultures and provide them with food, medicines and resources for productive activities, among other things.

Within them, indigenous peoples have developed their **own strategies of governance and relationship with nature**, which are key to the **conservation of ecosystems** to which non-indigenous society has begun to pay great attention in the face of the global climate crisis.

ECLAC, 2020

Victor Toledo (*La Jornada*, 5 August 2014) asserts that the indigenous agrarian Mesoamerican civilization survives and persists: “These **indigenous populations** are the principle opponents to the industrial civilization model.”

Indigenous agriculture and agroforestry are **major sources of Latin America environmentalism.**“

(Martinez-Alier, 2016: 36-37)

= good life

“In Ecuador, the political debate after 2007 has introduced the concept of **Sumak Kawsay**, *Buen Vivir*, possibly after many hundreds or thousands of years of verbal usage. Sumak Kawsay was converted into a national objective included in the Ecuadorian constitution of 2008...

[...]

Sumak Kawsay is something similar to a solidary and ecological economy, which had already existed and needed to be recovered. It is a concept related to “post-developmentalism”. (Martinez-Alier, 2016: 38)



**Sistemas de Gobierno Comunal Indígena**  
*Mujeres y tramas de parentesco en Chulmaq'ona'*

**Gladys Tzul Tzul**



Gobierno comunal indígena [indigenous communal government] = amaq

...is the political organisation to ensure the reproduction of social life in the communities.

...assemblies and indigenous authorities (rotative system): Authorities obey the assembly, they do not rule themselves.

communal governance have at the heart of the struggle the recovery and defence of the concrete and symbolic means for life.

self-regulation, defence and re-appropriation of the means that guarantee the reproduction of life: land, water, forests, roads, cemeteries and many more.



## Communal work = k'ax k'ol

The service is not remunerated; it is the obligation that we all have to collaborate in order to sustain life in common.

communal government do not function outside of capitalism or the state, indeed, they are under attack and under permanent siege = island (archipiélagos)

Resistance = self-government (autonomy), common land (territory) and k'ax k'ol





### = pueblos indígenas

- Historical continuity to the pre-invasion and pre-colonial societies
- Linked to their territories = land recuperations
- Consider themselves distinct from other sectors of societies = autonomic demands
- Non-dominant sectors of society = fighting against violence
- Determined to preserve their ethnic identity = strengthening indigenous identity and cosmogony/cosmovision
- Their own cultural pattern, social institutions and legal systems....
- Historic tension between indigenous communities and the state

### = movimiento maya

- 1970s: ...to raise awareness of the status of indigenous people and to "transport" their political demands
- 1990s: Movimiento Maya may be a movement that deployed a series of struggles for identity and for gaining access to the state. However, if it is read from the perspective of the communal governmental networks, the Mayan Movement can operate as a category of political leadership of indigenous struggles.

Counter-hegemonic  
environmentalism

Martinez-Alier et al. (2016: 29) argues that “Latin American **environmental ideas** are closely connected to its **environmental history** since the Spanish Conquest, which was characterized by a dramatic drop in population and a series of export booms driven by one **commodity** after another.”

# Ecoregions

Figure 1.  
Draft  
Level I Ecoregions  
of Central America  
and South America  
First Approximation

- 13. Temperate Sierras
- 14. Mexican Tropical Dry Forests
- 15. Middle American Tropical Wet Forests
- 16. West Indies
- 17. Northern Andes
- 18. Central Andes
- 19. Southern Andes
- 20. Amazonian-Orinocan Lowland
- 21. Eastern Highlands
- 22. Gran Chaco
- 23. Pampas
- 24. Monte-Patagonian



## Commodification (marketization) of nature

“...nature is treated *as* a commodity...” [product, good, merchandise...]

“The central contradiction of this commodification lies in the fact that nature is seen as an **unlimited resource** for societies and, precisely for that reason, endangered or even destroyed.”

= current ecological crisis

[Brand, Görg & Wissen, 2020]

1



2



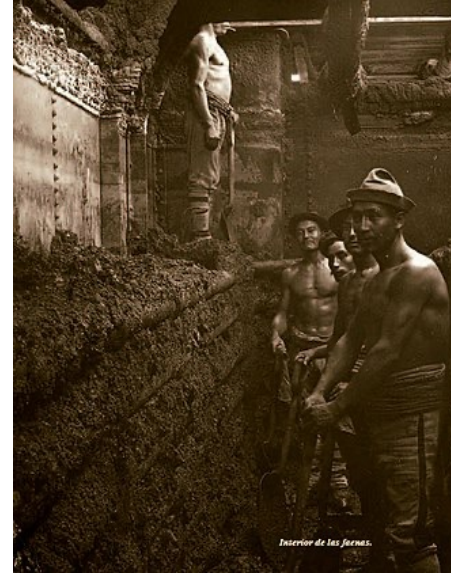
3



4



5



6



7



8

Commodities in Latin America?

coffee



rubber



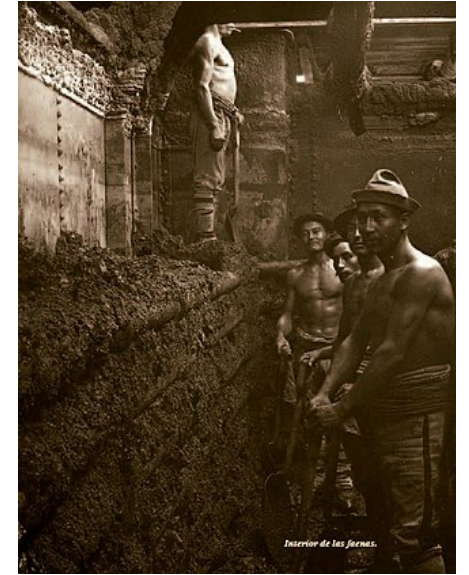
henequen



guano



salpeter



cacao



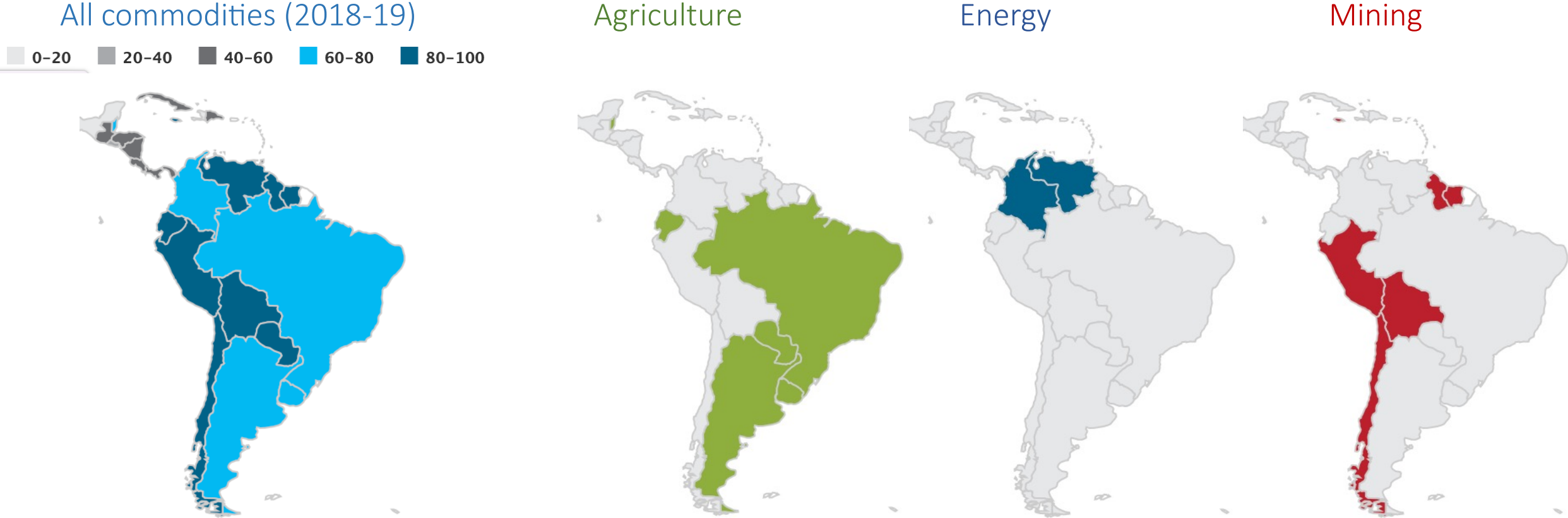
banana



sugarcane

Commodities in Latin America?

Martinez-Alier et al. (2016: 29) argues that “Latin American **environmental ideas** are closely connected to its **environmental history** [...], which are characterized by [...] a series of export booms driven by one **commodity** after another.”





## 21st century

“Latin America has recently undergone a passage from the Washington consensus, based on financial valorization, to the **commodities consensus**, based on the large-scale exportation of raw materials, such as hydrocarbons (gas and petroleum), metals and minerals (copper, gold, silver, tin, bauxite, zinc, etc.), agricultural products (corn, soy, and wheat), and biofuels.”

“One consequence of the current extractivist turn has been the explosion of **social-environmental conflicts**, visible in the strengthening of ancestral struggles for land by indigenous and campesino movements, as well as the emergence of **new forms of mobilization** and citizen participation focused on the defense of the common, biodiversity, and the environment.”

[Svampa, 2015]

In this context...

Counter-hegemonic environmentalist movements “...are typically connected to land, territory and surrounding natural resources; are non-dominant, minority or face discrimination; and have distinctive social and political systems, culture and language.”

Owen et al., 2023

However, “particular tactics employed by environmentalists will be closely tied to the relative openness of their nation’s **political system.**”

[Christen et al., 1998]

## Latin American dictatorships (first half 20th century)

República Dominicana: Rafael Leónidas Trujillo (1930 – 1961)

Nicaragua: Dinastía Somoza (1936 – 1979)

Cuba: Fulgencio Batista (1940-44, 1952-59)

El Salvador: Maximiliano Hernández Martínez (1935 – 1944)

Honduras: Tiburcio Carías (1937 – 1949)

Guatemala: Jorge Ubico (1931 – 1944)

## Latin American dictatorships (second half 20th century)

Paraguay: Alfredo Stroessner (1954 – 1989)

Haití: François Duvalier (1957 – 1971)

Chile: Augusto Pinochet (1973 – 1990)

Argentina: Jorge Rafael Videla (1976 – 1981)

Bolivia: Barrientos y Bánzer (1964 – 1978)

Uruguay: Bordaberry (1973 – 1976)

Perú: Velasco y Morales (1968 – 1980)

Ecuador: Junta militar y Rodríguez (1963 – 1976)

Guatemala: regimenes militares (1954 – 1985)

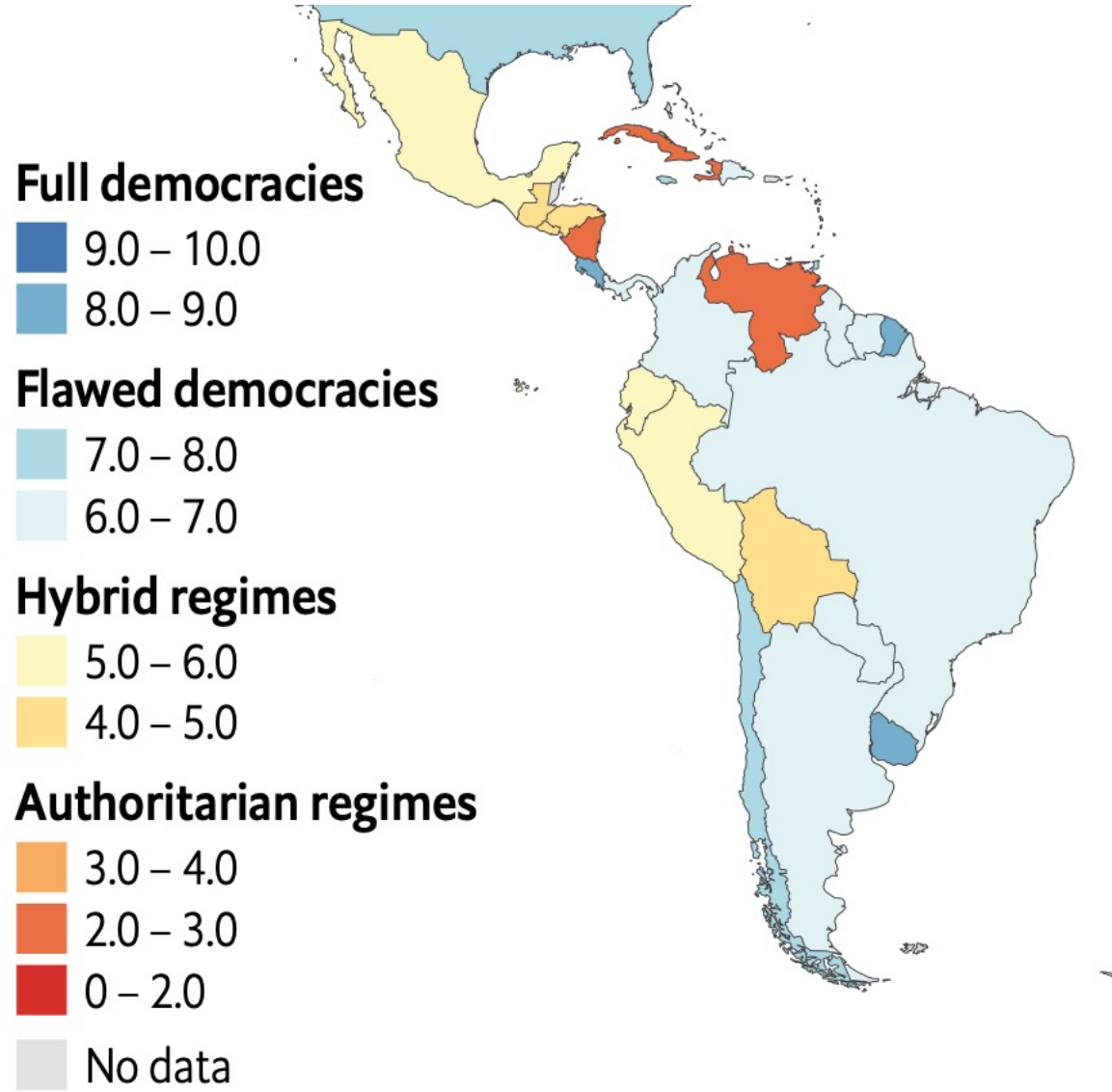
El Salvador: juntas militares (hasta 1982)

Honduras: juntas militares (hasta 1980)

1980s:

= democracy, peace and liberalism

= (neo)liberal pacification / third wave of democratization



Source: EIU.

“This context of conflict directly or indirectly contributes to the judicialization of social-environmental struggles and human rights violations, including the murder of activists in some countries.”

Svampa, 2015

**1540 land and environmental defenders  
were killed between 2012 and 2020**

<https://www.globalwitness.org/en/campaigns/environmental-activists/numbers-lethal-attacks-against-defenders-2012/>

### Gráfico IV.2

América Latina (9 países): líderes indígenas defensores de la vida y de los derechos colectivos sobre los territorios asesinados entre 2015 y el primer semestre de 2019

(En número)



Fuente: Comisión Económica para América Latina y el Caribe (CEPAL).

2015-2019: 232 indigenous leaders and community members murdered (ECLAC, 2020)

## Popular environmentalism

“Influenced by the new ideas of **Liberation Theology** and different social movements in the region, a widely shared critique of the economic growth models in Latin America would give voice to a **popular environmentalism**, or the **environmentalism of the poor**. It drew from the ideas of two important Latin American thinkers.” (Martinez-Alier, 2016: 43)



“**Paulo Freire** emphasized social and environmental justice, local knowledge, the morality of political decisions, and respect for the planet and its diverse habitats.

The other thinker with great influence in the debate was the Uruguayan writer **Eduardo Galeano**. In his 1971 book *Open Veins of Latin America (Las Venas Abiertas de América Latina)*, he presented a ferocious critique of the extractivist logic throughout all of Latin America’s history.”

**Leonardo Boff**, *Ecology: Cry of the Earth, Cry of the Poor*

Eduardo Gudynas: post-extractivism

Maristela Svampa: political ecology

(Martinez-Alier, 2016: 43)



## 21st century

“...strengthening of ancestral struggles for land by **indigenous and campesino movements**, as well as the emergence of **new forms of mobilization** and citizen participation focused on the **defense** of the common, biodiversity, and the environment.”

“It is impossible to list all the self-organized national and regional environmental networks in Latin America today.”

[Svampa, 2015]

= “against”

= “moral economy”

= ecological debt

= biopiracy

= water justice

= climate justice

= food sovereignty

= ecocide

= living rivers (ríos vivos)

= tree plantations are not forests

= etc.

# Environmentalism and socio-ambiental conflicts: case studies

# Case 1: Berta Cáceres

Who is Berta Cáceres?

1993: Co-founder of COPINH  
National Council of Popular and Indigenous  
Organizations of Honduras (COPINH)

2009: coup d'état

2015: Goldman Environmental Prize

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AR1kwx8b0ms>

2016: Berta was assassinated

[Korol, 2018]

[Lakhani, 2020]

[Arenas et al, 2020]



*In our worldview, we are beings who come from the Earth, from the water, and from corn. The Lenca people are ancestral guardians of the rivers... [...]*

<https://seeingthewoods.org/2016/10/06/worldview-bertha-caceres/>

“Another world is possible...”

Anti-patriarchal

Anti-racist

Anti-neoliberal

Bienes comunes[commons]

Buen vivir, Sumak Kawsay [good life]

[Gudynas & Acosta, 2011]

[Gregorčič, 2017]

[González et al., 2017]



## Education:

In Berta's words: "In COPINH we value popular education as a tool for liberation, for the collective construction of thought, of proposals, of ideas. We can make mistakes, but we are there learning and making the effort to recompose it, to learn new things. Learning and relearning, recreating. That is very powerful." (Korol 2018)

Learning-in-struggle and learning-while-struggling  
[Gregorčič, 2017]

Nexus local and global realities [Iribarren et al., 2022]



## Education and Transformation

Paulo Freire, from his first texts to his last "pedagogical letters", reminded us that education is not enough to transform the world, but without education it would be impossible..." (In Irribarren et al., 2022)

"There is no true word that is not at the same time a praxis." (Freire, 2005)

In Pascualita's words:

"Words and actions are very important in the Lenca culture." (Korol 2018) (Méndez, 2018)



“The social terrain where modern liberal agency plays out is one that assumes that rationality and intentionality reside uniquely in the human realm. In this sense the **interconnectedness between human and non-human lives** that multiple indigenous cosmologies bring to light cannot be grasped by a sociality that assumes only human intentionality. Who and what constitutes the social in these cosmologies does not necessarily map onto the rigid hierarchy between the human and nonhuman that is the central dichotomy of colonial modernity...” (in Méndez, 2018)





## Praxis

- Recuperation of land and territories and environmental protection
- Recuperation of history and reviving cultures, languages, knowledge and traditions
- Autonomous health and educational system
- Community radio stations
- Programs for women's rights
- Projects for leadership
- Educational center = Utopía

[Gregorčič, 2017]





## Proyecto Hidroeléctrico Agua Zarca, Honduras ✕

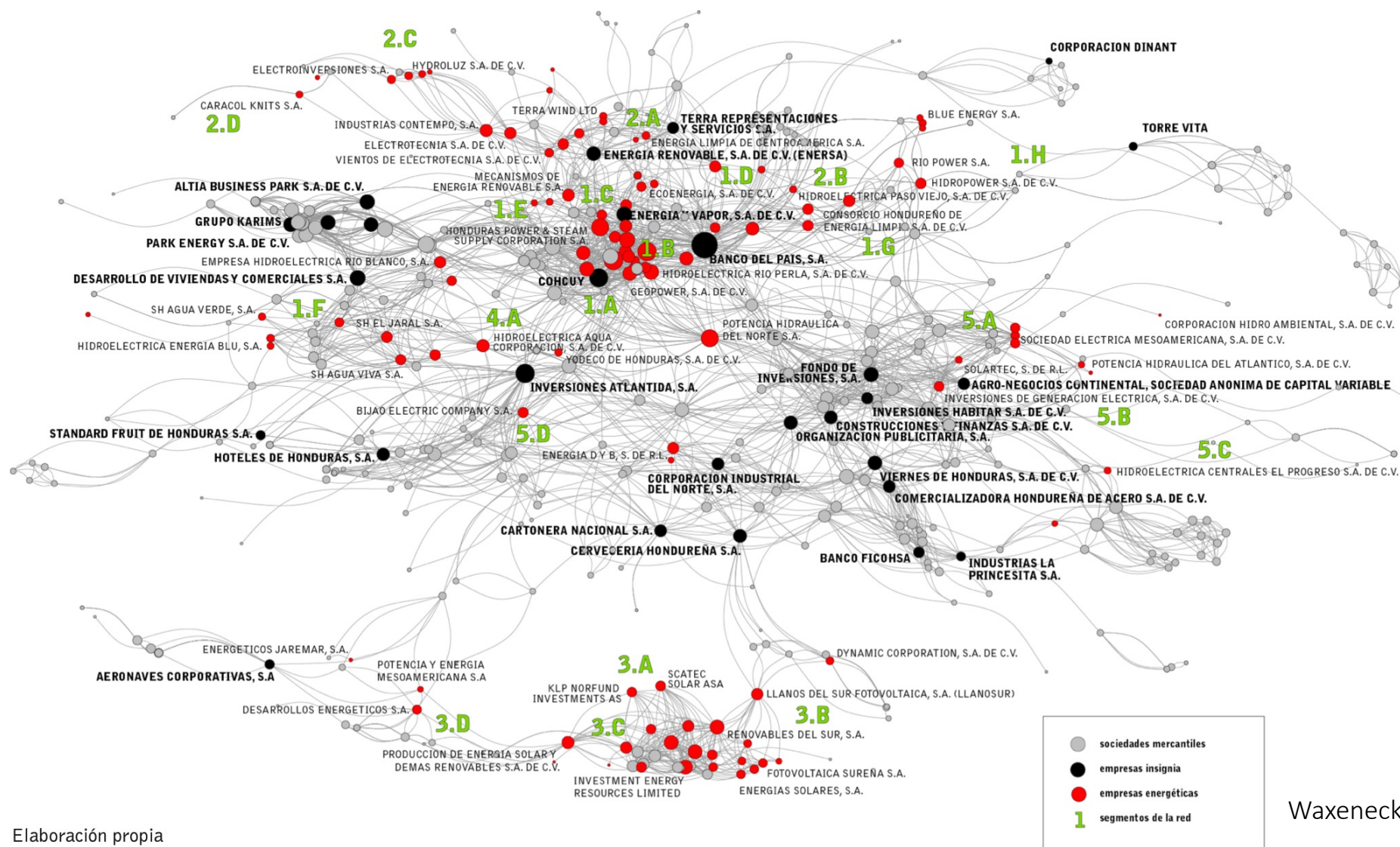
Lenca indigenous sacred territory affected by a hydropower plant, funded by international banks and climate funds. Lenca people are negated the use of water and leaders are criminalized and murdered. Bertha Caceres was assassinated in March 2016. [See more](#)



**Water Management**

# 2010 – 2019: 127 power purchase agreements (PPAs)

Red la élite económica en Honduras y empresas del sector energético: 540 sociedades mercantiles



## Trial against David Castillo (June 2021)

2010: “standard PPA-model” (member of the public regulatory agency)  
= illegal mechanism of “nature-appropriation”

### Contratos adjudicados mediante Decretos No. 70-2007 y No. 158-1994

No.	Nombre de la Empresa	Contrato	Nombre del Proyecto
1	Caracol Knits S.A. de C.V.	ENEE-036-2010	Caracol Knits
2	Hidrocentrales El Progreso S.A. de C.V. (HIDROCEP)	ENEE-037-2010	
3	Río Power S.A. de C.V. (RIPOSA)	ENEE-038-2010	Gualcarque
4	HidroPower S.A. de C.V.	ENEE-039-2010	
5	Energisa S.A. de C.V.	ENEE-040-2010	Río Negro
6	Corporación Patuca S.A. de C.V. (CORPASA)	ENEE-041-2010	Río Frío
7	Yodeco de Honduras S.A. de C.V. (Hidroeléctrica Centrales El Progreso S.A. de C.V.)	ENEE-042-2010	Mezapa
8	Desarrollos Energéticos S.A. de C.V. (DESA)	ENEE-043-2010	Agua Zarca

Elaboración propia con información de Resolución 01-JD-1079-2010 – ENEE y TSC (2018)

## International financial structure

Centralamerican Bank for Economic Integration (CABEI)

Netherlands Development Finance Company (FMO)

Finnish Fund for Industrial Cooperation (FINNFUND)

Deutsche Bank Trust Company Americas

= green investment?

= corporate responsibility?

= human rights in business?

## Case 2: Abelino Chub

2021:Trócaire's Romero International Award

The Romero award, named in honor of the late Oscar Romero, is given in recognition of outstanding Human Rights work by a Trócaire partner.

Abelino was wrongfully imprisoned for over two years due to his efforts to defend the land rights of indigenous Guatemalan communities before being cleared of all charges.

<https://www.trocaire.org/news/trocaire-dismayed-by-ongoing-criminalisation-of-abelino-chub-caal/>



Broadcaster John Creedon presents Guatemalan activist Abelino Chub Caal with Trócaire's Romero International Award in Cork City. The Romero award, named in honor of the late Oscar Romero, is given in recognition of outstanding Human Rights work by a Trócaire partner. Abelino was wrongfully imprisoned for over two years due to his efforts to defend the land rights of indigenous Guatemalan communities before being cleared of all charges. Photography by Gerard McCarthy

Captura de Pantalla

## Abelino Chub Caal

Abelino was released from prison in 2019 after spending 813 days behind bars falsely accused of arson and other crimes. Abelino is a member of the Q'eqchi indigenous community and has campaigned against the land dispossession suffered by his community.

He was found innocent of all charges in April 2019. Later that year, he was awarded the Trócaire Romero Award for his defence of human rights.

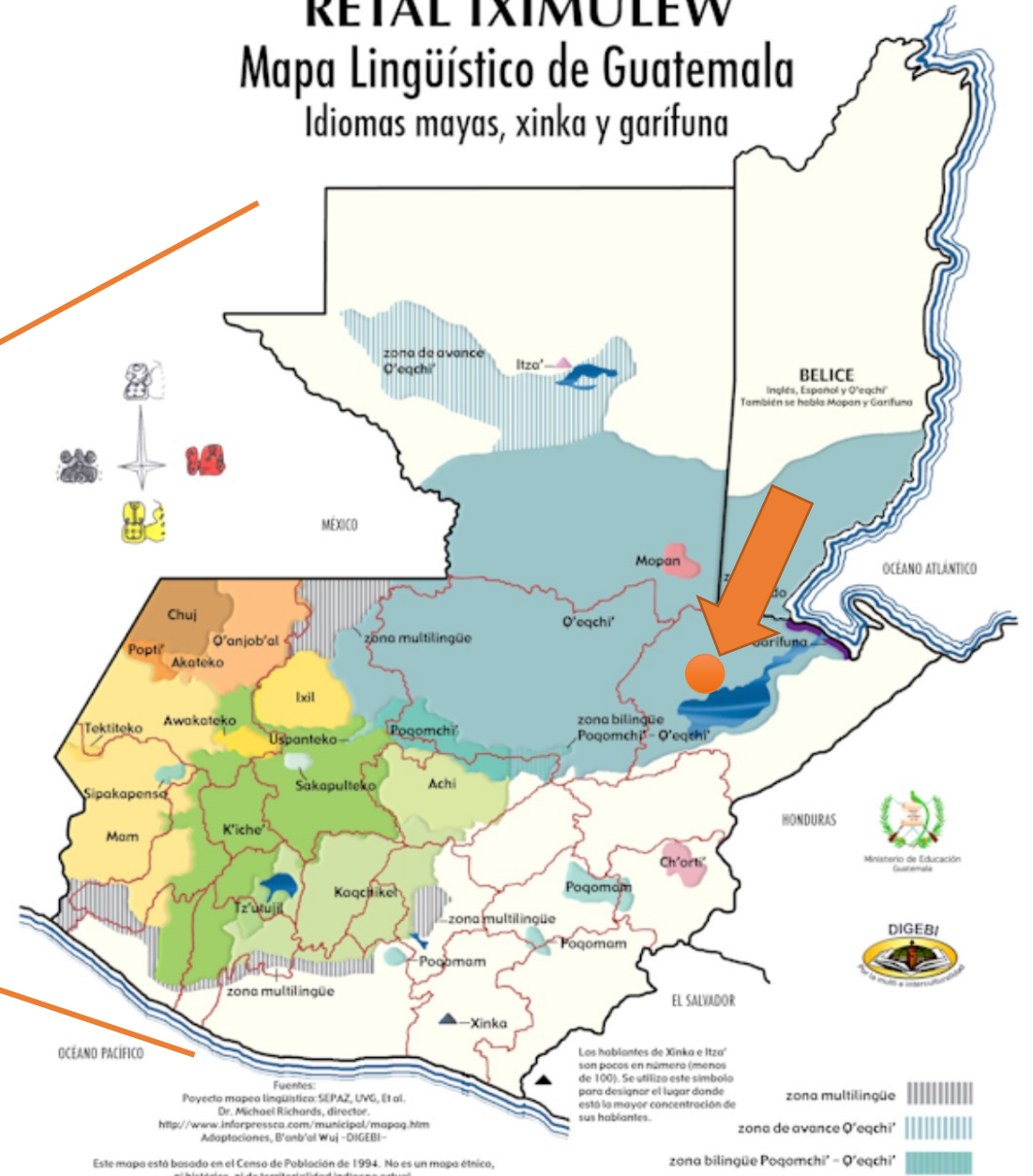
<https://www.trocaire.org/news/trocaire-dismayed-by-ongoing-criminalisation-of-abelino-chub-caal/>

# Mesoamerica



<https://en.mapy.cz/>

## RETAL IXIMULEW Mapa Lingüístico de Guatemala Idiomas mayas, xinka y garífuna



Fuente:  
Proyecto mapeo lingüístico: SEPAZ, UVG, Et al.  
Dr. Michael Richards, director.  
<http://www.inforpress.com/municipal/mapaq.htm>  
Adaptaciones, B'anb'al Wuj - DIGEBI -

Este mapa está basado en el Censo de Población de 1994. No es un mapa étnico, ni histórico, ni de territorialidad indígena actual.

<https://www.mineduc.gob.gt/digebi/mapalinguistico.html>



## Common 'ground'

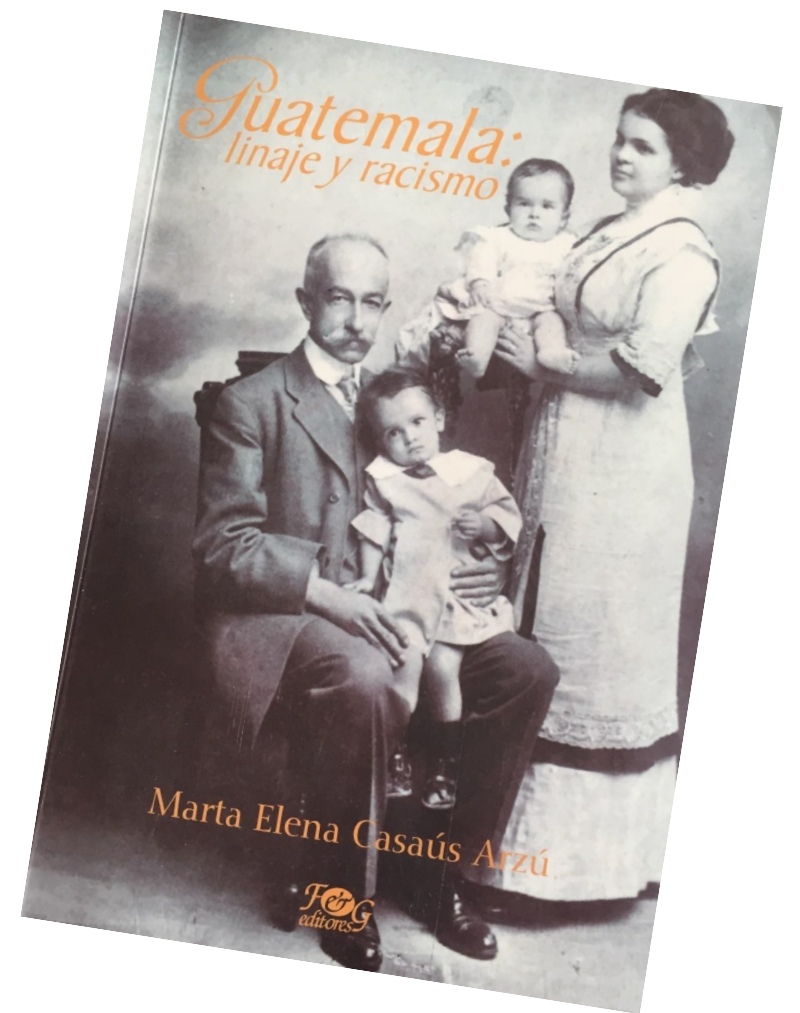
### History

1524 – 1821	Spanish colony
1821	Independence
1871 – 1944	Liberal republic
1944 – 1954	Democratic revolution
1960 – 1996	War
1996	Peace accords

= historical **asymmetries** of power

= different '**motivations**' (material and symbolic)

= changing **legal-institutional** framework



# Land appropriation?

## Sources

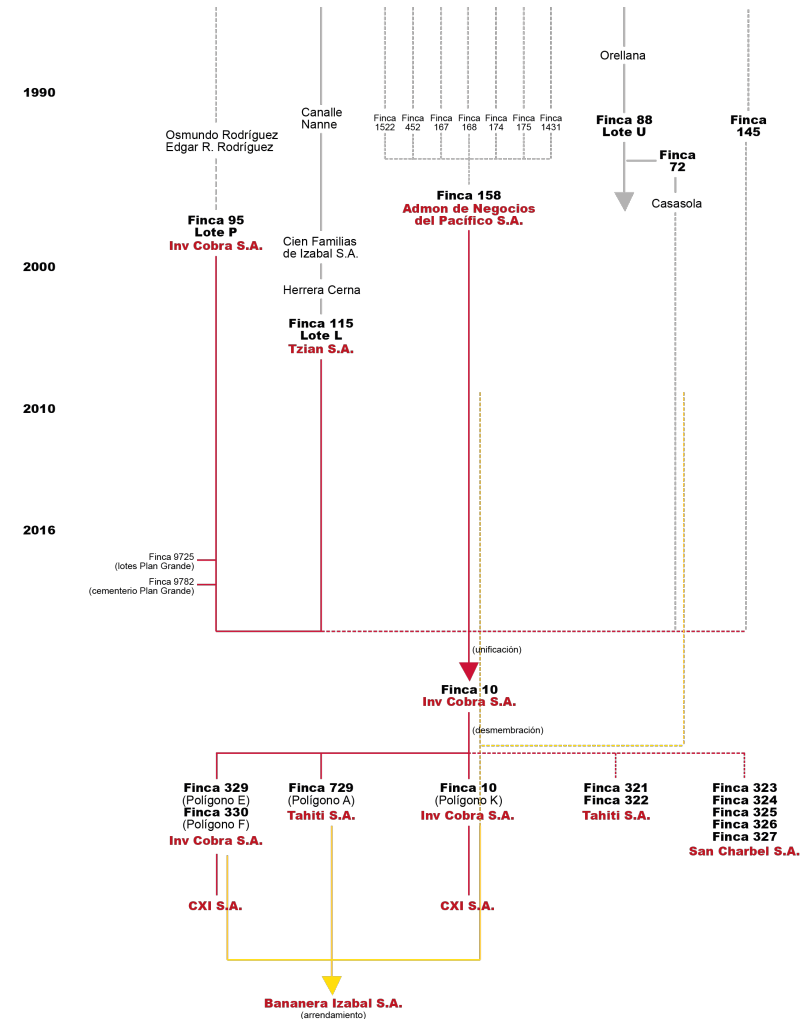
- Historical Archive of Central America
- Guatemalan Property register

## Mechanisms:

1920s: compensation for army officers  
by presidential decree

1970s: paramilitary groups  
by violent imposition

1990s: cattle farms, drug trafficking,  
banana and oil palm  
by regularization (peace accords)



**3570 ha**

**Irregularities**

= origin + extension

# Asymmetric power?

**Family-business network**

= 1 family

= 53 companies

## Sources

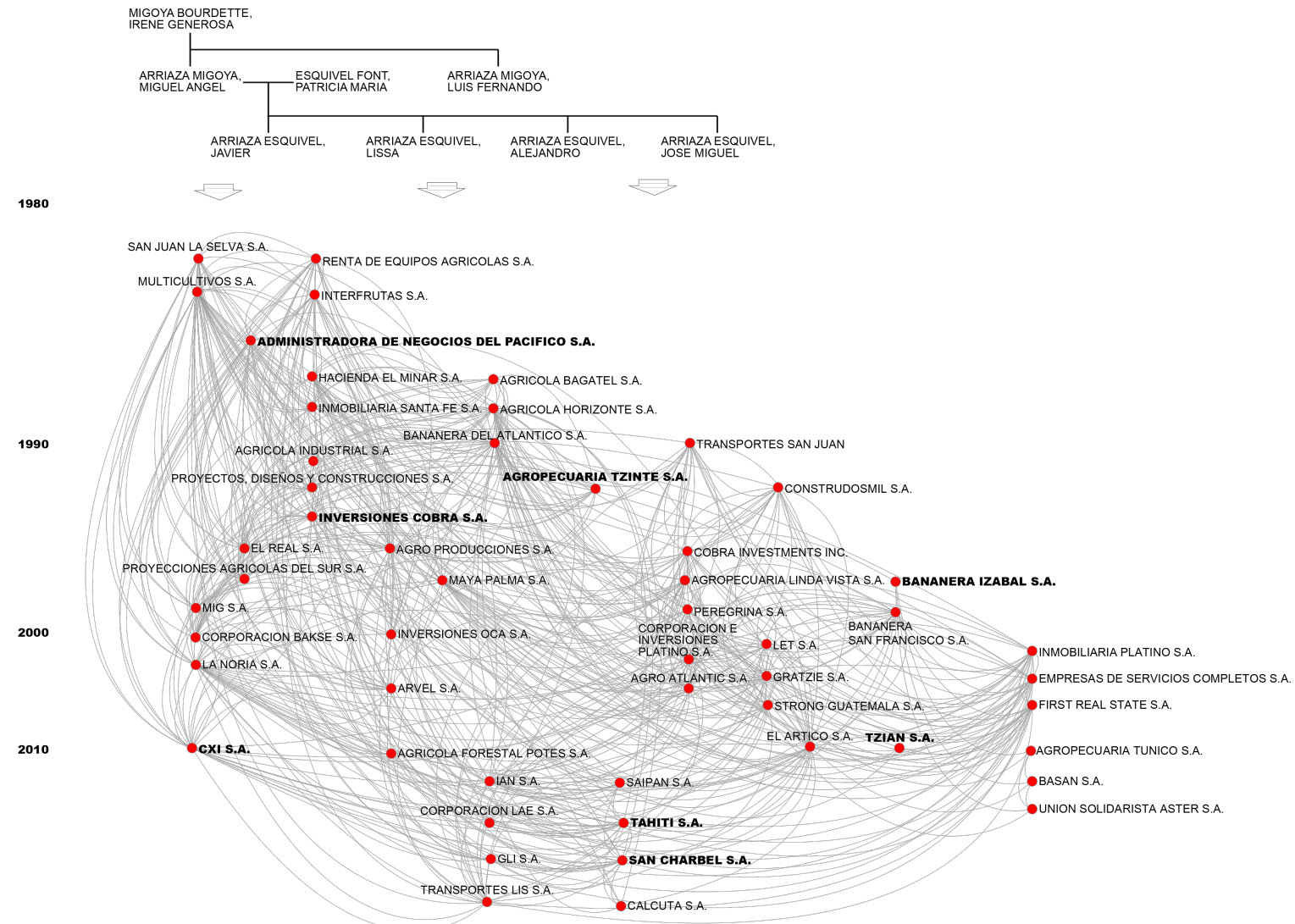
- Commercial register

## Framework / actors:

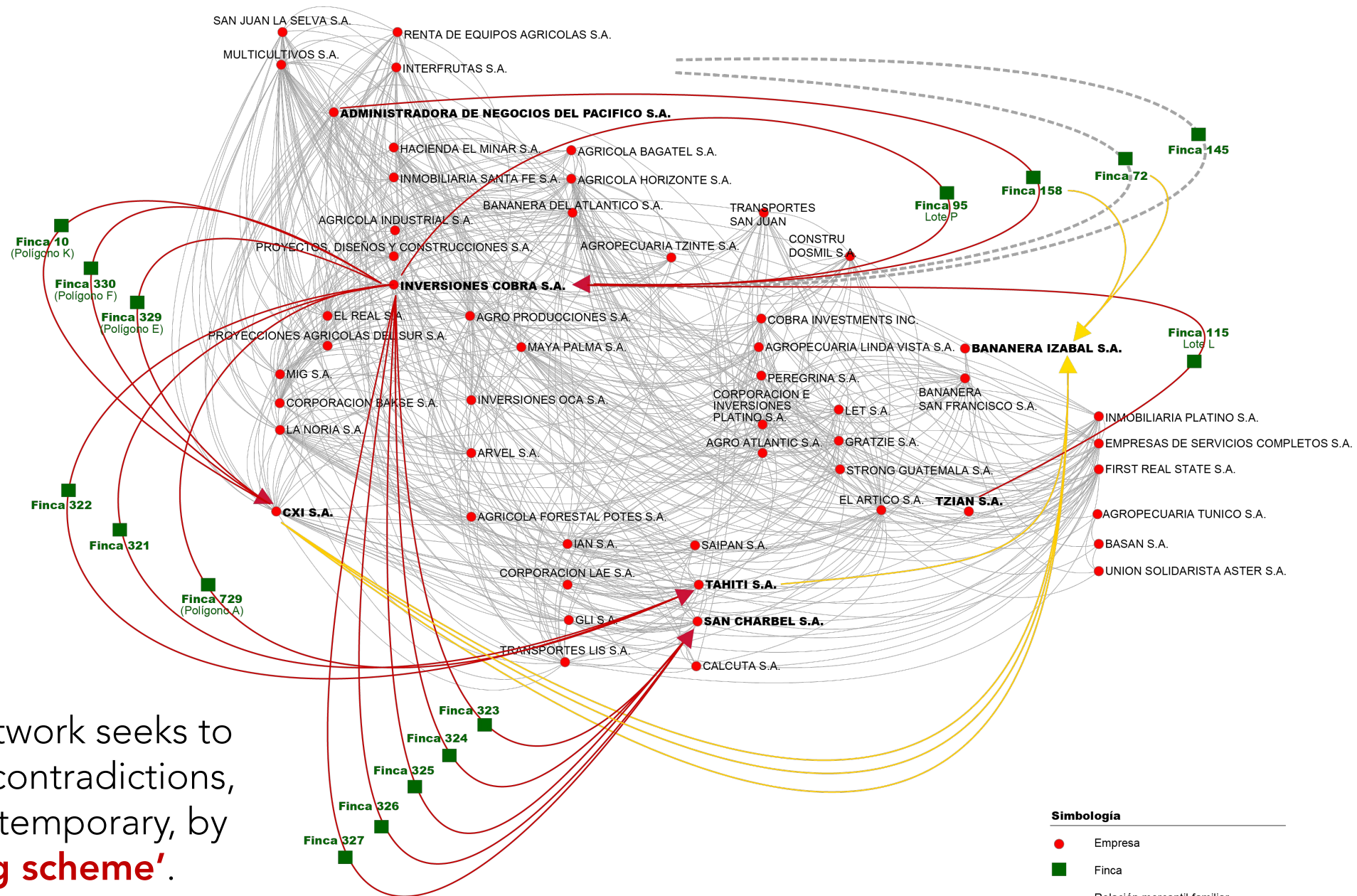
Until 1944: liberal agrarian oligarchy

After 1960: military dictatorship

After 1990s: 'laboratory' of liberal peace-building: democracy, peace and free market



# Overlap?



The family-business network seeks to hide irregularities and contradictions, both historical and contemporary, by a **'property laundering scheme'**.

- Simbología**
- Empresa
  - Finca
  - Relación mercantil-familiar
  - Relación de propiedad
  - Relación de arrendamiento
  - ..... Relación desconocida de propiedad



The court declared Abelino innocent and ordered the public prosecutor's office to investigate irregularities in the appropriation of the land, which historically belongs to indigenous communities.

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