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Neo-extractivism, the Bolivian state, and indigenous peasant women's struggles for water in the Altiplano

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Abstract

President Evo Morales's Bolivian government, in its pursuit of modernization and economic expansion, has adopted a development paradigm known as neo-extractivism, which is essentially a reproduction of the colonial division of labour. Due to the state's strong economic links to the extractivist industry, indigenous people and the state have long been at odds. Despite extensive research on neo-extractivism's political economy, little is known about the impact of these conflicts on gender, racial, and class-based sociopolitical interactions. This qualitative study set out to fill the knowledge gap by asking the following questions: What gendered types of dispossession-based accumulation does neo-extractivism produce? In response to the effects of neo-extractivism, how are indigenous communities fighting back? Through an examination of social reproduction processes in Oruro, Bolivia, this research demonstrates that neo-extractivism primarily results in the poisoning of water, which in turn leads to the eviction of indigenous ways of life and dignified lands. The loss of water resources has a disproportionately negative impact on indigenous peasant women due to the fact that they are primarily involved in water-related subsistence production and social reproduction. While this may be the case, indigenous women and communities are far from being idle. New forms of resistance to neo-extractivism have emerged. Simultaneously, indigenous peasant women have been able to construct solidarity networks that sustain social fabric both within and across communities via the everyday tasks of social reproduction within the framework of subsistence agriculture, which are rooted in Andean epistemologies of reciprocity. As places of daily resistance, these solidarity networks provide vital sociopolitical resources and pose a constant challenge to and alternative to patriarchal, capitalist, and colonial dictates.

Keywords: extractivism, Bolivia, indigenous women, resistance

Introduction

Spronk (2006) argues that the radical social movements that swept Bolivia in the new millennium challenged the neoliberal principles of privatisation and commodification of water by rallying around the idea of water as a common good rather than a commodity. Evo Morales, Bolivia's first indigenous president, was elected in 2005 thanks in large part to these initiatives. Coming to power with anticolonial and anti-capitalist rhetoric and a revolutionary desire to create a more equitable society in Bolivia, Morales was a member of the "pink tide," a movement in Latin America towards more progressive social and economic policies. But Morales put the neo-extractivism model of development—an extractivist ideology—back into practice (Gudynas, 2011). "Neo" because, in contrast to earlier extractivist models, the state takes a more active role via nationalisation and/or rise in taxes and rents, enabling the state to execute redistributive and social policies (Fabricant, 2015; Gudynas, 2011). Social extractivism is the term used by Morales advocates to describe this approach to development. Garcia Linera, a former vice president of Bolivia, argues that the state's contradictions and its cosy relationship with the extractivist sector are actually creative tensions that yield both short-term benefits (such as tax revenue for redistributive programmes) and long-term benefits (such as a revolutionary road to overthrow capitalism) (Garcia Linera, 2013; Webber, 2017). Nevertheless, critics have shown that neo-extractivism preserves Bolivia's position as a peripheral nation that exports its wealth from natural resources to core countries, and that it benefits the private sector even though the state might use the rents it generates for progressive programmes (Cusicanqui, 2014; Gudynas, 2011). The heart of neo-extractivism, which is the commercialization of nature and its negative social and environmental impacts, has not altered (Fabricant, 2015; Gudynas, 2011; Svampa, 2012).

There has been a lot of study on the problems with neo-extractivism and progressive governments like Morales's, but much less on how

Over the last fifteen years, women living in rural Latin America have been impacted by global, structural, and economic developments (Radcliffe, 2014). That is to say, there is a lack of a

contextualised and intersectional perspective that takes into account gender, class, and racial dynamics in addition to their interaction with macro processes. However, by seeing capitalism from this perspective, we can see how it goes beyond just economic connections to generate and be shaped by patriarchal, racial, and class-based hierarchies (Cusicanqui, 2010, 2014; Mohanty, 2003). Existing literature, such as that of Van Hoecke (2006) and Deonandan and Dougherty (2016), fills these gaps by examining the mining industry's sexism and the growing number of female miners in the area. There has been an uptick in domestic violence and alcohol use, as well as an increase in violence against women, as a result of male immigrants coming to work in the mines (Jenkins, 2014, 2015). Deonandan and Dougherty (2016), Lahiri-Dutt (2012), and O'Faircheallaigh (2013) all note that indigenous women in Latin America and neo-extractivism have been studied extensively, but the emphasis in these studies has been on oppression rather than women's autonomy. The critique of feminist literature by Chandra Mohanty, who portrays women from the Third World as passive victims of global processes and unique, monolithic subjects (2003), helps to explain this exclusion. Jenkins (2015) addresses this problem by demonstrating how politically engaged Ecuadorian women defend their anti-mining stance by claiming a deep connection to Pachamama, or Mother Earth. Women strategically use this narrative to legitimise their involvement in anti-mining movements, despite the fact that it embodies an essentialist notion of femininity (Jenkins, 2015). Whether it's the large number of women involved in the anti-mining movements or their leadership positions as protesters and road blockage organisers, women in Guatemala play a pivotal role (Deonandan and Dougherty, 2016). Unfortunately, these seminal works fail to address a critical gap by failing to investigate indigenous women's lived realities and the ways in which the micropolitics of daily life may

in addition to macro-level procedures. I conducted a qualitative study using the following questions in order to analyse these unstudied and untheorized topics: How can neo-extractivism generate accumulation via gendered dispossessions? When

indigenous communities feel the effects of neo-extractivism, how can they fight back? I conducted ethnographic research in four indigenous peasant villages in Oruro, Bolivia, a region profoundly impacted by mining pollution, to seek answers to these issues. This research focuses on populations that are far distant from mines, yet are nonetheless influenced by their operations. Other studies have explored same dynamics inside or near production areas, such as mines or mining towns. Furthermore, anti-mining movements in Bolivia have not increased, in contrast to Ecuador and Peru (Perreault, 2014). But daily resistances are a kind of anti-mining fight

This paper examines extractive capitalism as a gendered kind of accumulation by dispossession by analysing social reproduction theory (SRT) and its links to water (Harvey, 2003, 2005). Contamination of water sources leads to the indirect and covert accumulation by dispossession that occurs in this case study; this has a disproportionately negative impact on indigenous women and their ability to maintain their traditional ways of life. Indigenous peasant women's cooperative and reciprocal social practices are also studied in this study. The aim is to demonstrate how resistance is constantly being practiced in these oppressed areas, which poses a challenge to and offers an alternative to the capitalist hegemony. Through an empirical case study, I propose that oppression and exploitation are covertly interwoven by coupling SRT and accumulation by dispossession. I then imbricate between production and reproduction processes. In order to illustrate how the micropolitics of daily life confront extractive capitalism and the state, I also provide an actual case study of ordinary resistances in the Global South, most especially in Bolivia.

Conceptualizing extraction and dispossession in Bolivia

Three theoretical and conceptual frameworks are used and integrated in this study: SRT (Bhattacharya, 2017), accumulation by dispossession (Harvey, 2003), and the structural dynamics of the state (Block, 1987). This research illustrates the gendered implications of accumulation by dispossession and provides an explanation for indigenous women's resistance against state authority and extractive industries via the use of the latter, which serves as a bridge between macro and micro dynamics. Businesses' faith in the capitalist system is one of the structural factors that tilt the state in favour of capitalist interests (Block,

1987). Concurrently, the state is

Its neutrality image to the working class is another factor that influences it (Block, 1987). An extensive and critical examination of the political economy of neo-extractivism and its connection to the state may be found in illustrative works by several authors, such as Gudynas (2011), Veltmeyer (2012), Burchardt and Dietz (2014), Svampa (2015), Acosta (2013), and Sankey and Munck (2016), among numerous others. In the past fifteen years, governments in Latin America—including those in Argentina, Brazil, Bolivia, Ecuador, and Venezuela—have embraced what is referred to as the "pink tide" of extractivism, which manifests itself in national development strategies grounded in economic, social, and political policies (Sankey and Munck, 2016). According to Burchardt and Dietz (2014) and Veltmeyer (2012), neo-extractivism increases royalties and/or taxes owed to the state by relying on foreign direct investment and altering contractual agreements with multinational corporations.

Regardless of political leanings, every Latin American government has used the extractivist frontier as a growth and development tool. This coincides with "the commodities consensus," the start of a new political and economic era driven by raw material demand on a global scale (Lopez and Vertiz, 2015; Svampa, 2012). In Bolivia, traditional neoliberal policies are not supported by neo-extractivism. Economic operations related to natural gas and, to a lesser degree, mining are overseen by the public sector. Additionally, according to neo-extractivism, the Bolivian government is an impartial arbiter of indigenous peoples' best interests. According to Veltmeyer (2012) and (2013), Bolivia is an example of coincidental economic interests since the state reaps rents while capital reaps profits. Although Bolivia has lessened its reliance on FDI, "it is still at a high level" (Higginbottom, 2013: 194). In addition, main export items accounted for 90% or more of Bolivia, Venezuela, and Ecuador's total exports in 2010 (Gudynas, 2011). Under liberal and progressive governments like Morales's, extractive capitalism has been able to turn indigenous lands that were formerly thought of as useless into new places to put money (Lopez Florez, 2013). These changes are what Harvey (2003) calls "accumulation by dispossession," in which the violent separation of labour from land and primitive accumulation are not the capitalist system's initial transgressions but rather processes that occur throughout its history (Harvey, 2003, 2005; Perreault, 2013).

In Latin America and worldwide, the theory of accumulation by dispossession has been used many times to demonstrate the capital surplus as a goal of privatisation, financialization, and governmental redistribution. Latin American states have a power imbalance between the capitalist sector and local communities, according to a plethora of decrees and laws passed in the past ten years regulating the distribution of rights over natural resources (Burchardt and Dietz, 2012). This is true regardless of the regime

type in power. are also repro-ducers of life" (Bhattacharya, 2017: 130), SRT maintains that workers not only have the ability but also the need to reproduce all forms of life.

that year (2014). It was a strategy to enhance exploitation of A number of global political economic processes may be better unconventional gas and oil deposits (oil shales; Seoane, 2012) understood using the theoretical and empirical framework that that followed Argentina's 2012 nationalisation of YPF ("Fiscal SRT has re-emerged as. Using case studies from Brazil, Oilfields" in English). A new mining legislation, passed by Argentina, and Japan, Bakker and Gill (2003) provide a thorough progressive President Rafael Correa of Ecuador in 2009, grants framework of SRT uses, including methodological implications more and better access to extraction operations for foreign and gendered migratory patterns. For their 2011 article, "Food businesses. Indigenous people have a constitutional right to free Security: The Power Relations Underpinning Ideals and and prior consultation, as stated in the International Labour Practices" (SRT), McMichael and Schneider examine the impact Organisation Convention (Safransky et al., 2011), and this of corporate globalisation on state provisions and how they are legislation breaches that right. Many indigenous peoples call undermined. In a same vein, Bhattacharya's work on SRT is not a Bolivian national parks and other protected places home, but in criticism of, but rather an essential and crucial expansion of, 2015 the government passed a number of decrees opening these Marxist theory on social reproduction. It provides valuable areas up for oil and gas exploitation (Stirling, 2015). "U.S. and analytical tools and case examples that show how much European capital today own three times more of Latin America capitalism depends on ties outside of economics (2017). than they did just 15 years ago" (Higginbottom, 2013: 200), a However, these seminal works don't touch on social reproduction result of the accumulation by dispossession and an increase in mechanisms outside of the North American urban centre; they foreign direct investment in the area brought about by these only cover sophisticated capitalist civilizations and metropolitan policies.

The structural constraints of the state and accumulation via communities in the global South tend to ignore capitalist dispossession are processes that occur on a national and micro processes, which suggests that they believe the peasantry would level, but SRT bridges the gap between these processes and the eventually fade and be replaced by capitalism. This research micro politics of daily life. Everything that is "directly involved presents a case study of indigenous women's efforts to replicate in the maintenance of life on a daily basis, and non-capitalist social reproduction systems in opposition to intergenerationally"—beliefs, attitudes, actions, behaviours, extractive capitalism.

emotions, and relationships—is part of social reproduction (Bhattacharya, 2017: 6). Providing the historical, sociological, and biological tools for sustaining and reproducing populations encompasses a wide range of mental, physical, emotional, and social labour. Consequently, social reproduction entails a myriad of intergenerational activities that guarantee workers' access to basic necessities like food, clothing, and housing, while also fostering children's social development and providing for the elderly (Bhattacharya, 2017). Social reproduction is a theory that looks at how sex and economic class are often studied in isolation from each other, as social relations of production or reproduction, but never both. This leads to a misunderstanding of the interdependent nature of these two oppressive systems (Bhattacharya, 2017; Eisenstein, 1999). In addition, according to Einstein (2014), "there is no actual body — no home that actually creates it" when discussing labour in political economics studies. According to SRT, the capitalism system encompasses broader social mechanisms that facilitate the accumulation drive, in addition to the relationships between owners and workers. Put another way, manufacturing processes are integral to capitalism, but there are other activities that are necessary for it to function. According to Bhattacharya (2017), SRT goes beyond highlighting the differences between market and nonmarket connections to emphasise the relational relationship between the two. Because "we are not just reproducers of labour power, we

An ethnography of neo-extractivism

In order to gather data for this study, I conducted a multi-sited ethnography in four different communities in the Bolivian department of Oruro. These communities are situated on the Bolivian Altiplano, a high, semi-arid plain sandwiched between the massive mountains of the Central Andes' Eastern and Western Cordilleras (Gareca, 2009). Oruro, the capital of the department, is greeted by a circular plaza adorned with a 20-foot-diameter tin and polished metal miner's helmet, which acts as a symbol. This monument in a city rich with myths, traditions, and stories testifies to the orureños' (people from Oruro) long-lasting economic and social connection to mining, which has endured both before and after the advent of European colonisers some 500 years ago. The tin discovery in the early 20th century made Oruro's economy heavily dependent on mining. As a result, Simon Patiño, a Bolivian known as the varon del estaño (the baron of tin), became one of the world's richest individuals (Gareca, 2009). But the bulk of Oruro residents have not reaped the economic advantages of the city's reliance on mining. Although Oruro and Potosí are two of Bolivia's most important mining districts, they also rank worst in terms of life expectancy and poverty (Gruberg and Andreucci, 2015;

Instituto Nacional de Estadística, 2013).

occupying positions of authority. For every town, you can find the total number of permanent residents in the "number (#) of families" section. Clean water and public transit are not available to any of the participants in their

The Huanuni mine, in Bolivia's Oruro department, is among the world's top five tin producers and is the country's primary tin mine (Cantoral, 2017). The Huanuni mine has become a significant source of water and soil contamination due to increased production since the 1980s and a general disregard for environmental regulations. Heavy metals (lead, arsenic, cadmium, iron, and zinc), chemical waste, and *copa-jira* (extremely acidic, polluted with water) are among the contaminants. More than eighty communities in the Poopó basin have banded together to form CORIDUP, the Desaguadero River, Uru, and Poopó Lakes Defence Coordinator, in response to these devastating reality. Originating in August 2006, CORIDUP gained widespread attention in October 2009 for its role in organising a rally in La Paz, the capital of Bolivia, to call for the approval of Supreme Decree 0335 (SD 0335). This decree categorises the Huanuni sub-basin as an environmental emergency and requires remediation specifically, the projects (Horowitz and Watts, 2016). Despite the good intentions behind it, SD 0335 has had little to no effect (Perreault, 2014).

(the major requirement of the law, the building of the tailings dam at Huanuni, is still unfinished as of October 2019).

Since mining pollution has had a significant impact on each of the four communities included in this ethnographic research, they are all participating with CORIDUP. The Huanuni mine is almost 40 km distant, at least 1.5 hours by private transportation, and none of these settlements are very near to it. In Table 1 you can see the features of these neighbourhoods. The term "population" refers to the total number of families in a certain community. This includes both long-term residents and those who have moved to neighbouring cities but have some links to the area, such as a piece of property.

Continuities, disruptions, and connections

“Before I used to support Evo, I thought ‘wow, *un campesino como nosotros va a hacer cambios*’ [a peasant like us is going to make changes] but nothing, nothing [changed] for me or my community” expressed *doña Victoria*,¹ 49, from Quella, Poopó. Similarly, *doña Elena*, 68, CORIDUP leader from the Sorachico *Ayllu* (indigenous political, territorial, and organizational structure), expressed:

Since the very first moment he [Evo] allowed the miners to work, and now there is no tailings dam ... he says

Table 1. Characteristics of the communities in this study.

	Puñaka	Quella	Alantañita	Kochi Piacala
Population (# of families)	140	80-120	140-160	120
# of families in community	6-8	6-8	8-10	4-5
Ethnicity	Indigenous-peasant	Indigenous-peasant	Indigenous-peasant	Indigenous-peasant
Language	Quechua and Spanish	Quechua and Spanish	Quechua and Spanish	Quechua and Spanish
Activity	Agriculture + mining	Agriculture + mining	Agriculture, some mining	Agriculture
Water provision	Varies	Varies	None, must go to Machacamarca	None, must go to Machacamarca
Women leaders	Yes, local and regional (CORIDUP)	Yes, local and regional (CORIDUP)	Yes, only local	Some, only local

Source: Data collected by the author based on interviews with different actors as well as content analysis of various documents.

Table 2. Demographic characteristics of participants.

Variable		Machacamarca	Poopó	Other	Total	
		<i>n</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>N</i>	%
Gender	Women	7	6	4	17	63
	Men	1	3	6	10	37
	Total	8	9	10	27	100
Age	25-45	2	2	2	6	22
	46-65	5	5	6	16	60
	66-more	3	1	1	5	18
Indigenous	Yes	8	9	5	22	89
	No	0	0	5	5	11
Religion	Catholic	6	4	9	19	70
	Evangelic	2	5	1	8	30
Lives in community	Yes	5	0	2	7	26
	No	3	9	8	20	74
Land in community	Yes	7	9	4	20	74
	No	1	0	6	7	26
For women leaders only (16)*						
Marital status	Married/union	4	4	1	9	56
	Single	2	1	1	4	25
	Other	1	1	1	3	19
Education	Primary	6	2	1	9	56
	Secondary	1	3	1	5	31
	Higher	0	1	1	2	12
Works	Yes	7	5	2	14	88
	No	0	1	1	2	12
Where	Agriculture	3	1		4	25
	Informal sector	3	2	2	7	44
	Other	1	3	1	5	29
Access to water	Yes	0	0	1	1	6
	No	7	6	2	15	94
By group	Women leaders	7	6	3	16	52
	Key actors	1	3	1	5	19
	NGO (CEPA)	-	-	-	3	11
	Government	-	-	-	3	11

The total number of interviews with women was 17, from them, 16 are or were community leaders. That's why the number in this section is 16, and not 17.

Source: Data collected by the author based on interviews with different actors as well as content analysis of various documents.

nothing about it, but he also says we have to take care of *Pachamama*, but I question that. How can we take care of her [*Pachamama*] with all those mining contaminants? It is impossible ... all is the same thing.

The neoliberal policies of the Morales government in regard to extractive capitalism are highlighted in the accounts of doña Elena and doña Victoria. There is a connection between their opinions and the participants' perceptions that the state has favoured some groups, like miners, while excluding others, like them, the peasants: At one point, we

When we approached President Morales and requested for his help, he responded by saying, "Mining contributes to the state,

it pay rents, you don't." Believe it or not, he really told us that. Then we don't have any rights, said don Miguel, 67, a former vice president of CORIDUP.

In spite of claims to the contrary made by progressive administrations like Morales', neo-extractivism has worsened the socio-environmental impacts on indigenous populations' material conditions.

capitalist production (Gudynas, 2011; Webber, 2017). The contamination of waters is at the core of these dispossessions and has worse and gendered effects on indigenous peasant women because it affects their social reproductive activities. Additionally, urban migration and the inability to revitalise

rural livelihoods are manifestations of this dispossession. Despite these covert and indirect effects, the outcome is the same: a) the dispossession of indigenous lands and ways of life. Consequently, indigenous peasant women routinely participate in individual and communal resistances, even if there have not been significant anti-mining social movements in the Bolivian highlands compared to Ecuador and Peru. These results are detailed in the section that follows.

Loss of land and indigenous peoples' ways of existence

"Mining contamination has taken everything away from us, it has affected our lands..."—Said Doña Carmen, 73, of the Kochi Piacala hamlet, which is situated downstream and distant from the Huanuni mine. Once upon a time, there were seven different kinds of grass; now, there are none. Doña Jacinta, 57, of the Alantañita community, had an analogous explanation.

How did we manage to stay alive before to contamination? Now we only have 50-60 sheep, but if we used only our crops, milk, cheese, meat, and wool from our cows and sheep, we would have 500 sheep and over 50 cows. Our survival is in jeopardy. Even clothing used to be made here from sheep, but that is no longer the case.

A common argument put forward by those who oppose large-scale mining is that it displaces indigenous people from their homes and communities via processes like mining-induced displacement and resettlement (Jenkins, 2014). But such obvious and direct displacements at or near mining sites disregard the geographical reach and impact of extractivism (Perreault, 2013). But the above-mentioned accounts from doña Jacinta and doña Carmen hint to comparable kinds of eviction of indigenous lands and ways of existence that are indirect and frequently unseen.

Doña Elena, 68, of the Sorachico Ayllu, stated that "la contaminación es siempre el mayor motivo para irnos [contamination is always the main reason for us to leave]." She is part of the majority of indigenous peasants in this region who have moved to urban centres in Bolivia and Argentina. But urban migration is a phenomenon that many Bolivian Andean villages exhibit, not just polluted ones. According to Gruberg and Andreucci (2015) and Webber (2017), the Altiplano's subsistence agricultural economies began to collapse in the 1970s and reached their worst point between 1982 and 1984. El Niño and other irregular climatic processes also impacted migration patterns in the Bolivian Andes. Agricultural interests have been privileged by state-level sociopolitical choices made since the 1950s.

capitalists' use of subsidies has accelerated urban migration and fostered prejudices against peasant economies (Colque et

al., 2015).

Although participants acknowledged these broader impacts on Altiplano subsistence agricultural economies, they used the quinoa boom to bolster their claim that contamination was the primary reason for their move. This information was supplied by Doña Mariana, 58, of Alantañita, Machacamarca:

Once upon a time, I farmed potatoes and quinoa... I even attempted to produce vegetables with a tractor not long ago, but to no avail... The pollution is what it is. The crops don't mature fully; for example, potatoes develop into small cachinitas, or rocks, and all of them are polluted.

The Altiplano region has long been recognised as the world's premier quinoa producer. The crop had a 600% price rise due to increased demand from northern countries between 2005 and 2013 (McDonell, 2018). The quinoa boom has the unintended consequence of reviving indigenous peasant lifestyles by providing the conditions for many of them to return to their villages (Tschopp, 2018). This study's participants were also long-time quinoa farmers; "here [in Puñaka] we used to grow quinoa... because it is close to the river, we would bring quinoa in trucks" (doña Patricia, 43, Puñaka, Poopó). Because their property is polluted and unproductive, they were left out of the quinoa boom and community regeneration initiatives.

As accumulation by dispossession presupposes, in the Bolivian Altiplano setting, land is not expropriated so that investment capital might take advantage of it (Perreault, 2013). Rather, they are being taken advantage of in a roundabout way by being used as dumps for the mines. Participants often used the term "Somos el dique de cola de Huanuni [we are Huanuni's mine tailings dam]" while speaking in interviews and gatherings. Since extractive capitalism's geographical reach (especially via water flows) necessitates such dispossessions, even these covert and passive expropriations nonetheless result in the dispossession of lands and indigenous ways of life (Perreault, 2013). This is not an outside influence, but rather an integral (albeit indirectly beneficial) unseen mechanism that neo-extractivism relies on. Put another way, the urge for accumulation is a component of dispossessions, but it is not the only component.

Society thrives on water.

"Sin agua no hay vida" (meaning "life cannot exist without water"... "Taking care of my children, cooking, washing dishes, and my cows is really difficult," said doña Teresa, 38, of Alantañita, Machacamarca. Since there is no tailings dam at the Huanuni mine, the acidic runoff flows directly into the rivers San Juan de Sora Sora, Santa Fe, and Huanuni.

creating ongoing pollution of both surface and underground water sources (Perreault, 2013). Environmental liabilities are created when the toxicity and acidity of the waters are increased due to the ongoing accumulation of mining waste, heavy metals, and mining sediments on the agricultural lands of the four communities in this study, which are located near these rivers (CEPA, 2009; Perreault, 2013). While these impacts are far-reaching, indigenous peasant women feel them most acutely in relation to the availability (or lack thereof) of safe drinking water:

Because we mothers must constantly seek for other sources of water to nourish our children, it is clear that we women bear the brunt of this contamination. It is important for women to recognise that this contamination is harmful to us and puts us in a difficult position where we must confront the reality of our lives. Doña Victoria, 49, Quellia, and Poopó are constantly on high alert, and they warn their children not to wash their faces and carry water in buckets.

Because they are also subsistence producers, indigenous peasant women suffer double-edged swords from a lack of access to safe drinking water. Take, for example, doña Paula, a 69-year-old resident of the Kochi Piacala village. Every morning at around 5:00 am, she begins her day by fetching water—albeit polluted—from a local waterhole, which is about twenty minutes away on foot. She then uses this water to wash her dishes. For cooking, drinking, and a few small personal hygiene tasks (face and hand washing), she purchases water from the town of Machacamarcá, which is two hours' walk from her home. The river near her home, which is roughly fifteen minutes away on foot, was still a source of water for her animals, she asserts, "ten years ago." Now she needs to trek for at least two or three hours to get water that is less polluted for her animals.

These situations illustrate gendered forms of accumulation via dispossession, which are often overlooked due to an emphasis on production. Research on gender and development, as well as the mining industry, tends to focus on female employees or the communities around mines and the ways in which these places of employment impact women (Lahiri-Dutt, 2012; Owen and Kemp, 2015). Even though the mining operations were not directly related to the indigenous peasant women's experiences in this research, the results reveal a twisted relationship between production and social reproduction. Because extractive capitalism is more resource intensive than labour intense, social reproduction tasks like cooking, tending to livestock, and washing clothing do not generate significant labour power among indigenous peasant groups. The primary source of surplus value is the exploitation of resources, rather than labour (though it does need miners to function). Extractive capitalism both fosters and relies on these societies' inability to reproduce socially: I can't drink from the well in my town because it's so salty and bitter, and it smells like decaying minerals.

Moving to a city or another nation is our only choice.

According to doña Laura, 52, of the Caravi community, "If this region was productive, people would stay," but unfortunately, that is not the case. Put another way, indigenous peasant communities have their productive and social reproduction activities cut off by extractive capitalism's water pollution, which further leads to the expropriation of their lands.

The interconnectedness of oppression and accumulation via dispossession is further shown by looking at water as the focal point of both problems. According to Perreault (2013), who studied hydrosocial connections in the Andes, the market and privatisation processes oversimplify accumulation via dispossession as well as community rights and access to water. Codependent and hostile linkages are produced between indigenous peasant communities and mining firms in the Bolivian Altiplano, and these relations are substantially conditioned by mining operations rather than privatisation. Both industries rely on water for their operations, but mining is unfriendly towards locals as it requires them to give up their water rights. According to Perreault (2013), the Huanuni mine uses around 28 million litres of water daily. Table 2 shows that, conversely, no one in our research lives in an area where there is access to safe drinking water.

The Morales administration gave the Mining & Metallurgic Law 535 (MML 535), which, according to Perreault (2013), strips indigenous peasant communities of their water rights while simultaneously granting them to the mining industry. As a result, water becomes highly politicised and undergoes transformation, leading to an unbalanced socioecological relation:

Politics have become even more tense due to the mining bill [535]. The mining companies ignore the locals and have monopolies on the rivers and water supplies. Where is Evo now? To safeguard the peasants, he has done absolutely nothing. Doña Tamara, 38, from Alantañita, Machacamarcá, is one of the miners he flirts with simultaneously.

Because of this racialization of hydrosocial connections under extractive capitalism and accumulation by dispossession, the indigenous peasants' methods of existence are rendered useless and unprofitable.

The patriarchal and sexist aspects of extractive capitalism are also shown by water and hydrosocial connections. All the life-reproducing household activities—cooking, washing clothing, caring for children, and the elderly—rely on water, which may seem like an obvious point. But this unquestioned method masks the sexual division of labour, which uses the biological difference between the sexes to establish a gendered and sex-based hierarchy in which "determined sexually" are the responsibilities of men and women in all spheres of society.

It is the fundamental means by which patriarchal society (Eisenstein, 1999: 202). Reproduction relations, not production relations, determine position within this hierarchy.

The practice of sexual division of labour is not exclusive to indigenous peasant groups in the Bolivian Andes. Patriarchal hierarchies persist in rural communities' socio-political structures, despite the fact that their cultural philosophies embrace gender-balanced and egalitarian ideas (such as chacha-warmi [male-female]), which are explained in detail below. "Men are always machistas. They want women to just take care of children, the livestock, and to be at home while they go to the meetings," said 52-year-old Laura from the Caravi hamlet. The fact that indigenous peasant women play a pivotal role in social reproduction is, hence, not unexpected. According to doña Victoria, a 49-year-old from Quellia, Poopó:

Women are more vulnerable to this [infection], and we must be cognizant of this. We came to the conclusion—and I quote—that women usually get the short end of the stick. Contamination is obvious, so we constantly stay vigilant, use buckets to collect water, and warn our children not to wash their faces.

The Andean idea and practice of chacha-warmi (male-female), which is rooted in duality and complementarity, is one of the reasons why indigenous women play a significant role as leaders. According to chacha-warmi, indigenous tribes should have both male and female heads of state. Although it is debatable whether or not chacha-warmi promotes gender equality, it has provided indigenous peasant women with vital, albeit uneven, platforms from which to confront patriarchal power and authority. The 43-year-old water monitor from Puñaka, Poopó, is named Doña Patricia. She shared:

The social and environmental circumstances in indigenous peasant communities are deteriorating at a faster rate due to neo-extractivism, which may seem racially and gender neutral.

I got into an argument with them quite quickly... with the authorities, even the licenciados (those having bachelor's degrees)... Since they mistakenly believe we are ignorant, I would dispute with them. This pollution is something we have to cope with daily. We were also provided with seminars to help us better comprehend. It wasn't that bad when I wasn't paying attention, but now that I'm in a leadership role, I see how serious it is. They were irate that we were making noise when I began making demands.

Everyday resistance

The Altiplano region of Bolivia has a long history of supporting indigenous uprisings and movements like CORIDUP. Nevertheless, these fights are often voiced via small-scale resistances rather than large-scale social movements. Scott (1986) describes them as the monotonous but persistent fights of the peasants against their oppressors and exploiters. Neilson, 1991.

Daily resistance, according to Vinthagen and Johansson (2013), which builds on Scott's concept, is an intersectional and contextual practice that has a deep historical connection to the heterogeneous forces it challenges. All subalterns have access to everyday resistance, but it is not exclusive to them. It is not confined to a single power relation since it is a continuous process of incomplete negotiations in which certain power relations are challenged while others are not (Vinthagen and Johansson, 2013). "Subordinate and rebellious at the same time" describes everyday resistance since it often arises inside the domains of existing power hierarchies (2013: 37). Through their roles as community leaders, indigenous peasant women in this research resist on a daily basis. Fifteen of the sixteen women I spoke with had been in a leadership position within the community during the last five years. The 29-year-old Sorachico community member Doña Ximena, who is the secretary of CORIDUP, defined:

Indigenous women from peasant backgrounds were especially cognizant of the ways in which their gender, socioeconomic status, and ethnicity worked together to marginalise them throughout these fights. Still, they made a point of claiming autonomy and authority:

I remember being terrified the first time I visited the Ministry of the Interior because I wondered, "Is this the place for a modest woman like me?" My name is soy campesina, and I am a peasant. I was utterly speechless! ... but it was when I began to educate myself. A good leader, I've realised, needs to be forceful and insist on certain things. Going to the government and talking about how tough life is in our communities is something every decent leader must do. Doña Jacinta, 57, who is the financial secretary of the Alantañita community, says that every day she learns how to be a good leader and makes requests.

Indigenous peasant women have exercised daily resistances via unsubordinated acts, both personally and collectively, thanks to their knowledge gained from leadership roles and their profound experience of contamination. Indigenous peasant women like doña Jacinta and Patricia speak from personal experience,

claiming their voices are just as legitimate as professionals' forms of solidarity within indigenous cosmovisions and social technical explanations of difficulties. When they face the reproduction, like the Ayni's, is crucial to the work of community reproduction and resistance. they reject the colonial practices that give some people, especially men representing the state, unfair ability to control yes, certainly. And yet, these actions stand as resistances in the others, and the assumption that only technical knowledge is daily. They are both submissive and born into preexisting valid. This is a way whereby indigenous peasant women fight patriarchal and colonial systems of power. As examples of back against colonial and patriarchal ideas that make their epistemes opposed to these established hierarchies, these reproductive and production roles seem unimportant. In a solidarity networks and Ayni practices provide both a challenge meeting with government authorities, doña Ximena, a 29-year-to and an alternative to capitalism's hegemonic requirements. old CORIDUP secretary from the Sorachico community, asserted:

Conclusions

"Brothers and sisters"... Despite my lack of formal education, I am able to state with certainty that contamination is having a devastating impact on our way of life, rendering us unable to produce anything and further compounding our extreme poverty. It is my intention to inform you of the current situation in our communities. Given your level of education, how is it that you have failed to grasp this?

In the traditionally female-dominated settings of the home, the kitchen, and the marketplace, women bring their families together for meals, stories, and cooking, and these shared experiences have helped indigenous peasant women form solidarity networks that are vital to sustaining social bonds and community cohesion:

Such support networks are often organised by women... Since we are only assisting one another, it is not a major concern... My mom's neighbours would come over and help her plant potatoes while she was living. She would also assist them out. Doña Silvia, 51, Major of Puñaka, Poopó, and the rest of the comunarios are similar in that they understand that helping others is good for themselves.

Andean cultural traditions such as Ayni encourage the formation of these networks of solidarity via its emphasis on reciprocity, complementarity, and family (Ayni Bolivia, 2018; Ravindran, 2015). "That is Ayni, you know, today for you, tomorrow for me," says doña Asunta, who is the spokesman for Puñaka, Poopó. "We try to live like that, that's the way we do things."

Important sociopolitical resources and locations for community-based resistance are also provided by these solidarity networks. In order to accommodate the majority, both inside and outside of their villages, meetings are often conducted late at night in the neighbouring towns of Machacamarca and Poopó. As a result, individuals in these communities are tasked with meeting basic requirements such as housing and nutrition by the women of these communities. "We [women] always try to help others because we know how hard it is to travel, especially to make time for the meetings and sometimes to find the money [to travel]," says doña Silvia, 51, of Puñaka, Poopó. The often-overlooked and underappreciated function of these

To demonstrate the intrinsic intertwining of social reproduction and production processes, this research refocuses attention onto supposedly commonplace activities—like cooking, washing clothing, and tending to animals—in which indigenous peasant women play a prominent role. As a result of manufacturing leading to the un-reproduction of indigenous ways of life, a distorted form arises in this case study. The monetization of land and natural resources, rather than human labour, is the bedrock of extractive capitalism. Thus, indigenous populations are forcibly removed from their homes and traditions as a result of extractivist forces and the Bolivian government's open backing for the mining sector. This case study demonstrates the impact of neo-extractivism on indigenous lands and ways of life, demonstrating that this phenomenon persists even under progressive governments such as Morales's. All of these disputes revolve on a central issue: who gets to use the water. Communities and societies rely on water for their reproduction since water is social life. Since water is both a social and political phenomenon, the nature of hydrosocial connections and the impact they have are both influenced by and a reflection of the power dynamics at play. One example of the imbalance of power in this dispute is MML 535, in which the state benefits the mining industry by granting them water rights while concurrently denying same rights to indigenous peasant communities.

The patriarchal and sexist aspects of extractive capitalism are also shown by water. Traditional indigenous peasant women depend mostly on water-related pursuits for their livelihoods and for social reproduction within their communities. Focusing on the socio-material situations of indigenous peasant women, this research demonstrates how this case study exemplifies a gendered type of accumulation by dispossession, in contrast to certain well-meaning but essentialist relationships between indigenous women and nature. In order to demonstrate that extractive

capitalism is about more than simply production, exploitation, and the commercialization of nature, I will be bridging the gap between accumulation by dispossession and SRT. This will allow me to argue that extractive capitalism is also about reproduction, oppression, and the perpetuation of colonial and patriarchal mandates that historically have pushed indigenous peasant women to the lowest levels of society's hierarchies. Indigenous peasant women and their communities are actively engaged in addressing the power disparities shown in this research. In defiance of the economic and political powers that be, they keep on organising. There has been a long history of resistance in the Andes, and the current wave of eco-social movements, including CORIDUP and indigenous peasant women's individual and collective efforts, is just the latest example of this "eco-territorial turn of social struggles" (Svampa, 2015, quoted from Cusiqañqui, 2016: 65). Although the future of these groups and their potential have not been fully determined, opposition is still very much alive and well. In addition, indigenous peasant women's day-to-day work in production and social reproduction is deeply rooted in the Andean episteme of Ayni, which encompasses reciprocity, duality, and complementarity. This episteme has enabled indigenous peasant women to forge solidarity networks that sustain social fabric both within and between communities, offering crucial sociopolitical resources and spaces for daily resistance. When indigenous peasant women engage politically by refusing to be subservient within their leadership and personal experiences, they are challenging patriarchal, capitalist, and colonial systems. As an alternative to these exploitative, coercive, and hierarchical requirements, their nonsubordinated acts, no matter how little or ordinary, exist.

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