

L Citizens, Society and Nature

Sites of Inquiry, Points of Departure
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‘What science has identified as the ancestor of corn is a grass: teosintle. It is a grass from which corn emerged only as a result of an exchange between this grass and humans. In this respect, corn is the product of a dialogue between the human and the vegetable worlds ... corn could not have been created unless humans started to converse with teosintle. To understand this is to understand the world in a very different way. ... In the past, corn taught us to be humans. Today, at a time when the market rules, what we believe is that corn can help us once again to recuperate our humanity.’

—Amado Ramírez Leyva, Mixtec restaurant owner and food activist in Oaxaca, Mexico (quoted in Poole and Alonso Rascón 2009, 32–33)

‘If they want to begin to pay us a little of the debt that the winka have with us mapuche, if they insist on giving me something of their modernity, I will wait for it here on my land, and I will see what parts of it are useful to me, what I will take from it, but I will not in exchange abandon the spirits of my landscape.’

—Nicolasa Quintremán Kalpán, Mapuche-Pewenche elder speaking of her resistance to the Ralco hydroelectric project on the Bío Bío River, in Southern Chile (quoted in Chihuailaf 1999, 143, our translation)

‘Bebo agua, luego existo, luego voto.’ (I drink water, therefore I exist, therefore I vote.)

—Graffiti in Cochabamba, Bolivia (Perreault 2010)

These words from Latin American activists remind us of something fundamental about the politics of the environment. They reaffirm that nature is not only an object of social struggle, but is also inextricably intertwined with the very voices that render the environment political. This book explores that intertwining, examining the way that socio-political subjects are mutually constituted with the ecological practices and institutions that they create,

defend and reshape over time. To do so it draws on the concept of citizenship – a category of being that rests at the centre of modern forms of political order. Debates about environmental citizenship have taken on strategic importance for scholars, policy makers and civil society actors as they rethink individual and collective engagement with ecological challenges. This volume in part aims to build on these debates, but we also invite readers to revisit dominant conceptions of what it means to study environmental questions through the lens of citizenship. In particular, the chapters in this collection demonstrate that addressing socio-ecological relationships and struggles in the Global South requires nuanced attention to the ways citizenship itself is constituted and contested. As such, our premise is not simply that the lens of citizenship can shed new light on the politics of nature, but also that debates and conflicts over the fate of nature can help us better understand what is at stake in the politics of citizenship in Latin America and beyond.

Latin American Articulations of Citizenship and Environment

Latin America provides a rich context for research on the environmental dimensions of citizenship: its cultural diversity, its shared histories of conflict, and the multiplicity of specific ecological and territorial landscapes as exemplified in an array of indigenous cosmovisions. With a fraught and uneven history of conquest, imperialism, ethnic conflict and resource-related economic development, Latin America presents a complex field of socio-ecological relations. It is home to political cultures informed by a range of influences, including European traditions, such as republicanism, liberalism and Marxism; social and political traditions specific to the settler societies of the region, such as the Bolivarian revolution and Paulo Freire's pedagogy of the oppressed; and, principally, a long heritage of indigenous socio-political institutions, from the Mayan *usos y costumbres* to the Mapuche *admapu*. Each of these various political traditions is embedded in specific visions of socio-ecological relations, from the Quichua's social organization of cultivation linked to reverence for the *pachamama* to liberalism's institutions of private property. These political-ecological inheritances are constantly being reinvented and recombined, as witnessed in the Zapatista autonomous municipalities of Mexico, the Brazilian landless workers movement and the indigenous recuperation of the state in Bolivia.

During the latter part of the twentieth century, Latin American societies emerged from an era of authoritarian regimes and began processes of democratic renewal, with the environment becoming one of the first issues around which civil society movements coalesced. As a reflection of the ecological pres-

sures associated with rapid modernization and globalization, based largely on the export of agricultural products and natural resources, the environment has remained an enduring theme of public debate and popular protest. This political ferment around environmental issues has made important contributions to new characterizations of the rights, responsibilities and relations of citizenship in Latin America, bridging the concerns of environmental justice, democratic participation and livelihoods (Latta and Wittman 2010).

Constitutional changes in Brazil, Argentina, Colombia, Peru and Venezuela have variously reconsidered rights related to access to land and a healthy environment (Gudynas 2009), while Ecuador's 2008 constitution goes so far as to provide rights to nature itself. Articulating these changes to the global scale, in 2004 the United Nations Environment Program (UNEP) launched a Latin America Global Environmental Citizenship Project (Unep/Pnuma 2006). This has been followed by other formal recognitions of the relationship between environment and citizenship, including the Peruvian Ministry of Environment's 2009 Environmental Citizenship Prize, Brazil's Secretariat of Institutional Articulation and Environmental Citizenship and Chile's Youth National Environmental Citizenship Day.

Reflecting these trends, scholarship related to environmental questions in Latin America has increasingly incorporated themes related to citizenship. Researchers working with rural and indigenous peoples have probed relationships that link the politics of land, livelihood and identity, often in the context of struggles for political recognition and agency (see, for example, Yashar 2005; Latta 2007a; Postero 2007; Nuijten and Lorenzo 2009; Wittman 2009, 2010); others studying democratization and institutional reform in the environmental sector have looked to citizen participation processes as key facets in new modes of governance (Menegat 2002; Palerm and Aceves 2004; Bachmann, Delgado and Marín 2007; Walker et al. 2007); an emerging literature on environmental justice in the region also crosses into questions of democracy and participation (Hochstetler and Keck 2007; Carruthers 2008); and efforts to historicize the political ecology of specific resources, such as water or fossil fuels, have linked struggles over these resources to the evolution of citizenship and popular imaginaries of the nation (Castro 2006; Perreault and Valdivia 2010).

In the current Latin American conjuncture a period of formal democratic consolidation has been more-or-less completed in a series of countries that experienced dictatorial regimes during the second half of the twentieth century. Nevertheless, the depth of the democratic transition in many of these nations remains in flux, not least because democracy returned under market conditions that have produced profound cultural shifts away from collective modes of popular mobilization, along with a simultaneous narrowing of the ideological spectrum among members of the political class. In this context

the increasing linkage of environment and citizenship in Latin America, both within a top-down policy discourse of environmental rights and obligations and as an empirical dimension of socio-political conflicts reshaping citizenship from the bottom up, poses a new series of questions for scholars and practitioners alike.

Environmental Citizenship: A Contested Concept

Over the past decade, debates about environmental citizenship have risen to prominence in the field of environmental politics, with some crossover into interdisciplinary scholarship rooted in other areas of the social sciences. These debates have rejuvenated perennial discussions about the links between ecology and democracy, as well as the socio-political conditions required to cultivate sustainable development. There are a number of key insights and conversations within the literature that serve as important points of reference as we orient ourselves to the task of building a research agenda around environment and citizenship in Latin America. The first of these points is related to alternate philosophical frameworks for citizenship. There are several traditions that vie for precedence in the way that the ecological dimension is integrated into the institutions and practices of citizenship, most strongly evident as a debate between liberalism, with its emphasis on rights (see Hayward 2002; Bell 2005; Hailwood 2005) and republicanism, which places a much stronger accent on obligations or virtues (see Smith 1998; Dobson 2003). As social actors draw on the language of citizenship to shape their identities and political projects they draw alternately or simultaneously on these overarching traditions, with different implications for the way that nature is articulated to the political sphere.

A second important dimension of the literature on environmental citizenship deals with issues of scale and the territoriality of formal political communities within the modern nation-state. A series of scholars have argued that there is a problematic disconnect between the spatial characteristics of ecological problems and conflicts, on the one hand, and the traditional containers of political community, on the other (see Newby 1996; Jelin 2000; Valencia Sáiz 2005). In an example of one widely cited response to this disjuncture, Andrew Dobson (2003) has argued that the notion of the ecological footprint promises a new way of constituting citizenship obligations, where political community is reimagined according to the material relationships that link together human communities across vast distances. For Dobson this is a powerful way of linking citizenship to justice. He is particularly concerned that consumers in the Global North recognize and act to reduce the size of their ecological footprint on ecological systems and human communities in

the Global South. We can equally see how rethinking the territorial basis for citizenship helps make sense of the growth of transnational activist networks, as a response in the political sphere to the tremendous deterritorialisation of economic and commodity flows.

A third strand of scholarship on environmental citizenship has focussed on deliberation as a core tenet of democratic citizenship, emphasizing the way that deliberative approaches to education and political contest can advance the incorporation of ecological questions into public consciousness and offer more scope for broadly participatory decision making on environmental questions (see Barry 1999; Carlsson and Jensen 2006; Schlosberg, Shulman and Zavestoski 2006). Though it currently comprises a more limited piece of the scholarship on environmental citizenship, this approach has affinities with a broader literature on deliberative theories of green democracy (see Barns 1995; Dryzek 2000).

While the literature on environmental citizenship offers many insights relevant to the issues and cases addressed by the contributors to this book, three key limitations are worth highlighting. First, environmental citizenship emerged most strongly as a normative theoretical project aimed at rethinking citizenship according to the imperative of responding to ecological crisis. As a result of this orientation, academic debates on environmental citizenship are often significantly removed from the lived experience of ‘actually existing’ citizenly agency vis-à-vis environmental questions. In a second related problem, some of the strongest voices in the existing literature are those linked to the republican project of cultivating responsible environmental citizens. An obligations approach to citizenship can risk depoliticizing ecological questions by locating citizen action in the context of individual behavioural change, rather than political debate and collective struggle. Recent empirical work on environmental citizenship bears out our concern about this risk, as an increasing number of researchers go in search of ‘good’ environmental citizens, as part of efforts to test whether increased knowledge of ecological problems actually prompts individuals to change their attitudes and behaviours (see Flynn, Bellaby and Ricci 2008; Jagers 2009; Wolf, Brown and Conway 2009).

The final limitation of existing conceptions of environmental citizenship is linked to a geographical bias in the literature, which has thus far paid little attention to empirical contexts in Latin America and other regions of the Global South. Preoccupied with the cultivation of ‘green’ behaviour among rapaciously consuming citizens in the North, researchers have generally failed to probe the interface of environment and citizenship from the perspective of political subjects whose relationship to the environment is defined instead by the ecological dimensions of socio-economic marginalization. As we approach this interface in the Latin American context it is crucial to be aware that the history of socio-ecological struggle in the region is markedly differ-

ent from the environmentalism of North America or Europe. Characterizing the Brazilian environmental movement, Angus Wright (2008) observes that in the face of extreme inequality, a lack of state accountability and a culture of impunity for the economic elite, there is a certain urgency to the question of citizenship itself that colours popular ecological struggles in the region (see also Hochstetler and Keck 2007). In Brazil and elsewhere in Latin America, the politics of nature closely link struggles for recognition and inclusion in the political collective with simultaneous struggles for economic and ecological survival. In this sense, it is important to heed the call from political ecologists to pay attention to how unequal power relations take shape across multiple fields, conflicts and territorial spaces (see Bryant and Bailey 1997; Díez and Dwivedi 2008).

The research agenda that we propose in response to these limitations is broadly framed by our attempt to remedy the theoretical and geographical biases of current debates, proposing Latin America as a new site of empirical exploration. We assert that Latin America provides a host of experiences that can help engender theoretical and methodological innovation to address the conceptual limitations of environmental citizenship described above, while a focus on citizenship can help us better understand what is at stake in the environmentalism of the South. The chapters in this collection remind us that environmental questions are almost always already tangled with struggles over the shape of citizenship identities, institutions and practices. In seeking to tease apart these relationships we draw on immanent critiques of environmental citizenship, including some of our own existing contributions, emphasizing two key points of departure. First, as Liette Gilbert and Catherine Phillips (2003) sustain, citizenship constitutes not a set of static rights and duties but rather a dynamic space of struggle, within which rights can be claimed. In other words, even as nature is politicized by citizens enacting their political and ecological subjectivities, such enactment in turn involves an active reshaping of those subjectivities. This is particularly true when subaltern political subjects are the ones to bring environmental questions into political debate, since their efforts to politicize nature are simultaneously encapsulated in demands that their voices be heard by the broader political community – that their full citizenship in that community be recognized and honoured.

The second key point of departure for conceptual innovation has to do with the way that the dynamic relationship between environment and citizenship is also bound up with other dimensions of social life. Sherilyn MacGregor (2006a, 2006b), for instance, argues that the new responsibilities invoked by the notion of environmental citizenship do not play evenly across different fields of social experience. In particular, she highlights the particularity of women's experiences of both participatory democracy and citizen

responsibility in a world characterized by gender inequality. In this light, she proposes an understanding of citizenship where nature and gender are simultaneously contested. We might equally insert race, identity or class into the equation, as dimensions of socio-political life that have an undeniable bearing on the way citizenship's articulation with environment is experienced and contested by different actors. These and other contributions to the debate (see Jelin 2000; Latta 2007b; Gabrielson 2008; Wittman 2010) begin to take us beyond the scope of citizenship that is merely environmental (in the sense of being 'green') and into an analytical domain where citizenship instead serves as a node or crucible where ecological questions become politicized together with an array of other issues fundamental to the very shape of the polities, ecologies, societies and conflicts that citizens inhabit. This treatment of citizenship thus sheds new light on the convergent politicization of nature and human marginality in response to the hegemonic projects of development, modernization and globalization (Díez and Dwivedi 2008).

Sites of Inquiry

While the contributions to this collection are characterized by a series of crosscutting empirical concerns and analytical orientations, we have grouped them according to the way in which particular chapters foreground three central thematic elements. The first section draws out the co-construction of nature and social subjectivity around questions of citizenship. The chapters in part two analyse dynamics of marginalization and the struggles for recognition and justice that rise in response. The final selection of chapters takes a closer look at the relationships between citizens and states in shifting regimes of environmental governance. In what follows we offer a preliminary orientation to each of these three sections of the book.

Assembling Nature's Citizens

The literature on environmental citizenship is mostly based on the assumption that citizenship needs to be *made* environmental in various ways, implying an original ontological separation of nature and society. Instead, we assert that nature and socio-political subjectivity are mutually constitutive nodes in complex networked assemblages of actors, discourses and biophysical flows. To put this another way, rather than understanding environment and citizenship as separate categories, which interact through human practices of public debate, resource extraction and environmental management, we take the ontological mingling of natures and socio-political subjects as our starting point. From this perspective, the crucial analytical task becomes

one of identifying the ways in which particular citizen/nature amalgams are assembled, contested, dissolved and reassembled within historically dynamic and geographically specific socio-natural contexts.

The chapters in this section offer four different windows on the way that emergent citizen subjectivities are assembled and contested along with specific biophysical and discursive natures. First, Andrew Baldwin and Judy Meltzer present a disconcerting exploration of a particular kind of environmental citizen that is taking shape as an integral component within a set of discourses and policies that anchor a new biopolitical approach to global security. As the risks associated with global warming are reconfigured within the geopolitical considerations of major world powers, the carbon locked in tropical forests is mobilized as a key strategic resource. An emerging knowledge and management regime aimed at reduced emissions from deforestation and degradation (REDD), enables both the protection of forest carbon reserves and the conversion of that reserved carbon (as carbon credits) into flows of capital. Anchoring the securitization and commodification of rainforest carbon are the Amazonian communities recruited as custodians of the carbon resource, even as this redefinition of the forest potentially represents a new form of restriction on their own land-use rights. In a further paradox, Baldwin and Meltzer's analysis of recent events in Peru demonstrates that these same citizens have often simultaneously become targets of more traditional state security apparatuses, where in the name of national development the government has defended the property rights of transnational oil and gas companies with concessions over indigenous territory.

Where Baldwin and Meltzer give us a view onto the way that citizens and natures are assembled from above, Analiese Richard's chapter on food sovereignty in Mexico demonstrates that popular movements are also agents in the ongoing co-construction of environments and political subjectivities. Calling upon the cultural symbolism of maize as a link between land and society, the diverse and broad-based food sovereignty movement in Mexico reinvents the ties between nature and nation as a response to the transformations wrought by neoliberal globalization. As Richard's account demonstrates, the slogan 'Sin maíz no hay país' speaks volumes of the way that socio-political subjectivity and agro-ecological relationships are bound together in struggles around the intertwined issues of land tenure, agricultural technology and trade policy. Though clearly linked to a nationalist imaginary, Mexico's nascent environmental citizens are also projected as defenders of a newly *global* nature, not unlike the securitized indigenous forest custodians of Peru. Here, however, defending the global commons embodied in the genetic biodiversity of Mexico's native landraces of maize seems to have a greater consonance with popular struggles for social justice.

In chapter 3, Fábio de Castro takes a closer look at the relationship between environment, citizenship and social justice. He offers a hybrid perspective that integrates the top-down and bottom-up assemblages of nature and citizenship examined in the first two chapters. Focussing on Afro-Brazilian and indigenous peoples living in areas of Brazil that have been identified as megabiodiversity zones, de Castro explores the links between changing modes of subsistence, evolving identities and the multi-scalar politics of conservation, alongside struggles over the concrete parameters of citizenship within local political organizing and state-directed processes of policy development. Like the natures of REDD and Mexican maize, the nature that emerges at this crossroads of influences is both local and global. In exchange for more secure land tenure, the traditional communities examined by de Castro are enlisted as custodians of newly constituted global ecological commons that are embedded in their local landscapes. As part of their custodial duties to preserve biodiversity and carbon reserves, these communities – like their Peruvian counterparts – often face new restrictions on their own rights to local resources. De Castro observes that this manifestation of global ecological citizenship has significantly greater impacts on livelihood when compared to the duties taken on by ‘green’ consumer-citizens in the Global North.

In all three of these chapters, emerging assemblages of citizens and natures are intimately linked to transformations in socio-ecological knowledge regimes. Such transformations pave the way for both new kinds of knowers and new objects of knowing, enabling the calculation of carbon credits, the tracking of biological diversity levels and the increasing global monopoly over seeds for staple commodities like corn. The final chapter in this section focuses directly on the dimension of knowledge in the environment/citizenship nexus. Renzo Taddei explores the regional politics of climate in the state of Ceará, in Northeast Brazil, where state agencies preoccupied with the climatological component of rural agricultural development employ scientific and technocratic frameworks that compete with traditional ecological knowledge. In this fraught encounter we see the way that different ways of knowing and responding to changing climate are intimately intertwined with the evolution of social subjectivity and agency. When local rain prophets are pitted against meteorologists, the encounter between tradition and modernity transforms the former into folklore and defuses the insurgency of rural citizens by converting the keepers of traditional knowledge into tabloid celebrities.

Taddei’s chapter also points us towards a final insight about the deeply intertwined relationships between ecology and subjectivity. Part of the local resistance to modern climatological knowledge that is explored in his chapter has to do with a popular conception of nature as an independent agent that will ultimately reject meteorological scientists’ efforts at diagnosis and con-

trol. Taddei's analysis here opens a window to the way that nature conserves a degree of autonomy as it is drawn into relationships of social construction. To be more precise, the unpredictability of weather and climate underlines the way that the co-construction of nature and subjectivity occurs in hybridized socio-ecological space, rather than inhering in the discourses and practices of human actors alone.

Environmental Marginality and the Struggle for Justice

The second section of the book highlights the connections linking citizenship as a mode of inclusion/exclusion to particular discourses and practices of land distribution, resource extraction and environmental management. By 'environmental marginality' we aim to signal that social exclusion and exploitation is invariably embedded in geographically specific power relations that shape access to and control over environmental 'goods' as well as differential exposures to the 'bads' of environmental degradation and risk. At the same time, the title of this section signals the way in which marginalized populations respond to such power relations by pursuing various kinds of agency in pursuit of more just socio-ecological arrangements, engaging in what James Holston (2008) calls 'insurgent citizenship'.

In significant part, the thematic focus of this section is indebted to a now burgeoning scholarship on environmental justice. From its origins in U.S. social movements against toxic waste facilities and other forms of pollution disproportionately affecting populations of colour, the concept of environmental justice has risen in profile to become one of the central foci of the broader global justice movement. Since the field of environmental justice deals explicitly with issues of race, gender and class in relation to access to natural resources and exposure to environmental risks, the concept offers a valuable point of reference for scholarship that seeks to connect citizenship with the politics of nature. In fact, despite reservations about compatibility expressed by key figures in the respective fields of environmental justice and environmental citizenship (Dobson 2003; Agyeman and Evans 2006) others have already argued for an inherent connection between environmental justice and citizenship (Smith and Pangsapa 2008; Latta 2009). Since a recent volume (Carruthers 2008) highlights the way that the environmental justice paradigm can be specifically applied to Latin America, it is a timely moment to begin connecting that research agenda with the one embodied in this volume.

Many of the chapters in the book engage citizenship in light of different kinds of environmental marginality, along with alternate forms of counter-movement, but the four assembled here foreground these issues in particularly striking ways. In chapter 7, María Teresa Grillo and Tucker Sharon offer a historical genealogy of contemporary conflicts in Peru already touched on

by Baldwin and Meltzer in the first section of the book. Where that earlier chapter looks ahead to the way a global biopolitics of security informs new interpolations of natures and citizens in the Peruvian Amazon, Grillo and Sharon trace the same region's earlier incorporation into the racialized biogeographical order of Peruvian sovereignty. As the state pursued ways of effectively integrating its Amazonian territories into the economic and political body of the nation, indigenous communities were rendered invisible or suffered marginal inclusion in citizenship as 'native' populations. In particular, Grillo and Sharon focus on the geopolitical imagination of former President Belaúnde Terry, who imagined an Amazonian highway system that would extend its arteries and veins from the cordillera down into the rainforest, circulating citizen settlers of European origin into the country's eastern hinterland and transporting the region's wealth back to the heart of the nation. Read together, the book's two chapters on Peru offer a fascinating account of indigenous people's shifting (but consistently marginal) incorporation into citizenship as an effect of evolving visions of Amazonian nature and the wealth located therein.

The racial dimension of historical patterns of exclusion is similarly picked up by Juanita Sundberg in chapter 6, this time in the context of new rationalities and practices of conservation that emerged through the decade of the 1990s. The dynamism inherent in Holston's notion of insurgent citizenship is clearly present in Sundberg's account, where contestation and conflict over the question of 'who counts' as a political actor has been fundamental to decisions over the establishment and management of Guatemala's Maya Biosphere Reserve. In the context of historically embedded inequalities of race, gender and class, Sundberg explores the processes of subjugation that reproduce inequality but also the practices of contestation that sometimes open up new spaces for citizenly agency in different sites across the socio-geographical ordering of human relations, such as homes, places of work and community organizations. In the highly fraught socio-political terrain of post-war Guatemala, emerging practices of conservation and the arrival of new actors in the form of international environmental NGOs served to reconfigure the inclusions and exclusions of citizenship. While the imposition of conservation reserves often introduced new logics to time-worn patterns of political marginalization based on race and class, Sundberg locates one surprising example where new economic opportunities linked to women's knowledge of medicinal plants created a micro-insurgency against the gendered exclusions of citizenship, increasing women's voices within local civil society.

Jumping ahead in time to the newly marketized politics of conservation that have emerged over the past decade, in chapter 9 Adam Henne and Teena Gabrielson offer an account of marginalities that have been reinscribed within transnational struggles to protect native Chilean forest through a certifica-

tion and consumer labelling campaign. In an extended reprise of the theme explored in the first section of the book, Henne and Gabrielson centre their analysis on the emergence of a singular ‘Chilean forest’ out of complex and multiple assemblages of humans, biophysical landscapes and technologies. They turn to Damian White and Chris Wilbert (2009) to label these emergent singularities ‘technonatures’, underlining the way that entities such as ‘the Chilean forest’ come together as a result of hybridized socio-natural agency situated across a range of scales. The Chilean forest certification campaign depended upon a conception of native forest that ironically linked industry and environmentalists together in a technonatural project, where the forest became inserted into transnational logics of capital and commodity flows, animated by scientific forestry, corporate branding and ‘green’ consumption. As Henne and Gabrielson emphasize, this technonatural forest is far from innocent, but rather serves as a new basis for excluding indigenous Mapuche communities from debates over the use of their ancestral territories – now converted largely to tree farms – privileging instead non-Mapuche political subjectivities, ways of knowing and regimes of environmental management.

In chapter 8 Jason Tockman takes discussion of marginality and environmental justice to the epicentre of political change in Latin America, examining the interwoven struggles over citizenship and nature that have led to the dramatic transformation of the Bolivian state under Evo Morales and the Movimiento al Socialismo (MAS). The broad-based movements that surged onto the political stage in 2000 and eventually brought Morales to power in 2006 clearly sought to overturn historical patterns of racial and class hierarchy in Bolivian citizenship, but they simultaneously called for the nationalization of the country’s hydrocarbon resources. Once in office, Morales almost immediately reasserted state control over the oil and gas sectors, while his government began simultaneously working towards the eventual constitutional changes that in 2009 introduced new collective and individual rights promising greater social and political inclusion for Bolivia’s indigenous and *campesino* populations. Tockman convincingly argues that the pairing of citizenship and natural resource policy as key planks in the MAS’s political platform is simply the latest instance in a long history linking natural resource extraction regimes to the ordering of Bolivian society and politics. From the colonial era mines of Potosí, to the tin boom of the early twentieth century, through to modern struggles over water, gas and oil, Tockman offers a sweeping historical account of the way that control and exploitation of natural resources has fundamentally shaped the Bolivian polity according to class divisions and mobilizations, generating alternate modes of inclusion/exclusion based on racial categories and regional conflicts over access to wealth and political power.

Citizens, the State and Environmental Governance

Citizenship as a substantive embodiment of both political being and territorial ordering evolves in relationship with a host of institutional norms and practices. As such, the lens of citizenship brings a new dimension to the study of environmental governance, with its preoccupation over the interactions between different institutional actors in establishing the legal, economic and administrative infrastructures that render human-nature relationships an object of management. If processes of globalization have opened up a complex and multi-scalar landscape of institutional actors (Díez and Dwivedi 2008), among them the state nevertheless retains a singular importance in environmental governance. By increasingly working in concert with other actors, the state authorizes and enables new spaces of deliberation and management along with alternative notions of territory and sovereignty, while alternately shutting out or domesticating forms of socio-ecological agency that challenge its authority. At the same time, innovation and contradiction within and between different arms of the state can sometimes open unexpected opportunities for insurgent forms of citizenship practice. The chapters in this section highlight some surprising shifts in environmental governance that force us to rethink the relationship between states and citizens.

In chapter 10, Enrique Silva describes a crisis in environmental governance that resulted when a new model of private highway concessions adopted during the 1990s by Chile's Ministry of Public Works (MOP) collided with resistance from residents of a low income Santiago neighbourhood, whose homes were threatened by a new urban highway that cut through their community. The MOP's innovative approach to infrastructure concessions involved what Silva calls 'deliberate improvisation', a kind of planning at the margins that deploys state sovereignty in new ways to insulate private investors from the political risks associated with the social and environmental impacts of highway construction. The organized resistance that rose in response to such impacts delayed the highway project for several years and provoked a prolonged public debate about the highway concession system. Silva's chapter is a study of the power of citizen insurgency, but it is also ultimately a story of the neoliberal state's ability to deflect radical criticism and conserve its institutional trajectory.

The next two chapters take us to Argentina, both with a slightly more positive outlook on the possibilities of citizen interaction with state institutions over matters of environmental governance. In chapter 11 María Gabriela Merlinsky and Alex Latta focus on the interaction between new forms of citizen mobilization and the judicial sphere, where the latter becomes an increasingly important channel by which citizens make demands on policy makers. In the case of a pulp mill conflict on the Argentina-Uruguay fron-

tier, they highlight the dynamic relationships between grassroots organizing, transboundary harm and international judicial authority. In a second case, Argentina's constitutional guarantee of environmental rights becomes a crucial point of leverage enabling new kinds of legal claims and empowering the courts to take innovative steps to push forward dramatic changes in the institutional and legal parameters for environmental governance of an important waterway in the nation's capital. Nevertheless, this chapter also demonstrates that both popular mobilization and court actions are often beset by troubling contradictions, limiting the changes they are able to secure. Moreover, Merlinsky and Latta observe that as new citizen voices emerge into environmental policy debates, they themselves are implicated in producing new forms of socio-ecological exclusion.

Brían Ferrero's chapter takes us out of urban and industrial contexts and back into questions of rural livelihood and land use, this time in the Paraná rainforest enclave of Argentina's Misiones Province. In his examination of *colono* and indigenous participation in shaping environmental governance for the region, Ferrero argues that the global movement for forest conservation has generated fresh political space at the local level, replete with a new set of transnational actors, within which the region's inhabitants are able to pursue other long-standing socio-economic goals. Political partnerships with environmental NGOs and bilateral aid agencies have earned small farmers and the Mbya-Guaraní recognition and access to new resources from the state. As in the Mexican case examined by Richard, we see here a dialectical interplay between citizen mobilization and public institutions, where popular protest forces changes to state policies and these changes in turn reshape both citizens' socio-ecological subjectivities and their opportunities for political agency. Nevertheless, the state and citizens are not dancing alone; in many ways local peoples are part of a tug-of-war between NGOs and powerful forest companies. In concluding, Ferrero is cautious about whether or not the evolution of novel frameworks for environmental governance in Misiones will on balance support a more just and democratic basis for sustainable local livelihoods over the long term.

The final chapter addresses the question of nature's 'participation' in the contestation and evolution of the relationships linking environment to citizenship. Here, Juliet Pinto examines debates over Ecuador's 2008 constitutional reforms, which mark a watershed in the environmental dimension of constitutional law by explicitly enshrining rights for nature. Her analysis chronicles a society struggling with the implications of recognizing nature as a kind of legal subject, perhaps blazing a trail that will eventually reshape what is meant by the concept of environmental citizenship. The notion of *buen vivir*, or 'living well', is central to this struggle, part of an attempt to neutralize and displace the dominant vision of human progress through con-

trol over nature for the instrumental aims of modernization. What is revealed by Pinto's analysis of debates over the constitutional reforms in mainstream media outlets is that the joined-up human-nature worldview of *buen vivir* is far from entering into the socio-ecological consciousness of Ecuador's elites. Instead, thoroughly entrenched human/nature dualisms persist, suggesting that citizens who seek to invoke the new constitutional rights of nature to challenge resource extraction projects will face strong opposition.

Points of Departure

The themes outlined above help to highlight some of the key contributions made by the chapters in this collection, but we have necessarily left quite a number of other important threads for our readers to discover on their own. As the conceptual architects of this project, and as facilitators of the workshop discussions that comprised the intellectual encounter leading to this collection of research, we conclude this introductory chapter by identifying some of our own remaining 'loose ends'. The avenues for further exploration herein are diverse, but we nevertheless feel that several important areas of research remain un- or under-explored in the collection. We offer a summary of these avenues here as additional pieces to the emerging research agenda.

We begin where we left off, with Pinto's contribution and the possibility of somehow more fully incorporating nature into conceptions and practices of citizenship. The idea of recognizing rights for nature is complemented by the echoes of nature's autonomous agency in Taddei's discussion of climate knowledge in Brazil. Henne and Gabrielson also point towards a more active place for nature in our conceptions of citizenship, with their use of the hybridizing concept of technonature. Nevertheless, nature's specific valence in the relationships that constitute the socio-ecological substance of citizenship is an issue which lies on the fringes of this collection and of the broader literature on environment and citizenship. As we turn our attention more directly to the 'subjectivity' or 'agency' of ecological systems or non-human entities, a number of potential points of reference emerge for further inquiry. In *The Natural Contract*, Michel Serres (2003) offers us one provocative way of recognizing and constituting nature as an interlocutor in political life. Like the imaginary (but no less powerful) social contract that serves as the basis for orderly human society, a natural contract would enshrine a series of rights and responsibilities providing for peace and order in the human relationship with the planet. Perhaps Ecuador's recognition of constitutional rights for nature can be seen as the beginnings of such a contract. John Dryzek (1995) offers another widely cited model for creating a place in politics for nature's voice. Differing from Serres in that he takes a com-

municative rather than contractarian approach to socio-ecological relations, Dryzek argues that through a combination of scientific interpretation and an open public sphere humans can effectively allow nature's voice – most especially its calls of distress – to register in democratic deliberation. Finally, the theoretical innovations of Bruno Latour, along with the broader literature on actor-network theory (ANT) that has emerged from science and technology studies, provide a third and final site from which to think through socio-ecological hybridity. Where Dryzek and Serres see the need to 'bring nature in', theorists of ANT proclaim that it is already integral to the evolution of the dynamic assemblage that we have previously labelled *society* (Callon 1986; Latour 1993, 2000, 2005; Law and Hassard 1999; Murdoch 2001). In this assemblage, human and non-human elements alike are intermingled in the co-construction of agency, such that action at any one node of a network is a product of its relationship with other nodes. This perspective allows us to consider the material agency of nature and even conceptualize nature itself as an 'actant' or independent force within a larger encompassing socio-natural system. What citizenship might mean in the context of hybrid actor networks remains an entirely open question.

Along a second (though related) conceptual front, we assert that future work on environment and citizenship in Latin America, and other parts of the Global South, needs to increase its level of scepticism towards the concept of citizenship itself. In the post-colonial conjuncture of the contemporary world it is easy to efface alternate traditions of collective organization and assume that 'citizenship' is a universally suited analytical lens, rather than a key part of what in some cases amounts to a neo-colonial ideological apparatus. We suggest that citizenship, because it embodies the possibility of contestation, is more open-ended than other hegemonic Western concepts like modernization or markets. Nevertheless, it is important to probe the limits of citizenship and to track the ways that it can be employed as a subordinating discourse or an apology for systemic oppression and violence. Baldwin and Meltzer's chapter offers one striking example of such innovative scepticism at work, but similar caution is not widely evident in the rest of the collection. Here we think that building further links between the dimensions of justice and subjectivity, such as emerging work on 'cosmopolitics' (de la Cadena 2010) and ontological conflicts (Blaser 2010), may provide ways to think through alternatives to the Western concepts of politics and citizenship, contributing to processes of intellectual socio-ecological decolonization.

The last reorientation that we propose has to do not with conceptual but rather with empirical foci. Only two of our contributors (Silva and Merlinsky/Latta) touch on urban contexts for exploring the intersection between citizenship and environment. This is despite the fact that human population in

Latin America is overwhelmingly urban, in a landscape of cities marked by stark inequalities in both economic and ecological terms. Scholars such as José Esteban Castro (2006), John Guidry (2003) and James Holston (2008) all demonstrate that material struggles over access to land and environmental services are entangled with competition over the shape of political rights and broader battles over the control of urban space. Citizenship in the city has everything to do with the possibility for more inclusionary urban habitats. Urban political ecology provides one starting point for broadening existing inquiry along these lines (see, for example, Heynen, Kaika and Swyngedouw 2005), and recent efforts to describe the socio-ecological challenges of cities through the lens of technonature provide another (in White and Wilbert 2009, see chapters by Guy; Hinchliffe and Whatmore; and Swyngedouw). Urban intersections of environment and citizenship must be at the centre of the research agenda in years to come.

The chapters in this collection are illustrative of the wide array of fresh insights that can be obtained by approaching environmental questions in Latin America through the lens of citizenship. At the same time, they offer key rejoinders to the dominant conceptions of environmental citizenship that populate scholarship in and about the Global North. In sum, we are optimistic about the volume's potential to spark new inquiry and debate. At the same time we are also conscious of its limitations, and we invite others to join in the task of clarifying key questions, theoretical frameworks and research methodologies. It is our hope that this collection marks only the beginning of efforts to map the contours of this vibrant but difficult terrain, where the multifaceted imaginaries and practices of citizenship and environment meet in an encounter that leaves them mutually transformed.

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