

Arbeitskreis AK3

Umkämpfte Transformationsprozesse. Lateinamerika im Spannungsfeld zwischen dekolonialen Projekten und neokonservativen Tendenzen.

Koordination: Valerie Lenikus, Marie Jasser, Anna Preiser und Marcela Torres

Wahlerfolge neokonservativer Parteien in Argentinien, Chile, Peru und Kolumbien oder der extremen Rechten in Brasilien stehen in Kontrast zu den progressiven Regierungen der *Ola Rosada* der frühen 2000er, wobei auch diese Projekte intern umkämpft sind. Diese Tendenzen spiegeln das Spannungsverhältnis zwischen dekolonialen Projekten und der Aufrechterhaltung internationaler und nationaler Machtverhältnisse wieder.

Dekoloniale Projekte haben kolonial/moderne Denk- und Machtstrukturen auf verschiedenen Ebenen angefochten (Gender, Race/Indigenität, Armut) und setzen sich für alternative gesellschaftliche Organisationsformen ein. Sie stehen für eine Anpassung gesellschaftlicher Strukturen an die tatsächlichen diversen überlagerten Gesellschaftsstrukturen (z.B. die Koexistenz verschiedener Wirtschafts- und Autoritätssysteme, gesellschaftliche Naturverhältnisse) und für eine Demokratisierung. Nach den Bemühungen, die Herrschaftsverhältnisse und Ausschlussmechanismen aufzubrechen, manifestieren sich nun unterschiedliche Interessen und Spannungsverhältnisse besonders in Konflikten um materielle und immaterielle Ressourcen (z.B. Rohstoffe, Bildung, Deutungsmonopole oder Zugang zu staatlichen Entscheidungspositionen). Trotz teilweiser erfolgreicher Etablierung von transformativen Projekten bleiben diese auf staatlicher Ebene an (neo-)extraktivistische Entwicklungsmodelle rückgebunden.

Im Gegensatz dazu lassen sich neokonservative bis extrem rechte und autoritäre Tendenzen auf dem Kontinent beobachten. Diese forcieren die Absicherung neoliberaler Strukturen, den Abbau des Sozialstaates, die Verstärkung der militärischen Intervention, die Bestimmung der gesellschaftliche Werte (Familie, Geschlechterrollen, Religion) und die Stärkung nationalistisch-konservativer Diskurse. Diese extreme Polarisierung der nationalen Politiken und Gesellschaften werfen verschiedene Fragen auf, denen sich das Panel widmet:

- Welche dekolonialen Projekte lassen sich erkennen? Welche sind die Spannungsfelder dieser Projekte?
- Wie verschaffen sich autoritäre Tendenzen Legitimität?
- Welche neuen und alten politischen Allianzen lassen sich beobachten? (z.B. Gewerkschaften, evangelikale Kirchen, indigene Bündnisse etc.)
- Welche Ungleichheitsstrukturen wirken fort oder wurden verstärkt? Welche Gruppen sind betroffen? In welchen Fällen konnten sie aufgebrochen werden? Welche Gruppen waren beteiligt? Auf welche Barrieren oder Durchlässigkeiten sind sie dabei gestoßen?
- Wie haben sich seit dem Diskurse über Ausschlussmechanismen verändert?

Die Fragestellungen sollen aus intersektionalen, dekolonialen sowie materialistischen Perspektiven im Hinblick auf rechtliche, politische, ökonomische und kulturelle Aspekte betrachtet werden. In zwei aufeinanderfolgenden Panels werden Input-Vorträge gehalten und im Anschluss diskutiert und in einer Abschlussdiskussion zusammengeführt.

Valerie Lenikus, Marie Jasser, Anna Preiser und Marcela Torres arbeiten gemeinsam als DOC-team zum Thema *Contested Transformations. Andean societies between persistent coloniality and decolonial dynamics*. an der Uni Wien und der WU Wien.

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Mesa 3

Procesos de transformación impugnados. La tensión en Latinoamérica entre proyectos decoloniales y tendencias neoconservadoras.

Coordinación: Valerie Lenikus, Marie Jasser, Anna Preiser y Marcela Torres

Los éxitos electorales de los partidos neoconservadores en Argentina, Chile, Perú y Colombia o la extrema derecha en Brasil contrastan con los gobiernos progresistas de la Ola Rosada de principios de la década del 2000. Estos proyectos mantienen además internamente conflictos latentes. Estas tendencias reflejan la tensión entre los proyectos decoloniales y el mantenimiento de relaciones de poder a escala internacional y nacional.

Las corrientes decoloniales han increpado el pensamiento colonial/moderno y las estructuras de poder en varios niveles (género, raza/indigeneidad, pobreza), promoviendo formas alternativas de pensamiento y organización social. Promueven la adaptación de las estructuras sociales a la diversidad existente en las sociedades abigarradas (por ejemplo, la coexistencia de diferentes sistemas económicos y de gobierno, formas alternativas de relacionamiento sociales con la naturaleza) y para una ampliación de formas de democracia. Luego de esfuerzos, en algunos países de la región, para alterar las relaciones de poder y los mecanismos de exclusión, ahora se manifiestan de forma más intensa diferentes intereses y tensiones en conflictos por recursos materiales e inmateriales (materias primas, educación, monopolio sobre los discursos y los significados o acceso a puestos de decisión estatales). A pesar del exitoso establecimiento parcial de proyectos transformadores, estos siguen vinculados a los modelos de desarrollo (neo) extractivistas a nivel estatal.

En contraste, se pueden observar en el continente tendencias neoconservadoras de extrema derecha y autoritarias. Estas promueven la salvaguardia de las estructuras neoliberales, el desmantelamiento del estado de bienestar, el fortalecimiento de la intervención militar, la determinación de los valores sociales (familia, roles de género, religión) y el fortalecimiento de los discursos nacionalistas-conservadores. Esta extrema polarización de las políticas y sociedades nacionales plantea una serie de cuestiones a las que se dedica el panel:

- ¿Qué proyectos decoloniales pueden ser identificados? ¿Cuáles son las áreas de tensión de estos proyectos?
- ¿Cómo ganan legitimidad las tendencias autoritarias?
- ¿Qué nuevas y viejas alianzas políticas se pueden observar? (por ejemplo, sindicatos, iglesias evangélicas, alianzas indígenas, etc.)
- ¿Qué estructuras de desigualdad continúan o se fortalecen? ¿Qué grupos se ven afectados? ¿En qué casos se podrían romper? ¿Qué grupos están involucrados? ¿Qué barreras o permeabilidades encontraron?
- ¿Cómo han cambiado los discursos sobre los mecanismos de exclusión?

Desde perspectivas intersectoriales, decoloniales y materialistas con respecto a aspectos legales, políticos, económicos y culturales serán abordadas estas preguntas. En dos bloques consecutivos, se realizarán aportes analíticos en forma de presentaciones, las cuales aportarán a la discusión y se reunirán en una discusión final.

Valerie Lenikus, Marie Jasser, Anna Preiser y Marcela Torres trabajan juntas como un equipo de DOC en el tema de *Transformaciones impugnadas. Sociedades andinas entre colonialidad persistente y dinámica decolonial* en la Universidad de Viena y en la Universidad de Economía de Viena. Correos: valerie-lenikus@hotmail.com, marie.jasser@gmx.de, annapreiser@hotmail.com, jematohe23@hotmail.com.

Programm Arbeitskreis 3
Programa Mesa 3

Panel 1:

Berthold Molden: campesinos/terroristas. Genozid-Erinnerung und Landkonflikt in Guatemala

Gabriel Riva: Law and crisis: an analysis of the legal form towards Brazilian's biggest environmental disasters

Josiane de Paula Nunes: As Representações políticas e as direitas no Brasil

Rodrigo Ruiz: *Comunalidad*. Media Projects and cultural creation.

Panel 2:

Ulrich Brand: Theorizing the role of natural resources in development: The case of Latin America

Gernot Stimmer: Vom Antiimperialismus zum Neokolonialismus.-Der Wandel der Rolle Chinas in Lateinamerika: Von der Führung der Dritten Welt zur imperialen Ressourcensicherungsstrategie

Lorena Olarte: Socio-Environmental Struggles over the Defense of the Territory:
Contours for a Decolonial Interpretation on Current Dynamics of Resistance in Mexico

Abschlussdiskussion/ Discusión final

Panel 1

campesinos / terroristas. Genozid-Erinnerung und Landkonflikt in Guatemala

Berthold Molden

Eine der Hauptursachen, warum der in den 1990er Jahren begonnene und international unterstützte Friedensprozess in Guatemala bislang kaum Fortschritte in der erhofften sozio-politischen Transformation gezeitigt hat, sind ökonomische Interessen. Konkret: die Bedeutung der Land- und Ressourcenverteilung in einer stark agrarisch geprägten Gesellschaft. Dieser Vortrag macht deutlich, wie und warum sich die organisierten GroßgrundbesitzerInnen und UnternehmerInnen gegen bestimmte Schlüsselbereiche der Friedensverträge stemmten, darunter nicht zuletzt die juristische Einschätzung der staatlichen Kriegsverbrechen als Genozid. Dabei spielten nicht „nur“ Rassismus und die Verschleierung etwaiger historischer Verantwortung für Massen- und Völkermord eine Rolle. Es ging und geht um die Implikationen, die eine solche Einschätzung in der guatemaltekischen Gesellschaft haben könnte: die Verschiebung politischer Partizipationsmuster und die Erosion der ökonomischen Kontrolle durch eine kleine Elite. Ungleiche Verteilungsstrukturen haben sich über Bürgerkrieg und Friedensprozess hinweg gehalten und bestimmen in Guatemala, wo der indigene Bevölkerungsanteil bei fast 50% liegt, weiterhin Politik und Gesellschaft. Angesichts dessen ist der Kampf um die Deutung der blutigen Vergangenheit vor allem auch eine Auseinandersetzung über das Fortdauern postkolonialer Privilegien der Wirtschaftsoligarchie.

Berthold Molden ist Globalhistoriker. Forschung u.a. in Mexiko, Guatemala und den USA. Lehre u.a. an der Universität Wien, der Sorbonne III in Paris, der University of Chicago, der University of New Orleans. 2014 erschien bei AVANCSO, Guatemala, sein Buch *Políticas sobre la historia en Guatemala*. berthold.molden@univie.ac.at

Law and crisis: an analysis of the legal-form towards Brazilian's biggest environmental disasters

Gabriel Vicente Riva

In November 2015 the iron ore tailing dam of Fundão owned by the mining company Samarco, a joint venture of two other mining companies Vale and BHP Billiton, ruptured in Brazil releasing, according to authorities, 55 million m³ of an orange-brownish heavy metal mud. It is considered the most severe environmental disaster in our history, considering the extent and gravity of environmental damages. It contaminated three rivers for 663km until the sea. 9 communities were furiously reached by the tailing flow leaving 300 families homeless. In January 2019, three years later and a few weeks ago, the iron ore tailing dam of the Córrego do Feijão Mine, in the city of Brumadinho and owned by Vale, ruptured becoming one of the world's biggest mining disasters in decades and Brazilian's biggest in number of deaths, reaching possibly 308 fatalities.

Both tragedies have many aspects in common. It is imperative to understand what happened in these three years that allowed one tragedy to repeat itself in an even more tragic way. As an activist on social movements around the first disaster and I argue that a crucial point to understand this production of disasters is to comprehend the role that courts play on it, privatizing, depoliticizing and fragmenting the reality that caused them. Therefore, I understand that the concept of crisis and the legal form as described by Pachukanis, even though considering its limits.

Brazil was considered in 2014 by the UN Conference on Trade and Development a commodity-dependent developing country, meaning that the commodity market has great impact on our functioning, including the State's. The rupture of both dams occurred during a deep economic crisis in Brazil and super cycles. The end of the last super cycle is usually pointed around 2013 and 2014. Some characteristics of overaccumulation crisis can be also identified in the Samarco case: a third and consecutive expansion programs were in course during the super cycle end. In concerning the State one could cite that the representatives committee that was elaborating a new proposal of a mining code in 2015, from the 27 congressmen members, 20 had received donations from Vale to their campaign. The role that the concept of crisis plays there cannot be ignored, and with it, its systematic causalities and effects. While crisis spread needing and analysis of totality, the legal form as described by Pachukanis restricts and distorts the conflict making it a debate between subjects of law that by one side, does not represent the majority of the victims and by the other side inflates the representation of governments and companies. This conflict is turned into a private dispute of specific rights while making it an exchange of equivalents in terms never possible to accomplish as reparations and compensations. And at last, it evolves not through the logic of a political matter, but as a conflict that should be decided under the authoritarian judgement of neutrality.

Gabriel Vicente Riva lectures Environmental Law in the Faculdade Vale do Cricaré (Cricaré Valley Institute) in Espírito Santo, Brazil. He studies doctorate in Law at the Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio de Janeiro, PUC-Rio, and is currently as a guest student in the Friedrich-Schiller University of Jena in Germany. Gabriel was a volunteer in the Forum Capixaba do Rio Doce, a social movement created after Samarco/Vale/BHP's dam rupture in 2015, to follow the repairing process and help organizing communities. His academic interests includes: environmental crisis, mining, commodities, environmental law, philosophy of law, sociology of law, theory of crisis and corporations. E-Mail: gabrielriva@live.com

As Representações políticas e as direitas no Brasil

Josiane de Paula Nunes

Esta comunicação tem como foco de análise o fenômeno recente do ressurgimento das direitas no cenário político brasileiro e suas relações intrínsecas com estratégias políticas usadas pelas direitas brasileiras no golpe civil-militar no Brasil (1964) e sua atuação em jornais da grande imprensa, principalmente no ponto em que converge às várias vertentes das direitas: a construção do inimigo comum. Representante da oposição durante os governos petistas, a Revista Veja direcionou-se na desqualificação da imagem e dos projetos políticos da esquerda, principalmente do Partido dos Trabalhadores (PT). Com manchetes de caráter sensacionalista, os editoriais da revista usavam de chamadas “bombásticas” sobre o governo e membros do partido. Além disso, embora as representações verbais tenham sido muito utilizadas, destaca-se as representações visuais nas quais imagens eram associadas às lideranças, inclusive a demonização dos mesmos, apontados com um mal para o Brasil, direcionando o leitor para uma percepção da intencionalidade das lideranças do partido (principalmente, Lula), em ludibriar o povo brasileiro. No momento anterior ao golpe de 1964, o discurso do inimigo comum, o comunismo personificado em João Goulart, estava enraizado nas matérias dos principais jornais da grande imprensa brasileira, mas também muito bem elaborado em jornais do interior do Brasil, principalmente no âmbito das dioceses católicas. Com características bem definidas as direitas brasileiras durante o regime estiveram relacionadas a algumas características principais: a matriz conservadora, marcada pela defesa da moral e dos bons costumes (viés cristão); e, de certa forma, o receio da ‘socialização’ da propriedade. Sendo esta última uma representação *common sense* em relação ao comunismo. Embora considera-se a complexidade das direitas no Brasil dos anos sessenta, pretende-se destacar que após o golpe de 1964, nada se falou a nível de alcance popular sobre os noticiários falaciosos em relação ao possível golpe comunista, supostamente materializado pelo então presidente, João Goulart. Mas, principalmente, não houve o enraizamento na sociedade civil de práticas de entendimento político em relação ao que de fato isso significou para o país, tendo como resultado vinte e um anos de um regime de exceção. No aspecto político, a censura alcançou espaços muito além dos corroborados institucionalmente. É possível perceber que, após a ascensão das esquerdas na América Latina, o anticomunismo voltou ao campo das disputas ideológicas e políticas. No Brasil, o anticomunismo pauta-se mais em um antipetismo, as demonizações e articulações entorno da população civil continuam a utilizar os meios de comunicação (jornais e revistas, mais recentemente as mídias sociais) como principal meio disseminador do perigo político, da ameaça dos valores, da socialização dos prejuízos do Estado, causado por uma via única de auxílio de um grupo desfavorecido. Enfim, representações políticas nada recentes e falseadas em sua realidade desde períodos anteriores. Em muitos casos, os demônios deturpadores de valores do “cidadão de bem” ainda continuam os mesmos da década, para isso pensemos no caso da ex-presidente, Dilma Rousseff.

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Comunalidad. Media Projects and cultural creation.

Rodrigo Ruiz

Since the end of the eighties, indigenous communities of Mexico have participated avidly in producing their own media by appropriated media technologies. Since then, countless programs and projects have emerged dynamically, substantially connecting, and communicating other indigenous groups globally. Oaxaca is an example of the substantial scope of indigenous media, struggles for self-representation, social justice claims and community-based media communication projects.

In 2016 a group of young professionals create, a 75-seat cinema in Guelatao with a 3x5-meter high-definition screen, 5.1 surround sound system called *Cine Too* (Enchanted Cinema in the Zapotec language). At the same time that this cinema project promotes the practice cinema gong among the local and regional population, it also develops workshops for audio-visual education and film production. *Cine Too* also seeks to promote local knowledge, the dissemination of Zapotec culture and social awareness. The media projects and the formulation of cultural policies in Guelatao are based on the local notion of *communalidad*. This notion, coined by the native anthropologist of Guelatao, Jaime Martínez Luna, aims to build the basis of mutual solidarity and community work for the common good as it points to a different rationality away from neoliberal capitalism, i.e. decolonial theory and practice. Thus, *communalidad* is a descriptive experiential concept of the socio-cultural forms of the indigenous peoples of Oaxaca and their forms of self-government known as *Usos y Costumbres*. This mountainous area has experienced the emergence of indigenous media production organizations for more than three decades based on the concept of *communalidad*.

The emergence of alternative media projects and policies is becoming very important for indigenous cultural life, especially in countries where the state has been a major player in the creation and regulation of media policies and practices. In the case of Mexico, where the on-going attempt to deregulate production and media flows remains controversial, it is important to reflect on the state's media policies in relation to the emergence of *Cine Too*. This paper aims to shed light on the historical emergence and present situation of indigenous media, its cultural creation and its particular way of organisation in Oaxaca, Mexico, by bringing the case of *Cine Too*.

Rodrigo Bandelj Ruiz was born in Mexico City in 1982. He studied Historical Anthropology in the city of Xalapa, Veracruz Mexico and later masters in cultural anthropology at the University of Vienna and the University of Ljubljana. His areas of interests are referred to film, food, the Balkans, Latin America and the social sciences.

Panel 2

Theorizing the role of natural resources in development: The case of Latin America

Ulrich Brand

This article contributes to the theorizing of development in the age of a worldwide resource boom which is increasingly called neo-extractivism. We propose an understanding of neo-extractivism as a mode of development that characterizes the phase of capitalist development since the year 2000 and its predecessor from the 1970s onwards. This perspective stresses more than others the importance of the forces of the capitalist and imperial (world) market as well as capitalist, patriarchal and postcolonial social relations within the countries. It is referred to Marx' theory of the capitalist mode of production, to political ecology and critical state theory. Additionally, we show on the basis of selected indicators and structural sociopolitical changes that neo-extractivism is – in some countries of Latin America and despite price fluctuations of raw materials at the world market – an already consolidating development model.

Ulrich Brand, Professor für Internationale Politik mit den Schwerpunkten Krise der liberalen Globalisierung, internationale Umwelt- und Ressourcenpolitik und Lateinamerika. Mitherausgeber der „Blätter für deutsche und internationale Politik“, Mitglied der 2011 gegründeten lateinamerikanischen Permanenten Arbeitsgruppe „Jenseits von Entwicklung“. Gemeinsam mit Markus Wissen hat er 2017 das Buch „Imperiale Lebensweise. Zur Ausbeutung von Mensch und Natur im globalen Kapitalismus“ im Münchener oekom-Verlag und mit Alberto Acosta das Buch „Salidas del laberinto capitalista. Decrecimiento y Postextractivismo“ in Barcelona bei Icaria (auf Deutsch 2018 „Radikale Alternativen. Warum man den Kapitalismus nur mit vereinten Kräften überwinden kann“, München) veröffentlicht.

Vom Antiimperialismus zum Neokolonialismus.-Der Wandel der Rolle Chinas in Lateinamerika: Von der Führung der Dritten Welt zur imperialen Ressourcensicherungsstrategie

Gernot Stimmer

Der Diskurs über dekolonialem Fortschritt und autoritärem Neokolonialismus in der Gesellschaft Lateinamerikas und der Karibik wird meist entlang des tradierten Rechts- vs Linksschemas ausgefochten. Er müsste um die Dimension eines Transformationsprozesses erweitert werden, in dem unter der ideologischen Fahne dekolonialer Befreiung vom okzidental Entwicklungsmodele eine neue Form imperialistischer Ausbeutung der Primärressourcen des Subkontinents etabliert wird. Das sollte am Beispiel der Volksrepublik China illustriert werden, die dabei (noch) keine militärischen Gewaltmittel einsetzt, sondern vielmehr auf der Ebene der Verheißung von Wohlstand für alle Völker (Konsens von Beijing) und gezielter Akkulturation (Neokonfuzianismus) operiert.

Der Beitrag geht sowohl auf die dekoloniale Mission Chinas (Tercermundismus)als auch auf die empirisch belegbare ökonomische Integration Lateinamerikas in sein globales Wirtschaftsmodell (Neue Seidentraße) ein und stellt diesem Prozess die Ansätze geistig--politischen Widerstandes progressiver Oppositionsgruppen entgegen.

Gernot Stimmer (gernot.stimmer@univie.ac.at), geb. 1941, Studium der Rechtswissenschaften, Soziologie und Politikwissenschaft an den Universitäten Wien und Salzburg, 1965 Promotion zum Dr. iur., 1973 - 1993 Generalsekretär des Verbandes Österreichischer Bildungswerke, seit 1981 Lektor am Institut für Politikwissenschaft der Universität Wien, 1996 Habilitation, Universitätsdozent für vergleichende Politikwissenschaft. Forschungsschwerpunkte: EU Politik, Lateinamerika, Rechts- und Verfassungsfragen.

**Socio-Environmental Struggles over the Defense of the Territory:
Contours for a Decolonial Interpretation on Current Dynamics of Resistance in Mexico**
Lorena Olarte

The North and Northeastern Sierra of Puebla in Mexico have historically been a scenario of multiple resistances against the dispossession of their vast resources, biocultural heritage and conditions of life for their self-determination. During the last decade, manifold socioenvironmental struggles have emerged in the region to oppose constant threats by large-scale development interventions linked to the extractive industry. These struggles have evolved aiming to the overall goal of the “defense of the life and the territory”, which in the last years have experienced some setbacks, yet led to different successes such as the halt of mining explorations and hydroelectrical plans, innovative eco-territorial order policy and ultimately the granting of legal protection (*amparo*) against such projects which sets a precedent to repeal a mining law on the grounds of unconstitutionality. In developing such strategies, the committees, councils and assembly representatives have joined synergies with local authorities and “solidary experts” in order to bring to light formulations of alternative “forms of being” and other ways of theorizing, which question the capitalist model of “accumulation by dispossession” vis-à-vis the pursue of conditions for a *yeknemilis* or “good and dignified life”. Applying a critical theoretical approach, the proposed paper seeks to assess the role of political institutions traditionally found in the *maseualmej* and *totonakú* peoples of the region, while laying out the background for a discussion on renewed conceptualizations of ways of collective well-being of both humans and nature. Key elements of the political strategy based on qualitative methods are thus examined, emphasizing concepts of territorialities, communality and struggles for “the communal” (*lo común*). Finally, the paper outlines some challenges and reasserts the need for further analysis of transformational forces which go beyond the coloniality of power, re-appropriating communitarian ways of living for other possible futures.

Lorena E. Olarte (lorenae.olarte@gmail.com). PhD candidate at the Department of Political Sciences of the University of Vienna and CONACYT Fellow. Her current research explores the political-ecological dimensions of socio-environmental forms of resistance in the context of mega projects in south-central Mexico, focusing on territorial defense struggles. Her interests are the construction of alternatives to development, *buen vivir* approaches and the role of social-ecological struggles in transformational and emancipative processes in Latin America. She holds a Global Master’s in Development Practice from the Paris School of International Affairs at Sciences Po Paris, a Bachelor’s in Communications Sciences from UNAM and has studies in NGO Management and Leadership from Tec de Monterrey, México. Prior to her doctoral journey, she has been working within the civil society sector in Mexico and abroad as development practitioner, consultant and advocate for over 12 years.