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Indigenous Rights and *Fracking* in Patagonia: An Ecofeminist Perspective

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Abstract

The number of conflicts between natural resource extraction and local populations, particularly indigenous peoples, in South America is the highest in the world. One such case happens in Patagonia, in Argentina's Vaca Muerta, where state-sponsored *fracking* development dispossesses the local Mapuche indigenous people of their land and rights. The Argentine state rationalizes oil extraction with its desire for economic growth and energy sovereignty. However, the uneven effects imposed on the Mapuche and the state's dismissal of their right and way of life suggests an underlying neocolonial perspective driving the development. In this thesis, I therefore explore the state's framings of the extractive industry, nature, and the Mapuche that rationalize the *fracking* development. I do this by applying the critical lens of socialist ecofeminism to a desk study analyzing secondary data. This reveals how the state holds a gendered and dualistic worldview that deems nature and indigenous peoples as inferior, feminine, and passive to be subordinated to the masculine extractive industry and state. The case of the Mapuche and *fracking* in Vaca Muerta thus illustrates how such dualistic worldviews need to be deconstructed for alternative developments and an inclusive future to flourish.

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1. Introduction

Natural resource extraction has been relevant in Latin America and Argentina ever since colonization (Ødegaard & Andía, 2019). Today, South America is amongst the areas of the world with the highest concentration of conflicts related to resource extraction, with most of the cases happening in the Andean region (Haslam & Tanimoune, 2016, p. 407; Özkaynak et al., 2015, p. 12). The hydrofracturing development in *Vaca Muerta* [Dead Cow] in Northern Patagonia, Argentina is one such project. The state frames the project as essential for Argentina's economic growth and energy sovereignty, but the impacts on women and the indigenous Mapuche people spark controversies.

Despite the Mapuche never giving consent, the state has dispossessed and forcefully evicted Mapuche communities, violently raided their land, and polluted their environment (Hadad et al., 2021, p. 76; Observatorio Petrolero Sur et al., 2017, p. 8). Women and Mapuche communities, who by the state are framed as internal enemies, resist the development by emphasizing their lived experiences and reciprocal and biocentric relationship with nature (Acacio & Wyczykier, 2021, p. 183; Hadad et al., 2021, p. 77). Nevertheless, the state's glorification of resource extraction while dismissing indigenous rights suggests that neocolonial values and structures underlie the development strategy. The *Vaca Muerta* case is thus a complex case consisting of a puzzle of perspectives and affected groups. The main conflict I will analyze in this thesis is the tension between the state's desire for energy sovereignty and Mapuche's desire for self-determination.

In this desk study, I seek to use the critical lens of ecofeminism to analyze how the neo-/extractivism in Argentina's hydrofracturing development oppresses nature, women, and the indigenous Mapuche communities. In addition, I foreground how Mapuche's alternative perspective can contribute to more context-specific and inclusive sustainability. Under the framework of this thesis, I will address the following research question: how can the neo-extractive fracking case of *Vaca Muerta* and the suppression of the surrounding indigenous Mapuche communities be understood through the perspective of ecofeminism?

I use an ecofeminist perspective to understand the neocolonial justification. Ecofeminism questions the assumed essential link between nature and femininity and culture and masculinity. It does so by comparing the masculine superiority over femininity to the way culture is supposedly superior to nature (Cirefice & Sullivan, 2019, p. 82; Merchant, 1990, p. 100). These dualisms can be seen in the case of *Vaca Muerta* with culture and resource

extraction as masculine suppressing and ‘othering’ the environment and indigenous communities as natural or feminine. An ecofeminist perspective can reveal the dynamics creating such cases, but it can also be used as a tool for deconstructing such assumptions to make room for alternative values and developments.

Despite the patriarchy’s oppression of both nature and women already being clear within ecofeminism (see Merchant, 1990, 1995), the Vaca Muerta and Mapuche case has not been analyzed from this perspective. Grasping the link between the patriarchy and resource extraction with the oppression of nature, women, and indigenous peoples is crucial for sustainable development¹. It becomes especially important to understand these structures, their consequences, and the way forward. We cannot ensure a sustainable future if the systems and worldview in which we try to create this future are inheritably harmful to both women, indigenous peoples, and the very earth we depend on.

In this thesis, I will first establish the methodology of the research and its limitations. Second, I will describe and define neo-extractivism and ecofeminism as theoretical frameworks. Third, I will describe the empirical data and case by shedding light on Argentina’s development discourse based on neo-extractivism, the effects this has on the Mapuche and women, and finally how the Mapuche resist. The discussion starts with uncovering how the Argentine state reinforces a dualistic worldview. I then proceed to explore how Patagonia’s nature is framed as feminine and ‘empty’. I then continue to examine how the extraction industry itself is viewed as masculine through both symbology and policies. Further, the othering of the indigenous Mapuche people is assessed by analyzing how the state frames the Mapuche. Finally, I discuss and conclude on how the Mapuche and women contribute to questioning the dualisms and build a way forward with context-specific perspectives.

¹ Sustainable development is a complex and controversial concept. It is out of the scope of my thesis to discuss the concept further. The definition used here is that of Waas et al. (2011) stating that “sustainable development aims to meet human needs and aspirations, now and in the future, in an equitable way while protecting our environment which we share with other living species on Earth” (p.1645). This includes four main pillars: economic, environmental, institutional, and environmental (Spangenberg, 2004, p.1).

2. Methodology and limitations

2.1 Methodology

I analyze secondary empirical data in this desk study. The empirical data was gathered with a snowball method from both international and local online newspapers, NGO articles and reports, government statistics and reports, and peer-reviewed journal articles to achieve a nuanced picture of the case. I searched for peer-reviewed journal articles through NMBU's online library with keywords such as "fracking", "Argentina", "Mapuche", and "extractivism".

The theoretical framework used to analyze the empirical data consists of neo-extractivism and ecofeminism. This is built upon peer-reviewed journal articles and academic books in both English and Spanish. I also used NMBU's online library to search through and map the existing literature, using keywords such as "extractivism", "ecofeminism", "indigenous", and "masculinity". I then followed the relevant references of those authors.

The core literature consists of articles and academic books discussing neo-/extractivism (Gudynas, 2018; Hadad et al., 2021; Hargreaves, 2019) and its engendered aspects (Eftimie et al., 2009; Lahiri-Dutt, 2011, 2013), ecofeminism (Cirefice & Sullivan, 2019; Foster, 2021; Merchant, 1990) and Mapuche ideology (Bacigalupo, 2003; Warren, 2009) as theories and perspectives. Additionally, secondary sources describe the hydrofracturing process in Vaca Muerta and its environmental and health impacts, and Mapuche resistance (Acacio & Wyczykier, 2021; Moreno, 2016; Riffo, 2017; Savino, 2016).

While the theoretical connection between extractivism and ecofeminism has been established (Cirefice & Sullivan, 2019, p. 82) and existing literature already describes the Argentine hydrofracturing case through neo-extractivism (Savino, 2016, p. 405), the case has yet to be analyzed through the lens of ecofeminism. Therefore, I seek to use the connection between the case and neo-extractivism to build upon ecofeminism as a theory. I do this by analyzing whether the connection between ecofeminism and extractivism exists also in this case.

2.2 Limitations

I recognize how my identity and experience as a non-indigenous European woman limit my analysis of identities and experiences of an indigenous group like the Mapuche. I do not

have the indigenous context myself to understand the theory and reality of the Mapuche, but rather rely on existing literature.

The thesis being a desk study also means I am confined to already existing data on the case. Because the existing empirical data from newspapers and NGOs might be biased, it risks reducing the data's reliability and might limit its precision. However, to counter this effect, I have also gathered data from peer-reviewed academic articles on the case. In this way, I have been able to ensure a greater level of nuance to the empirical data on the Vaca Muerta case.

3. Theoretical framework

To understand the context of the case and how it is embedded in neo-extractivism, I will explain the core elements of neo-/extractivism. Because I analyze the case through the lens of ecofeminism, I present ecofeminism as my conceptual framework and how it relates to extractivism and the case. In other words, I use ecofeminism as the tool to analyze how the neo-extractivism in the Vaca Muerta case came to be.

3.1 Neo-/extractivism

Extractivism represents a way of seeing the world in which humans have dominance over the earth. In practice, this worldview gives humans the right to appropriate natural resources and extract them for commodification and exports (Cirefice & Sullivan, 2019, p. 80; Gudynas, 2018, p. 62). While a range of definitions of the concept exists, Hadad, Palmisano, and Wahren (2021) summarized extractivism as a process that commodifies nature, promotes intensive consumption of non-renewable resources, reproduces colonial labor and production divisions, dispossesses local communities, and results in negative social, health, and environmental consequences. Additionally, extractivism typically is characterized by intensive capital use by large corporations, even when being promoted by a strong and involved state (Hadad et al., 2021, p. 65).

In the Latin American context, it is useful to differentiate between extractivism and neo-extractivism. Although both extractivism and neo-extractivism entail the core elements described above, the discourses around them differ. The above-mentioned description of extractivism typically links to neoliberal policies. While neo-extractivism builds on this concept of extractivism, it more specifically refers to strong state involvement in the extractive process.

Latin America's 'pink tide', or political left turn, in the mid-2000s sought to replace the neoliberal policies that had dominated the region with rather progressive leftist governments (Hadad et al., 2021, p. 65). The discourse around extracting natural resources became centered around arguments for increased social spending and reforms (Savino, 2016, p. 405). An example of a typical policy for neo-extractivism is the nationalization of the extractive industry (Hargreaves, 2019, p. 62). Neo-extractivism can therefore change ownership patterns in developing countries, which has led it to be promoted by global insinuations like the UN to enhance national development (Hargreaves, 2019, p. 62). While the motivations behind both general extractivism and neo-extractivism differ, they are based on the same underlying assumptions and generate comparable impacts as the environment is framed as a commodity in the name of development. The processes also promote the state's development focus to remain in natural resources, which Hadad et al. (2021, p. 63) and Hargreaves (2019, p. 64) argue blocks alternative developments. The result is the promotion of neo-colonial and economic dependency relationships as the national economy continues to rely on primary resources.

Commodifying the environment and natural resources entail that only humans hold moral value, hence rendering the environment as something that can be used for the benefit of humans and development. While humans have always used nature in one way or another to meet their necessities, the dominance relationship with nature is argued to have been promoted by the scientific revolution and utilitarian ideas (Gudynas, 2018, p. 67; Merchant, 1990, p. 101). The idea of nature as a machine free of morality then resulted in the current paradigm locating nature at the passive side of the dualism that separates and opposes culture and nature (Table 1) (Cirefice & Sullivan, 2019, p. 82). The result is thus that also neo-extractivism "fail to resolve the deep contradiction between 'capital versus life', which is destroying humanity and the planet itself" (Hargreaves, 2019, p. 64), despite being promoted for development.

3.2 Ecofeminism

While ecofeminism contains a range of branches, ecofeminists are concerned about the relationship between environmental degradation and women's oppression (Merchant, 1990, p. 100; Terreblanche, 2019, p. 163). The term was first established by Françoise d'Eaubonne (1974) as she explained how the patriarchy degrades the environment and how women and the feminine could have the potential to generate positive change. The interpretation of what this means has since then grown to be diverse and even fractured. A quick google pictures search of "ecofeminism" reveals the common colloquial understanding of ecofeminism as thinking of

nature as “Mother Nature” through pictures of trees as women. This perspective is similar to affinity ecofeminism. It is therefore useful to contrast affinity ecofeminists with socialist ecofeminists, whereas the latter is the perspective I will use for my analysis.

Affinity ecofeminism perceives the feminine and womanhood as being closely interconnected with nature. The relationship between women and nature is argued to be based on the ability to create life and nurture (Foster, 2021, p. 193). While this can serve as an argument for including women as agents of positive ecological change, affinity ecofeminism has largely been dismissed in academia due to critique of its essentialist perspective (Foster, 2021, p. 194). In contrast, socialist ecofeminists rather argue that the essential conceptualization of womanhood and nature is the root cause of environmental degradation.

Socialist ecofeminism sees the concept of gender as socially constructed and therefore rather points to capitalism and patriarchy as the actors exploiting both nature and women (Foster, 2021, p. 195; Merchant, 1990, p. 103). Thus, socialist ecofeminists are concerned with the experiential relations between women and nature rather than their biological functions. Therefore, they often draw similar parallels to other social classes, such as in this case, indigenous peoples. According to socialist ecofeminists then, women and nature are both exploited by men, which not only causes a division between women and men but also between humans and nature (Merchant, 1990, p. 103).

Using a socialist ecofeminism perspective in my analysis means that I reject the perceived essential connection between women and nature, and men and extractivism. I rather explain the gendered relationships as consequences of the patriarchy and capitalism’s labor division. The Western dualistic worldview that emerged after the scientific revolution placed women and nature on the passive side of a dualism contrasting it with the active man and culture. Table 1 illustrates this dualistic worldview. Despite the binary view of nature and culture being harmful, Haila (2000) explains how dualisms are almost unconsciously reproduced in human interactions with the world because they tend to lead to a totalizing distinction. This means that opposing one view by creating a new one inevitably creates a new dualism. Therefore, the goal should not be to create a new totalizing alternative but to find context-specific alternatives bringing culture and nature together (Haila, 2000, p. 156). This is aligning with my purpose of applying ecofeminism to the Vaca Muerta case – to analyze how the dualism embedded in extractivism imposes oppression in the specific context of the indigenous community surrounding the fracking site. This dualism, illustrated in Table 1, legitimizes the exploitation of natural resources and their defenders. A context-specific analysis

of this through ecofeminism is therefore useful as it “highlights that all types of domination (capitalism, colonialism, patriarchy) are connected, therefore, one cannot be eliminated without the others” (Cirefice & Sullivan, 2019, p. 89).

Table 1

The dualistic perspective of the world after the scientific revolution

Nature	Culture
Women	Men
Passive	Active
Object	Subject
Traditional/Primitive	Modern/Civilized
Body	Mind
Non-Western	Western
Emotion	Rationality
Private Sphere	Public Sphere

(Cirefice & Sullivan 2019, p. 82).

Ecofeminism is thus not only concerned with women and nature, but with all environmental entities and beings oppressed under capitalism, colonialism, and the patriarchy. Hence, the approach is useful in analyzing the effects hydrofracturing has on the indigenous Mapuche people around Vaca Muerta. Ecofeminism is a tool to understand oppression under extractivism, and ecofeminism challenges the constructed hierarchal dualism in which the male side dominates over the other. Ecofeminism could also serve as a solution by questioning the hierarchy that justifies domination of nature and legitimizes extractivism in order to foreground alternative worldviews.

4. Empirical case

4.1 *Fracking* and the Argentine development discourse

In Argentina, unconventional hydrofracturing, also known as ‘fracking’ became topical after Argentina’s financial collapse in 2001. Savino (2016) explains how the collapse sparked a desire for change, which led to the abandonment of privatization processes and neo-liberal policies. Instead, a shift happened towards left-leaning governments with the election of the Néstor Kirchner (2003-2007) and Cristina Fernández de Kirchner (2007-2015) administrations. The new paradigm saw a strengthened focus on state- and economic development to get Argentina’s economy back on its feet. Essential for this development discourse became energy sovereignty (Savino, 2016, pp. 407-408). During the same time, Argentina found one of the largest unconventional oil reserves on the continent in the geological formation Vaca Muerta. Because technologies developed and commodity prices increased simultaneously, it became profitable to extract these unconventional hydrocarbons (Hadad et al., 2021, p. 71).

The petroleum in unconventional hydrofracturing sites is found in small and isolated pores in the bedrock. To extract it, one needs to fracture the rock with explosives far underground multiple times, and then inject a combination of water, certain chemicals, and sand under high pressure (Acacio & Wyczykier, 2021, p. 181). The petroleum will be forced to the surface through either vertically or horizontally drilled wells. The remains get dumped in unknown reservoirs (Riffo, 2017, pp. 471, 475). Despite generating evident environmental consequences, such as water pollution and greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions, fracking in Vaca Muerta was promising for the Fernández de Kirchner administration and its desire for energy sovereignty.

The left-leaning policies renationalized Yacimientos Petrolíferos Fiscales (YPF) oil company in 2012 (Savino, 2016, p. 407). YPF then signed a contract with American oil and energy company Chevron in 2013 to start fracking in the geological formation Vaca Muerta in the Neuquén province of Northern Patagonia (Acacio & Wyczykier, 2021, p. 184) (Fig.1). The Vaca Muerta formation covers an area of 100.000km² and contains a reserve equivalent to 14.4 billion barrels of oil (Hydrocarbons technology, n.d.). The result was the construction of the largest fracking site outside of North America, despite the land already being used by local Mapuche communities for other uses, such as agriculture (Hadad et al., 2021, p. 71; Riffo, 2017, p. 470).

Figure 1*Location of the Vaca Muerta geological formation*

(Ministerio de Economía, n.d.)

Out of the over 113.000 Mapuche indigenous persons in Argentina, over 78.000 persons in 64 communities live in Patagonia, whereas 32 of the communities are located on Vaca Muerta land (Hadad et al., 2021; Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Consos, 2005). Although the indigenous communities initially supported the ‘new left’, the local Mapuche communities resisted the fracking it promoted. When faced with resistance to fracking, Fernández de Kirchner responded with her main argument “If I find oil here, in the country, it is better for everyone. [...] we cannot stop extracting petroleum because we need it for our development and to be able to live” (cited in Savino, 2016, p. 410). While Argentina’s economy started to recover, Fernández de Kirchner disregarded the social conflicts and framed the Mapuche as

unable to see the opportunities. Consequently, the Mapuche have been imposed disproportional negative impacts due to the fracking development.

4.2 Gendered and disproportional impacts on the Mapuche

While the nation can benefit from economic growth and energy security, unconventional fracking has proven to impose negative local environmental impacts. Consequently, the Mapuche people are among the indigenous groups globally with the most evidence of being affected by pollution (Fernández-Llamazares et al., 2019, p. 326). These impacts include water contamination, oil spills, GHG emissions, damage to the land and soil itself, sound, air, and light pollution, and increased seismic activity (Acacio & Wyczykier, 2021, p. 181; Riffo, 2017, p. 471). People exposed to these hazards face a higher risk for cancer, and skin- and respiratory problems, which led unconventional fracturing to be banned in several states of the U.S. and some European countries (Acacio & Wyczykier, 2021, p. 181). Deaths due to such symptoms have been recorded in the area, as when Mapuche chief Cristina Linokpan died from pulmonary hypertension due to contamination related to the petroleum industry in 2013 (Hadad et al., 2021, p. 75). An increasing number of people continue to suffer from similar symptoms (Acacio & Wyczykier, 2021, p. 183). Because the harms are felt locally, the impacts are disproportional and thus create winners and losers across scales. Locally, women especially experience negative impacts.

Women tend to be more vulnerable to environmental hazards than men. Most of the impacts differ due to the intersectional and gendered experience. This applies to Mapuche women, as the community, despite being indigenous, has been influenced by the *machismo* [male dominance] and the capitalist labor division of the greater Argentine society (Moreno, 2016). Because women tend to be limited to the domestic sphere, they are to a greater extent exposed to contaminated water and land dispossession. Furthermore, extractive industries reinforce the masculine bias in the capitalistic labor division by typically employing men (Eftimie et al., 2009, pp. 9, 17-18). Consequently, in 2016, 88,8% of workers in primary activities in Argentina, such as the extractive industry, were men (Ministerio de trabajo empleo y seguridad social, n.d., p. 13). Because of the long days at the fracking site, the wives experience an increasing workload at home (Palermo, 2016, p. 108). Furthermore, while men receive the paychecks, women continue to struggle as the men's salaries do not necessarily trickle down (Eftimie et al., 2009, p. 10). Men's economic growth in the area also caused food

prices to increase (di Risio, 2017, p. 21), leading to further gendered economic inequality exacerbating women's vulnerability.

Men's economic benefit in such extractive areas also tends to cause forced prostitution and gender violence to flourish (Eftimie et al., 2009, p. 14). Consequently, gender violence has increased in the area, and 67% of all trafficked women in Vaca Muerta are found in towns related to the oil industry (di Risio, 2017, p. 21). Neuquén also experiences a rate of femicides² above the national average, with almost 8 out of 100.000 inhabitants being killed because of their social position as women (Observatorio de femicidios, 2017, p. 9). In short, men are left with deeper pockets while women remain more vulnerable to both environmental hazards, poverty, and violence.

The Mapuche community collectively experiences a renewed form of dominance as they are dispossessed of land and are criminalized for resisting (Hadad et al., 2021, p. 70; Savino, 2016, p. 407). While the state sees this land as a strategic natural resource for the nation's benefit, the same land represents a part of the Mapuche identity as it connects to what they view as their authentic cultural location: rural areas with nature, such as Neuquén (Warren, 2009, p. 778). Neglecting indigenous rights to their land and self-determination goes against the UN declaration of the rights of indigenous peoples (UNDRIP), for which Argentina voted in favor of (UN, 2007a, 2007b). A 2017 report to the UN Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights highlights how the government, YPF, and Chevron have violated the indigenous right to free, prior, and informed consent (FPIC) of UNDRIP by keeping indigenous participation unavailable and preventing communities from accessing environmental information (Observatorio Petrolero Sur et al., 2017, pp. 7-8). Furthermore, violence, harassment, and criminalization of indigenous peoples and activities have been linked to the YPF-Chevron project (Acacio & Wyczykier, 2021, p. 183; IWGIA, 2019, p. 123).

In addition to these social consequences, fracking development has also caused several accidents. These include wells having gone up in flames, spills caused by truck accidents and broken pipelines, two radioactive spills from wells, and 240.000 liters of contaminated water being released only in 2016 (di Risio, 2017, p. 21; Observatorio Petrolero Sur et al., 2017, p. 8). Together, these incidents illustrate the suppression of the Mapuche communities and their

² Femicides are defined as to "kill, punish, or psychologically destroy the woman over whom he exercises dominance" (Observatorio de femicidios, 2017, p.2).

environment. Therefore, despite being met with violence, local communities and the Mapuche resists the neocolonial-like domination and fracking development.

4.3 Resistance

The region has seen a long history of resistance to extractive activities, even before the YPF-Chevron contract (Savino, 2016, p. 411). Resistance to extractivism is, as Conde (2017, p. 87) points out as a general tendency in indigenous resistance, not solely about the local environmental impacts, but about the overall development model. Mapuche women have been and continue to be important actors in this resistance. This is not only because of the gendered impact of the extractive industry but also due to the place Mapuche women hold in the communities. Mapuche women are the traditional knowledge bearers and spiritual leaders and are therefore engaged in local politics (Moreno, 2016). One of these women is Moira Millán, Mapuche activist and *weichafe* [warrior]. She stated that “the local effects that are provoked in our zone are not endemic, they are a part of a global policy” (cited in Soria, 2021, p. 5).

An essential role of Mapuche women activists is how they work to establish the Mapuche existence and legitimacy. Because the Mapuche are largely invisible in Argentine society, some Mapuche women establish their presence and authenticity with the use of traditional clothing in politics (Warren, 2009, pp. 779-781). While this risk reinforcing gender restrictions and stereotypes, it also works to promote the Mapuche agenda because it can enhance their legitimacy in the eyes of the state. In this way, Mapuche women gain leadership and force in the pan-Mapuche resistance to extractivism. For example, the women involved in the politics of the affected towns created a coalition, *Mujeres de Vaca Muerta* [the women of Vaca Muerta] to collectively promote the women’s perspective on the local situations (LM Neuquén, 2022). In addition to such ‘formal’ political work, the Mapuche have expressed their resistance in direct ways of civil disobedience.

The Mapuche has expressed civil disobedience in numerous incidents. The Mapuche were never consulted about the fracking development on their land, so they never gave FPIC (BankTrack, 2022, p. 2). Still, according to activist group M7red (2020), the first ordered forced eviction of a Mapuche community in Vaca Muerta was carried out by security forces on the same day that the YPF-Chevron contract was made a reality in 2013. In response, a Mapuche community filled fuel cans with floor cleaning and palled one of the towers of the drilling rig with firewood. By threatening to put the tower on fire with the ‘fuel’ they managed to block the access to YPF within Mapuche recognized territory (M7red, 2020; Savino, 2016, p. 412). The

motivation for this protest was to defend their drinking water from fracking's known contamination because "the presence of YPF signals more death with the arrival of fracking and its alliance with Chevron" (LMN 2013 cited in Savino, 2016, p. 412). Some years later, in 2015, six Mapuche women chained themselves to the fracking drills, symbolizing the gendered impact on women's bodies and territory (Moreno, 2016). Then, in 2017, Mapuche community members chained themselves to the doors of YPF's headquarters in Neuquén after 100 police officers violently raided their community (Hadad et al., 2021, p. 76). Still, the land has not yet undergone the promised territorial survey intended to map the total extent of indigenous people's land. Consequently, Mapuche people continue to protest and block the access to the rigs (El Economista, 2022).

These protests are just some among a historically long struggle for recognition, identity, health, and territory in the region most dangerous for environmental defenders (Global Witness, 2021, p. 12). Because of the high level of protests in the region, the state has now placed Vaca Muerta under the jurisdiction of the military police (Reuters, 2019). Still, "the only way of defending our livelihoods is through the defense of our territories and cosmovision, but by doing so we put our lives at risk" (Jorge Nawel cited in Reingold, 2019).

5. Discussion

I use ecofeminism, especially the dualism of Table 1, to analyze and discuss the empirical case described above. I use the dualistic worldview to deconstruct the case and its qualitative data to analyze the worldviews and reasonings in the case. First, I analyze how the state argues and rationalizes from a dualistic and gendered standpoint. Further, I investigate how each part of the dualism is framed: nature as feminine objects, extractivism as masculine, and the Mapuche as primitive. Lastly, I foreground Mapuche's worldview and active contributions.

5.1 The Argentine state reinforces the dualistic worldview

The Argentine state prioritizes economic development and modernity over indigenous rights and livelihoods. This reflects a dualistic worldview placing 'development' as superior and on the 'culture' side of the dualism. Consequently, the development model becomes associated with being civilized, intelligent, and rational. This reflects colonial values stemming all the way back to how governments of former colonies, such as Argentina, sought to imitate Europe and the West in their national identity (Warren, 2009, p. 772). On the opposite side of this dualism,

one finds nature, traditions, the body, what is considered non-Western, and emotional (Table 1). Because the Argentine state prioritizes development, constructs itself as ‘civilized’, and positions itself on the ‘culture’ side of the dualism, the ones opposing the state’s development model, such as the Mapuche, become categorized as emotional, primitive, and even outsiders, falling into the ‘nature’ category. Thus, by promoting economic development and modernity as the only salvation from the energy- and economic crisis, the Argentine state inevitably reinforces the dualistic worldview.

Capitalism depends on this dualism as it requires a continued accumulation of resources to be owned. Embedded in the term ‘resource’ is its instrumental value. It thus follows that the environment needs to be perceived as an object for this to be morally defensible (Merchant, 1995, p. 230). Thus, the election of the left-leaning administration did not end the logic of capital accumulation embedded in extractivism and capitalism. This neocolonial worldview depends on such structures that essentially generate division between what is being (culture) and not being (nature) because it seeks to commodify “[...] all spheres of life, even when it affects human life itself” (Riffo, 2017, p. 472). Argentina’s capitalist and neocolonial approach to modernity also depends on the patriarchy to justify such structures.

The patriarchal structure in Latin America and Argentina is known as *machismo*. Machismo is a concept that internalizes sexism, dominance, and power as masculine (Nuñez et al., 2016, p. 3). While machismo is facing resistance from feminist movements all over Latin America (Lerma, 2019, p. 230), the social structure is still predominant in how both men and women experience life. Consequently, according to *Ministerio de trabajo empleo y seguridad social* [Ministry of employed work and social security], 58% of Argentine households are led by men. With 60%, Patagonia has the second-highest rate in the country (p. 12). This might relate to the masculine extractive industry, as men are highly disproportionately employed in this sector. The extractive industry in Vaca Muerta both builds upon and reinforces machismo.

Because machismo promotes traditional gender roles and the idea of dominance as masculine, it follows in a dualistic perspective that the feminine should be dominated over. This is not only experienced at an interpersonal level but also as promoted by the state through the promotion of such dominance relationships as extractivism represents. As mentioned earlier, the extractive industry leads to employment and higher salaries for the men, while women are increasingly more exposed to both the environmental and social harms. Therefore, Millán further states that “we denounce femicides, because these are not particular situations of domestic *machista* violence, but rather that of a plan intrinsically connected with the extractive

corporations” (cited in Soria, 2021, pp. 1-2), with regard to the deaths of women caused by issues connected to the extractive industry. As illustrated in Table 1, gendered violence connected to machismo is transferred to the environment and the indigenous as they are grouped together in the feminine ‘nature’ category. Machismo is thus not *only* about suppressing women, but anything that intersects and is considered feminine.

5.2 Nature and Patagonia as feminine objects

The region has had a history of extractivism since Patagonia was incorporated into present-day Argentina through the Campaign of the Desert of the late 19th century (Riffo, 2017, p. 470). The campaign had the goal of establishing dominance over Patagonia, resulting in 1.3000 murdered original inhabitants, 13.000 prisoners, and 78 million hectares incorporated into Argentina (Aliaga, 2019, p. 3). The name of the campaign itself, referring to a desert, suggests that Patagonia was viewed as empty. A vast ‘empty canvas’ brought opportunities for economic growth and progress with ‘freely available’ resources (Savino, 2016, p. 408). This idea was prevalent when Neuquén officially became an Argentina province in 1955 and the ruling political party of Neuquén of the time emphasized the importance of extractive industries for the provincial economic growth, generating job opportunities, and source of energy (Savino, 2016, p. 411). The same justification was arguably made by Fernández de Kircher when she put economic development as superior and of higher priority than the Mapuche and nature in her answer to the Mapuche resistance. It is with this backdrop that the Mapuche became constructed as ‘nothing’ and Patagonia as an ‘empty canvas’ full of opportunities, as “colonized people are projected as body as opposed to mind, much in the same way colonized nature is seen as raw material without agency” (Smith 2003 cited in Cirefice & Sullivan, 2019, p. 85).

The dualistic categorization of nature as feminine becomes evident in the way Patagonia is described. The Mapuche themselves also add to this idea by referring to “Mother Nature” (see Savino, 2016, p. 412). This works as a positive feedback loop because it reinforces the idea that nature shall be dominated just as women are dominated by men in the patriarchal structures, as highlighted by socialist ecofeminism. This is reflected in the idea that “the savage nature of Patagonia could only be controlled and organized when the State became the ‘Father’” (Nuñez, 2015, p. 6) and that the supposedly sterile and virgin desert land could only become fertile once assisted by the masculine producer (Nuñez, 2015, p. 3). Furthermore, Argentine author and naturalist William Hudson described the Patagonian nature in his 1870 book as an untamed but pretty and mythological woman that could only be guided by a man (in Nuñez, 2015, p.4). This

idea of Patagonia as savage also helped justify the Campaign of the Desert of the time. Such gendered descriptions are also visible today.

The feminine description of Patagonia is emphasized in the local languages, as explained by Nuñez (2015) and Collins (2014). Spanish uses gendered articles, whereas Patagonia is referred to with the feminine article 'la'. Similarly, the Andean land is typically referred to as *Pachamama* in Quechua and *Ñuke Mapu* in Mapuche, both meaning Mother Earth (Collins, 2014, p. 33; Nuñez, 2015, p. 2). It is reasonable to assume that the gendered name itself influences the general perception of its meaning. Because Patagonia is supposedly feminine, it consequently also loses agency because of the assumption that emotions and non-rationality follow the feminine (Table 1). Therefore, Patagonian land shall be subordinated to the masculine rationality. With this perspective, it became justifiable to argue that “the Father-State ordered the women-land, recognized her beauty, and guided her toward development” (Nuñez, 2015, p. 12). Consequently, Patagonia’s nature became categorized as a feminine object on the left side of the dualistic worldview of Table 1 to be dominated by the masculine to reach modernity.

5.3 Extractivism as masculine and cultural

The extractive industry is perceived with a masculine bias. Masculine romanticizing of extractivism links to the use of tools, machinery, and technology that usually is associated with male characteristics (Lahiri-Dutt, 2013, pp. 1-2). The stereotyping of masculinity results in an “unashamedly sexist” (Lahiri-Dutt, 2011, p. 5) image of the miner through images that visualize “men down in the abdomen of earth, raiding its womb for the fuel that makes the world go around” (Campbell 1984 cited in Lahiri-Dutt, 2013, p. 1). Extractivism thereby builds on the patriarchal dualistic worldview of Table 1, in which nature is a primitive and feminine object (referring to the “womb”), as opposed to the man working for modernity and development.

The masculine bias is further reinforced through practices. Accounts from the extractive industry in Patagonia by anthropologist Palermo (2016, p. 108) tell stories of men who barely spend any time at home because of this idea of development and production as masculine and heroic. In an interview with the local newspaper Río Negro (2017), Palermo describes how the workers on the oil rigs use sexual jokes as tests for masculinity and strength. For example, new workers have been forced to be ‘baptized’ through violence, such as their sexual organs being beaten. The company promotes these kinds of values through its policies because promoting masculine strength and endurance can supposedly enhance productivity. For example, if there

are conditions, such as bad weather, that would reasonably cause the work to pause, the company encourages the workers to stand through it as a *macho*. This idea then becomes further reinforced when the conditions at the oil rigs of become harsher, meaning that the men need to be even stronger and more enduring (Río Negro, 2017). In other words, the industry promotes a form of heroic masculinity.

Because masculinity is deemed as valuable (Dowd, 2010, p. 27), it implies that the feminine nature on the other side of the dualism is invaluable. The commodification of nature into natural resources also entails domination and control of the commodity (Merchant, 1995, p. 227), whereas domination is associated with masculinity (Dowd, 2010, p. 53). Consequently, the capitalistic and masculine commodification process that extractivism entails sets itself as superior in a hierarchy where the men and culture hold the masculine ‘power over’ nature (Merchant, 1995, p. 229). Thus, it is not only the masculinity testing and the symbology of machinery and technology that romanticize extractive activities as masculine but also the idea of being valuable and powerful. Similarly, extractive activities are framed as an activity of the ‘frontier’ – another highly masculinized concept.

The YPF-Chevron contract advanced the ‘commodity frontier’ into an area where that had not yet been exploited with conventional hydrocarbon technology (Hadad et al., 2021, p. 70). The term ‘commodity frontier’ refers to the “reordering of nature that capital generates from its own emergence in areas where there are still large reserves of commons” (Moore 2013 cited in Hadad et al., 2021, p. 64). The symbolism of the frontier adds fire to the fuel for the masculine bias. A frontier is often associated with something mystique to be explored. To succeed, one supposedly needs to have the masculine characteristics that YPF promotes: tough, ruthless, and self-reliant (Miller, 2004, p. 61), as opposed to feminine softness, caring, and nurturing. A frontier also suggests that the land beyond is undiscovered or empty. The land of Vaca Muerta was not empty before YPF and Chevron arrived but was cultivated and inhabited by local communities. Assuming the emptiness of the land and the ‘nothingness’ of the people suggests they are being viewed as natural, passive, and primitive objects in need of civilization. Consequently, the exploration of Vaca Muerta’s ‘commodity frontier’ becomes associated with the masculine and cultural side of the dualisms. While the masculine bias is *produced* through such symbolism of machinery, dominance, and exploration, it is *reproduced* through the reinforced patriarchal culture it brings with it to the area.

Extractive activities tend to promote patriarchalism in the area (Caretta et al., 2020, p. 56). This is for example done by mostly employing men. This means that paternal structures of

masculine ‘power over’ are reproduced because it is mostly the men who are empowered. This has several effects on the community in reinforcing the dualistic worldview of Table 1. First, it limits women to the domestic or private sphere where they fill traditional gender roles, as in the ‘nature’ category of the dualism (Table 1). Therefore, it strengthens the division between the ‘nature’ and ‘culture’ categories as it reinforces the sexual labor division of capitalism and gender dualisms. Second, it causes masculinization of the territory through increased use of alcohol and sexual violence that accompanies increased gendered economic inequality when men disproportionately profit (Caretta et al., 2020, p. 56; di Risio, 2017, p. 21; Eftimie et al., 2009, p. 9). This reinforces *machismo* as an institution and context.

This form of masculinity in extractive activities and the surrounding area becomes naturalized as those involved in it perceive it as normal. This is exemplified by how Palermo describes how the heroic masculine culture is promoted and normalized within the industry. What is normal also becomes legitimized (Lahiri-Dutt, 2013, p. 2). What is the ‘other’ is always determined relative to those who belong to the ‘normal’ in-group; white (or in this case European descendant), male, and Western (Harcourt, 2019, p. 105). Consequently, what is to the left in Table 1 becomes grouped as the ‘other’ to be subordinated to the masculine normality.

5.4 Mapuche as primitive and passive

The normalization of masculinity imposes ‘othering’ and constructs the Mapuche as primitive and passive. While the common phrase “Mexicans descended from the Aztecs; Peruvian descended from the Incas; Argentines descended from the boats” (Warren, 2009, p. 768) is meant as a joke, it illustrates the common attitude and assumption that leaves the Mapuche largely invisible in Argentine society. The state also puts efforts into this construction as it builds on the idea that Argentina is a nation with “no blacks and very few Indians” (Savino, 2016, p. 409). As Argentina becomes framed as a mono-cultural nation of European decedents, indigenous peoples, like the Mapuche, become viewed as imaginary (Hadad et al., 2021, p. 67).

Mapuche’s supposedly non-existence means that they become disregarded as internal enemies or “indian rebels” (Acacio & Wyczykier, 2021, p. 186) attacking Argentine sovereignty when they claim their land and rights. The Mapuche describe this process of criminalization as a way for the Argentine state to justify the extractive industry:

We have hundreds of incarcerated, prosecuted, and our *machi* [spiritual leaders] Francisca Linconao and *machi* Celestino Córdoba imprisoned. In other words, our

spiritual leaders with the highest authority are incarcerated. And this model is one of repression, of constructing an internal enemy to justify the application of the antiterrorist law to be able to generate a favorable scenario for extractivism [...] (Delgado Cultelli 2017 cited in Soria 2021, p.5)

Argentinean sociologists Acacio and Wyczykier (2021) bring forward the case of the Vela family and the Mapuche community of Campo Maripe to illustrate the framed illegitimacy of the Mapuche. In 2014, the Vela family, the private owners of the land where a project was going to be located, went to court against the surrounding Mapuche community, Campo Maripe (Acacio & Wyczykier, 2021, p. 185). The Campo Maripe community is located on recognized indigenous Mapuche land but overlaps with Chevron's oil fields (Guardian News, 2019). The Vela family claimed that this Mapuche community was not indigenous but rather opportunistic rebels. The declaration from the Vela family in court states that

The eagerness of Campo Maripe was born when Vaca Muerta was born. The Campos chained themselves to the tower of YPF to obtain money from the company and recognition from the province. Between 2013 and 2014, the province has had great pressure from this Mapuche circus, they are not Mapuche, they have rising, but nothing more, taking advantage of the sensibility of the Neuquéns (cited in Acacio & Wyczykier, 2021, p. 186)

Another incidence where such framing became evident is when Mapuche representatives confronted Fernández de Kirchner asking her “in 200 years, the Argentinean state has not included indigenous peoples. Today we continue to lose territory [...] why should we ask for schools, housing, or health if there is no territory where indigenous peoples can be?” (cited in Savino, 2016, p. 410). To what Fernández de Kirchner responded “I believe we have to be, above all things, intelligent. [...] This means using our intelligence to be able to negotiate. If we act with intelligence and a sense of betterment, or progress, which does not mean to surrender what one thinks, [...]” (cited in Savino, 2016, p. 410). With this, Fernández de Kirchner points to the indigenous supposedly primitiveness and emotional nature by contrasting it to intelligence, process, and modernity. Thus, the “othering” of the Mapuche in the dualism is reproduced – especially in such cases where the Mapuche resists the state-ordered development.

In contrast, Mapuche communities that have decided to cooperate with the government, like those of Plaza Huincul and Cutral Co who agreed on a contract with YPF to extract trees from their land, are deemed legitimate and civilized by the state (Acacio & Wyczykier, 2021,

p. 186). This suggests that whether the community will be othered into a primitive and passive object largely depends on how the ‘normal’ group perceives the community. In other words, at which side of Table 1 the Mapuche community falls is determined by the government’s framing of them, signifying that it is the government that holds the masculine ‘power over’. Othering people into being perceived as passive and primitive objects also lead to loss of identity and agency (Bacigalupo, 2003, p. 38). Therefore, as the state places the Campo Maripe Mapuche community in the ‘nature’ category of the dualism, it can more easily justify the colonial logic, land evictions, and disproportionate socio-environmental impacts imposed on them. Nevertheless, in the ‘nature’ side of the dualism, the Mapuche themselves can be seen to both reinforce *and* challenge the dualistic worldview.

A central part of the Mapuche resistance to fracking is centered around the notion of contrasting it to the Mapuche way of life and worldview. This inevitably reinforces the dualism where the state and fracking stands against the Mapuche and the natural. The *Confederación Mapuche de Neuquén* [Mapuche confederation of Neuquén] illustrates this positive feedback loop of the dualism by referring to extractivism and Mapuche ideology as “[...] two different logics, logics that contradict, where one is the logic that nature is to be exploited and extract its richness without limits. The Mapuche logic is that without these natural elements, you cannot live.” (cited in Acacio & Wyczykier, 2021, p. 184). Similarly, Savino (2016) explains how the “Mapuche communities have publicly expressed not only their opposition to extractivism but also put forward a new concept of territory, nature, and self-determination” (p. 412), and Soria (2021) further this notion by describing Neuquén as “[...] a region that contains all the possibilities for constructing an alternative civilization” (p.5). These statements are meant as resistance to highlight the differences and the neocolonial power relations. However, by pointing to how the two logics contradict each other and in expressing a ‘new’ or ‘alternative’ (as opposed to old) concept, the Mapuche essentially reinforces the idea that there does in fact exist such a dualism. Thus, the Mapuche effectively place themselves in the ‘nature’, and thus the passive and primitive, side of the dualism (Table 1). This could lead to the Mapuche being increasingly dismissed by the ‘normal’ cultural group. However counteractive to this, the Mapuche ideology also intrinsically *challenges* the very same dualism.

5.5 Women and the Mapuche as active for the way forward

The Mapuche peoples have a biocentric relationship with nature where nature holds a significant moral value (Acacio & Wyczykier, 2021, p. 183). In Mapuche’s own words, this

means that “for us, life does not exist as a function of us, but we exist thanks to the lives that sustain us” (cited in Acacio & Wyczykier, 2021, p. 184). While this means that there is a dualism between the Mapuche ideology and extractivism, the ideology itself rejects dualisms. This is because the Mapuche perceives the world as interlinked with each element having their complementary role in the universe:

Kvme felen is the system of life for the Mapuche peoples. It means to be in balance with oneself and with the other *newen* [forces of nature] in virtue of being part of the *waj mapu* [territory]. [...] also by being conscious that a person is one more *newen* in the *ixofij mogen* [biodiversity], never superior to any other, only with a different role. There resides the importance and centrality of territory for our identity and *cosmovision* [worldview]. In it, we find our origin, our being, and from it we exercise our government [...] (Savino, 2016, p. 413)

This idea is fairly similar to the core of ecofeminism: the separation between culture and nature is central to the environmental crisis (Cirefice & Sullivan, 2019, p. 82). Like ecofeminism, the Mapuche worldview challenge this division of society and nature by highlighting that each person is just another part of biodiversity. Adding to this description of the Mapuche perspective is their idea that the “traditional self/other polarization misrepresents the fluidity in the ways cultures relate, intermix, and recreate themselves dynamically” (Bacigalupo, 2003, p. 33). In other words, the Mapuche views identity as more fluid and less dualistic than the Western worldview since the scientific revolution does. Thus, the Mapuche do not place women and men, or nature and culture, against each other but rather see them as “just another biodiversity force, neither superior nor inferior” (Moreno, 2016). In doing so, the Mapuche resists the dualistic worldview by promoting a perspective that puts humans and culture as a part of, rather than apart from, nature.

In summary, the Mapuche resist fracking development because they “consider it dangerous for Mapuche lives and Mother Nature [...]” (cited in Savino, 2016, p. 412). Although this does frame nature as feminine, this reasoning reflects that (1) nature has an intrinsic moral value and thus does not deserve to be harmed, and (2) they see themselves as a part of nature, and thus the Mapuche would be harmed as well. Then, rather than being passive and primitive objects and victims, the Mapuche are actively resisting extractivism by highlighting that “we need to bring the concepts of nature and society together to pursue a more harmonious life” (Riffo, 2017, p. 474).

Especially active in the resistance in the Vaca Muerta case are women. In doing so, they are subject to intersectional othering as indigenous, women, and environmental defenders (Moreno, 2016). These identities make it easier for the government to justify disregarding them because the characteristics of being primitive, passive, and emotional are forced onto their intersectional identity by the dualistic and ‘normal’ worldview. Nevertheless, as previously explained by Warren (2009) and Moreno (2016), Mapuche women have traditionally and are currently active participants in Mapuche spirituality and politics. Despite the vulnerability that the identity as indigenous can bring, indigenous women tend to instead use this identity and language as a resource for empowerment and political influence (Habersang, 2022; Warren, 2009, pp. 779-780).

Women from several indigenous communities in Argentina have come together and formed Indigenous Women’s Movement for *Buen Vivir* [good living] to fight for indigenous rights (Habersang, 2022, p. 2). *Buen Vivir* radically questions the idea of development and modernity and seeks to form an understanding of the interrelationship between humans and nature, in addition to acknowledging the intrinsic value of nature (Chuji et al., 2019, p. 111). Like the resistance in the Vaca Muerta case, the *Buen Vivir* movement reveals how the indigenous fight is essentially about more than ‘just’ rights, it is about rejecting the Western development model and dualism illustrated in Table 1. This includes the patriarchal structures that justify human (or masculine) dominance over nature. Habersang (2022) describes this struggle as an anti-systemic struggle:

A struggle against a civilizing matrix, which is anthropocentric, individualistic, sexist, racist, and misogynous. Patriarchy is in all manifestations of life because the global system is built on that logic. The anti-patriarchal struggle of our movement is therefore a struggle that extends to all structures and particles of this system. (Habersang, 2022, p.12)

In the anti-patriarchal and anti-systemic struggle, Mapuche women like Moria Millán, the women in *Mujeres de Vaca Muerta*, the predominantly women spiritual leaders *machi* using their authority and identity as a source of legitimacy, and the women who chain their bodies to YPF and Chevron buildings and rigs are all active fighters demanding recognition as such. The feminist and indigenous critique of the predominant dualistic worldview does not necessarily demand a *new* worldview, but a recognition of their worldview as legitimate. Indigenous and Mapuche women’s fight is one similar to that of ecofeminism; to dismantle the dualism of Table 1 that justifies the destructive character of both extractivism and the patriarchy. Then, also the

Argentine state could recognize the plural realities and *cosmovisiones*. The core justification for extractivism, the idea that nature is an instrumental ‘natural resource’ and the indigenous peoples inhabiting it is just ‘primitive rebels’, would fall apart. With this breaking down of the dualism that extractivism requires to operate, context-specific and alternative worldviews would be nurtured and emphasized. Then, neither nature, women, nor indigenous people would be ‘stuck’ as ‘passive objects’ but would be recognized as the active and intrinsically valuable actors they are.

6. Conclusion

To understand the oppression of nature and the indigenous Mapuche communities in Vaca Muerta, I have assessed how the neo-extractive fracking case of Vaca Muerta can be understood through the perspective of ecofeminism. With ecofeminism as a tool and theoretical framework, I have examined how the dualistic worldview that became predominant in the West after the scientific revolution is embedded in Argentina’s neo-extractive development model and how it oppresses nature, women, and the indigenous Mapuche communities of Vaca Muerta. Through this, I have also brought forward Mapuche’s alternative worldviews. In this way, I have been able to analyze how the Argentine state justifies fracking and its consequential evictions, pollution, and violence through their neocolonial nature-culture dualism and patriarchal structures.

My findings reveal how the justification for the fracking development in Vaca Muerta is grounded a dualistic worldview that opposed nature to culture and the masculine to the feminine. Argentina’s neo-extractive development strategy and perspective both produce and reproduce the dualism by holding economic development and energy sovereignty superior to nature and indigenous peoples. In this framing, nature becomes reduced to an instrumental natural resource, and the women and the Mapuche defending nature become othered into internal enemies. Explained through ecofeminism, this neo-extractive perspective is linked to the patriarchy, or *machismo*.

Because the patriarchy works as the foundation for the development model, it transfers both women and indigenous people into the nature category of dualism. This leads Patagonia to be framed as a feminine object in need of the ‘masculine state’ to lead her to modernity. The state does this through extractivism, where it both produces and reproduces a heroic masculinity bias. The result is a normalization of pollution, increased gender violence, an increase in

women's vulnerability, and the othering of the Mapuche people. The Mapuche become framed as primitive, non-rational, and passive. However, this framing is socially constructed. The women and the Mapuche are both active actors in the fight against fracking as they reject the dualism that underlies it. For them, it is about more than 'just' this case, it is an anti-systemic struggle and rejection of the Western development model.

Using the socialist ecofeminist perspective reveals that the Vaca Muerta conflict is grounded in a neocolonial logic that underlies extractivism. Thus, this case is just one of many practical realizations of a much wider paradigm. This paradigm and development model in which extractivism and the patriarchy are embedded halter an inclusive sustainable development where also nature, women, and indigenous peoples are recognized as the active subjects of moral value that they are. This vision challenges the sexist assumptions that render nature, women, and the indigenous as passive and inferior to men and culture. In other words, sustainable development requires the breaking down of the dualism that extractivism requires to operate. To achieve this, further research on the lived experiences, perspectives, and alternative worldviews of women and indigenous peoples and the effects of such dualism needs to be conducted. Then, context-specific and alternative paths forward could be emphasized and celebrated rather than oppressed.

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