

Review of International Geographical Education | **RIGEO** | 2020

RIGEO 

ISSN: 2146 - 0353

**Review of International
GEOGRAPHICAL EDUCATION**



www.rigeo.org

Patriarchy and progressive politics: gendered resistance to mining through everyday social relations of state formation in Intag, Ecuador

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Abstract

The government of Ecuador has, in the last ten years, advocated for environmental and socioeconomic progress via state-controlled resource exploitation, following a regional trend. Academics have shown that the progressive goals of this neo-extractive approach need more research. In particular, this article looks at how growing government and social programmes are associated with gendered criticisms of state-led extractivism. Women continued to face patriarchal interactions in their daily lives even as they fought for political legitimacy and rights in state politics. Based on my eight months of ethnographic study conducted over six years in the Junín and Chalguayacu Alto campesino communities, I contend that the women of Intag questioned the patriarchal state relations of extractive capitalism. A fresh take on neo-extractivism and resistance based on gender is presented in this article. The state's pledges of social welfare and infrastructure development, which it used to garner popular support for contentious mining projects, were held responsible by women. Gendered resistance politics may learn from these emblems of state paternalism, which exposed the deep-seated patriarchal systems that supported their everyday existence.

Keywords: Ecuador, gendered resistance, neo extraction, patriarchy, social reproduction

Introduction

I went to a presentation in July 2018 when the municipal authority of Cotacachi in Intag, Ecuador, presented the findings of three years of community water monitoring. The Intag Valley is a secluded region in Ecuador's western Imbabura province that is little known even among Ecuadorians and visitors from other countries. Antimining groups and antiextractivism activists both within and outside of Ecuador are familiar with the area. With the help of the local administration and international scientists, residents of Junín and Chalguyacu Alto, who were once an ecoreserve, collected water samples every two months. Water monitoring revealed the effects of exploratory molybdenum and copper mining carried out by the Chilean state firm, Corporación Nacional de Cobre (CODELCO), and the state mining corporation, Empresa Nacional de Minería (ENAMI). Llurimagua is the concession name that the firms use to run the ecoreserve. There were concerns about water pollution due to a change in the coloration of rocks below a waterfall, which is a popular community-led tourist site. As mining exploration continued in the deposit, the meeting's findings served as a baseline. An rise in heavy metals, an increase in water conductivity (a measure of solid waste in the water), and an increase in acidity levels (pH) were all shown in preliminary tests. Attendees from the Intag valley communities listened to the presentation and perused a pamphlet that provided a summary of the findings at this gathering. Members of the community rose to express their dismay at the prospect of mining in the valley, as well as in the Llurimagua concession and other adjacent concessions, after the presentation. Similar to what happened in the 1990s, a number of locals planned to band together and fight against the mining development (D'Amico, 2012; Davidov, 2013, 2014). A number of individuals have pointed out that the public infrastructure projects in Ecuador that Rafael Correa oversaw from 2007 to 2017—including schools, roads, and hospitals—were really an attempt to persuade the populace that resource exploitation was beneficial (Gudynas, 2011).

A prominent long-term resident broke the ice by asking, "What can we do to resist when the company is already there?" during the anti-mining discussion. Possible opposition existed at the beginning, before the firm arrived, but how might it be overcome afterwards? In Ecuador, these inquiries brought attention to the split in left-leaning discourses (Fabricant and Gustafson, 2014). Based on elite official discourses that connected suggested extractivism to anti-imperialism and

modernization, many in the area were swayed by the promise of employment with mining enterprises. Meanwhile, a number of locals spoke out against these remarks, claiming that "the protest

opposing mining has been going strong for 20 years—we arrived to oppose the mine. People also said that the company's jobs wouldn't be there for very long. "Keep in mind that ENAMI came about as a result of human persecution; if mining were good, then why is there persecution?" another commenter said. Promoting Llurimagua in Canada is the Ecuadorian government's idea! Twenty years of fighting mining! In the face of state-led neo-extractivism, these interactions demonstrated the dilemma of maintaining an antimining movement in Intag. Prominent speech, according to Fabricant and Gustafson (2014), is more problematic for left-wingers who assert an antiextractivist stance than it is for right-wingers who just demand for greater extraction. While those on the left may stress the immediate monetary benefits of extraction and redistributive measures, others would highlight the social and environmental costs. The anti-mining movement's polarisation has masked more nuanced arguments on the changing socioecological linkages brought about by extraction. Hence, according to Fabricant and Gustafson (2014), "political economic transformations spurred by extractivism" need a better understanding. The complex battles and movements around state-led, "progressive" extraction centre on gender, race, and ethnicity-related socioecological interactions. This article examines the ways in which extractive interactions in Intag, Ecuador, sustain patriarchal relations via the voices of women. I contend that the patriarchal constructs of state-led neo-extractivism in Intag were challenged by the women's bodily presences, which oppose paternalism in state spaces. Women continued to face patriarchal interactions in their daily lives even as they fought for political legitimacy and rights in state politics. In the existing research on neo-extractivism and gendered opposition, this study provides a fresh perspective. It builds a decolonial, gendered study of the daily construction of states as places of resistance. As a first point, the women of Intag brought attention to the patriarchal nature of the state and its paternalism in relation to extraction by the state. Secondly, women in Intag demanded that the government explain its social welfare and infrastructure programmes, which they said were aimed at winning over the populace to extractivism. By doing so, they challenged extraction-related ideologies of modernity and development. It is important for a politics of resistance because women showed how patriarchal ties were exposed via gendered social reproduction.

Gender, patriarchy, and everyday resistance to state-led extractive capitalism

There is mounting evidence from studies examining the relationship between gender and resistance in extractive sectors, showing that both men and women at times of scarcity of resources are affected in unique ways. As a general rule, these evaluations start with the vital role that women play in protecting the environment, their homes, and their livelihoods. Bell (2013), Jenkins (2015), Lahiri-Dutt (2012), and Li (2009) all point to the ways in which women's gender roles have made them more aware of the negative effects of extractive development on human and environmental health. In their roles as environmental protectors, women show a commitment to preserving the planet for the benefit of generations to come (Bell, 2013; Jenkins, 2015, 2017). By putting their bodies on the line, they fight against the extractive industries' exploitation of women and girls and draw attention to the gender inequality in their own communities (Deonandan and Tatham, 2016). The Frente de Mujeres Defensoras de la Pachamama in Ecuador is one example of a women-only antimining organisation; there, members have developed their own gendered narratives and criticisms of extraction (Velásquez, 2017).

The results of this research show that the extractive industries must keep gender as a focal point of their fight. Although women gain strength when they stand out for themselves politically, the results run the danger of "romanticising" their position and ignoring the challenges they face on a daily basis (Deonandan and Tatham, 2016: 276). Women continue to face patriarchal relations, racism, and poverty on a daily basis, despite their heightened awareness of and resistance to extractivism's effects (Deonandan and Tatham, 2016). Consequently, it is imperative that gendered resistance to extraction address the many intersectional systems and institutions that place women in a different light when it comes to the environment.

Researchers have shown how Latina women are drawing attention to the neocolonial ties that exist within extractive capitalism. (Muñoz and Villarreal, 2019; Schild, 2019) These research brought attention to the ways in which patriarchy, capital, and other repressive factors converge to marginalise women. Hernández Reyes (2019) and Mason-Deese (2016), among others, have emphasised intersectional practices, theories of decolonial resistance, and social reproduction as means by which women express the sexism and racism inherent in neoliberal extractivism.

References: Motta (2013), Motta and Seppälä (2016), and Velásquez (2017).

Based on their expertise and experience as guardians of the environment, women have put up alternative models of development that do not adhere to capitalist patriarchal relations. This has been supported by academic research (Beltrán, 2017; Fernandes, 2018; Sempértegui, 2019; Svampa, 2015; Ulloa, 2016). Activist women from the Global South have particularly relied on the idea of "body as territory" (Cabnal, 2012; Zaragocin et al., 2018), which is

based on the personal and communal knowledge of these women.

I show how the campesinas of Intag have challenged patriarchal state relations in Ecuador by drawing on critical, gendered criticisms of extractivism. This was a direct challenge to the capitalist extractive logics that are established in common state spaces. The state is a social and political organisation that mediates human-nature connections; this study offers an ethnographic examination of this phenomenon.

have an impact on shaping gender inequalities as well as consumption and production patterns (Vallejo et al., 2019). Feminist political geographers, such as Pearson and Crane (2017), have pushed for Latin American state studies that focus on the daily fights for social reproduction. Some have referred to the present political climate as the "end of cycle" (Modonesi, 2015; Zibechi, 2016: 23), and the fall of progressive or left-leaning administrations in Latin America is a prime example. According to Pearson and Crane (2017), the "fragile, contingent geography of state power" may be better understood by examining common settings that facilitate social reproduction. In order to highlight the voices of the campesina as agents of resistance, instead of objects of study, this article utilises decolonial feminist literature (Hernández Reyes, 2019; Motta, 2013; Motta and Seppälä, 2016) to show how the state is formed via the daily, embodied experiences of women. The paternalistic state dis-courses that women opposed connected social reproduction with extraction. They were able to challenge the patriarchal institutions that permeated their daily lives because they comprehended the role of state power in relation to their own embodied social reproduction.

Methods

Using ordinary social connections as a framework, this research sought to conduct an institutional ethnography of the Ecuadorian state (Billo and Mountz, 2016; Smith, 1987). I have spent the past six years doing eight months of fieldwork in the Intag area, having started in 2013. The majority of the data included in this publication comes from studies done between 2016 and 2018. Since it was very difficult, if not impossible, to get in touch with state authorities for interviews, I had to rely on community interviews and participant observation to learn about people's daily life in extraction spaces. Meetings with community people required me to take a bus across the Intag valley. Thirteen Intag community activists were also the subjects of my semistructured interviews. While in Quito, I spoke with a government ombudsman who represents the Defensoria del Pueblo and a lawyer who represents the anti-mining community in Intag.

While I was doing field research in Junín and Chalguyacu Alto, I resided with locals who considered themselves ecologists. A human rights observer from outside the area has been living and helping with Intag for the last ten years. This person and I worked closely together when we were doing our field investigation. This dedicated individual helped organise water monitoring in the neighbourhood, went to community meetings, and encouraged the sharing of images and reports among residents, anti-mining government authorities, and NGOs. In addition, I attended seminars and meetings hosted by non-governmental organisations (NGOs), such as Acción Ecológica in Quito and Defensa y Conservación Ecológica de Intag (DECOIN) in Intag.

Sometimes ladies allowed me into their houses when I was doing semistructured interviews with them. As we prepared meals, cleaned up afterward, and generally took care of one other, I listened to ladies describe the gendered roles they played in their homes. Drawing on the work of decolonial feminist academics (Motta and Seppälä, 2016; Mason-Deese, 2016), I argue that listening served as a social reproduction mechanism as well. As a result of these discussions, I am more aware of the ways women both reject patriarchal state constructions based on extraction and show how their gendered daily lives sustain and recirculate the categories that give form to the state (Billo and Mountz, 2016; Pearson and Crane, 2017). I gained a better understanding of the ways in which gendered social reproduction occurred over generations and how it undermined patriarchal state relations by listening to women's accounts of their families. By creating places to gather and support one another, women were able to draw connections between their individual experiences and the collective emancipation they sought.

Investigating Intag's Gender Role in Resistance and Ecology

According to Davidov (2013): 294, the formation of transnational alliances was crucial to the anti-extraction movement in Intag from the start, which "led to a state-oppositional environmentality." Environmental protection and an ecologist's sense of self were the cornerstones of Intag's long history of opposition to mining. The county of Cotacachi, which includes Intag, was designated an ecologically sensitive area and mining was outlawed in 2002 with the backing of the local administration (Davidov, 2014; Kuecker, 2007). Coffee and ecotourism are two examples of ecological cooperatives that might support economic growth. A community-managed ecoreserve and lodge was created by Junín and DECOIN. Women who have turned down mining jobs tend to and run the latter. The inhabitants of Junín and Chalguyacu Alto were able to effectively oppose Bishi Metals and Ascendant Copper, two private, international mining companies (now known as Copper Mesa), throughout the 1990s and early 2000s. Paramilitaries escorted the second company as it arrived in Intag. The Ecuadorian government severed ties with the Canadian firm when locals dismantled the mining camp and detained paramilitaries in Junín's church. According to Davidov (2014) and Davidov (2013), the establishment of the state was influenced by the particular regions, social interactions, materialities, and temporalities of Intag. Upon becoming president in 2007, Correa used the term "infantile ecologists" to describe Ecuadorian environmentalists, drawing a connection between imperialism and colonialism. He maintained that local populations were swayed by "outsiders" who wanted to inject them with anti-mining politics. According to Billo and Zukowski (2015), Kuecker (2007), Moore and Velásquez (2012), and Svampa (2015), the criminalization of residents associated with transnational movements and environmentalism in general was a way for the state to establish its power and control.

Intag, there are intergenerational and gendered linkages in the production and social reproduction processes. More and more, women are working outside the house as well. As

members of environmental opposition groups, they learn about the effects of mining on the ecosystem. From the beginning of the environmental movement, Doña Rosario, who is president of the ecotourism network, was involved. An argument about property seizures connected to the advent of Ascendant Copper resulted to the 1992 death of her husband. Javier Ramírez, her son, recently served a 10-month prison sentence on charges related to hurling a rock at an ENAMI vehicle. An other son was wanted for protesting ENAMI; an arrest warrant was issued for him as well. The national government just removed the warrant lately. During our chat in 2018, Doña Rosario informed me that we must keep fighting. It's beneficial for everyone, not just our family. The speaker stressed, saying, "We're always here, protesting." Speaking with women revealed the ways in which they formed bonds with one another by means of defiance. According to Doña Rosario, when Ascendant Copper and Bishi Metals were operating in the area, locals would coordinate their movements to alert each other when the companies were approaching Junín and then rush to place obstacles in their way. However, she also claimed that ENAMI tried to participate in "socialisation" processes, such as visiting people's homes to sell them on the mine and interfering with their shared histories and knowledge of the state's objections.

I interviewed Marcia Ramírez, a veteran of the resistance struggle, in Chaguayacu Alto in 2017. Early antimining activities were joined by her aunt, Doña Rosario, her parents, and others. Their knowledge of the mine's possible effects and strategies for protecting communities from for-profit enterprises were invaluable to her. Along with her parents, she attended seminars and meetings when she was a little girl. The mining corporation hired men at first because they needed wage labour. The miners started to doubt mining's worth as the firm further abused their labour by reducing salaries and making them work longer hours. Concurrently, in

1995, DECOIN came into being, and with Acción Ecológica, the public started to have a better understanding of the consequences of mining. The "majority of people in the community opposed mining," according to 12-year-old Marcia.

Initially, Marcia's career path took her to a state agency where she worked on family planning concerns, making house calls to local communities and even handling some medical emergencies. In the end, she found employment as a community organiser with DECOIN. While travelling to Peru and Chile with Doña Rosario, she gained personal knowledge of the effects of mining, which she imparted to others. Despite official efforts to criminalise and cut financing for environmental groups, Marcia was forced to seek employment elsewhere when her funding for the organiser role ran out at the same time. From the comfort of her home, she operates a little dry goods shop.

I stayed at Marcia's residence while doing my field study and listened to her tell tales about struggle and regular living. Various parts of her personal life would often become the topic of our discussions. Marcia has one daughter and married later than other women in her town. She made a remark about this gender gap, implying that motherhood and marriage were never her top priorities. One of her ex-boyfriends was really involved in divulging information about the opposition to the miners, which is how their relationship ended. Marcia, who is content in her present relationship, bemoaned the gendered division of labour in the home, particularly when it came to parenting, cooking, and washing clothing. Managing her dry goods business while also staying abreast of mining politics kept her much closer to home, but it also added a triple weight of labour. Even in her community organising role, Marcia paid close attention to gendered ways of social reproduction. Though she sometimes travelled to Quito to meet with state authorities, she continued to attend organising meetings whenever she could, speak with student groups that had come to the area to learn about resistance, and check water levels in the community ecoreserve (see below). Similar to Doña Rosario, Marcia

said, "we're not idly watching, and yes, we're opposing everything."

It is clear that "state/non-state distinctions" are "constructed" since women are always trying to make sense of and improve the sociospatial interactions that support their existence (see Pearson and Crane, 2017: 188). The women of Intag rely on their innate wisdom to provide for their family and themselves via the tasks they do on a daily basis. They lived their lives according to the three tenets of access to food, education, and healthcare. In particular, women were sensitive to the paternalism of social assistance, which served to reinforce their gendered social reproduction while simultaneously bringing them into resistance areas outside of the house. They demonstrated how resistance reorganised their gendered responsibilities as mothers and wives via social reproduction, which also questioned these roles.

Gendered spaces of extraction

The "obstacles" to the nation's extractive advantages are often rural populations (Fabricant and Gustafson, 2014). A national mining zone had been created in Intag, and the community ecoreserve could be lawfully accessed by decree. According to Billo and Zukowski (2015), when ENAMI and the police intervened in 2014 in response to community-organized roadblocks, they criminalised demonstrators, including Javier Ramírez, a former community president. Discourses about growth and progress associated with copper resources shattered the socially constructed position of the ecoreserve and Intag (Davidov, 2014). People who dared to oppose now seem to be "two steps behind the state, rather than one step ahead," according to Marcia. The community was acting in accordance with the state's objective instead of

continuing to set the agenda from previous decades. The paternalistic and exclusionary policies of the neo-extractive state were now confronting communities. Our communities want growth, but not in the way that ENAMI and CODELCO see it, Marcia informed me. Various extraction topographies come to be symbolised by the Intag space. The ecoreserve underwent a reorganisation, with routes being designated for the growing industry rather than visitors. On my most recent study trip in 2018, the corporation had built a fence and shut the entrance (Figure 1), so now residents

had to apply for permission to enter the reserve. Additionally, all visitors had to check in before they could enter.

See Fabricant and Gustafson (2014) for more on how wage labour in Intag exemplifies the complexities linked to the split in Ecuador's left-leaning anti-extraction movements. Some were swayed by the promise of jobs and how they relate to nationalist rhetoric about modernity, development, and sovereignty, while others were opposed to extraction (Moore and Velásquez, 2012). While CODELCO was in charge of the day-to-day operations, ENAMI was in charge of the concession in name. "The state," represented by ENAMI, ostensibly supervised all day-to-day operations. There were 205 locals who worked as manual labourers for CODELCO in 2018. As wage labourers with more access to cash than they would have had when their livelihoods were dependent on agricultural output, residents' work with CODELCO brought them closer to consumerism and capital accumulation. Working for the firm, young men may make as much as \$800 per month. However, workers were responsible for covering their own meals and motorcycle transportation costs to and from the concession. While several locals who worked for the business told me they were putting money aside so their kids might attend a private school, I overheard other younger guys say they frittered it all away. As a means of aiding the community's expropriation of land and territory, employment served to reinforce and legitimise state-based extraction by connecting citizenship to consumption.

Once every two weeks, locals who were still against the

I have been monitoring the water levels in the community eco-reserve, which is now part of the concession field. I often participated in reserve hikes with the backing of the antimining local administration. Intag is a designated area for non-mining activities according the constitution of Ecuador passed in 2008. It's a watering hole that also happens to be home to certain endangered species and a primary forest (Davidov, 2014). To reach the community-protected waterfalls, visitors had to follow paths that were mostly used by miners and mules. What was once the community's mirador, or vantage point over the valley, is now just a parking lot for motorcycles since all mining personnel rode their bikes up to the area (Figure 2). To transport the drilling motors to the drilling platforms atop the hill, a crew of twelve was required. Mule trains carrying mining equipment often required us to step aside on the path. The tranquilly of an ecological preserve teemed with birdsong and other species was replaced by the monotonous drone of engines. These



Figure 1. Registering with the company to access the community ecoreserve via a locked gate.

motors marked different drilling sites, as the company engaged in its expanding exploratory operations.

Employees knew very little about the larger vision or impacts of company operations. Residents employed by the



Figure 2. Community ecoreserve and *mirador*, now a parking lot for company employees' motorbikes.

During my encounters at the Junín mining office and in informal settings, the firm did not provide me with much information. As a result, they bowed to their superiors, who came from all around Ecuador and had sociologists among their ranks. I was provided very little information about the company's activities when I had the opportunity to speak with these high-ranking executives who would visit the neighbourhood from time to time. An instance of this is when I inquired about the possibility of attending a gathering of a women's clothes washing group; I was informed that the ladies would be too timid to talk in my presence. This remark hinted at a patriarchal, sexist assumption that women would be unable to speak out for themselves and appeared to imply that my researcher presence was frightening. In a few conversations with locals who worked for the firm, they often brought up ideas like modernity and advancement, saying that they were helping Ecuador advance economically. It was Intag's time to give resources to state growth, same to how the Amazon area gave oil. At the same time, high-ranking Quito government officials were arguing that extractivism was good for society and the environment, opening up opportunities for local businesses and schools, and setting Ecuador up for a post-extraction socialist future (Fabricant and Gustafson, 2014, Fabricant and Gustafson, 2015). Basic jobs were provided to men and women based on their social class and gender after Doshi (2016), which normalised unequal allocation of resources and often resulted in harmful working conditions. Residents' daily lives were shaped by unskilled labour based on heightened precarity, even if employment with the corporation promised potential. Officials from the corporation were waiting for soil sample results in 2018 before deciding whether to enter the extractive phase of the mine. According to a high-ranking state official I spoke with, only a select group of citizens may be selected to get the training necessary for these more advanced occupations. As a result of job opportunities with the enterprise, some locals were ready to take advantage of their neighbours in the name of extractivism's promise of modernization and development. The open-pit copper mine would necessitate the relocation of Junín and Chalgayacu Alto. While the exploratory phase's short-term and flexible labour helped the corporation establish a foothold in the area, it also highlighted the ways in which CODELCO and ENAMI contributed to the worsening of sociospatial inequality. Published by Fabricant and Gustafson in 2015.

Those in Junín who were against extraction said that while their means of subsistence had remained mostly unchanged when ENAMI arrived, their relationships with others had altered. Everyday worries gave way to new ones as these locals kept working in agriculture, raising and selling cattle, ecotourism, and sugar cane panela production. Water pollution was more likely to occur as a result of exploratory activities. A decrease in living standards was shown by the three antimining families in Junín, who ventured out of their homes solely to purchase goods at the nearby shop. Antimining families were unable to engage in social relations in Junín, and the community remained deserted during the day due to the departure of most people.

in order to operate the concession. In addition, a resident who opposed mining told me that she was afraid for her daughter's safety since there were strangers in the town, including people who had travelled from other parts of Ecuador to work for the firm. Her daughter was fourteen years old. According to these findings, the mining company instead served to exacerbate existing societal vulnerabilities, such as gendered vulnerabilities (for a review, see McHenry-Sorber, 2016).

Gender and socioecological contradictions of extraction

The state-led neo-extractivism's paternalistic and masculinist inclinations were confronted by the women who declined to work for the corporation. Company infractions of environmental standards outlined in the concession's EIS were to be discussed in meetings scheduled with Quito-based state authorities from the Ministry of Environment. "Go home and take care of your kids, and leave environmental protection to the government." That was the order given to Marcia and another DECOIN representative when they were fired from their position, Marcia said. State discourse was unable to include locals' daily realities, as was shown during a community gathering I went to in Chalgayacu Alto in June 2017. In order to debate backing for the region's improved road, the meeting was called to order. Members of the community had requested the gathering of provincial and junta parro-quial (parish council) officials, as well as those from ENAMI and CODELCO. Nobody from the provincial government was there. Rapidly determining that the road was within the province's jurisdiction, company executives and the junta parroquial representative shifted blame for the route's unsuccessful renovation onto the provincial administration. It may be argued that this meeting outcome was a political move. When the pro-extraction junta parroquial administration failed to implement its promises of improvements, it wasted no time shifting the blame to the anti-extraction provincial government, which was conspicuously absent. No one could agree to proceed with the road upgrades since opposing political parties were in control at the federal, provincial, and state levels of government. The provincial authorities supposedly said that repairing the road would just make it easier for mining trucks to enter the area, according to talks I had with Intag people. State officials were caught fiddling with their phones while citizens protested the absence of promised road upgrades.

The state's inaction was challenged by Juana Enríquez, the community secretary. The only woman to speak at this gathering was Juana, and she was also the only one who challenged state leaders. She said that the promised social

investment in the form of a school, hospital, and road would support local "Social reproduction" was not built. Social reproduction is shaped by a number of factors, including housing, education, and health (Motta, 2013). They help women "break out of the social iso-lation" of domestic work, which in turn strengthens solidarity and gives them more time to fight (Motta, 2013: 39). But Juana's physical presence at the meeting gave the impression that she was behaving in a way that was inappropriate for her gender and social position. "I thought we were here to discuss the road" and "I never promised any of that other infrastructure" were among the condescending remarks made by the junta parroquial representative who interrupted Juana. The local state official flat-out rejected the extraction conditions that had been offered, which included taking responsibility for the social welfare and reproduction of the population. "In structural terms, extractive economies exacerbate gendered inequalities" (Fabricant and Gustafson, 2015), as seen by the government and corporate officials' callous treatment of Juana and the community. After the male community president who opposed mining tried to defuse the tension by interfering, Juana sat down. The next day, she was still fuming when interviewed by Juana. Her words were: We are made to feel so insignificant by the government and business leaders. I didn't feel humbled, even if that was the representation of the junta's intention. My patience was tested by her. I demanded that you, as an authority figure, demonstrate your contempt for me by treating me like a liar. Yes, I am truthful.

The basic, paternalistic, emotive paradoxes of neo-extractivism—that is, the idea that extraction should also lead to infrastructure development—were tackled by Juana. There was a fundamental change in gendered social reproduction, but the state's promises of healthcare and education also hinted at it. However, when extractivism failed to fulfil these expectations, it exposed a contradiction and an opportunity to question the state's progressive goals. The contradictory nature of the demands placed on citizens by the state to behave responsibly as consumers is associated with patriarchal and capitalist trends, as Juana pointed out (Svampa, 2015). The state officials' condescending remark to Marcia was followed by accusations that Juana lacked the knowledge and skills to challenge state power. They also felt that her gendered and embodied presence in state settings was inappropriate for this discussion. The intention behind Juana's remarks was to start a more extensive discussion on the inherent constraints of governmental authority in relation to extraction. The disparity between the state and capital was highlighted by her, who said that Inteños were still made to pay for

the state's underinvestment, even if state officials made paternalistic assertions to the contrary. Juana exclaimed "Despite my best efforts, I am prepared to defy (my male coworker). The authorities arrived to fix the road, but they ended up making things worse. I assert, "It seems like the government is always seeking problems, isn't it?" As far as social reproduction was concerned, Juana would not absolve the state of obligation. Since this was Juana's first meeting in her new role as community leader, she felt empowered to speak up, she told me. Juana remains committed to her profession as an environmentalist, which informs her strong antimining attitude, even if there is less organised mobilisation around the region's biodiversity. "An ecologist is more than simply a name," she said. Our rights are being fought for. And Juana went on to say, "We're defending life, our lives, because we have to defend our children, because if the mine comes, it's like killing our-selves..." According to what she told me, she joined her mother in fighting against the mining firms. (The mother of Juana just lately took advantage of the economic chance and went to work for the firm.) "Maybe that instilled something in me, no?" Juana pondered. Despite my anger, I can see [what has to be done]. She also viewed images and videos of the mining industry's destructive effects, which she compared to "drinking a glass of poison, when you drink a glass of water."

Also, Discovered via social reproduction, neo-extraction has rearranged connections among land, country, citizenship, and resources. Saying, "I'm a campesina, I need the land, it's our mother and gives us food," Juana expressed her utmost care for the environment. Juana drew a line between city life and rural life, saying that Intag was distinct since, for example, bananas and yuca could be found on the land. She went on to say that the water in the area was formerly utilised for everything from cooking to cleaning to washing clothes, but now people were scared to use it because of contamination worries. As a basis for state sovereignty and nation-building via extraction, Juana faced a powerful official discourse that connected ecology with imperialism. The importance of daily life and social reproduction to the establishment of states was shown by her. She "made normative claims about how political life should be" (Pearson and Crane, 2017: 190) during her meeting with state authorities, gaining an understanding of her own requirements in relation to state power. Regarding the infrastructure parameters associated with extractivism, Marcia also contacted the state. However, her defiance was not based on confrontation but on taking direct action. Outside of neo-extractive environments founded on control over collective decision making, she demonstrated self-determination and self-reliance in order to build relationships. Marcia and Rosario stopped going to neighbourhood gatherings when state and industry representatives were present. Dismissive areas based on

gender were places she would not participate. Rather, she emphasised the potential alternative outcomes for people and the state that may result from environmentalist efforts and the disruption of the commercialization of nature in relation to copper. According to her, Because we pay taxes, it is our right, and we, the inhabitants of Intag, have always campaigned for progress and improvement. Countless items have been introduced to the market by Intag. We have the authority to make the road better. We still have the right to the escuela del milenio that Correa promised, regardless of how useful it may be. We are promised a lot of rights, including the right to an education (as citizens). The roughly 16,000 people who call the Intag valley home don't have to wait for a mining project to pay for basic needs. Promised infrastructure, such as schools and roads, were linked to extraction, and the state became a place through which certain logics of capital expanded. However, Marcia highlights that the effort of Inteños was crucial in the formation of the state, and it was from their labour that the state was born. Even if the people of Intag had done their part to help shape the state economically, she brought attention to the fact that the state was actively (re)forming capitalist relations of production and reproduction via extraction. The consumer-citizen concept of extractivism was the basis for Marcia and Juana's accountability of the state. They showed how this state model doesn't work and suggested alternatives that are less exploitative of nature.

There is a difference between infrastructure as production and education as social reproduction, as Marcia pointed out in her response. Using the state's attempts to separate production and social reproduction as an argument, Marcia suggested that the government should either construct a computer centre or increase the number of teachers in the current schools. Therefore, the neo-extraction form of production circulates commodities, leading to a powerful state effect via infrastructure upgrades. The disruption of state impact and citizenship was shown by Marcia to be the result of extraction rather than infrastructure or more teachers. In addition, the shortage of educators proved that locals' social reproduction was unaffected by the neo-extractive state paradigm. The model's failure to address environmental degradation and the perpetuation of patriarchal capitalism led to a reaffirmation of traditional gender roles. Capital uses women for its own profit without addressing the underlying causes of gender inequality. In Marcia's view, the resistance movement was predicated on the state's obligations in the areas of healthcare and education, which are interconnected with the social reproduction of genders. According to Motta

(2013), these governmental institutions have the potential to empower women to go outside the house and challenge patriarchal capitalism that is headed by the state. It seemed that patriarchal relations persisted due to the state's social welfare failings. The politics of gendered resistance are particularly affected by this state-led contradiction of neo-extraction. The gendered socioecological tensions linked to state-led extractivism were further shown by women like Marcia, Juana, and Rosario. Their capacity to organise and mobilise was hampered, they said, since the state did not engage in their social reproduction. Social imaginaries that spanned generations in Intag were fundamental to the construction of resistance regarding production and social reproduction from a gendered perspective. Women proved that the patriarchal state's expansion was facilitated by the neo-extractive state model, which reinforced paternalism. By highlighting the experiences and perspectives of these women, we can see how gendered opposition to mining in Intag was shaped by confrontation, self-determination, and self-reliance. This resistance helped to build "the state" beyond the patriarchal, extractive dangers that existed there.

Conclusions

The exploitation of natural resources has been further intensified by state-sponsored extractivism throughout Latin America. With the backing of the state, neoliberal capitalism fostered extraction based on expropriation by private business. The "historical dependencies" have not been significantly altered by state-led extraction (Hernández Reyes, 2019: 223). This study brought attention to the ways in which environmental activism and gender studies intersect in certain places and times, allowing us to shift our attention back to the mundane places where states are formed as sites of resistance. The paternalistic state that emerged as a result of state-led extraction provided labour opportunities and infrastructure improvements tied to extraction, while also working to define what constitutes the environment. A fresh take on the existing literature on gendered resistance is presented in this work. A discussion on advancement in neo-extractive state settings has been hijacked by the women of Intag. They proved that extraction is associated with paternalistic policies that undermine social welfare and infrastructure development. The importance of school and hospitals as sites of gendered social reproduction was emphasised by women. Interestingly, these institutions are also places where women may challenge patriarchal constraints that keep them confined to the home (Motta, 2013). In addition to hindering women's resistance to patriarchal systems that permeate their daily lives, the state's inability to establish these programmes revealed the sexism in extractive capital. Gendered resistance politics in state spaces are heightened by the women's labour in Intag, which highlights the importance of social reproduction. Intag, progressive ties to extractivism were disrupted by gendered, daily conceptions of the neo-extractionist Ecuadorian state, which addressed and interfered in social and ecological shifts.

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