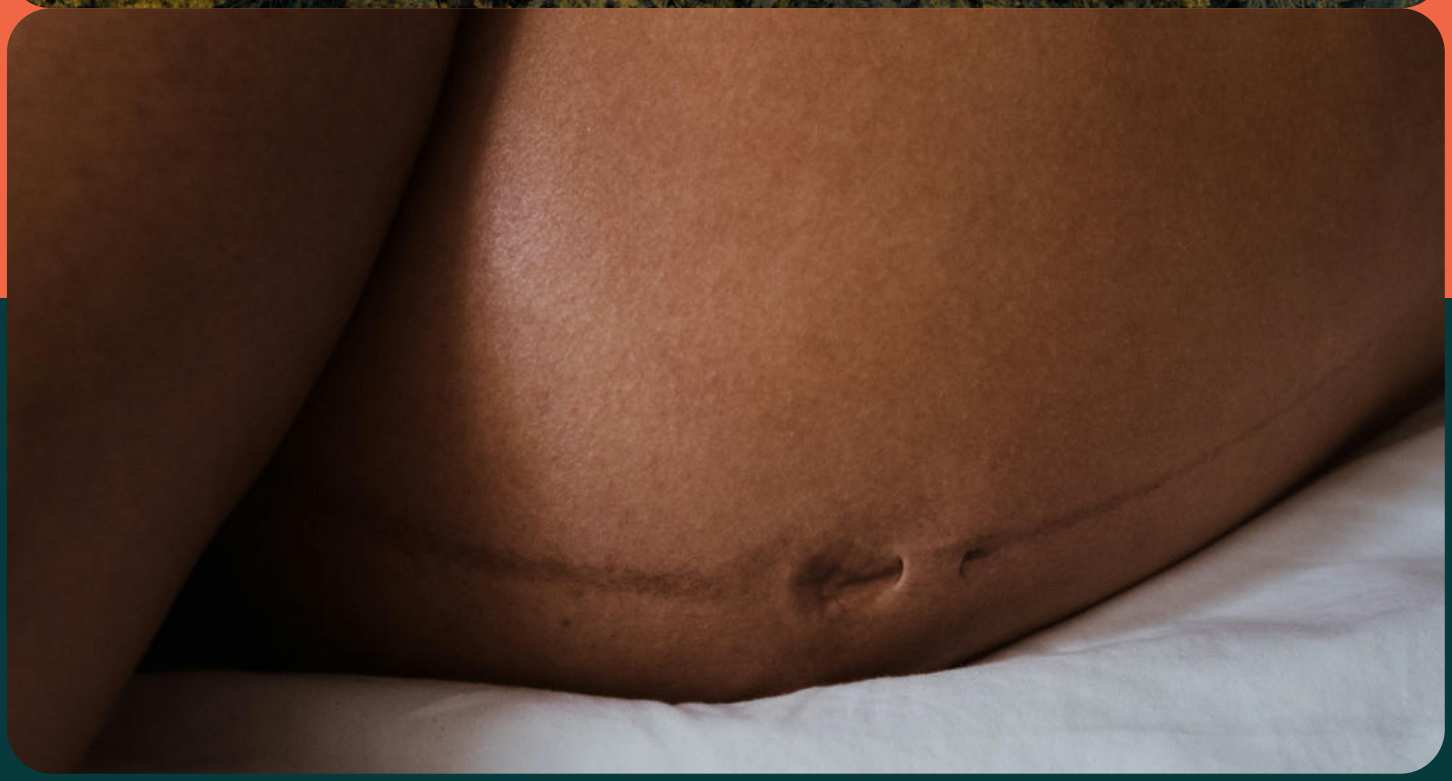

UNPICKING THE FABRIC

A study of the links between climate justice and sexual and reproductive justice in Brazil, Guatemala, and Colombia

L'ASSOCIACIÓ DRETS SEXUALS I REPRODUCTIUS

ACCD Agència Catalana de Cooperació al Desenvolupament

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1 Intentions, limitations and acknowledgements

This research stems from the desire to offer a deeper analysis of the consequences of the climate crisis, including an **ecofeminist and intersectional perspective** that pays attention to the **specific impacts on the sexual and reproductive rights** of women and gender nonconforming people. We also want to highlight the **connections between climate change denial movements and extractivist business interests, and their links in turn with organised groups that oppose sexual and reproductive rights (SRHR)** at the global level.

We want to highlight that climate justice and the fight for sexual and reproductive rights are part of the same struggle. Along similar lines, a number of social movements—such as ecofeminism and community feminism—draw consistent parallels between territories and bodies, as a continuation of the reproduction of life. It is therefore a question of joining together the efforts being made at both global and local levels to denounce and draw attention to violations of rights, and to support defenders of SRHR and territories that are under threat.

This is **situated research**, ein the sense that it takes specific perspectives as a starting point to understand and explain reality. The main inspiration was a concept proposed by the community feminists of Iximulew (ancestral name of Guatemala): **the notion of "body-territory"** [1].

According to Lorena Cabnal and other community feminists, from an indigenous Mayan world-view there is a continuity between the territory understood as "land"—a physical space that includes water, soil, forests and animals, and where lives are led—and the territory that is understood as the "body". The territory and the body are one unit: the body-territory. Therefore, any care for a territory, or damage to it, is also felt by the body.

It is important to note that the body, in this world-view, is not understood from a physical point of view, but encompasses all the psychological, spiritual, emotional and social dimensions that can be expressed by a person. As a result, health and its effect on the body is also understood from this holistic perspective.

1 It should be noted that this concept falls outside the world-view and context of the person writing this research, a white European. The notion of body-territory is taken as a theoretical starting point, in the understanding that it is comprised of practices and life experience that far transcend the content of this text. In addition, the contributions of community feminists in Guatemala go further than identifying and denouncing the damage to the body-territory, and include proposals for healing practices that restore the balance of nature and bodies in the face of all the oppression and violence they have suffered. They also defend the right to the self-determination of land in parallel to the right to the self-determination of bodies, which encompasses recognition of the plurality of bodies, identities and sexualities.

The idea of body-territory helps us understand how the climate crisis and the pollution, deforestation and land-grabbing related to extractivism also have an impact on people's sexual and reproductive rights. This allows us to understand the parallel that is established, for example, between the lands drilled, sacrificed and raped through projects like mining, and the treatment of the bodies of women, girls, adolescents and gender nonconforming persons who have suffered rape and sexual assault.

If, in the field of sexual freedom, we talk about consent as a line that distinguishes tolerated and desired sexual practices from unwanted and imposed sexual practices, then when we talk about indigenous peoples, campesinos and Afro-descendants, we must refer to their right to a prior, free and informed consultation on their lives and territories. Without these consultation processes, and without the corresponding responses being taken into account, any intervention in these territories can be understood as a violation.

The other inspiration for this work is based on **ecofeminism**, which is the intersection of feminism and environmental movements. The intention is to highlight the relationship between the **interdependence** acknowledged by feminists—valuing the care processes necessary to sustain life—and **eco-dependency**, which demonstrates that human beings depend on natural resources, ecosystems and the climate for their livelihood.

Ecofeminism proposes community practices to guarantee decent living conditions for all, while criticising the predatory and suicidal logic of extractive capitalism.

In a world with limited resources, ecofeminism proposes **degrowth** as a strategy to guarantee the sustainability of life. It focuses on the role that women and gender nonconforming people play in that support of life, and how they are especially impacted by extractive capitalism.

Based on these world-views, we want to explain the impacts that climate change, spurred by extractive colonial capitalism, has on people's sexual and reproductive rights. But above all, we want to highlight how organised movements to limit people's rights to decide about their bodies are linked to transnational economic powers that insist on denying evidence of the climate crisis.

As situated research, this is **partial and subjective research**, insofar as aseptic objectivity does not exist. Everything we choose to share and highlight is in line with criteria that considers relevance, the availability of access to sources, the possibility of corroborating information, scope and currentness, in addition to contemplating chance and intuition.

If objectivity is a myth, it follows that it is a fallacy to construct thought in an individual way, separate from context. **All knowledge is built collectively**, as we are part of interdependent networks of people who have an impact on each other.

This research, therefore, is **based on interviews** with key people from academia, social movements, civil society organisations and research institutes, as well as secondary sources, such as reports from social organisations, academic research, journalistic reports and official statistics, among others.

One of the limitations of this research is that both the data collection and the interviews were not able to be carried out in the territory, but were conducted **remotely**. As a result, many of the points of view, pieces of knowledge, nuances and reflections that come from understanding a situation in the same place in which it occurs must surely have been lost along the way. That is why we have tried to be faithful to the statements and explanations of the people who truly embody these realities, quoting them literally.

We want to thank all the people who have directly participated for the interviews, who laid the foundations that nurture this work, and also for their generosity, time and patience: Elena Rey, Violeta Cetino, Ariane Araujo, Mayré Riveros, Katia Orantes, Cristina Rosero, Luciane Belin, Rose Marie Santini, Pilar Salazar, Maritza Velásquez, and many more.

This research, as collective knowledge, also draws on the perspectives, advice, contacts, contributions, reflections, comments and generosity of numerous people, many of them guides, colleagues and friends: Almudena García Sastre, Patricia Dopazo, Santiago Carnerio, Mónica Bareiro, Marta Saiz Merino, Maite Ramos, Cecilia Osorio, Shanna Hanbury, Valeria Saccone, Elba Núñez, Maru Ludueña, Mari Ángeles Fernández, María Manyosa, Berta Camprubí, Stella Thuns, Marusia López, Nazaret Castro, Florencia Goldsman, and so many more. Our true admiration and gratitude goes out to all these people.

We would like to highlight in particular the role of the research monitoring team, and thank them for their confidence and encouragement, and for their successful contributions throughout the process: Blanca Bayas, Elena Cardona and Mar Baños.

Feminist economics insists that, as interdependent individuals, we cannot survive without care, so it is also important to say that this work is based on the inspiration, support and daily guidance of Marina Sánchez Cid, and the encouragement and comfort of Ana Navío. We must also give a special mention to Elena G. Ruiz, for her work and her capacity for adaptation and commitment, which made everything possible.

It is important to name these people at the beginning, rather than at the end as in the acknowledgements in novels or the credits for films because, without these women, this paper would simply not exist.

This research does not aim to provide key points, guidelines or definitive solutions. Rather, it is an attempt to identify actors, discourses and impacts. It can act as inspiration for others to enrich research and go deeper into the subject matter. It is another tool for denouncing actions and a first step in the collective search for answers and solutions. The first step towards eventually dismantling and taking down the framework

2 Introduction: how and why we are studying the links between climate change denial and the anti-rights movement

When people first hear about the interconnection between climate justice and sexual and reproductive justice, the most immediate reaction is often one of astonishment: What do they have to do with each other? When these links begin to be investigated, surprise gives way to an affirmative nod: “Of course, it’s all related, that makes sense!”

In recent years, work has begun to describe the effects of the climate crisis from a gender perspective. This research deals specifically with the impacts of the climate crisis on the sexual and reproductive rights of women and gender nonconforming people.

If we look at the role of extractive transnational companies, we can see that they have an impact not only on environmental factors such as the pollution of waterways and deforestation, but also contribute towards maintaining dynamics of violence. These dynamics include, for example, sexual violence through the militarisation of territories, often with the collusion of national governments.

If we delve a little deeper into the analysis, there may be more evident links between different systems of oppression: capitalism, patriarchy and colonialism on the one hand, but also dynamics of hatred and discrimination such as ableism, LGBT-phobia and racism. As a result, different categories of oppression can work together in an interconnected way to target the same person or group of people: this is what we know as **intersectionality**.

Intersectionality is often represented in visual terms by different overlapping circles that have a shared space, where two or more oppressions overlap. We think it is also useful to **consider systems of domination as a fabric: a kind of framework in which threads of different colours intertwine and overlap with each other**, forming a pattern. Imagine if you pull on just one of these threads—you would see the rest of them move; if you stretched it even further, you could even fray the fabric.

In this research, we want to highlight the fabric that is made up of extractive capitalism, colonialism, ultra-conservatism and heteropatriarchy, and how this framework affects people's rights and bodies.

We will do this through the study of three different territories that share similar circumstances: **Brazil, Guatemala and Colombia**. All three countries are currently in a conservative context, or have gone through conservative waves over recent years. The three countries are also suffering the consequences of the climate crisis in a more pronounced way, due to the actions of extractive transnational companies in their territories. We know that there are many different examples and territories, but in this document we only want to make a first attempt to highlight the issue and highlight the consequences.

3 From climate change denial to denying gender equality

Over the last decade, the emergence of feminist movements in different territories has led to mass demonstrations and has spread to public debates, parliamentary initiatives, the media and other areas where opinions are formed. A number of different countries around the world have passed laws that have made advancements in the recognition of sexual and reproductive rights, such as the decriminalisation of abortion and same-sex marriage. Sexual violence has moved from being taboo to mention, to public denunciation via the traditional media, social media and the penal system, and issues such as sexual consent are present in debates inside and outside feminist arenas.

In parallel, there has been a response against these acquired rights, a response that invokes conservative values and is not without hatred and misogyny: a **backlash**[2] **or patriarchal reaction**[3].

This reaction has also been labelled as «the anti-gender rights crusade»[4],a title that evokes the religious fundamentalist nature of many of these perspectives. It likens the situation to the Christian crusades to evangelise atheists or people of other beliefs by force and, in the process, take control of their territories. The name also highlights an issue that is a central concern of these movements: **gender**, as a concept separate from sex; as a concept that results in privilege, oppression and inequality, and as an expression of diversity beyond the categories of male and female.

The patriarchal reaction is marked by a number of different characteristics:

It is **transnational** in nature, and the actors are interrelated and form alliances at the international level. Their political leaders support each other and ultraconservative organisations connect with and inspire each other. Funding, resources and connection with spheres of power (business, economic, political and media) are also organised in transnational networks.

2 For more information, you can consult the transnational journalistic investigation "Tracking the backlash", which followed anti-rights reactions in different countries around the world, including Poland or the United States: https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/tagged/tracking-the-backlash/

3 The book La reacción patriarcal, [the patriarchal reaction] published by Bellaterra in 2022, includes several articles that analyse the authoritarian ecosystem in different European and American territories, and presents a critical study of the frameworks for radicalisation employed by new right neoliberals, and religious politicisation. Much of this research is inspired by the references and reflections set out in this book, and the original title of the research in Spanish also comes from this book.

4 A number of representatives from the Latin American feminist media launched a similar initiative to "Tracking the backlash" to carry out journalistic monitoring of ultraconservative groups in Ecuador, Costa Rica, Colombia and Chile. The initiative can be consulted on the Latfem website, under the title «Derechos en riesgo: la cruzada antigénero en América Latina y el Caribe».

This means we can see how initiatives to prevent or hinder access to abortion are identical and occur simultaneously in different territories. For example, a law titled «Listen to the heartbeat», put forward by ultraconservative forces in Colombia, which wants to force pregnant women to listen to the foetal heartbeat before aborting, is a copy of the measure proposed in early 2023 by the far-right party Vox in the autonomous community of Castilla y León, in Spain. This measure has been in force since 2022 in Hungary, where President Viktor Orban is known for his xenophobic, LGTBI-phobic and sexist speeches.

International connections are sometimes made evident through subsidiaries of transnational ultraconservative entities, such as the Spanish ultraconservative organisation Hazte Oír, [Make yourself heard], which has spread its reach internationally under the name Citizen Go, and promotes initiatives and protests against sexual and reproductive rights.

The organisation's discourse is one of **conservative values**, including (nuclear and heterosexual) family values; preserving traditions; nationalism (with racist and anti-immigrant components) that rails against so-called "foreign influence"; private property; militarism and the right of self-defence, understood as the right of the individual to exercise violence in defence of the family or private property.

These conservative values are opposed to what these movements call "gender ideology", a term that encompasses all the movements in defence of sexual and reproductive rights, in particular feminist struggles and for the rights of LGTBQIA+ people.

These values match up with followers of churches from different branches of Christianity (Catholic, Evangelical, Neo-Pentecostal, Protestant, etc.), which add a component of "defending morality" to this conservative ideology.

Despite this, many anti-rights movements—such as those opposed to abortion—present themselves as supposedly secular groups. The same goes for prominent public figures (journalists, lawyers, social media influencers, etc.) who promote anti-rights and ultraconservative discourse from perspectives that are separate from religion.

The actors that support these ideologies are several: conservative, right-wing and extreme right-wing parties, religious organisations, pressure groups and lobbies; business organisations, military and paramilitary groups, civil society associations, and more. They can be divided into different denominations: anti-rights (because they express their opposition to acquired rights), ultraconservatives, reactionaries, right-wing extremists, and neo-fascists. In some cases they are also branded as **anti-feminist**, because they organise efforts against the advances made by feminism, although sometimes they

exploit the messages of a type of feminism that is discriminatory, essentialist, conservative[5] and in many cases in line with corporate and capitalist interests.

In parallel with this conservative turn, the **climate crisis** is becoming increasingly evident, and is deteriorating the living conditions of a large part of the population in countries of the Global South, who are impoverished or forced to migrate to other territories. The inaction of the governments of the countries that generate the most emissions, such as the United States,is accelerating the most catastrophic predictions about the future of the planet. Without decisive action to mitigate the effects of climate change, which are accelerated by human action, we are faced with a panorama of uncertainty and devastation, with **disproportionate impacts on the lives of women and nonconforming people**, as we will see in more detail in section 4.

Who is behind ultraconservative policies aimed at denying and hindering sexual and reproductive rights? What influence do ultraconservative movements have on political and legislative decision-making? What relationships do they establish with major economic powers? What connections do they have internationally? Can we be sure that anti-gender groups and groups that deny the impact of the climate crisis are part of the same framework?

5 This brings to mind the alliance between the so-called Feminist Party of Spain, founded by historical feminist activist Lídia Falcón, and the extreme right-wing party Vox against the Trans Law in Spain.

4 Who's who: political actors, businesses and anti-rights actors connected in a network of dangerous friendships

The governments and parliaments of the countries under study have taken different approaches to anti-abortion groups, ranging from complicity and symbolic gestures, to the total incorporation of their speeches and demands across different government bodies. These dynamics show the ability of anti-rights movements to get to the heart of the different state powers. One example of this is that some businessmen are part of pro-life lobbies, while simultaneously working as ultraconservative parliamentarians.

In the context of **Colombia**, the connection between business powers and anti-rights movements is clear, showing for example in the campaign against the 2016 Peace Agreements, led by the extreme right. This campaign, as we will see, was characterised by the dissemination of false information that linked the Agreements with so-called "gender ideology", which provoked reactions of moral panic that contributed to the rejection of the accord.

In **Guatemala**, the private sector, together with certain political sectors and the Guatemalan Prosecutor's Office, form what has been called a “corrupt pact”: an alliance that upholds the systemic privileges that maintain economic and social inequality in Guatemala. This complicity between businessmen and politicians is combined with the involvement of religious powers in certain parliamentary sectors and even with heads of state, and it incorporates one further actor: members of the Colombian public forces who, through government complicity, are mobilised to protect business interests.

In **Brazil**, the last ten years have seen the consolidation of the legislative power of the pejoratively nicknamed “Bancada BBB” (bible, beef and bullets), which brings together the interests of evangelical parties, ruralistas and gun advocates. These parties played a key role in the impeachment of Dilma Rousseff, and expressed support for the ultraconservative government of led by Jair Bolsonaro. They currently occupy a large proportion of the Chamber of Deputies (which has a total of 513 members). We can see that many deputies simultaneously belong to three parliamentary fronts, including evangelicals, the agricultural sector and gun rights advocates, which shows the ideological and interest interconnection that exists between the three blocks.

When looking at the connections between entrepreneurship, extractive capitalism, governments, political leaderships and ultraconservative movements, we can identify some trends: firstly, the closeness of these movements to privileged sectors that provide them with support and social legitimacy. Secondly, the strategy of delegitimizing scientific and environmental warnings, downplaying the effects of the climate crisis in order to maintain an economic model based on unlimited growth. Finally, the emergence of a current that questions fundamental rights related to sexual and reproductive freedom, while at the same time rendering invisible and minimizing gender-based violence.

When ultraconservative movements ally with economic and political power

The first is the way **ultraconservative movements identify with the economic and social elites** in their territories, including taking on positions of power in extractive companies, banks and political parties.

In the case of Guatemala, the private sector, together with certain political sectors and the Guatemalan Prosecutor's Office, form what has been called a **«pact of the corrupt»: an alliance that upholds the systemic privileges that maintain economic and social inequality** in Guatemala.

The private sector is represented, on the one hand, by the country's main business chamber, the CACIF, which brings together agricultural, commercial, industrial and financial associations and exerts a strong influence on political power. The Guatemalan business association is considered one of the most powerful business associations in Latin America, with some analysts claiming that it operates «as if it were a political party» outside parliament.

On the other hand, it is also important to highlight the Guatemalan oligarchy, a group of families who own land and companies, and whose wealth comes from territorial distribution during the time of the colonial occupation of Guatemala.

One example would be the Castillo family, which owns Corporación Castillo Hermanos, which encompasses companies in sectors including beer, soft drinks, bottled water, food and real estate.

«**The pact of the corrupt is made up of companies that belong to the Guatemalan oligarchy**. They are families that, since colonial times, have taken control of large capital and then formed the monopolies for cement, beer, and so on Families with big capital have taken charge of maintaining that power and are closely linked to the anti-rights discourse that goes hand in hand with evangelical churches». Katia Orantes, journalist, researcher and defender of human rights (personal interview).

Outside the world of business, Catholic and Evangelical churches also function as lobbyists. During the governments of Jimmy Morales (2016-2020) and Giammattei, the separation of church and state was blurred, favouring the inclusion of an ultraconservative agenda in state policies.

«**In Guatemala, churches have great power, they have taken over political and economic spaces**. The churches espouse a theology of prosperity: people who take all the resources from people and then become billionaires, while also having a big influence on politics. Except for the current government[6], the first thing the last five or six governments did was to meet with leaders of the evangelical churches and then take them into consideration when making political and economic decisions. **This has caused them [these churches] to manipulate the anti-rights discourse that in the end, is their cause**». Katia Orantes (personal interview).

6 She refers to President Bernardo Arévalo, who took office in January 2024.

This complicity between businessmen and politicians is combined with one further actor that, through government complicity [7], is mobilised to protect business interests.

«**The army and the national police are used in Guatemala to evacuate communities that occupy land owned by contractors**. This is very common in communities in the Q'eqchi' indigenous territory. In a mostly agricultural region, the local population does not have land to sow because their territories have been invaded by crops such as oil palm. Private companies always go to the Prosecutor's Office to make an official complaint and get a court order for eviction. They involve state security forces and private security groups hired by business leaders». Violeta Cetino, journalist for the feminist Guatamalan media outlet Ruda (personal interview).

Cetino also adds the violence employed by armed groups is often a strategy to spread terror, displace the population and "cleanse" the territories to allow for extractive projects —whether legal or not— to be set up in these areas to take advantage of their resources.

The narrative that denies the climate crisis and defends growth at any cost

Another trend that can be identified is **denial of the impact of the climate crisis**, that is, actors that deny or belittle the impact of global warming, arguing that they are exaggerated or invented by a supposed international lobby. In parallel, the narrative of climate change denial argues that environmentalism and the global climate crisis are opposed to the growth and economic development of countries. This is where **climate change denial also ties in with the brand of economic ultra-neoliberalism** promoted by politicians such as the current president of Argentina, Javier Milei.

Far-right discourses also insist on denying or belittling the impact of the climate crisis. Proof of this lies in that one of the first measures taken by far-right governments, when they come to power is withdrawing their country from international agreements for the mitigation of climate change, such as the Paris Agreement.

Jair Bolsonaro in Brazil is a good example of these positions. In 2019, when Bolsonaro came to power, Brazil withdrew its offer to host the Climate Summit (COP25).

7 We include one example, but there could be dozens of similar cases in which the military is deployed in an Indigenous territory after a community has protested against a specific extractive business project, as in the case of this hydroelectric company: Energía y Renovación S.A. It should be recalled that the deployment of the armed forces always depends on the government, since the commander-in-chief is the president of the State

Another international consensus, which has also become one of the scapegoats of the extreme right, is the 2030 Agenda, proposed by the United Nations to achieve a number of sustainable development goals by 2030.

«**The more we fight the 2030 Agenda, the greater our electoral success**», Eduardo Bolsonaro, parliamentary deputy and son of Jair Bolsonaro, said in an interview with the ultraconservative Spanish media outlet La Gaceta.

The content of this 2030 Agenda, which includes objectives such as gender equality, responsible production and consumption, and climate action, has drawn widespread criticism from fundamentalist movements, which label it as an imposition and link it directly to left-wing political movements, or even Marxism.

In 2023, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Bolsonaro government, Ernesto Araújo, accused the government of President Lula da Silva of leading Brazil towards «the authoritarianism of the 2030 agenda» and said that these objectives do not protect freedom of expression or religion.

«**Social justice is just a pretext for dictatorship. Climate change is too**», Ernesto Araújo, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the government of Jair Bolsonaro.

Araújo gave this statement in 2019 during a conference in Washington at the Heritage Foundation, an organisation dedicated to defending conservative values in the United States. On the same occasion, he also insisted that the calculations that link global warming to human action are wrong. Climate change denial was also mentioned in another of his scathing statements, when he suggested that climate change was a dogma to increase China's power and a «Marxist conspiracy» against «heterosexuality, red meat and oil»[8].

By invoking a false notion of sovereignty, far-right governments claim to defend their respective countries from "outside impositions" on national values, such as the aforementioned 2030 Agenda, the very concept of sexual diversity, or violence against women. That is why some ultraconservative groups call themselves the “resistance” or defenders of national culture and traditions, rebelling against “foreign agendas” or ideas imposed by countries in the Global North.

This notion leads us to conspiracy theories, or how far-right governments support the **idea that climate change is a lie, conspiracy or international plot imposed by rich, powerful countries in the Global North so that countries in the Global South can never compete with them** economically, and are held back.

8 We understand that in the context of Brazil, one of the world's leading beef exporters, Araujo's phrase is a reference to the agribusiness sector and in particular to livestock for export, which the Bolsonaro government worked hard to protect. However, the relationship between hegemonic (and cishet) masculinity and red meat consumption is interesting. Find out more in this article by Catia Faria in Pikara Magazine: https://www.pikaramagazine.com/2019/06/consumo-de-carne-y-masculinidad/

Gender denialism: when rights and violence are questioned

In parallel, the issue of the «anti-rights movement» or «denying gender equality», also arises. In the same way that we speak of «climate change denialism» to refer to movements that deny the climate crisis, we can also refer to the «**anti-rights movement**» **or denying gender equality**[9] when talking about political positions that deny the existence of sexual and reproductive rights and also deny, belittle or minimise sexual violence and sexual assault in general.

Anti-rights movements **discredit feminist demands, describing them as inventions, exaggerations** or frameworks to attract subsidies. Such movements oppose public policies or legislation with a feminist perspective as a «waste of public resources».

As part of the opposition to what they call, «gender ideology», anti-rights movements **reject gender theory and distort its ideas to sow the seeds of moral panic** and motivate people against it.

This rejection of gender theory has the consequence of opposing everything related to the concept, from documents that claim to include a gender perspective, to comprehensive sexuality education. In the context of the internal armed conflict in Colombia, there is a clear example of how the ghost of "gender ideology" was used to reject the gender perspective, stir up moral panic, and create a negative response against Peace Agreements that did not fit into corporate extractive interests.

We can see, on the one hand, how armed violence functions to aid the expansion of extractive projects in territories where the population has been forcibly displaced. On the other hand, we can also observe how anti-rights rhetoric managed to poison the public debate on the Peace Agreements, and was used by groups opposed to the accords, who coincided with economic and political powers.

In fact, anti-rights groups reached significant levels of prominence in the framework of the plebiscite on endorsing the Peace Agreements between the government of Colombia and the guerrillas of the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC) in 2016. The forces that campaigned for a "no" vote in the Peace Agreements spread the information that these agreements were based on a "gender ideology" that threatened Colombian families and children. This message activated fears among the most conservative and religious sectors of the country.

9 We have taken the term proposed by Valencian sociologist Alexis Lara in her book Negacionismo de género. Auge, expansión y mitos del antifeminismo.

«Within the framework of the peace referendum there was an incredible level of manipulation. The most mind-blowing thing was the arguments. “The agreement wants your daughters to have an abortion”, they spread things like that. The content of the agreement was not debated, rather they said absurd things. But we were arrogant, we thought people wouldn't believe them, and we lost». Elena Rey, irector of Fondo Lunaria, an organisation that mobilises resources to support groups of all kinds of young women in different territories of Colombia (personal interview).

In actual fact, the Peace Agreements incorporated a gender perspective that sought to include measures to alleviate inequality and address the different impacts that the armed conflict had had on women and gender nonconforming people. The agreements therefore included measures for equal access to land ownership; encouraging the political participation of women and gender nonconforming people; preventing and protecting against the «specific risks» they face; access to truth, justice, guarantees of non-repetition, and the reinforcement of women's organisations and LGTBI movements, among others.

But was it really the fear of supposed «gender ideology» that most made people uncomfortable with the Peace Agreements? Or what was the real reason why the most economically powerful sectors were opposed to it?

The lack of an equitable distribution of land is Colombia's biggest problem, according to the Centre for Historical Memory of the Colombian government. This inequality was deepened further by the internal armed conflict, which forced many of the rural population to leave their lands. The proposals for land distribution and comprehensive rural reform proposed by the Peace Agreements had a direct impact on the interests of large and medium-sized landowners.

Some research links paramilitary violence and forced displacement with the installation of extractive projects in abandoned and subsequently captured territories, as in the case of palm oil monoculture in some of the areas that were most affected by violence, such as Magdalena Medio, Nariño, Chocó and Montes de María.

«Megaprojects, like palm oil, arrived in Montes de María with the help of the conflict, as part of a strategy that led to displacement, and to the detriment of the campesino economy», explains a community leader in the area in a report published by journalist Nazaret Castro in the publication Carro de Combate. The publication also includes the testimony of one of the women in the area, who explains how the conflict had an impact on her sexual rights:

«**Many of us were victims of sexual violence**. It's a deep pain, a physical and mental trauma that you carry inside; there are women who do not even dare to raise their heads, who have not yet healed because they have not even been able to talk about it: you end up thinking that it was your fault, as if nothing is worth it. How does a woman, a family, a people overcome such horror?». Luisa, a campesina from the area of Montes de María, who was affected by paramilitarism.

The entrepreneurs dedicated to this monoculture, of which Colombia is the fourth largest producer in the world, benefited from the action of paramilitary groups who, as a result of their violence, cleared some of the best land for plantations.

We can therefore infer that these producers could also be harmed by some of the Peace Agreements that have an excessive focus on the restitution of land to dispossessed communities. The debate around the plebiscite had economic interests at stake, as well as a substantive debate on land use and reparation for victims displaced by the conflict.

But in the argument against the Peace Agreements, headed by Uribe, there was no talk of the economy or development models for the country, but instead the focus was on an issue that is not mentioned in any of the sections of the Agreements: the family model. Misrepresentation was a powerful tool used by the right to defend its interests, relying on ultraconservative religious forces and the most reactionary sectors. And it was a successful tool: while attention was diverted from the core debates of the Agreements, the range of different impacts that women and LGTBIQA+ people suffered in the framework of the armed conflict were made invisible.

For Mayré Riveros, the forces that oppose advances in sexual and reproductive rights and extractive business powers are the same actors, and they share the same logic.

«As a joke, we say: "it's the same business, in a wig". this forms part of the same colonial and extractivist logic employed in the territories. **If you look at who owns these businesses, which churches they attend, what ideologies they have, it seems like it all goes hand in hand**». Mayré Riveros (personal interview).

5 Discourses and tools

Analysing the discourses and tools used by anti-rights movements, including interrelated far-right political organisations and ultraconservative religious groups on an international scale, is a complex task.

What we will address here is, on the one hand, to present a synthesis of the main arguments of anti-rights movements that deny or restrict people's sexual and reproductive rights through discourses, actions, and legislation driven by the far right, ultraconservative movements, and religious fundamentalisms; and, on the other hand, to highlight the violations of these same rights resulting from the promotion and justification of extractive projects that exacerbate the impacts of the climate emergency, promoted by far-right actors, national and transnational extractive companies, and currents linked to economic ultraneoliberalism.

Ultraconservative actors deny and limit sexual and reproductive rights

Anti-rights groups focus much of their struggle on combating sexual and reproductive rights and denying people autonomy of decision about their own body. Specifically, they focus on three main issues: **access to abortion, comprehensive sexuality education, and LGBTQIA+ rights**. They include defending these rights under the label «gender ideology»[10], n ideology with an allegedly international scope, linked to feminism and which, according to their discourse, aims to destroy «the traditional family» (nuclear, heterosexual and patriarchal) on which the capitalist system is based and which it (re)produces, and to «erase the categories of man and woman».

Abortion

In the argument of self-proclaimed pro-life and pro-family groups, two aspects stand out to oppose sexual and reproductive rights:

- These groups say that they **defend life** and, therefore, are against terminating a pregnancy because they believe it violates the life of the foetus.

- They also state that they **defend the family and protect children**, so they are against the rights of gender nonconforming people, as well as comprehensive sexuality education.

However, the figures and the evidence show that these arguments are not in line with reality, because:

Opposition to abortion and abortion bans do not influence the ultimate decision to end a pregnancy. But the fear of being reported or criminal punishment, as well as lack of money or lack of access to public or private health centres, are what ultimately impact the procedure. If abortion is punished, people who want to have an abortion are forced to opt for clandestine and unsafe methods, which carry serious risks to health and life, and can even cause death. As a result, **outlawing or restricting the right to abortion is not defending life, but putting anyone who wants to terminate their pregnancy at risk of death**.

In fact, according to official figures, in **Brazil**, where abortion is illegal under the 1940 Penal Code, one in 28 people who attempt abortion die because they do so in unsafe conditions.

On the other hand, **the decriminalisation of abortion is related to a decrease in mortality for pregnant people**, as is the case in **Colombia**, where abortion is decriminalised until the 24th week of gestation, thanks to a ruling issued in 2022 by the Constitutional Court, and can be obtained free of charge.

10 The label "woke" is also used to refer disparagingly to anti-racist movements, intersectional feminism and social justice.

Although official figures do not allow us to ascertain where maternal deaths are linked to unsafe abortions, data from Colombia's National Institute of Health show that in 2022 there were 255 cases of maternal death, 202 fewer than the previous year, when 457 deaths were recorded.

Organisations such as Oriéntame, which offers sexual and reproductive health care in different parts of Colombia, say that since the decriminalisation of abortion they have treated far fewer cases of incomplete abortion, that is, people who come to their services with haemorrhages or complications after having terminated a pregnancy.

The «defence of life» means that anti-rights groups think that even girls between 10 and 14 years of age should not be able to obtain abortions. In this age group, most legislations do not consider that there is sexual consent, and therefore these sexual relations are classified as forced, as violations. According to the United Nations Population Fund, **child pregnancy has serious consequences for the physical and mental health** of girls and, again, carries a risk of death and jeopardises their life projects. This reality is incompatible with the supposed «defence of life» or «defence of childhood».

Every hour, 44 girls and adolescents under the age of 19 give birth in **Brazil**. Two of them are between 10 and 14 years old, figures. But anti-rights policies do not address the sexual violence behind these births, nor do they consider improving sex education or allowing abortion to lower the rate. In 2022, the Minister of Women in the government of Jair Bolsonaro (2019-2022), evangelical pastor Damares Alves, declared that child pregnancy was «closely linked TikTok», and stressed that «if a pregnancy occurs, life is life» and recommended sexual abstinence as a measure to prevent child and teenage pregnancy.

In **Guatemala**, where abortion is also punished by law, a total of 29,048 girls and teenagers between the ages of 10 and 19 were registered between January and June 2024[11], according to data from the Guatemalan Reproductive Health Observatory (OSAR). Of these, 985 were girls between 10 and 14 years old. In 2018, under the government of Jimmy Morales, Bill 5376 was presented, included a proposal to decriminalise abortion in girls under 14 who had suffered rape.

But the pressure from ultraconservative groups did not wait: accompanied by church representatives, they held protests in the streets of the Guatemalan capital with Guatemalan flags and sky blue scarves—similar to those seen in the protests against the law decriminalising abortion in Argentina—and with slogans that equated

11 The figures come from RENAP, the National Registry of Persons in Guatemala. They collect data from births in which the infants are born alive. Cases of child and teenage pregnancy that end in abortions are not included, nor are those in which the child is stillborn or does not survive long enough to be registered.

abortion with genocide. Finally, he president (notably, a man) of the Women's Commission of the Guatemalan parliament, Aníbal Rojas, issued a ruling against the initiative and prevented it from reaching parliament.

The «defence of children» means anti-rights movements opposing comprehensive sexuality education and providing information on contraceptive methods, which is again related to child and adolescent pregnancy.

Comprehensive sexuality education

As we have seen, under the argument of the "defence of childhood" and respect for the freedom of families to educate their children, anti-rights movements promote measures to veto the contents of comprehensive sexuality education offered in schools and public institutes[12].

UNESCO acknowledges that within a climate of political and ideological polarisation that cuts across more or less the entirety of Latin America, families and other actors are able to favour or hinder the implementation of sex education in schools.

In **Brazil**, a number of ministers from the Bolsonaro government, such as the Minister of Education, Milton Ribeiro, have stated that sex education has encouraged young people and adolescents to have sex, and that homosexual boys and girls came from unstructured homes. In 2022, the Brazilian Prosecutor's Office opened up an investigation against Ribeiro for the crime of homophobia in relation to these statements.

But ultra-conservatism doesn't just stay in discourse alone. The international organisation Human Rights Watch (HRW) published a report with an analysis of 217 legislative projects presented between 2014 and 2022 with the aim of banning content on sexuality and gender in schools and public institutions.

The HRW report also includes cases of several teachers in the public education system who faced harassment, administrative processes and even death threats for including content in their classes that addressed sexual and gender diversity, feminism or violence against women. HRW deemed that this persecution put at risk the right to education and the right to non-discrimination.

Explicitly prohibiting education on sexual and gender diversity was also part of Law 5272, approved by the **Guatemalan** Congress on 8 March,

12 A similar example is the initiative put forward by ultra-conservative party Vox in Spain known as the "parental pin", which allowed families to prevent their children from attending classes that include content aimed at preventing violence against women and LGTBI-phobia. In the United Kingdom, a measure was promoted to prohibit children from talking about gender in schools before the age of nine.

2022 and subsequently rejected by President Alejandro Giammattei, who did not enact the law. The text of the motion prohibited public and private educational institutions from «promoting in childhood and adolescence policies or programmes related to sexual diversity and gender ideology or teaching that sexual behaviours other than heterosexuality are normal, or teaching sexual behaviours that are incompatible with the biological and genetic aspects of human beings».

In **Colombia**, comprehensive sexuality education is protected by a number of different agreements: the National Education Law of 1994, the School Coexistence Law of 2013, and the Ten-Year Public Health Plan from 2012 to 2021. The latter regulation establishes the objective of ensuring that «girls, boys, adolescents and young people have a gender and differential approach to sex education».

Despite Colombia's largely positive context in terms of comprehensive sexuality education, the country's anti-rights movement has used misinformation to oppose comprehensive sexuality education, which has even had political consequences. In 2016, images of educational textbooks were shared that included illustrations with homoerotic content, which were supposedly distributed by the Ministry of Education. Even though it was fake, the openly gay Education Minister, Gina Parody, was accused of «wanting to indoctrinate [children] against the heterosexual family» and was forced to resign from her position.

✦ LGTBQIA+ rights

Hate speech against lesbian, bisexual, trans, intersex, gay, queer, asexual and other sex and gender nonconformists translates into real actions in the contexts under study: threats, murders, discrimination and persecution based on the dehumanisation of LGBTQIA+ people by anti-rights movements.

Special mention should be made of the «conversion torture», promoted by these organisations, which are often perpetrated by religious institutions and encompass all forms of violence, mainly physical and psychological.

Within the LGTBIQA+ community, transgender people are the most affected by violence and discrimination, and have the lowest life expectancies in relation to the rest of the population. In 2023, Brazil had the highest number of murders of trans people in the world, registering 145 murders. The National Human Rights Ombudsman in Brazil recorded nearly 4,000 acts of hatred against transgender people, especially acts of physical violence, racism and discrimination.

In **Guatemala**, he aforementioned Bill 5272 established that the only viable family model was formed by the «marriage between a man and a woman», and warned of the «existence of minority groups in Guatemalan society that propose currents of thought and practices that are inconsistent with Christian morality, as well as models of conduct and coexistence», stressing the «threat to the moral balance of society» and a «danger to the peace and harmonious coexistence of the vast majority of Guatemalans».

This type of discourse fosters hatred towards LGTBQIA+ people and results in acts of physical, psychological, economic, and institutional violence, as well as discrimination. On 11 June, 2021, trans activist Andrea González was murdered in Guatemala City. González, 28, was a nurse and representative of the association OTRANS Reinas de la Noche, which was dedicated to defending the rights of trans people. Andrea's transfemicide was investigated and taken to trial, and the accused was sentenced to 16 years in prison for homicide, although the activist's defence called for the case to be treated as a femicide.

Of the three countries analysed, **Colombia** is the one with the best legal framework for LGTBQIA+ rights, as it allows for same-sex marriage and for same-sex couples to adopt children. However, some 6,000 gender nonconforming people were victims of the armed conflict, according to official figures. At least 8 defenders of LGBTQIA+ rights were killed in 2023.

For activist Mayré Riveros, a member of the organisation of lesbian, bisexual and trans women Raras no tan Raras, the concept of post-war used since the approval of the Peace Accords in 2016, must be put in quotation marks, since, from her point of view, the internal armed conflict in Colombia is ongoing and the paramilitary forces have strengthened in the rural areas where guerillas have been demobilised.

As a result, extortion, threats and acts of violence are still present in many territories, with LGBTQIA+ people being the target of «social cleansings» orchestrated by armed actors. In parallel, trans people, especially those engaged in sex work, are also affected by the violence exercised by state security forces like the police and the army. However, most of these violent events are not officially reported.

«**The reports of the [Colombian] Truth Commission show the use of women's bodies and sexual diversity are symbols of colonisation in the territories**. Armed actors take the most vulnerable bodies in the territories because they see them as inferior, as an extension of a territory that they do not respect and only want to exploit.» Mayré Riveros (personal interview).

The alliance between ultraconservative movements opposed to LGTBQIA+ rights and a number of religious institutions and organisations has resulted in the use of «conversion therapies», procedures that are aimed at modifying people's sexual orientation and gender identity or expression.

In 1999, **Brazil** became the first country in the world to ban these procedures, and in 2023 a bill was introduced to equate these actions and methods with torture. In fact, the United Nations considers that these practices involve cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment, and is also committed to classifying them as forms of torture.

Guatemala, on the other hand, does not have any prohibition against so-called «conversion therapy». The organisation in defence of LGTBQIA+ rights, "Visibles", has gathered the testimony of several people who underwent "conversion therapy", and warns of how dangerous it can be. They also explain that some people agree to undergo these practices out of fear of losing their relationships, as well as basic needs such as food and accommodation, or their physical well-being.

In **Colombia**, an initiative to prohibit conversion torture presented in Congress was left out of parliamentary debate in June 2024, after senators opposed to the measure changed the agenda of the session to exclude the proposal due to lack of time and support.

The measure, known as the «Inconvertibles», project, sought to prohibit this form of physical and psychological violence against LGTBQIA+ people, often without their consent. In Colombia «conversion therapy» is known by the acronym ECOSIEG (Efforts to Change Sexual Orientation and Identity and Expression). At the time of publication, Colombia does not yet have a law that specifically prohibits these practices. One in five LGTBQIA+ people have been subjected to conversion torture in Colombia in order to "turn them" into heterosexual people, according to a study published in 2020. The figure amounts to one in three in the case of transgender people.

The Colombian organisation Profamilia, which defends sexual and reproductive rights, classifies these conversion tortures into three groups: **aversive therapy**, which uses unpleasant stimuli to associate sexual orientation and gender identity with something negative; **electroshocks**, which involve giving people electric shocks; and **exorcisms**, which consist of rituals to «expel the demon that they believe causes homosexuality or transsexuality». Profamilia also states that these types of practices involve psychological violence and can have serious consequences on people's mental health, such as depression, anxiety, low self-esteem, suicidal thoughts and behaviours, self-harm and eating disorders, among more.

- Denying or curtailing sexual and reproductive rights by advancing extractive projects that aggravate the climate crisis

  Capitalist, racist and colonial extractivism systematically violates sexual and reproductive rights in its attempt to control territory via the control and subjugation of bodies. These dynamics worsen the impact of the climate crisis on the sexual and reproductive rights of populations.

  Consider the following situations:

  - **Extreme temperatures**: Some studies link exposure to **extremely high temperatures** during the third trimester of pregnancy to an **increased chance of pre-term birth**. Each extra degree of minimum daily temperature above 23.9 °C, increases the **risk of infant mortality by up to** 22.4%, according to data from the World Health Organization.

  - **Air pollution**: For newborns and young people, exposure to **air pollution** and extreme heat are linked to **growth delays, respiratory diseases and neuro-developmental problems**, making the effects of climate change «lifelong impacts, with consequences for their adult lives».

  - **Extreme events: Natural disasters** such as droughts, hurricanes and floods are increasingly frequent in the context of the climate crisis and have a disproportionate effect on territories and communities with the worst infrastructure and services. These extreme events jeopardise the provision of medical services, including sexual and reproductive health services. In the event of a natural disaster, women who have just given birth are especially vulnerable, and are more likely to suffer severe stress and other serious effects on their mental health.

    On the other hand, in the context of natural disasters, access to products such as pads, tampons, period pants and menstrual cups is reduced, as is access to clean water, clean toilets and private spaces to change. This can affect menstrual health and hygiene, increasing the risk of infections.

    Extreme weather events are also **a stress factor that aggravates violence against women**, according to a study published in the scientific journal *The Lancet*. The study points out that during crises and natural disasters there is an increase in gender-based violence, "due to socioeconomic instability, structural power inequalities, health-care inaccessibility, resource scarcity, breakdowns in safety and law enforcement, and increases in (perceived) stress". It also states that both long- and short-term effects of gender-based violence have significant implications on the sexual and reproductive health of survivors, including unintended pregnancies, exposure to HIV and other sexually transmitted infections, and fertility problems, among other things.

- **Epidemics: epidemics due to vector-borne diseases** are increasingly frequent in a context of a climate crisis that is accelerated by human action. In tropical countries, and in increasing latitudes due to climate change and international mobility, mosquito species transmit viruses such as dengue, Zika, Nile virus, chikungunya and malaria. Several studies have linked malaria to an increased risk of miscarriages, premature births, intrauterine growth retardation, stillbirth, neonatal death, and maternal death, as well as infants being born with the disease. The Zika virus has been linked to the birth of infants with microcephaly and other congenital malformations, as well as complications in pregnancy such as intrauterine death, prenatal death and premature birth.

  Dengue, on the other hand, can trigger complications such as severe bleeding and pre-eclampsia in pregnant women, and is associated with a risk of maternal death in up to 16% of cases.

- **Food insecurity** puts the health of both pregnant women and their infants at risk. It can also hinder breastfeeding, which is especially important to ensure a source of food and hydration that does not require extra financial expenses for families, while protecting against diseases such as diarrhoea and certain respiratory conditions.

  This food insecurity can be the result of a loss of crops due to extreme weather as a result of the climate crisis. Food insecurity can also be related to the dynamics resulting from monoculture, that is, the occupation of a given territory by companies that cultivate a single agricultural variety for export. The more land these crops occupy, the less land is used to grow food for domestic consumption and for the survival of the population, and the greater the dependence on food imports and purchases.

- The intensive use of **chemicals** such as pesticides or herbicides in monocultures puts the entire reproductive process at risk: it affects everything from fertility to breastfeeding, and covers all the complications that can be detected throughout pregnancy and childbirth, such as miscarriages, foetal malformations and premature births. Several studies link pesticide exposure to different reproductive health problems, including disorders in foetal neurodevelopment; cognitive problems and autism spectrum disorder in children; as well as the risk of polycystic ovary syndrome, endometriosis and breast, ovarian and endometrial cancer.

- In other cases, the **working conditions imposed by extractive companies**, such as uncomfortable or repetitive postures, lack of maternity or breastfeeding leave, or negative pregnancy tests as a requirement for hiring, have a significant impact on the decisions that workers make about reproduction, and can influence the choice to carry out a pregnancy and the conditions.

- **Forced displacement as a result of violence or implementing extractive projects** that also affect the conditions and options available to families considering reproduction, which can hinder pregnancy and childbirth. In contexts of displacement due to natural disasters, extractive projects or armed violence, the precariousness and overcrowding of temporary and emergency housing mean that people are exposed to an increased risk of sexual violence.

- **Reproductive violence**, which the Centre for Reproductive Rights of Colombia defines as «violations of the ability of people to decide whether or not to have children and when, as well as access to information and reproductive health services», includes violence perpetrated by armed actors as part of armed conflicts (Colombia or Guatemala) forced sterilisation, forced motherhood, forced pregnancies and forced abortions. These acts of violence are part of a strategy of **sexual terror** that contributes to the collective trauma of the populations affected by the conflict.

- **Poverty and sexual exploitation**: the loss of crops due to drought, pests, floods, or the consequences of a natural disaster can lead to food insecurity and economic stress. This can lead to many people entering into situations in which they **depend economically** on their partners, and can cause them to enter or remain in **abusive relationships or even situations of sexual exploitation**. Poverty can also push more families towards **child, early or forced weddings because they cannot support** their daughters, according to representatives of the UN organisation Mulheres Brasil.

- **Sexual exploitation, harassment and rape**: many companies and extractive projects are set up in difficult to access territories, such as border areas or areas in forests, either due to the availability of raw materials or because of the tax advantages available in certain spaces, as is the case in the free trade zones where the maquiladoras are. This kind of location means that, in many occasions, the places where they carry out their activity become a kind of «**outlawed area**», which gives a cover to certain crimes, such as **abuse, violence and sexual exploitation**. Proximity to borders is particularly dangerous due to the actions of human trafficking mafias, as well as the possibility that crimes go unpunished.

  Setting up extractive projects such as mines, plantations or construction often involves relocating men from outside the community who settle temporarily in the territory where they work. This exposes women, girls, adolescents and gender nonconforming people to an **increased risk of sexual harassment and rape** when they move around the territory.

- **Sexual blackmail or coercion**: another form of sexual violence related to extractive companies and the militarisation of territories is known as sexual coercion: a form of **sexual blackmail** according to which a person demands sexual services in exchange for protection, money or food. This blackmail is often disguised in the form of a "relationship" in which the distribution of power and freedom is extremely unequal. This tactic is also common in situations of human trafficking, and is also visible in the actions of illegal armed groups, as in the case of Colombia, in which group members feign affection for girls, adolescents and women in order to recruit them for their organisations or turn them into their permanent, abusive companions.

- **Militarisation and addition of private security to territories**: in areas where illegal activities are carried out, where there are conflicts with local communities, or where the presence of armed actors in the area, companies employ private security to shield their facilities. In some cases, governments are even complicit, relocating public forces, such as the police or the army, to protect the interests of private companies. The process of adding the military and private security to territories is also more frequently related to cases of violence and sexual exploitation.

- **Threat of rape and sexual stigma**: when people defend the territory in opposition to extractive projects, there is also the threat of sexual violence against them and their families, which has an impact on their activity. On other occasions, sexual stigma is used as an attempt to undermine the credibility of defenders in their own communities. It is here that misogynistic and ultraconservative discourse serves to discredit the defenders of the territory, which encourages the advancement of extractive projects.

Extractivism not only aggravates the climate crisis, but is often also allied with anti-rights movements to roll back sexual and reproductive rights. Following the proposal by Silvia Federici, we can understand these effects on reproduction and sexual rights not as unforeseen externalities that derive from the activities of extractive companies, but as **planned forms of reproductive control in a context of capitalist expansion** that also extends to the bodies of people who can gestate.

Following this logic, we can also understand why ultraconservative movements have an interest in opposing abortion, restricting access to contraception and information on contraception methods, and opposing the existence and exercise of the rights of LGTBIQA+ people. Beyond the idea of sin or the notion that "life comes from God", what really lies at stake with these positions is having control over bodies that may or may not decide to reproduce. Reproduction is the basis of the capitalist productive system, which depends on the family, and in particular on the sexual division of labour in a sex/gender binary (paid and out-of-home productive tasks are assigned to men, while free and at-home reproductive tasks are attributed to women) for its survival.

6 Four case studies

To try to better explain the impact of climate change and extractivism on the sexual and reproductive rights of the people mentioned in the previous section, here are some specific cases that show how the actions of companies and extractive projects violate these rights.

The situations described in this section are not specific or limited only to one country, but can be easily extrapolated to other countries, especially in the region of Abya Yala/Latin America. This falls in line with colonial extractive logic, in which the countries of the Global South are presented as reservoirs of natural and human resources to supply the ever-growing needs of a voracious and limitless capitalism.

Illegal mining in the Yanomami indigenous territory in Brazil

The Yanomami indigenous territory is an area of 9.6 million hectares of Amazon rainforest, located between the Brazilian states of Amazonas and Roraima, and the border state of Amazonas in Venezuela. A population of around 45,000 indigenous Yanomami people live in the territory, some of them in voluntary isolation.

Since the 1980s, the territory has been occupied by the garimpeiros, illegal gold miners. The activity of the garimpeiros results in deforestation, the pollution of rivers with mercury, food insecurity, epidemics and violence.

These circumstances aggravate the consequences of the climate crisis, threaten the lives of the Yanomami people, and have an impact on their sexual and reproductive rights:

- Mercury poisoning, for example, causes damage to the foetus and malformations in people who are exposed.
- Deforestation is associated with food insecurity and the proliferation of mosquitoes as vectors for diseases such as malaria, which can cause miscarriages.
- Illegal mining activity, especially in border areas, is linked to an increase in sex work in the bars, canteens and brothels run by the garimpeiros, as well as human trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation.
- In the area occupied by the garimpeiros there are reports of cases of sexual abuse against girls and adolescents and situations of **forced child marriage, sexual assaults against minors, and the recruitment of minors for sexual exploitation**.
- There are also cases of **sexual violence** against adult women, such as rape and forced pregnancies, and women in the community say that sexually transmitted diseases have increased.

  «**Previously, women did not suffer from these venereal diseases. We didn't know about these diseases, which leave lesions on the skin and make women bleed. After the arrival of the gold-seeking garimpeiros and due to the poison of cachaça (brandy), they began to have relationships with women, and we learned the name of these diseases. After the gold-lusting garimpeiros spoiled the women's vaginas, they made them sick. That is why women are now disappearing, due how lethal these diseases are (...). In 2020, three girls who were around 13 years old died. The garimpeiros raped them many times, while they were drunk on cachaça. They were very young, they had just had their first menstruation**.» Testimony of a Yanomami woman gathered in the report «Yanomami under attack», published in 2022 by the Hutukara Yanomami association.

The activity of the garimpeiros was encouraged by Jair Bolsonaro's far-right government. In February 2022, Bolsonaro issued a decree legalising garimpeiro work, which was described as, «artisanal, small-scale mining.» The aim, according to the decree, was to contribute «to national and regional sustainable development». That year alone, the activity of garimpeiros grew 54% in the Yanomami indigenous territory. In total, Bolsonaro's mandate increased deforestation associated with garimpeiros by 309%, which meant the destruction of 5,053 hectares of land.

In January 2023, shortly after assuming his third term as president of Brazil, Lula da Silva decreed a health emergency in the Yanomami indigenous territory, caused by the serious food crisis and increase in malaria cases among the population.

The lawless territory of maquiladora manufacturing plants in Guatemala

Maquiladoras are a system of manufactured production, linked to the textile sector and the manufacture of car parts intended for export. As a rule, maquiladora companies are established in free trade or border zones within countries and operate for other transnational companies, which are responsible for marketing the product abroad.

This **relocation of industries** increases the environmental impact related to transport, the import of materials, and the export of manufactured products, including gas emissions that accelerate global warming.

Maquiladoras are set up in territories where there are certain advantages, such as beneficial tariffs, a **lack of environmental control** or less stringent employment laws. This production system falls within the dynamics of extractive capitalism. In this case, rather than extracting natural resources such as minerals or large swathes of territory, it above all extracts human resources.

In Guatemala, an estimated 80,000 people work in maquiladoras, most of them young women between 18 and 35 years old. Almost 80% of them are mothers and are the heads of single-parent households. Many have no formal education beyond primary school and come from rural areas, according to a study by Oxfam.

Work in the maquiladora is extremely **precarious**, with low wages that are not enough to cover basic needs. Threats to sexual and reproductive rights are also evident, such as harassment and sexual violence, the obligation to regularly provide negative pregnancy tests at work, the fact that it is not possible for pregnant workers to receive prenatal care, and discrimination against lesbian, bisexual and transgender workers.

«Trans women, especially those who are indigenous, suffer enormous levels of alienation and are often rejected in their communities of origin and forced to move to cities. **At work in the maquiladoras, they are exposed to discrimination, harassment and aggression**. They are not allowed to wear women's uniforms and the name they have adopted is not respected». Maritza Velásquez, general coordinator and president of ATRAHDOM, an association that defends the rights of domestic workers and maquiladora workers in Guatemala (personal interview).

Most of maquiladora companies in Guatemala are in the textile industry, one of the main reasons for worsening water quality, water pollution and producers of non-recyclable waste and toxic pollutants in the world. The textile industry is one of the most polluting in the world, responsible for 10% of global CO2 emissions, consuming 93 billion cubic meters of water per year, and producing waste products, 90% of which is not recycled.

In Guatemala, the maquiladora industry has been linked to pollution of drains and waterways, due to inadequate wastewater treatment. In 2020, a maquiladora company in Mixco, near Guatemala City, was convicted of polluting the water drainage system with corrosive liquids. This endangers the water supply for local populations, and the situation can be aggravated further if there is a drought as a result of climate change.

Glyphosate in Brazil and Colombia: agricultural tool, anti-drug policy, weapon or poison

Glyphosate is a herbicide that is developed and marketed by the multinational company Bayer-Monsanto. It is used in agriculture, generally in **monocultures of plants that have been genetically modified** to resist being sprayed by this product, such as varieties of genetically modified soybeans or corn.

In 2015, the World Health Organization declared glyphosate «probably carcinogenic to humans». **It is also considered an endocrine disruptor and has particularly serious effects on sexual and reproductive health**: fertility disorders, miscarriages, underweight births, risk of preterm birth, pre-eclampsia, an increase in postpartum hospitalisations for infections, birth defects, infections, and even an increased likelihood of newborn deaths.

In Brazil, glyphosate is the most widely used agrochemical in plantations. It is used in particular for soybean crops, which Brazil is the world's leading exporter of. The use of agrochemicals results in the **contamination of underground and surface waterways, as well as soil and air**. This causes water shortages in periods of drought, which in turn are aggravated by the climate crisis.

These products are associated with the monoculture of grains for export, like soybeans and corn. The agricultural boundaries between these crops have encroached on native forests and the consequent deforestation is one of the factors that reduces the absorption capacity of gases that contribute to global warming and, consequently, accelerates the impact of climate change.

Soybeans are exported throughout the world, including countries in Europe, to feed pig herds in what are known as macro-farms, establishments dedicated to intensive livestock farming that produce high levels of environmental pollution and consume large amounts of water.

The expansion of monocultures in Brazil also **strips indigenous, quilombola and rural communities** of the lands where they live and grow food for survival, and limits the extent to which they can carry out their cultural practices.

In regions such as Mato Grosso, where the largest areas of monocultures in Brazil are located (mainly soybean, corn and cotton), and where there has been an increase in the use of glyphosate on crops, the miscarriage rate is double the average for the entire country: 9 abortions per 10,000 pregnancies, when the average is 4 per 10,000. Other studies state that the number of hospital admissions due to miscarriages is in regions with the largest surface area dedicated to plantations, where agrochemicals are used the most.

An investigation by Reporter Brasil draws attention to the fact that 51 of 56 deputies who voted to eliminate vetoes and facilitate the approved use of agrochemicals, also call themselves «pro-life». These are the same deputies who, in 2024, promoted a bill equating abortion with homicide. The same deputies include 14 military personnel and police officers (including chiefs, sergeants, colonels, inspectors, generals and captains) and two pastors.

In Colombia, glyphosate has been used to remove so-called «illicit crops», such as coca or cannabis. The herbicide was used as part of a government strategy using airforce aircraft to spray the product from the air. This fumigation took place under the framework of the Programme for the Eradication of Illicit Crops (PECIG), which has been in force since 1992. As part of this strategy, it is estimated that a total of 1,800,000 hectares of land have been sprayed with glyphosate.

As a result, unauthorised plantations were eradicated. On the other hand, subsistence crops, waterways and even population centres were also contaminated, causing diseases, animal deaths and the destruction of uncultivated fields.

In relation to these fumigations, the international organisation Centre for Reproductive Rights has reported the cases of Yaneth Valderrama and Doris Alape to the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights. The two women were pregnant when they were sprayed with glyphosate while they were at home, in rural communities in Colombia. Yaneth Valderrama suffered a miscarriage and died shortly after coming into contact with the chemical agent. Doris Alape prematurely gave birth to a baby who died days after birth, and has since developed health complications that have become disabling chronic diseases.

Use of glyphosate in Catalonia and the rest of Europe

In Spain, glyphosate is used in agriculture to control weeds prior to the harvest of cereals and oilseeds, as well on stubble and after sowing various crops. It is also used for non-agricultural activities, such as to control the vegetation that grows on road shoulders, in tree pits and along paths in towns, in railway infrastructure and in industry, and is used as an aquatic herbicide, according to the Catalan Food Safety Agency.

Regarding agricultural use, glyphosate is the herbicide that is most frequently used to cultivate barley, nuts, sunflower, olive and wheat, according to data from the Spanish Ministry for the Ecological Transition and Demographic Challenge (MITECO). In 2021, 31% of the surface and groundwater samples analysed had levels of glyphosate above the reference limit, which is 0.1 milligrams per litre, according to data from MITECO.

In Catalonia, progress has been made in recent years to reduce the use of glyphosate on roads, parks and gardens, but it has not been a linear process.

In 2015, Barcelona City Council banned the use of glyphosate in parks, gardens and other green spaces in the city. In 2016 Girona City Council also joined the measure, pledging to «progressively eliminate the most toxic products, such as glyphosate-based herbicides», and to publicise the phytosanitary products used by the city. However, in 2023 it was reported that this municipality continued to use glyphosate for weed management, while the municipality argued that it was only used on highways in the region.

The application of these restrictions coincided with **the classification of glyphosate as «probably carcinogenic» by the WHO** and with a «wave» of bans in different cities throughout Spain, including in Zaragoza, Badalona, Tarragona, Madrid, Valdemoro, Onda, Alzira, Castellón and Talavera. Up to 45 municipalities restricted the use of this chemical. Some towns such as in Planoles (in the province of Girona), declared themselves pesticide free.

But this level of commitment has not always been consistent. Other Catalan municipalities that also banned the use of glyphosate began to use it again in certain situations. This was the case in Cunit, where they declared that alternatives to glyphosate, such as the manual removal of plants, were «ineffective», A similar such example is the case of El Vendrell. The use of glyphosate on roads in the region of Pallars Jussà (in the province of Lleida) has also been widely condemned.

Floriculture for export in Colombia

Floriculture is a industry that is deeply rooted in Colombia, where 95% of the flowers grown are destined for export. About 400 companies control the sector, which occupies about 6,700 hectares of territory, 73% of them located in the fertile lands of the Bogotá savanna.

In 2022, Colombia was the second largest exporter of flowers in the world, with the United States as the main destination for the products. In 2023, the US received 79% of Colombia's flower exports, worth 1.6 billion dollars. It is estimated that 200,000 people work in this sector, 60% of whom are women. In total, the sector employs more than 25% of the country's rural workers.

In certain regions of Colombia, the sector is so important to the economy that food crops are being abandoned in favour of monoculture of flowers for export, in another example of extractivism that puts the food sovereignty of territories at risk.

In addition, official sources have calculated that floriculture consumes 54.8 million cubic meters of water per year in the three municipalities in the Bogotá savanna, where most of the production is concentrated: Madrid, Funza and Subachoque. In these municipalities, the consumption of water for human use stood at 10.7 million cubic meters per year. These figures are especially serious in the context of the climate crisis.

According to a study by the Cactus Corporation, 48% of female floriculture workers stated that companies required a negative pregnancy test in order to hire them. This practice, which has been banned in Colombia since 1994, puts pressure on people, has an impact on their **freedom to make decisions about reproduction**, and results in gender discrimination.

The organisation also condemns the difficulties faced by workers in obtaining medical permits, as well as the dismissals if they get pregnant.

Another study published in 2022 analysed the health problems of female floriculture workers in Madrid (in the department of Cundinamarca). The study identified «recurrent health problems suffered collectively, and which are related to lack of protection and inadequate infrastructure, the wide variety of tasks, extended working days and pressure to increase the pace of production».

«**The impact of labour is registered on the body, in what we could call a production of the body, a body that synthesises the wounds of the territory, and hegemonic conceptions of work, the economy, politics, and more**. The body is produced by an organisation in the territory that makes it suffer pain, makes it ill, asphyxiates it and suffocates it through alienated work, which results in dead nature, since the water sources have become dry; the soil has been poisoned for more than 40 years with agrochemicals, and monoculture is putting the food production and food sovereignty of the savanna in crisis». Red Popular de Mujeres de la Sabana de Bogotá [Popular Network of Women of the Bogotá Savanna].

7 Final thoughts

Over the course of this document we have made an attempt to describe the connections between climate justice and sexual and reproductive justice, from a two-pronged perspective: identifying anti-rights actors and exposing their links to corporate and extractivist power, and pointing out the impacts of this extractivism on sexual rights.

The reflections presented here are based on the analysis of these connections and examples from Colombia, Brazil and Guatemala, but they could easily be extrapolated to other contexts. Not all the conclusions are new or revelatory ideas, but they are based on accumulated knowledge. Our goal in this section is to highlight these dynamics to continue demonstrating that sexual and reproductive rights are a matter of climate justice, and that climate justice must be on the agenda of anyone who defends the right to bodily autonomy.

The fabric is made up of political, economic and religious elites with common interests

In the contexts studied, economic, political and religious powers feed into each other:

- Denying the impact of the climate crisis favours the unregulated progress of extractive economic projects.

- The ultraconservative ideology deployed by religious powers and far-right parties contributes to the denial of sexual and reproductive rights,

- The defence of «economic growth», on the one hand, and «family, children and traditional values», on the other, wins votes for far-right and ultra-neoliberal political movements, which use these discourses as weapons to set them apart and gain support from people who are disenchanted with progressive governments, the advancement of feminism and climate justice movements.

  In Guatemala we can see a clear example of these alliances in the so-called «pact of the corrupt», a strategic alliance between economic and political actors to sustain a system of corruption, privileges and economic and social inequality.

  Common interests become evident when, for example, the deputies and senators who are part of blocs that vote in favour of agribusiness and against sexual and reproductive rights are the same. This is the case in Brazil, where parliamentarians who voted in favour of the liberalisation of agrochemical use in monocultures are the same deputies who want to increase sentences against people.

Necropolitics, sacrified bodies and territories

Ecocide, ethnocide and genocide are part of what are known as practices and policies of death: the use of death –of people and ecosystems, of cultural practices and non-human animals– as a functional resource used to further extractivism and, ultimately, colonial capitalism. It is a dynamic that we have seen, for example, in the influence of companies such as the US-based United Fruit Company in coups, wars and revolutions in Mesoamerica. In these cases, protection of company's interests was used to justify violence, attacks and even genocides.

Death policies are a tool of extractive capitalism to advance over territories. Pollution of air, land and water; banning access to the territories and resources of populations; forced displacement; deforestation; the extraction of animal and plant species beyond the limits of reforestation and soil degradation are just some of the environmental impacts of extractivism, which translate into impacts on the bodies and lives of the human population.

Continuing with the idea of the politics of death as a tool of capitalism, the concept of «necropolitics» emerges. The idea is a conception of sovereignty as the power that international actors have to decide who should live and who should die according to strictly economic criteria. The term, which was coined by the Cameroonian philosopher Achille Mbembe, is also used to discuss people or communities that are forced to live in situations between life and death, such as people who are subjected to the colonial occupation of their territories, genocide or slavery, among other things.

All these practices are characterised by not being isolated events, but strategies that are organised and supported by patriarchal, **colonial and/or racist ideologies** that defend the submission, destruction and, ultimately, the annihilation of people, cultures and ecosystems. Within this logic, gender-based violence and femicides can also be included as a policy of death against women and female-presenting subjects, one that gains momentum when conservative and ultra-neoliberal governments come to power [13].

Mbembe explains that, from the very start «necropolitics» are built on racism and supremacism, which dehumanise certain populations to justify their exploitation for the benefit of other populations that are perceived as superior or privileged. He argues that it is this racism, and not just the class struggle typical of capitalism, that underpins the policies of exploitation of people and territories that fall within colonial and imperialist projects.

Applied to current capitalist dynamics, necropolitics serves to talk about the policies of death that derive from the action of extractive companies and the consequences of the climate crisis. In this context, some voices speak of «necroliberalism», which is characterized by the prioritization of market interests over democratic precepts, and follows authoritarian and ecocidal logic.

Necropolitics is also related to the concept of «sacrifice zones», which refers to territories in which there are extractive and industrial megaprojects that have environmental and social consequences. According to this line of thought, a transnational company understands that there are certain areas of the world that—due to their wealth in a natural resource that can be traded on the market—must be «sacrificed» in ecological and human terms in order to extract the maximum profit. Again, **the company has the sovereignty to decide who lives, and who dies**.

13 It is worth remembering, for example, the hate crime against Roxana, Pamela and Andrea, the three lesbians who were burned alive in 2024 in the Barracas neighborhood of Buenos Aires, against a backdrop of Javier Milei's far-right government and in a climate of worsening violence against human rights defenders.

Parallel to the sacrifice zones, the notion of «sacrificed bodies»: is also covered. This refers to bodies directly suffer from the consequences that extractive projects have on their health, rights and ways of life. If necropolitics is inspired by racist ideas that establish who survives and who dies, it is perhaps no surprise that the «sacrificed bodies» are those that power perceives as subordinate: racialised, but also rural, poor, marginalised, female-presenting, unwell, gender-nonconforming or intersecting with any other category.

If extractive transnational companies are aware of the effects of their activity on human reproduction, then miscarriages, infertility, congenital malformations and low life expectancy at birth would all fall under a strategy that aims to exterminate populations close to extractive projects, since they are the most exposed to harm and best-positioned to exercise some type of resistance.

Extractivism, when allied with anti-rights movements, promotes a «repatriarchalisation of territories»

The concept of **repatriarchalisation of territories** refers to how the arrival of extractive megaprojects in indigenous and campesino territories increases the gender gap in communities, reinforcing existing patriarchal structures. This concept includes not only the link between the patriarchy, capitalism, extractivism, neoliberalism and colonialism, but also applies to the resistance launched by women and gender nonconforming people in a joint struggle against «the territorialisation of megaprojects, neocolonial appropriations of living spaces, and the reconfiguration of the patriarchy necessary under the extractivist model», as Míriam García-Torres, feminist political ecology expert, explained.

One of the mechanisms that contribute to repatriarchalisation is that extractive companies offer men from the communities the possibility of salaried work in the projects they implement in the territory. This proposal works in two ways. On the one hand, this contributes towards reducing resistance to projects and even to co-opting territorial leadership. On the other hand, it gives greater economic power to men and accentuates the sexual division of labour within communities, increasing violence –of a social, political, economic, cultural and sexual kind– against women.

It is for these reasons that, in communities affected by extractivism, women and gender nonconforming people often oppose the installation of megaprojects. They see how extractivism increases their burden of care work, involves a greater degree of violence, and has an impact on the loss of food sovereignty, creating greater levels of dependence.

In addition, the megaprojects also have an impact on sexual and reproductive rights, either because of the environmental consequences that these projects entail and how this affects people's health, or because of the dynamics that these companies instil in territories and their impacts on the social fabric and the relationships between community members.

Following on from what Silvia Federici, proposes, we can understand the effects on reproduction not as unforeseen externalities that result from the activities of extractive companies, but as **planned forms of control of reproduction in a context of expanding capitalism** that also extends to the bodies of people who can gestate.

Following this logic, we can also understand the origin of the interest that ultraconservative movements have in opposing abortion, access to contraceptive methods and information on contraception, or the existence and exercise of rights of the LGTBQIA+ community. Beyond the idea of sin or the notion that «life comes from God», what really lies at stake with these positions is having control over bodies that may or may not decide to reproduce. Reproduction is the basis of the capitalist productive system, which depends on the family, and in particular on the sexual division of labour (paid and out-of-home productive tasks are assigned to men, while free and at-home reproductive tasks are attributed to women) for its survival.

The level to which these churches have infiltrated rural communities, and the influence of their discourses on people's sexual and reproductive freedom, can also be understood as part of the «repatriarchalisation of territories».

- Sexual and reproductive violence is used to gain territory for extractivism that worsens the climate crisis

As we can see in the cases analysed, **sexual violence, rather than a consequence of the implementation of extractive projects, is a strategy used against populations that resist in the territories, either to subdue them** or drive them away, leaving room so that the resources can be extracted. This is how it works in the case of the garimpeiros in the mines of the Yanomami indigenous territory in Brazil, or in the violence against maquiladora workers in border areas in Mexico or Guatemala.

Some community feminism activists in Latin America, such as Lorena Cabnal, speak of the superposition of violence, of a **historical continuity of the violence that is unleashed on the territories and bodies of women and gender nonconforming people**.

In the territories of Brazil, Colombia and Guatemala, the concept of a continuum of violence allows us to draw a timeline that:

- It started with the genocide that was the **Spanish and Portuguese colonisation** of the territories of Abya Yala/Latin America.
- It continues through the human trafficking of people kidnapped from their home territories to be **enslaved**.
- It traverses the **dictatorships and conflicts** that occurred during the twentieth century.
- It ends up with the presence and activity of **armed actors and organised crime related to drug trafficking**.
- It extends through to **disputes over the territory and resources** that sustain extractive projects to this day.

These dynamics of violent appropriation of territories, extermination and violence have had specific consequences on the bodies and lives of women and gender nonconforming people, such as **sexual violence and the use of their bodies as weapons of war**.

In the case of Guatemala, the Guatemalan Commission for Historical Clarification recognises that rape and other forms of sexual violence were used as a war strategy as part of the internal armed conflict, to break down the indigenous social fabric and subject the local population to military control.

It also noted that sexual violence was a widespread, massive and systematic practice carried out by state agents in response to explicit plans and orders handed down by senior army commanders.

Sexual violence practices included mass and multiple sexual violations in public; public exposure of mutilated or raped female bodies; the rape of pregnant women and destruction of foetuses; forced pregnancy; forced abortion; forced relationships; sexual exploitation and sexual slavery.

In the case of Colombia, according to the Observatory of Memory and Conflict, between 1959 and 2020 there were 15,670 victims of sexual violence in the framework of the armed conflict, of which 30% were girls and adolescents. In addition to rape and sexual torture, many women, girls and adolescents suffered forms of reproductive violence, such as forced sterilisation, forced abortion or forced contraception, especially those who were members of armed groups.

As we have seen, **the way this violence is perpetuated, even outside the explicit context of armed conflicts, causes the forced displacement of the population, which clears lands where extractive projects, such as monocultures or mining, can then be implemented**. Sexual and reproductive violence against women is another tool used to displace these populations and control their territories through imposition and control over their bodies.

8 Can we imagine other futures?

It is not within the scope and objectives of this research to suggest alternative outlooks to the realities described and denounced throughout this document. Alternatives and resistance already exist in the territories themselves, and are rooted much more in everyday practices than in theoretical discourse.

We invite you to take a closer look at what popular feminist movements are doing to defend their territories, bodies and rights when faced with the advance of the corporate/extractivist/anti-rights movement.

We suggest observing how these movements have organised to decriminalise of abortion, and looking at the actions they take to bring food to communities devastated by disasters caused by the climate crisis.

It is interesting to see what the environmental movements that fight for climate justice are doing to defend sexual and reproductive rights, in terms of their political positions and as part of their organisational practices.

There are already alternatives to an extractive capitalism that preys on natural resources and human lives:

- We can see them in ecofeminist transitions that promote models based on caring for people and territories, as well as in the connections that are established and that place at their centre the reproduction of life, and the tasks and jobs that make it possible, instead of focusing on capital and production.

- We can observe them in the options that come from a perspective of society, solidarity and the feminist economy; in the movements and projects based on self-management; in defence of local production and food, energy, housing and territorial sovereignty; in the struggles for basic rights such as housing, water, health and education; in the networks for fair trade and responsible consumption; and ultimately in all the initiatives that aim to reduce waste, extractivism and the workplace and neocolonial exploitation of people and territories, encouraging reflections on the finite nature of resources and the need to rethink the dynamics of production and consumption.

- We can see them in the reflections that lead us to degrowth, which together with ecofeminism insists on the need to produce, consume and work less to allow ecosystems to recover and people to have time to spend their lives on more than the infinite tasks of production and reproduction. Degrowth is presented as the only and most urgent choice in the face of the catastrophic consequences of the climate crisis. Self-organised mutual support resurfaces as the only viable option for reconstruction in the face of the denialist policies of the extreme right, which do not even change their mind in the face of evidence of catastrophes such as the DANA in Valencia in October 2024.

- We can see them in internationalist feminist solidarity networks, which in the face of the totalitarian threat of the extreme right connect, manages to fight back through empathy and through the shared defence of common causes, using each other as a loudspeaker to condemn actions, build complicities and exchange tools and knowledge for justice, healing and reparation. We see how, for example, the demonstrations against Milei's hate speeches do not only take place in Argentina, but also spread to other territories through migration, exile and the diaspora, and also through feminist solidarity.

We want to make it understood that these symmetrical, intertwined and interdependent struggles –the struggle for climate justice and for sexual and reproductive justice, the struggles for food sovereignty, the fight for the right to housing, to defend the territory and its resources, the struggle for cultural rights, truth, memory and reparation in transitional justice processes, and so many other struggles– are part of the same effort to rebuild dignified and sustainable lives in the midst of the panorama left to us by the patriarchal (racist, colonial, hetero, cis) capitalist system.

9 Glossari

Sexual and reproductive rights or DSIR: rights related to sexuality and the reproduction of people are included under this term, as part of human rights.

Reproductive rights include, among others, the right to abortion; the right to access information and contraceptive measures; the right to family planning; protection against gynaecological and obstetric violence; access to information on menstruation and menstrual products; access to assisted reproduction techniques; maternity and breastfeeding leave; protection and reparation in cases of reproductive violence, and more.

Sexual rights include sexual autonomy; the right to a life free of sexual violence; the full exercise of sexual freedom; the right to gender self-determination and to live according to one's gender; the legal recognition of trans, non-binary and other gender identities that do not conform to the binary norm; protection against discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation; the sexual rights of non-heterosexual persons, and more.

Anti-rights movements: this term refers to social and political movements that oppose a rights agenda, especially in relation to sexual and reproductive rights. This term is necessary to unmask the ways in which ultraconservative movements call themselves pro-life or pro-family. Throughout the research, the terms «anti-gender movements», «fundamentalist» and «ultraconservative» are also used to refer to these groups. Often, they are also related to movements and parties on the right or extreme right.

Sexuality and gender nonconformity: the patriarchal and colonial system establishes that the norm is a heterosexual, cisgender identity (in which the sex assigned at birth and gender identity coincide) and the binary sex/gender system (which recognises only two categories: male and female). In this sense, nonconforming refers to all the people who, through their experience of sexuality, identity or gender expression, transcend, deny or question the cis, hetero and binary norm.

Throughout this document, the category «sexuality and gender nonconformity», «gender nonconforming people» or simply «nonconforming people» is used in alternation with the LGTBQIA+ category (lesbian, gay, trans, bisexual, intersex, queer, intersex, asexual and others) that in some contexts is questioned as containing a colonial bias or being far removed from local realities.

People who can gestate: we use this expression to talk about all those people who, from a biological point of view, can become pregnant. We prefer this term to «women of childbearing age», which is used in many of the medical and scientific studies and documents consulted, for two reasons. On the one hand, not all people with childbearing capacity identify as women, nor can all people who identify as women become pregnant, whether for reasons of age, health status, anatomical and sex/gender diversity, and other reasons. On the other hand, the term «women» does not necessarily include girls and teenagers who become pregnant, in most cases, as a result of sexual violence.

Transnational corporations: are companies whose activity is relocated via one or several countries. The term generally refers to companies with headquarters located in countries in the Global North, where they transfer their profits while carrying out their projects in countries in the Global South, which is where most of the environmental and human impacts are felt.

Extractivism: a series of practices aimed at extracting resources (natural, economic, human, cultural) from a territory by means an external actor, to pass on the benefits to another territory, generally without the consultation, consent or compensation of local populations. The notion of extractivism is strongly linked to imperialism and colonialism, since the processes of colonisation and enslavement of people derive from the logic of resource extraction, and are reinforced by a racist societal hierarchy.

Abya Yala/Latin America: throughout the research, the term Abya Yala is used, the original name proposed by the Guna indigenous people (from the current territories of Colombia and Panama) to designate what we know today as Latin America, which is the name given by European colonisers to designate this geographical area. We believe that the use of the term Abya Yala respects the literal nature of textual quotations and the attempt to name territories through their own languages and worldviews, rejecting those imposed by colonialism. However, sometimes we also opt for the term «Latin America» or «Latin American» because it is used by some sources, and to help clarify the content of the research.

Denialism or denialists: these terms refer to the groups, movements or people who deny the evidence of the climate crisis, minimise its effects or unleash its impacts on human action. Often, these movements refer to conspiracy theories («conspiracy + paranoia») about international groups, institutions or movements that they believe want to control the world by imposing their agenda.

Agribusiness: this refers to the series of agricultural and livestock production practices that are not intended for self-consumption, but instead for international export markets. This concept includes, for example, the monoculture of commodities such as soybeans, destined for international trade, or livestock related to large farms run by meat or leather export companies, among other products. This term is used to distinguish this form of production from agricultural cultivation or extensive livestock farming, self-sufficient agriculture and agroecological crops.

Translator's Note:

Campesino/a: A native of a rural area in Latin America, a person who lives and works on the land, a farmer with limited land ownership.

Garimpeiro: An independent prospector or worker on small-scale mines in Brazil.

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