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TERESA MILLESI

An Ongoing Conquest – Confronting the Expansion of Capitalism in Indigenous Documentary Films

ABSTRACT *This article explores the relation between indigenous film-making and conflict due to expanding extractive industries in Latin America, and the documentary film potential to create new understandings of these situations. It specifically engages with two indigenous documentaries that focus on current territorial conflicts and environmental injustice: Júba Wajiín – Resistencia en la Montaña de Guerrero (2018) and Sangre y Tierra (2016). The article argues that these films enable a confrontation with current global modes of production, by articulating the expansion of capitalism as a process of increasing destruction, as an ongoing conquest.*

KEYWORDS *Indigenous film, documentary, Latin American film, land conflicts, capitalism*

1. Introduction

This article explores how indigenous documentary filmmaking visualises the current reality of indigenous communities in Latin America, the struggles they face due to the exploitation of land and resources, and the resistance that is directed against the increasing activities of extractive industries. It focuses on two documentaries, produced in Latin America, that engage with current conflicts between indigenous communities and state actors, and by that, form part of a larger and growing canon of indigenous films about territorial conflicts, environmental injustice, and indigenous resistance. How do these films attend to conflictive situations, what exactly do they make visible, how do they represent experiences of conflict

and resistance? What is their potential to create new understandings of the situations they document? What kind of critique do they articulate?

Indigenous filmmaking is often described as a practice that aims at encouraging change within the media by deconstructing stereotypes about indigenous peoples and introducing new forms of representation, but also offscreen, by potentially creating a feeling of pan-indigenous solidarity (Dowell 2006). This is based on the idea that indigenous peoples across the globe can refer to similar collective experiences of exclusion and marginalisation due to not identifying as part of the Western world (Murray 2008). A key theme in many indigenous film productions, especially of the documentary genre, is that of land conflicts between indigenous people and state actors that result from the expansion of extractive industries. This article intends to look closer at these documentaries, to better understand the kind of critique and resistance they articulate. It has been argued that indigenous filmmaking can be understood as a form of political intervention (Salazar/Córdova 2020) that contributes to the ongoing project of decolonisation by foregrounding power relations and injustices that stem from the colonial past. In this sense, these films can be seen as forms of decolonial practice. Films such as *Júba Wajjin* (2018, Mexico) and *Sangre y Tierra* (2016, Colombia) are vivid examples of indigenous documentaries that enable the confrontation of colonial power relations, environmental injustices, and experiences of oppression, by depicting the expansion of capitalism as an ongoing conquest and by visualising the entanglements of capitalism and violence. I argue that these strategies to visualise and thereby confront the negative consequences of current modes of production can help broaden our understanding of the power relations at work in these conflicts.

Before taking a closer look at the two films, I will give a brief overview of indigenous filmmaking by highlighting key aspects and achievements. In so doing, I will elaborate on the importance of this kind of research within the field of development studies. Next, I will move to the analysis of the chosen documentaries. The driving question is defined as follows: how do indigenous documentary films attend to experiences of conflict and resistance, exploitation and displacement? Finally, I will elaborate on the concept of the ‘imperial mode of living’ as a way of understanding and describing current modes of production and consumption, and how these films work against the normalisation of its negative consequences.

2. Indigenous filmmaking – Key aspects and achievements

Indigenous filmmaking – *video indígena* – started in the 1980s, when indigenous movements and organisations started using video technology to make their claims visible and their voices heard (Salazar/Córdova 2020). Since then, film, video, and other media productions have become important instruments for political movements, artists, and activists; as Pertierra et al. explain, “as cultural minorities in much (though not all) of Latin America, Indigenous communities have often been among those most actively embracing the possibilities for media-making to constitute an act of political intervention” (2020: 13). Film as a medium has been identified as a key instrument for constructing and maintaining colonial logics – through visualising notions and imaginings of the conquest and colonisation of Latin America, through distributing imperial ideas and modern/colonial desires to document and control so-called ‘primitive’ cultures via a *colonial gaze* (Kaplan 1997). In particular, films *about* indigenous peoples often follow the logic of representing the colonial ‘Other’ for the Western Self (Rony 1996), thereby seemingly testifying to Western superiority (Schiwy 2009). Indigenous media productions and communication, on the other hand, are often described as forms of activism or political interventions into this discourse that the colonial gaze has established. Harald Prins claims, for example, that “In an intervention that paralleled the postcolonial move to ‘write back’ against colonial masters, Indian activists began to ‘shoot back’, reversing the colonial gaze by constructing their own visual media, telling their stories on their own terms” (2008: 518). Different definitions highlight different aspects (for more on this see Salazar/Córdova 2020); central to most of these is often foregrounding the importance of who gets to talk about whom, thus constituting a form of resistance to outside interpretation. One central aspect of indigenous filmmaking, therefore, is that rather than producing an external perspective, indigenous people talk about themselves, as experts about their realities, their culture and experiences. Wilson and Stewart also define indigenous media according to who is involved in the production and who is able to express their views “as forms of media expressions conceptualized, produced, and / or created by indigenous peoples across the globe” (2008: 2). It is important to stress at this point that the idea of indige-

neity itself is understood as “a relational field of governance, subjectivities, and knowledges that involves us all – indigenous and nonindigenous – in the making and remaking of its structures of power and imagination” (De la Cadena/Starn 2007: 3). Following this understanding means that talking about indigenous films always implies considering the political context in which they are created (Ginsburg 1993). Thus, the political project of indigenous peoples speaking for/about themselves, or more generally, adopting a perspective in the interests of indigenous peoples and their claims, is central to the idea of indigenous film and communication (Zamorano 2009; Sanjines 2013). This is in contrast to adopting the view of an interpretative ‘outside’ authority, following the logics of knowledge extraction (Zamorano 2009) for the entertainment of Western audiences. Indigenous film can be understood as an instrument for visualising indigenous imaginations and experiences and to counter, not only Western discourses about indigeneity and non-Western worldviews, but also Western ideas of progress, modernity, and capitalism. Indigenous media, therefore, form an effective part of the ongoing project of decolonisation, as Salazar and Córdova have also argued, by “shifting relations of power away from anthropological or other forms of hegemonic knowledge practices” (2020: 134).

Many organisations and networks contribute to the promotion of indigenous filmmaking, one of them being *Coordinadora Latinoamericana de Cine y Comunicación de los Pueblos Indígenas* (CLACPI), which was founded in 1985 in Mexico. Since then, many more have been established in Latin America, such as *Centro de Estudios, Formación y Realización Cinematográfica* (CEFREC), *Coordinadora Audiovisual Indígena y Originaria de Bolivia* (CAIB), and the Chiapas Video Project, to name a few. These organisations, as well as recurring festivals for indigenous film (e. g. FICMAYAB or FICWALLMAPU), all contribute to the distribution of indigenous filmmaking, and to the goal of working against the invisibility of marginalised groups, environmental injustices, and persisting colonial power relations. Films, as well as other cultural manifestations, offer insights into the underlying norms and values of the world they attempt to represent. By analysing these manifestations, we can deduce cultural patterns of thinking and behaving (Gräf et al. 2017). Taking a closer look at these media productions can therefore help generate a deeper

understanding of the construction of meaning in respective discourses. In particular, films produced in a postcolonial context provide important contributions to the field of development studies.

Recent scholarship has specifically looked at how these films engage in articulating forms of critique (Salazar/Córdova 2020; Zamorano 2009; Schiwy 2009), and how they turn out to be a form of activism against the modern/colonial world order, as defined by Walter Mignolo (2012), and state oppression. Documentaries such as *Sangre y Tierra*, produced by Ariel Arango Prada in cooperation with the Nasa community in the Northern Cauca (Colombia), and *Júba Wajiín*, directed by Laura Salas and Nicolás Tapia in collaboration with the community of Júba Wajiín (Mexico), are examples of indigenous films as a collective project and effort of indigenous and non-indigenous people to articulate arguments that specifically focus on their own reality, in their words, in their interest, and from their perspective, showing what it is like to experience the modern/colonial world order as a 'colonial subject'.

The recognition of the importance of land, of relations between humans and their environment, is present in numerous indigenous films. Focusing on the rhetorical dimension of indigenous film, Claudia Magallanes-Blanco, for example, has discussed how indigenous filmmakers emphasise an "intrinsic relationship between indigenous peoples and Mother Earth" and a "history of abuse and exploitation leading to land dispossession and environmental degradation" (Magallanes-Blanco 2014: 199). She highlights the rhetorical argument of the Earth as a living being with rights that have to be protected. This opens questions about responsibilities, and can be found in various indigenous media productions. Many indigenous media productions focus on the problem of current land conflicts between indigenous peoples and nation-states or corporations, depicting them as forms of oppression due to capitalist interests. These conflicts have been rising in number, not least because of the intensification of extractive activities, as a result of neo-extractivist politics in Latin America since the beginning of the 21st century (Svampa 2019). The two documentaries discussed in this article are therefore examples of a growing canon within the field of indigenous filmmaking. The analysis of these two films is aimed at examining the relation between indigenous documentary filmmaking and forms of describing and critiquing exploitative relations.

How do the films attend to these situations? How do they transmit the relations they aim to document?

Before taking a closer look at these two documentaries, I want to add a few words about the material ecocritical approach that I apply in this analysis. Material Ecocriticism, as one thread of New Materialism, engages with different forms of materiality, and how these forms produce meaning and discourses, which can be interpreted as texts, so-called “storied matter”, as Iovino and Oppermann (2014) propose. Key to this approach is the idea that matter is not to be understood as passive, as mere ‘background’ to human (inter-)action, but as something that produces meaning and has agency itself, whereas the differentiation between passive matter and active human agency is identified as a political process that can be traced back to the European Enlightenment and its understanding of nature, which is strongly connected to colonial ambitions of ruling, controlling and dominating (ibid.). This approach helps us to understand the conflict presented by the two documentaries not simply as conflicts between two different groups of human beings, two different communities, fighting against each other, but rather emphasises the entanglement of “layers of stories, meanings, and signs stored and encoded in material processes, organisms, and semiotic objects that become visible when in interaction with human imagination” (Oppermann 2016: 282). The documentary reflection of these conflicts thereby contributes to rethinking different forms of perceiving and interacting with the world.

3. A shared field of destruction – Material agency and interdependency in *Júba Wajjín*

Júba Wajjín – Resistencia en la Montaña de Guerrero tells the story of the village of the same name in the Mexican state of Guerrero. This village is threatened by plans to establish a new open pit mine in the region. It portrays the villagers’ fight against already issued mining concessions that would immediately affect life in the village, but also 80 per cent of their territory.¹ The documentary was produced in 2018, as a collaborative work by members of the Me’phaá community², *La Sandía digital* (a feminist media collective in Mexico), *Tequio Audiovisual*, *El Centro*

de Derechos Humanos de la Montaña Tlachinollan and *WITNESS*, and was directed by Laura Salas and Nicolás Tapia. In the same year, it was awarded 'Best Documentary' during the international festival for indigenous film, *FICWALLMAPU*, in Chile. The documentary is 42 minutes long, mostly spoken in Me'phaá with Spanish subtitles. It is noteworthy in the way in which it highlights different forms of agency and interconnectedness that can, as the film proposes, take on flourishing but also destructive forms.

When introducing and establishing the village, the film focuses on making connections between human settlement, houses and people, and the nonhuman, by, for example, constructing relations of likeness and similarity through camera perspectives. We see little houses embedded in a green forest, followed by scenes of everyday life in the village. Various people are on their way somewhere, while panoramic shots now and again show the surrounding hills, thereby marking them as part of the village, as part of the inhabited space. We see children walking to school followed by images of little ducklings walking on the ground. Using the same camera angle for these two shots articulates similarity, thereby blurring the definition of a *village* as a merely human settlement. We hear village residents explain their territorial relations to the surrounding nature and hills that are covered with dark green forests, we hear about the importance of coffee and corn cultivation accompanied by images of clear water, close-up shots of fruit, and of people walking through the forest. The emphasis is on portraying *life*, not just the life of people, but also of animals, insects, trees and how they grow food, and on how all these entities interact, thereby creating a self-sustaining, posthuman enclave of mutual enrichment. Post-humanism, as Oppermann defines it, understands 'human' as "co-emergence within a shared field of existence marked by the interdependency of life" (2016: 276). The aesthetics and explanations used to filmically present the village itself resemble such co-emergence: everything seems to be in balance and in place, signified by the slow pace of images, calm explanations and congruence between images and explanations given by various residents of the village – if only there wasn't an immediate threat lying just outside this place, indicated through extradiegetic suspenseful music.

A key moment in this film is the introduction of an already operating open pit mine nearby that has already been affecting neighbouring villages.

From panoramic views of green forests surrounding the village, embedded in rich, diverse nature, the camera cuts to images of the mine. Nothing but red dust covers the ground cut up by big trucks, with no humans or other living being in sight. Images of the mining process, of trucks and explosions, make clear that it is only human, or rather, machine agency that works the ground, all positive relationality being lost by the urge to master the Earth. This 'Promethean' attitude is pictured as *post-natural* (Oppermann 2016), as we never really see 'a human being' but only machines intruding, appropriating, and economising the world in front of them.

Satellite imagery shows how the mine has been growing since 1997. We see big trucks carrying rocky material. The result of this accumulation is a dusty red desert – an 'impoverished environment' – compared to the visualisation of the village that we have seen before. The trees are gone, even the mountains are gone, leaving an empty, dusty hole in the ground, the dust also sickening human bodies, as we hear from affected villagers who are losing their sense of sight and their fertility. The colour-coded congruence between the red dust, the reddened eyes and red clothes of an affected man, serves as aesthetic evidence of the persisting interrelations between humans and nonhumans. Matter still matters (Barad 2003) here but takes on a destructive form. The dust that was released through the mining process now controls the human body. The result is a shared field of destruction.

These aesthetic strategies of equivalence, as described above, and documentary evidence of interconnections question human exceptionalism by focusing on relations of interdependency and material agency that can take on both flourishing and destructive forms.

4. Entanglements of capitalism and violence in *Sangre y Tierra*

Sangre y Tierra portrays the current conflict between Nasa communities and big agricultural landowners, the latter being supported by state actors in Northern Cauca, Colombia. Due to its fertile soils, Cauca is an important region in Colombia, with large estates engaged in monocultural farming. The region also counts the highest indigenous population within the country (21 %, of which 65 % identify as Nasa). What we see in

the documentary are acts of protest in the context of the *Liberación de la Madre Tierra* (Liberation of Mother Earth), a political process, initiated by indigenous leaders, of occupying big estates, destroying monocultural plantations, and planting their own food on the now free fields (Vargas Reyes/Ariza Santamaría 2019). The movement opposes the capitalist ideas and exploitative tendencies of Western society (Pueblo Nasa 2017). The film focuses on the violent clashes between indigenous people and state actors, as well as the former's acts of resistance. It was produced in 2016, as a collaboration between Ariel Arango Prada and members of the Nasa community. It is 42 minutes long, mostly spoken in Nasa Yuwe (with Spanish subtitles), and Spanish. It was screened at a wide range of film festivals and at exhibitions and workshops in Colombia and other Latin American countries, but also in Europe and Australia.

The film starts with panoramic views of green fields, introducing conflict only via text inserts at first. We learn about armed conflicts, forced displacement, and narcotrafficking. The landscape we see while reading this seems peaceful though, creating a tension between image and text. Soon afterwards, the conflict is starting to take shape: the fields – sugar cane plantations – are now surrounded by police and heavy trucks; even a helicopter is circling above. The scene resembles a battle zone. A dolly shot along the fields shows the magnitude of this militarisation of private plantations. On one side of this conflict, people in plain clothes are throwing rocks; on the other, heavy armed police officers are firing their guns. These images make a clear statement about the aggression of the state in defending private property, and the power relations between the two parties involved. At another moment in the film, we see former president Alvaro Uribe Vélez speaking in an official TV interview about these violent clashes: “The only thing that the police have done this year is show patience”,³ followed by the image of an angry police officer yelling, “We want to see you all dead! This country will only progress when you have died.”⁴ The commodification and exploitation is secured through plain violence; its expansion means the destruction of other worlds, as the film suggests by this sequence. Such scenes of open violence are followed by images of masses of people supporting the cause of the *Liberación de la Madre Tierra*, prompting the viewer to also support their cause, to condemn capitalist commodification and the violence that accompanies it.

Indigenous cosmovision serves as a key instrument in the film's argument about the reality it depicts. At both the beginning and end of *Sangre y Tierra*, we get to attend a spiritual ceremony that seems to confirm the motives of resistance. 'We need to defend Mother Earth' is stated many times during the film, 'because we are all children of Mother Earth'. The 'Earth' is explained as a body, a person who gives, but who is also dependent on others. In *Júba Wajiín*, a similar argument about relationality and interdependency is made, first in a positive sense during the presentation of the village as a fertile place for both human and nonhuman beings, but also in a negative sense, considering the sickening of human bodies as the result of capitalist intervention.

5. Colonial continuities – Capitalism as an ongoing conquest

This focus on interdependency is not the only aspect these two films have in common, as they both provide a critique of capitalism that foregrounds this system as a process of conquest and oppression. In *Sangre y Tierra*, the Western form of being in the world is equated with the commodification of nature, depicted by images of endless monocultural plantations that need to be sustained by violence. The film's argument is not built on a discussion of who owns the land, but rather on a critique of its commodification. The Nasa are not part of this system, this concept, but oppose it as outsiders, in a metaphysical sense. *Júba Wajiín* establishes a very specific place, the village, as not (yet) part of capitalist commodification. There is no detached time or externalised space but there *is* an outside to capitalism, as these films suggest, and to a capitalist view of our environment, not in a Eurocentric dichotomy of tamed (commodified) nature and a wild (not-yet commodified) 'Other', but rather as an outside to this form of categorisation. Neither of the films talks about the financial wealth, jobs or prosperity that the mine or plantations provide. The narratives of good living that are pursued by the indigenous actors are therefore located outside of capitalist logics, inviting us to question the ever-present urge to grow and 'progress'.

Appropriating new territories for capital accumulation is a key strategy for the capitalist system to maintain itself (Brand/Wissen 2018), which is

powerfully visualised through satellite imagery in *Júba Wajiín*. The result of this accumulation is a dusty, sickening red desert – an ‘impoverished environment’ when compared to the visualisation of the village that we have seen before. Whereas Danowski and Viveiros de Castro argue that present scientific knowledge posits a situation where one could imagine that the “generations next to us will have to survive in an impoverished, sordid environment; an ecological desert, a sociological hell” (2017: 17), *Júba Wajiín* shows us that it is not the generation next to us (temporally) but the people next to *us* (spatially) who *already* live in an impoverished, threatened environment, thereby making a strong argument about the environmental injustice of our current world system. To *some* people, this seemingly future vision is already happening *here* and *now*. Whereas in the Global North the threats of “inequality and the destruction of nature as a problem of capitalist development are diffused, especially by postponing negative preconditions and consequences into the future or externalizing them across space” (Brand/Wissen 2018: 5), *Júba Wajiín* reveals where these negative consequences are externalised *to*, drawing a clear line of interconnections, thereby undermining the idea that there *is* an external space as proposed by capitalist diffusion.

Sangre y Tierra focusses on the motif of monocultural plantation in order to articulate the expansion of capitalism. This expansion – as suggested by the images of armed police guarding these plantations – is being enforced and sustained through violence and oppression. Following Oppermann’s idea “that matter is endowed with creative expressions, manifesting as *storied matter*” (2016: 274), *Sangre y Tierra* shows how material processes, in this case the establishing of monocultural plantations, lead to displacement and violence, and, therefore, highlights the narrative agency inherent to these entanglements that result in the marginalisation of non-Western forms of being in the world. The plantation represents displacement and oppression and thereby visualises relations between capitalism and violence. The film concentrates on showing the destruction that comes with this form of agriculture, and the colonial idea of domination that underlies it.

6. Exploitation and destruction – Confronting the imperial mode of living

Both documentaries focus on the negative consequences of certain projects and activities, which are led by the logics of capitalism, and highlight environmental injustices, oppression and violence in a postcolonial context. *Júba Wajjín* reveals to where the negative consequences of our current global modes of production are externalised, whereas *Sangre y Tierra* draws a clear connection between capitalism and violence. Both films thereby foreground the power relations at work in these conflicts. It is in this sense that these films can be understood as a visualisation of the ‘imperial mode of living’, whereby the exploitation and destruction of livelihood that results from it form a central element of the films’ critique.

The concept of the imperial mode of living, as proposed by Brand and Wissen (2018), is key to understanding the power relations at work in current global modes of production and consumption that lead to neo-extractivist politics and the normalisation of their (negative) consequences. It is ‘imperial’ “inasmuch it is based on a principally unlimited appropriation of resources, space, territories, labour capacity and sinks elsewhere – secured politically, legally and/or by means of violence” (ibid.: 13). The ecological crisis that stems from capitalism is filtered through the imperial mode of living, thereby managing the public’s awareness of it, and political actions to deal with it, while at the same time framing it as a problem of ‘humankind’ – putting everyone in the same ‘boat’ – and thus ignoring or actively hiding the capitalist, imperial and patriarchal roots of the crisis (Brand/Wissen 2018). The imperial mode of living, as suggested by Brand and Wissen, does not only rely on

“[...] capitalist accumulation and expansion, on particular forms of subjectivities and social hierarchies – and concurrently reproduces them – but also on an external sphere: on non-capitalist or less developed territories that can be appropriated and valorized and to which the socio-environmental costs of unsustainable patterns of production and consumption can be shifted”. (ibid.: 99)

The commodification of nature is the product of capitalist nature relations that are “rooted in the everyday practices of the majority of the population of the global North by means of the imperial mode of living”, as Brand and Wissen state (ibid.: 12). The imperial mode of living serves as a constituting (normalising) force for the commodification of nature. The films’ arguments work against this normalisation, by introducing an external sphere to capitalism, foregrounding environmental injustices, and visualising the entanglements of capitalism and violence. Both *Júba Wajiín* and *Sangre y Tierra* visualise the imperial mode of living in its worrisome aspect, since what they propose is a world that is actively being destroyed, actively being deprived of a future.

7. Conclusion

“[T]here is no sense in compromising with capitalism: there is only fighting it.”
(Danowski/Viveiros de Castro 2017: 116)

Indigenous filmmaking has often been described as a form of activism, as a way to introduce counter-discourses to Western thought, and as an instrument to visualise indigenous imaginations and experiences, and, in so doing, can be defined as a decolonial practice. The intention of this article was to take a closer look at this practice, by analysing two examples of the growing canon of indigenous documentary filmmaking about current territorial conflicts and environmental injustices. The guiding question was this: how do indigenous documentary films attend to experiences of conflict and resistance, exploitation, and displacement?

Both films make a clear argument about the expansion of capitalism as a process of increasing destruction. *Júba Wajiín* starts by showing us a rich environment full of life, only to then make us realise how the negative consequences of exploitation destroy this world, not not simply that of a distant future but in the very real experience of some people here and now. The film makes a clear statement about current environmental injustices by visualising to where the negative consequences of extractive industries are externalised. *Sangre y Tierra* articulates a critique of the commodification of nature, and the underlying idea of domination, by visualising the entan-

gements of capitalism and violence. The motif of the plantation expresses displacement and oppression, both of humans and the nonhuman world. Both films foreground interdependency, thereby aligning the commodification of nature according to capitalist logics in through a process of conquest and oppression, while emphasising colonial power relations.

Both films propose to speak from a position outside of capitalism, and by that, to articulate this process of increasing destruction as an ongoing conquest. They show different worlds, thus working against the universalisation of capitalism. By portraying the experience of people who live in conflictive spaces, these documentaries enable an understanding of these realities which can offer the potential to re-imagine the interconnections, cultural values and power relations at work. In other words, they enable confrontation with the imperial mode of living, the main argument of these films being that by changing our standpoint, this mode of living can be seen in all its problematic aspects, including its destructive consequences and entanglement with colonial power relations.

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- 1 For more information on the film and conflict see: <https://lasandiadigital.org.mx/2020/09/28/juba-wajiin/> and www.tlachinollan.org/juba-wajiin.
- 2 As stated on the website of *La Sandía digital* under *Reperto y participación en guión colectivo*: Hipólito Albino Jernónimo, Fluviano Amado Contreras, Herlinda Solano, Inés Solano, Gonzalo Hilario Gálvez, Jesús Hilario Gálvez, Anastacio Basurto Contreras, Tranquilino Flores, Hilario M, Agapito Cantú, Alfredo Santiago Amado, Francisco Feliciano Mojas, Francisco Huerta, Macedonio Morales,

- Luis Galvez Ortega, Angel Contreras, Valerio Mauro, Amado Solano, Nicolás Gerónimo, Domitila Flores Contreras, Victoria Pacheco Francisco, Pascacio Albino Abad, Víctor Albino Agustín (La Sandía digital 2020).
- 3 “La policía lo único que ha hecho este año es tener paciencia” (00:16:02-00:16:04) (translated by the author).
- 4 “¡Nosotros los queremos a ustedes muertos! Este país progresa cuando se mueran ustedes” (00:16:05-00:16:15) (translated by the author).

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ABSTRACT Die vorliegende Untersuchung beschäftigt sich mit der Bedeutung von indigenem Filmschaffen im Kontext aktueller Konfliktsituationen, die aufgrund des zunehmenden Extraktivismus in Lateinamerika entstehen. Der Artikel konzentriert sich auf zwei indigene Dokumentarfilme, die aktuelle territoriale Konflikte in Bezug auf Fragen nach Umweltgerechtigkeit behandeln: Júba Wajiín – Resistencia en la Montaña de Guerrero (2018) und Sangre y Tierra (2016). Es wird gezeigt, dass diese Filme die Expansion des Kapitalismus als einen Prozess zunehmender Zerstörung, als eine kontinuierliche Eroberung artikulieren und damit eine Konfrontation mit aktuellen globalen Produktionsweisen ermöglichen.

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