



AN ECOFEMINIST TOOLKIT TO FIGHT AGAINST CORPORATE POWER

Júlia Martí Comas and Maite Mentxaka Tena





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CORPORATE POWER**

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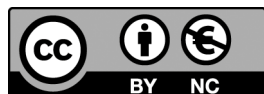
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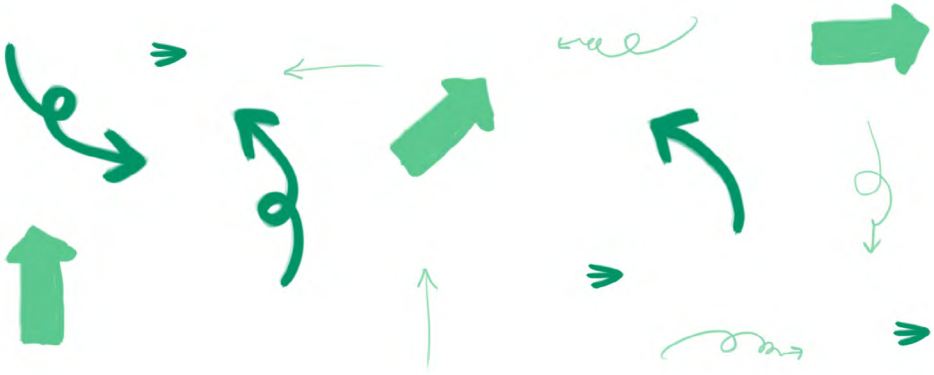


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A TOOLKIT TO (RE)CREATING NETWORKS AND INSPIRING STRUGGLES



Are you involved in the fight to defend our lives and territories against land-grabs? Are you concerned about the exorbitant power that transnational corporations have accumulated?

Are you involved in an activist group? Do you want to bring feminism, anti-capitalism, environmentalism and more together as part of an intersectional struggle? Are you interested in learning about other organisations and activists?

You won't find any easy answers or how-tos in this guide, but you will find a collective proposal inspired by the work being done by a range of activists in different places to promote the ecofeminist fightback against corporate power.

We began to explore the ideas included in this toolkit in May 2021, as part of a virtual debate between feminists from Latin America and Europe who confront corporate power in different ways.



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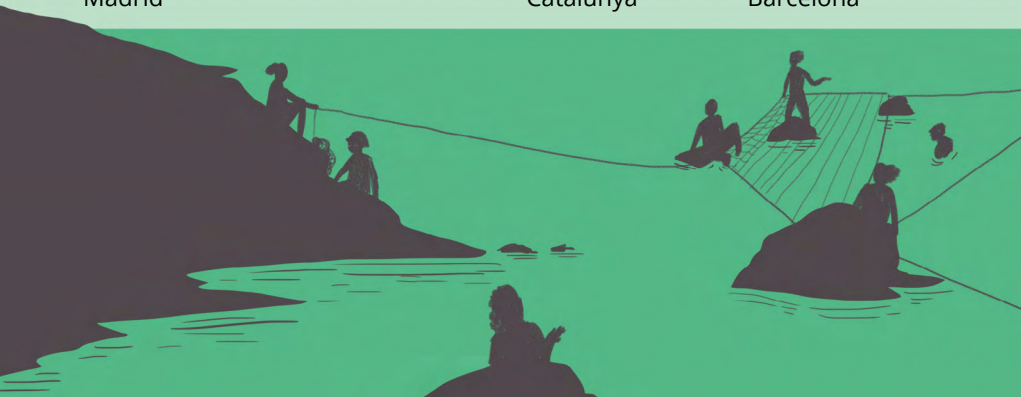
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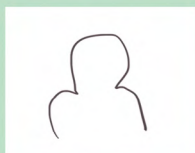
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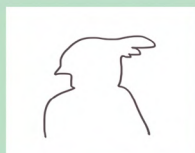
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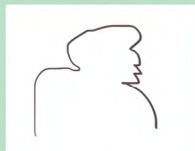
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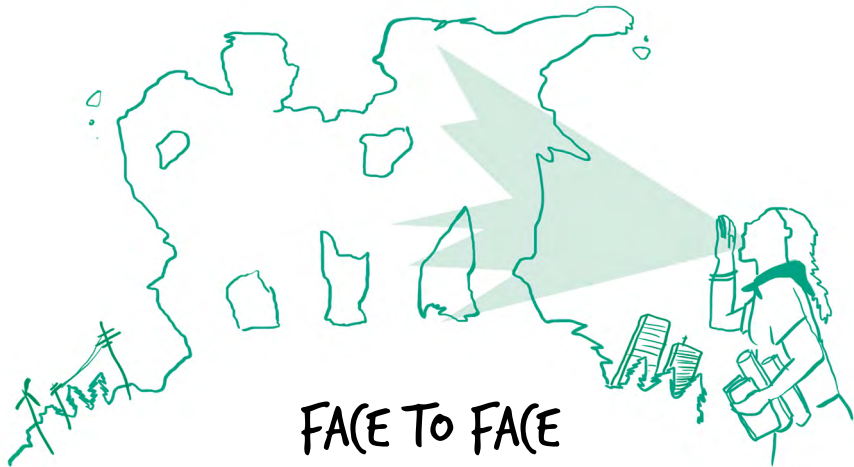


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FACE TO FACE WITH CORPORATE POWER

Defending a life worth living, and a present and a future for the planet and all people, sets us on a collision course with transnational corporations and all their allies in power.

Facing up to these giants who control so many of the services and goods we need, influence opinion through the mainstream media and build a political-business class that governs for them can seem an immeasurable, ineffectual and ultimately impossible task. However, in the face of environmental destruction, forced displacement, armed conflict, femicide, neo-fascism, hunger... that they leave behind, is doing nothing even an option?

Understanding the struggles of those who resist corporate power each day, and supporting and taking inspiration from them, this toolkit may set the first steps towards acknowledging our strengths and the possibility of building a different future. The future does not have to be the dystopia presented to us by television; we can construct other world-views that do not paralyse us.¹

This guide is a call to arms, a call to start fighting in our everyday lives, communities and territories, at the same time as we build international networks for action, solidarity and care, as part of a process that we call

POPULAR ECOFEMINIST INTERNATIONALISM.



A KEY PREMISE FOR THE CONSTRUCTION OF *POPULAR ECOFEMINIST INTERNATIONALISM* IS THE DIALOGUE BETWEEN EXPERIENCES AND TERRITORIAL REALITIES, A THREAD THAT WILL GO THROUGH THIS ENTIRE GUIDE.

1. Layla Martínez explains this well in her book *Utopía no es una isla. Catálogo de mundos mejores* (Episkaia, 2020)

1

WHAT DO ECOFEMINISTS
HAVE TO SAY ABOUT
CORPORATE POWER?



1. Putting a face to the name

When we talk about corporate power, we talk about the power wielded by multinational and transnational corporations with the support of states and international institutions.

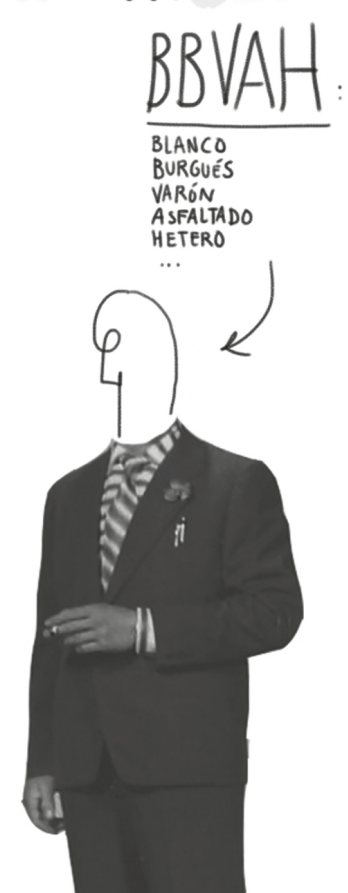
The face of corporate power is white, bourgeois, male, urban, heterosexual. It is both a dominant subject that imposes its needs and interests at the expense of the lives of others, and an economic space in which both legal enterprises and criminal groups coexist.

We all know the brands: Repsol, Coca Cola, OHL, Zara, Iberdrola, BBVA, Monsanto, Bayer, Blackstone, Walmart, etc. These are the visible faces of an opaque network of power that both dilutes and eludes its responsibilities.

Who makes the decisions? Who decides to put business on top of life, to plunder a territory, to carry out evictions, to bring down wages, to sell junk food? Who decides what risks are acceptable?

Opacity is a key part of ensuring corporate impunity. It encourages us to imagine corporate power as a headless monster against which it is impossible to fight. In addition to our responsibility to expose and call out those directly responsible for corporate crimes, we must also unravel the network of actors that allow injustices such as the closure of borders or the lack of vaccines for half of the world's population to continue.

It is a play on words with the initials of the Spanish bank BBVA and the initials of the different characteristics of the dominant subject: white, bourgeois, male, urban, heterosexual..



2. Unpicking the narrative

Green washing, pink washing, purple washing... The efforts to hide the negative effects of corporate actions with a layer of makeup are ceaseless. Yet these are not just about image: they have managed to turn green, feminist and LGBTI+ issues into new market niches.

For example, green capitalism – far from heralding the arrival of a new, sustainable form of capitalism – is one of corporate power's strategies for monopolising new spheres of life. Discourses are appropriated, emptied of their content and turned against us.

It is not enough for us to break glass ceilings or for there to be more women on the boards of large companies.





DID YOU KNOW...

The **entrepreneurial** woman is one among a number of manifestations of attempts to co-opt feminism. Entrepreneurial women are not only directors at large companies, but also those who receive microcredits, as part of a rhetorical shift that legitimises the replacement of social safety nets with credit-based mechanisms, which end up placing women further in debt. Moreover, this serves to hide the fact that, no matter how many women entrepreneurs there are, the exploitation of women remains one of the foundations of capitalism.



“Girl power” was a slogan on the shirts sold by Bershka (Inditex). [Clean Clothes Campaign](#) highlighted that the salaries received by the company’s workers are not enough to cover their basic needs.

3. Connecting impacts and violence, bringing the invisible to light

How a parasite sucks our lifeblood to survive²

Capitalism not only exploits our labour force, but also extracts wealth from our lives and territories: the machinery of corporate power cannot be understood without the unpaid care work done by women, and the public resources and wealth stolen from racialised subjects and the natural environment. Processes that demonstrate the patriarchal, racist and colonialist logic underpinning the capitalist system.



When we speak of the **capital-life conflict**, we do so to denounce a system which attacks life as a whole and affects all forms of life (human and non-human). The further we move away from the upper echelons of power, the greater the inequality, violence, burden of care, etc.

An ecofeminist perspective enables us to bring to light certain things which are often rendered invisible. Moreover, if we dig a little deeper, we find several **“hidden trends”**³ which tie together the varying types of dispossession committed by present-day corporate power. The challenge is to understand these trends as threads which can be used to stitch together **a bond of analysis and resistance** between different struggles and territories, **AND MAKE SURE THAT OUR LOCAL STRUGGLES ARE NOT BLIND TO GLOBAL DYNAMICS.**



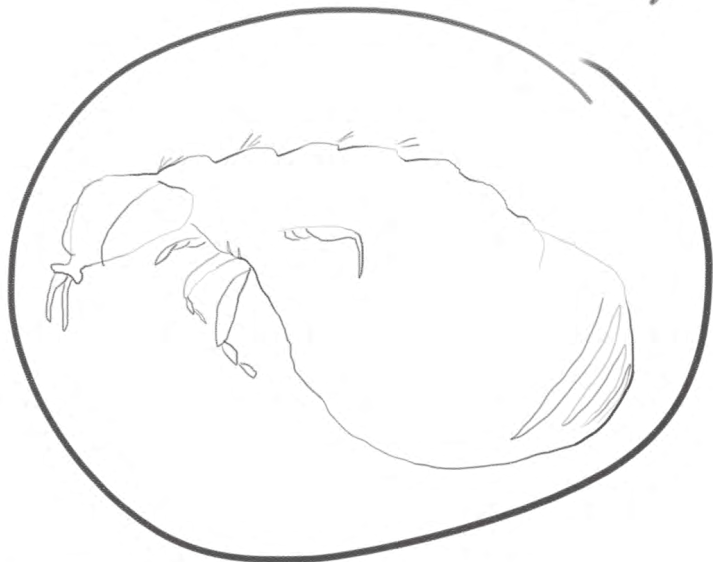
“Pushing people out”

One of the hidden trends of our time is expulsions: forced displacement, mass imprisonment, evictions, and unemployment. These expulsions are based, as Mbembe states, “on a division of bodies, between those who can move freely and those who are marked as a danger” according to gender, race or class. However, as the Garifuna human rights defender Miriam Miranda (Honduras) affirms, there are many who resist being expelled and remain in their territory despite the threats they are put under.⁴

2. Fraser, Nancy (2020) *“Contradictions of Capital and Care”*, New Left Review.

3. This notion was first put forward by Saskia Sassen in 2014 in the book *Expulsions: Brutality and Complexity in the Global Economy*, Belknap Press.

4. Capire (4/10/2022) *“Miriam Miranda: “There Is a Genocide Against Us, the Peoples Who Defend Nature”*



Parasite type: **CAPITALISM**.
Adaptation capacity: **HIGH**.
Treatment to their effects: **ACTIVE AND CONTINUOUSLY REVIEWED**.



4. Defending the body-territory

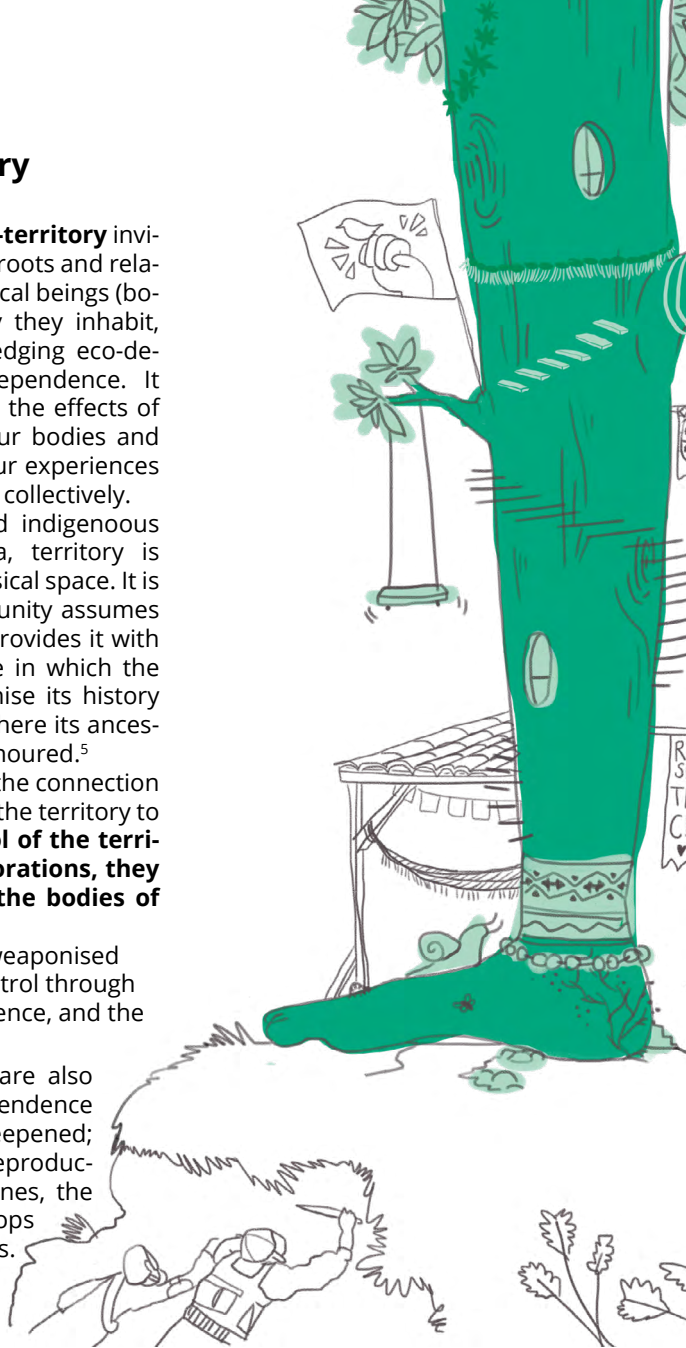
The notion of the **body-territory** invites us to recognise the roots and relationship between physical beings (bodies) and the territory they inhabit, as means of acknowledging eco-dependence and interdependence. It enables us to highlight the effects of corporate power on our bodies and our lives, and to use our experiences to generate knowledge collectively.

For the women and indigenous peoples of Abya Yala, territory is much more than a physical space. It is a place which a community assumes as its own because it provides it with its sustenance, a place in which the community can recognise its history as one with the land where its ancestors are buried and honoured.⁵

Megaprojects bring the connection between the body and the territory to the fore. **When control of the territory is taken by corporations, they also take control of the bodies of women:**

→ Their sexuality is weaponised and brought under control through prostitution, sexist violence, and the expansion of disease.

→ Local economies are also dismantled, and dependence on foreign capital deepened; life is given over in a reproductive process to the mines, the refineries, the sweatshops and the industrial farms.

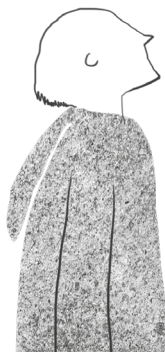


5. Aura Lolita Chávez Ixcaquic and Marusia López Cruz (2021) [“Collective protection to defend territory, defense of territory to protect life”](#)



LET'S LEARN FROM...

Territory-body-land is the expression used in Latin American grassroots feminism to highlight that abuse of a territory always has an impact on bodies, which in turn become a site of resistance.⁶



What is the purpose of the reproduction of life in a world dominated by transnational corporations?

Marianna Fernandes

6. If you are interested in this topic, we recommend the interview with Lorena Cabnal published in [Feministing](#) or the Guide [Mapeando el cuerpo-territorio. Guía metodológica para mujeres que defienden sus territorios.](#)

2

WE WANT TO END CORPORATE POWER, BUT WHERE SHOULD WE START?

The pathways we propose are *strategies for struggle, ecofeminist demands and agendas, and specific alternatives* designed to encourage an eco-social transition and the transformation of our lives. To take these paths, we must organise ourselves via collectives, neighbourhood assemblies, trade unions, political organisations and activist movements.



STRATEGY

AGENDA

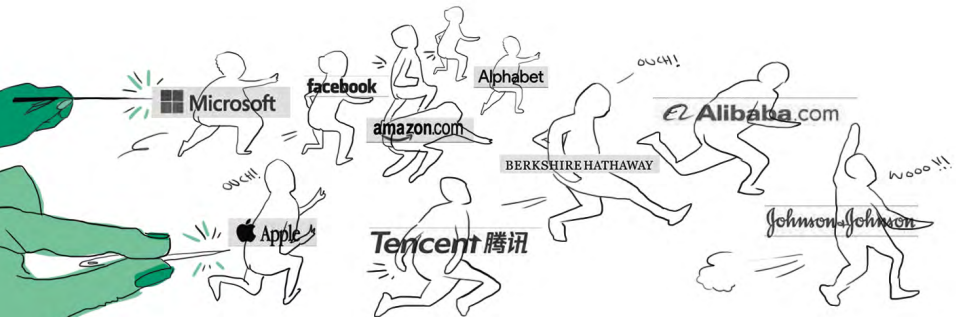
ALTERNATIVES

1. ECONOMICS:

ATTACKING ECONOMIC POWER, BURSTING THE FINANCIAL BUBBLE

The engine that drives transnational corporations is the pursuit of the greatest profit at any cost. In a globalised world dominated by finance, the race for competitiveness leads to growth without limits as a survival strategy. This has led to fewer and fewer companies taking financial control of global production and consumption. In addition, through merging operations, economic conglomerates with enormous power over our lives have arisen, such as the merger of Bayer and Monsanto, which controls agribusiness and pharmaceuticals.

Multinationals also move around the world in search of the best conditions for their operations, allowing them to evade regulations and taxes with ease. Thanks to the economic dependence created by neoliberal policies, they can threaten governments with offshoring or capital flight and have policies tailored to their needs.



How are ecological debts connected to the domestic and monetary debts of many countries in the Global South?

Flora Partenio

1.1. Ending the debt dictatorship

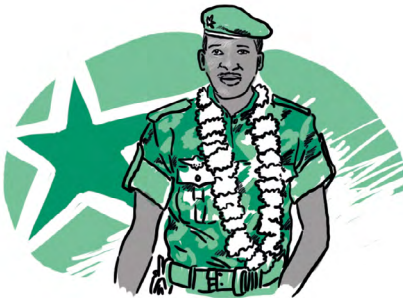
Financial power has many faces, from banks bailed out on the pretext that they were “too big to fall” to public coffers emptied by tax evasion, via foreclosures on mortgages, cuts in public services, and the financing of the arms industry. How can we fight back against this?



As a result of **financialisation**, the entire economy revolves around the mantra of profitability of the global financial system. In addition, financialisation has expanded through opaque investment networks and tax havens. BlackRock, for example, is the largest shadow bank in the world and, thanks to Big Data, can turn land, rents, food and more into assets under its control.⁷

a) Not all debts get paid: there are unjust and illegitimate debts that we can challenge

- The movement in defence of housing has stopped thousands of evictions through community solidarity. Debts must not be above the right to housing!
- With the slogan “*We owe nothing, we’ll pay nothing!*”, we denounce the egregious debts which, having been taken out to pay for wars or bank bailouts, have ended up impoverishing the population.



“We cannot repay the debt... but the others owe us what the greatest wealth could never repay, that is, blood debt. Our blood has flowed.”

Thomas Sankara
(the assassinated president
of Burkina Faso)

7. If you want to find out more, we recommend the report: TNI (2020) [Rogue Capitalism and the Financialization of Territories and Nature](#)



LET'S LEARN FROM...

Citizen participatory audits are a form of political pedagogy that can serve to provide emancipatory responses to debt (such as default or renegotiation). They can be undertaken at different scales. For example, do you know if your municipality is over-indebted, and who is responsible?⁸

AGENDA

b) Big companies must pay: tax havens must be eliminated and taxes on large companies must be increased



LET'S LEARN FROM...

ATTAC has proposed a global **unitary tax** which divides the total global profits of a multinational corporation between each country in which it operates, on the basis of the number of people it employs, its turnover and its physical assets in each location, so that each country receives the proportion of taxes that it is due.⁹

Other measures that must be implemented are:

- a fiscal agreement between national governments to avoid competition via fiscal stimulus and boost the fight against fraud
- a financial transaction tax that penalises speculative movements (the so-called Tobin Tax)
- obligations on companies and corporations to publish their investments, profits and taxes
- penalisation of companies with funds or subsidiaries in tax havens in public tender applications
- fair taxation from a gender perspective which does not reinforce the traditional family model or penalise single-parent families

8. To find out more: www.cadtm.org

9. You can find more information here: taxjustice.net



The Paradise Papers revealed the tax evasion tactics used by Uber, Apple, Nike, Inditex, HSBC and Citigroup.

ALTERNATIVES

c) Stop them playing with our money and our lives



Fintechs (Financial Technologies) have facilitated access to credit for impoverished sectors of society via applications which drive families further into debt. Their users often end up repaying more than double the amount received.

Getting indebted in order to get by can never be the solution. If there is no public social safety net, we must fight back and create one in our neighbourhoods and among our communities, and look for ways to meet our needs collectively.

**In the 4th section we'll provide some tips on how to do this.*

We must support each other through collective or cooperative financing schemes for social projects.



“ALIVE, FREE, WITHOUT DEBTS: THAT’S HOW WE WANT TO BE!”

[The Argentine feminist movement](#) is fighting back against the public and family debt which acts as yet another attack on the lives of women and non-cisgender people.



HAVE YOU CONSIDERED...

Banks and investment funds use savings and pension funds for speculation. One way to be sure that your savings (or those of your cooperative, association and local area) do not fund the arms industry or extractivist companies is to deposit them in an **ethical or cooperative bank**.

1.2. Blocking the path to (new) business niches

The ecological and reproductive crisis has seen digitalisation, green capitalism and the care economy turned into key niches for capitalist accumulation. **How can we stop them?**

a) Ecofeminism and ecosocialism: antidotes to green capitalism



The **financialisation of nature** arises from:

1. Financial capital's need for investment in safe assets, such as land or raw materials.
2. The creation of "carbon offset markets" that allow nature to be destroyed while offsetting the damage elsewhere, meaning nature is commodified under the guise of its own protection.¹⁰

After having ravaged the world (and continuing to do so), big businesses have jumped on the environmental train to proclaim that corporations "are ready to take up the challenge" and are willing to invest in "sustainable" sectors and to "offset" the damage done. Their message: **"Trust us, we're going to get you out of this."**

But who is going to trust an oil company to curb climate change? Who would believe that allowing them to grab even more land for their renewable mega-projects is in any way sustainable? Who is going to allow them to displace local populations for their "carbon offset" schemes?

We must confront their fake solutions and stand up for grassroots ecofeminist and ecosocialist alternatives that offer justice to territories and people.

** In sections 4 and 5, we will put forward several such alternatives.*

10. To find out more: GRAIN (2021) "[Corporate greenwashing: 'net zero' and 'nature-based solutions' are a deadly fraud](#)" and Melissa Moreano (2021) "[We Need to Protect Forests for Adaptation, Not Mitigation](#)", Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung.



Not all renewables are clean and fair. The indigenous peoples of the Isthmus of Tehuantepec (Oaxaca, Mexico) have been forced to fight back against the wind power megaprojects that have destroyed their traditional ways of life.



HAVE YOU CONSIDERED...

“Techno-utopia” (blind faith in technologies as a way to solve our problems) is dangerous: it paralyses us, and often paves the way for counterproductive innovations. One such example is the misguided notion that we can replace the petrol car with electric vehicles, failing to take into account the impacts of the car manufacturing industry and the lack of available materials.¹¹

11. For more information: Velasco-Fernández, Raúl and Pérez, Alfons (2022) [Critical Minerals in Conflict and Alternatives for Global Justice in Public Procurement](#), Medicusmundi.

b) Defending the collective right to care in the face of privatisation

Corporate power worms its way into our lives, looking for ways to monetise our need for care. Corporations have already taken control of public services through outsourcing and privatisation, and remain on the lookout for ways to further expand their business.



Gig companies such as Care.com, Zolvers, and Sitly are operating in the care sector, a phenomenon which has seen workers' rights threatened. Customers can leave feedback about workers, but workers do not have the same right.¹²

The **collective right to care** means guaranteeing proper care for all, as well as the appropriate working conditions for care providers, regardless of whether they are paid or not. If we are to achieve this, several steps must be taken¹³:

1. Expand public care services and ensure they are managed by the community or the public sector.
2. Redistribute jobs, reduce working hours (without reducing wages) and adapt schedules.
3. Promote co-responsibility and strengthen community networks as means of combatting domestic isolation.
4. Ensure appropriate working conditions, end exceptional social security status in the care sector and provide legal working rights to migrant women.

**In the following pages, we will see how we can make headway towards these goals.*

12. You can find out more in the report of the World March of Women (2020) "[Feminist Critique of Corporate Power: Texts for Action](#)" or in the webinar "[Ofensiva corporativa contra los cuidados](#)" available at www.omal.info

13. In "[Derivas feministas hacia el bienvivir](#)", Colectiva XXX delves into the idea of the "collective right to care."

• WE WANT OURSELVES ALIVE •



• IF WOMEN STOP, THE WORLD...



STOPS



“If we stop working, the world stops”. Feminist strikes have demonstrated the potential to overcome the productive/reproductive divide in anti-capitalist struggles.

AGENDA

c) Putting health ahead of profits



COVAX is the international body responsible for the distribution of vaccines, and is supposed to ensure their availability to the entire global population. However, the influence of the private sector within this body has converted its mission into one of avoiding disruption of the global pharmaceutical market, and targeting vaccine delivery according to geopolitical preferences.¹⁴ In addition, the influence of private actors (such as the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation) in tackling the pandemic has been consolidated as part of a multi-stakeholder approach. * see page 47

The pandemic has shown the urgent need to fight for:

- Quality public health systems which guarantee universal access to everyone regardless of their migratory status.
- Waiving of vaccine and drug patents and public control of the pharmaceutical sector.
- Appropriate working conditions for health and care personnel.
- International democratic mechanisms for managing global challenges.

14. FOEI (2021) “[COVAX: A global multistakeholder group that poses political and health risks to developing countries and multilateralism](#)”.



LET'S LEARN FROM...

#Fem4PeoplesVaccine

The **Feminists for a People's Vaccine** (FPV) campaign raises awareness regarding equitable, accessible and affordable COVID-19 vaccines, drugs, therapies and other resources. It also puts pressure on governments to waive patents, in order to safeguard the health of the entire population.

ALTERNATIVES

d) Standing up to corporate digitisation: digital and technological sovereignty¹⁵



DID YOU KNOW...

Online platform companies such as Amazon, Uber and Globo use digital technologies to control markets and avoid regulation in sectors such as retail, finance, health, agriculture, delivery, transportation and care provision.

Look behind the screen! Cloud computing also leads to pollution and exploitation:¹⁶

- Microchips everywhere, subsea cables, server farms, satellites, large cooling systems, energy stores, modems, antennas... the list goes on.
- Another issue are the decentralised “partners” working for risible wages, and who are unable to unionise.
- Extremely insecure new forms of work.

To move towards digital sovereignty, we must take technological capacity back from the hands of corporate power, as well as looking for ways to slow down and break from 24/7 connection and information access.

For example, we should be able to power and rely on small data centres with on-off schedules, sustained using local renewables.

15. The contents of this section are taken from www.donestech.net

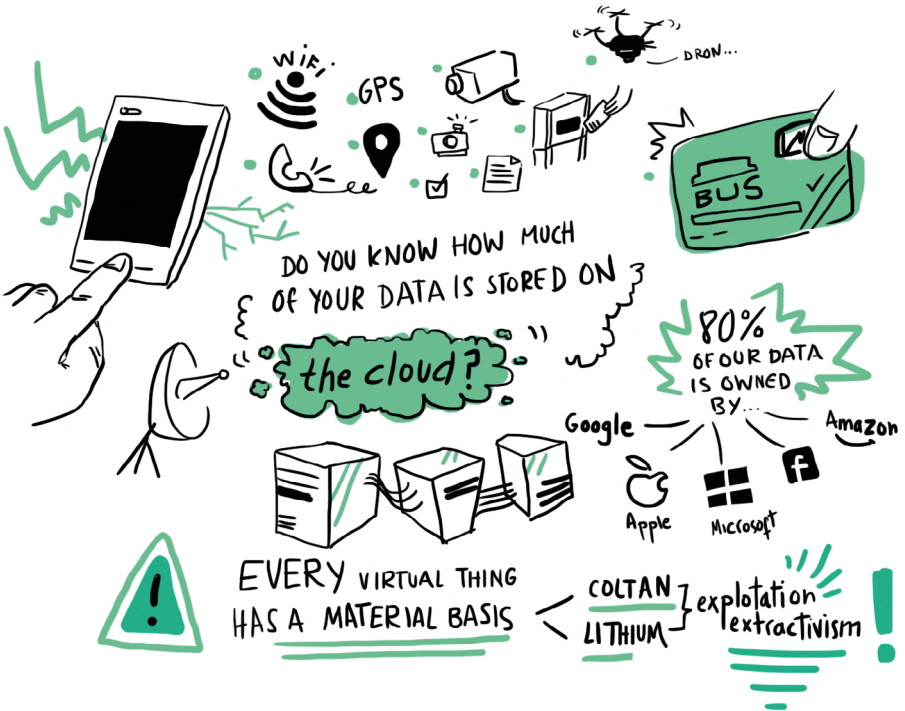
16. We recommend the video “[Feminist critique of corporate power #3: the digitization](#)” [sic] which you can find on Marcha Mundial das Mulheres’ Youtube channel.



HAVE YOU CONSIDERED...

Tips for building an environmentally-friendly internet:

- ✓ Sharing infrastructure, software and networks through community and cooperative services.
- ✓ The most environmentally-friendly appliance will always be the one we already own: extend its useful life, or take it where it can be reused!
- ✓ Free up space on your devices: delete e-mails that you no longer need, copies of photos, etc.



2. LAW:

ENDING CORPORATE IMPUNITY

Corporations' legal might is based on structural impunity that allows them to trample over human rights without consequences, while the protection of their investments is ensured by law.

Corporate impunity is the result of the deregulation and weakening of national legal frameworks and the absence of international mechanisms for enforcing respect for human rights by corporations. Attempts have been made to offset legal loopholes through voluntary agreements and soft law such as *Corporate Social Responsibility*, in contrast with the harshness of global corporate law, which has numerous means to impose sanctions on countries which dare to challenge corporate interests.¹⁷



Legalised dispossession turns any and everything into an object of commercial transaction, placing everything that makes life worth living at the mercy of the market.

Aleida Hernández

17. You can delve deeper into this topic with this report: Amis de la Terre France, CETIM, Observatoire des multinationales, OMAL and TNI (2018) [The EU and the corporate impunity nexus](#).

2.1. Fighting for rights in the face of corporate (de)regulation

Rights do not fall from the sky: they must be fought for and defended. Defending rights is much more than ensuring laws are passed that meet our demands. It is a permanent process of conflict and negotiation, wherein laws and agreements count for nothing if there is insufficient power to ensure they are applied in practice.

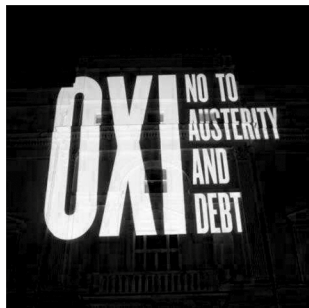
STRATEGY

a) Reversing neoliberal policy



Aleida Hernández refers to the **right to plunder** (*derecho del despojo*) when describing the role that law has played in spoliation around the world. As a result of neoliberal globalisation, new centres of public and private lawmaking have emerged, through which regulatory mechanisms such as trade agreements, WTO agreements, arbitration courts, etc. are rolled out, giving legal protection to the dispossession of the commons, national resources and people's rights.

External debt is one of the favoured instruments of international financial institutions to “discipline” governments and impose the *right to plunder* in exchange for bailouts. In 2011, the Spanish Constitution was amended to include “the absolute priority of the payment of public debt”, thus imposing austerity and cuts on public services in order to pay financial institutions.



The victory of the No (OXI) vote in the [2015 referendum](#) in Greece demonstrated the possibility of challenging neoliberal policy, even if, ultimately, the government ended up ignoring the popular mandate.



HAVE YOU CONSIDERED...

The current crisis may serve as a new excuse to condition recovery funds on the basis of structural pension, labour or fiscal reforms. As *Citizens' Observatory for Green Deal Financing* have stated, this means we must be alert and not get fooled by the siren songs of the green refoundation of capitalism.

STRATEGY

b) Emergency responses, shielding human rights

To counter the legal power of big business, we need widespread and ongoing activism in defence of human rights.

The most successful experiences in this field are those which:

- Dismantle the “culture of experts” and bring together grassroots human rights activists.
- Create spaces for coexistence through which to grow in strength and turn the tables.
- Respond to emergency through mutual support, civil disobedience and negotiation with businesses and public institutions.
- Combine immediacy with strategic action to shield human rights.



The **Alliance Against Energy Poverty (APE)** in Catalonia fights against power and water cuts by putting public pressure companies and institutions, occupying company headquarters and calling for regulations. Through collective support, they transform feelings of guilt and victimisation into a driving force for human rights activism.

c) Stopping Free Trade and Investment Agreements

Free Trade and Investment Agreements are the pillars of *the right to plunder*, key elements in guaranteeing corporate impunity and legal protection for investments. In addition to being a lever to facilitate the commodification of more and more spheres of life, they guarantee continued extractivism and strengthen the international stratification of labour.



The continental alliance “**No al ALCA**” (No to the FTA) managed to stop the Free Trade Area of the Americas in 2005, and consolidated the fightback against the neoliberal socioeconomic system.

Campaigns against the FTAA, TTIP (EU-US Treaty), CETA (EU-Canada Treaty) and the “*América Latina mejor sin TLC*” campaign have demonstrated the importance of fighting these agreements through:¹⁸

- Big tent alliances (trade unions, grassroots movements, community organisations, political organisations, etc.).
- Analysis which is not limited to specific consequences, but which challenges the entire model.
- Strategies that combine advocacy work with popular protest.
- Grassroots, peer-to-peer education, to spread knowledge about the consequences of these agreements in everyday life.

18. Amaia Pérez (2017) *Aprendizajes de las resistencias feministas latinoamericanas a los tratados de comercio e inversión*. OMAL

d) Denormalising “exceptionalism”

Another facet of the right to plunder is its normalisation of exceptionalism, that is, the institutionalisation of “exceptional” situations in which human rights are suspended. Some examples of this are:

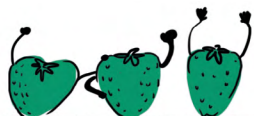
- Immigration policies, which redefine who is a legal subject and who is not.
- Special Economic Zones that establish “duty-free” areas in which transnational corporations can operate.
- Global confinement policies, from mass imprisonment to the encirclement and isolation of entire population such as the Palestinian, Saharawi and Kurdish peoples, among others, through which millions of people’s right to a decent life is eliminated.
- Collusion between the state, the legal economy and the criminal economy in border areas and where dispossession takes place.



DID YOU KNOW...

Necropolitics is a concept coined by *Achille Mbembe* to describe the violence of contemporary capitalism. It highlights how capitalism manages the “superfluous”, non-profitable population through death and fear. As we have seen in the management of the pandemic, the elderly are one example of this, their lives having been deemed as surplus to the requirements of the capitalist productive model, resulting in them being left to die.

The most urgent action that needs to be taken to disarm this politics of fear and death is to bring it to light and to denormalise it. We must raise our voice to say that, even though these practices occur on the “margins”, they are part of the DNA of the capitalist system, and are not exceptions nor “lesser evils” that can be overlooked.



Jornaleras de Huelva en lucha (Female day labourers in struggle) have spoken out about how the lack of oversight and inspections, on top of racism and stigma, lead to the systematic violation of the rights of migrants working on industrial agriculture, who suffer all manner of violence and exploitation.

AGENDA

e) Rebuilding human rights from below

If we want to turn human rights into a genuine tool for emancipation, the challenge is twofold:

- We must defend their universality, interdependence and enforceability in the face of attempts both to redefine who is to be afforded legal protection and to offset the mechanisms through which this protection is provided.
- We also need to rebuild human rights from below, removing the individualistic, colonial and patriarchal biases that underpin them, and expand them by incorporating the rights of the natural world and the notion of “transnational peoples”.



LET'S LEARN FROM...

Indigenous peoples succeeded in 1989 in having the ILO General Conference adopt the **Convention 169 on Indigenous and Tribal Peoples in Independent Countries**, recognising them as subjects with collective rights, and granting them the right to exercise control over their own lives and to free and informed consent based on prior consultation.

2.2. Strengthen oversight

The logic behind **Corporate Social Responsibility**, based on voluntary, unilateral rules which are not legally enforceable, has colonised the United Nations and is supported by the majority of national governments, despite the fact that those affected by corporate practices have highlighted its ineffectiveness.

Indeed, the systematic violations of human rights committed by transnational corporations demonstrate the futility of corporate self-regulation, and the ineffectiveness of any rules that do not include public oversight.

→ While it is true that self-regulation can be reinforced by *due diligence* –and that this represents a step towards genuine obligations– this only forces companies to develop risk prevention plans, instead of guaranteeing compliance with international human rights law.¹⁹



Since 1993, the **Union of People Affected by Texaco (UDAPT)** has been seeking justice for the discharge of toxic waste and raw sewage by Chevron-Texaco into the Amazon basin. In 2011, they managed to convince an Ecuadorian court to impose a payout for damages worth 8.4 billion euros on the company. However, this sentence came to nothing, with the company leaving the country; attempts by the UDAPT to bring them to trial in other countries have failed. This serves to highlight the urgent need for an international court in which cases of this kind can be heard.

19. You can find more information about “Corporate Social Responsibility” and “due diligence” in this article: Baars, Grietje (2020) [“The Limits of Law. Why ‘corporate accountability’ will not change the corporation”](#), TNI.

ALTERNATIVES

Three alternatives to Corporate Social Responsibility that would enable effective oversight of transnational corporations are:

a) Binding Treaty on Business and Human Rights

In 2014, the United Nations Human Rights Council adopted a landmark resolution on the oversight of transnational corporations, mandating the negotiation of binding rules and the means of enforcing them. Despite this, with the governments which spearheaded the initiative no longer in office, and under pressure from the European Union and the United States, it is possible that a watered-down version treaty will emerge.



The **International Peoples Treaty on the Control of Transnational Corporations** brings together proposals for an end to corporate impunity from the *Global Campaign to Dismantle Corporate Power*. Collectively drafted, it shows that activists and affected communities affected can also be actors and subjects in lawmaking.²⁰

b) Extraterritoriality

Extraterritoriality means a company could be sued in its country of origin regardless of the place where the reported events occurred.



States have an obligation to respect, protect and fulfil human rights both within their territory and outside of it. However, the “corporate veil” allows transnational corporations and their directors to avoid responsibilities thanks to the “legal separation” between parent companies and their subsidiaries and suppliers.

20. You can find out more here: www.stopcorporateimpunity.org



The Ogoni people of Nigeria achieved a **landmark judgment against Shell** in a Dutch court: it declared the parent company responsible for the systematic contamination of the Niger Delta as a result of negligence.

ALTERNATIVES

c) Universal jurisdiction

Universal jurisdiction²¹ means national courts are obliged to investigate and, where appropriate, prosecute international crimes regardless of the place where they were committed and the nationality of the alleged perpetrator or the victims, through the application of domestic and/or international criminal law.

The **Madrid-Buenos Aires principles**, drafted by international jurists in 2015, raise the possibility of extending universal jurisdiction to “economic and environmental crimes that, according to their extent and scale, seriously affect group or collective human rights or involve the irreversible destruction of ecosystems.”


→ Nevertheless, in order to be effective, national legislation must be passed, and the judiciary willing to investigate such cases.



LET'S LEARN FROM...

The Argentinian judge María Servini de Cubría has been investigating the crimes of Spain's Francoist dictatorship for years, despite a lack of judicial investigation in Spain.

21. For more information, see: jurisdiccionuniversal.org



Criteria that ought to be met in any attempt to regulate and oversee transnational corporations²²:

- ✓ Focus the scope on **transnational corporations**: transnational corporations are legal persons and therefore subjects and objects of law.
- ✓ Encourage **binding rules** instead of voluntary agreements, and set out specific obligations for transnational corporations.
- ✓ Reaffirm the **primacy of human rights** over and above trade and investment, and assign responsibilities and obligations to international bodies.
- ✓ Detail the **extraterritorial obligations** of nation states and companies.
- ✓ Establish **secondary international responsibility** of companies and directors for the activities of parent companies and their subsidiaries, suppliers and contractors.
- ✓ Improve **access to justice** and redress, and advance enforceability through mechanisms such as research and support centres, specific prosecutors' offices and, at the international level, a global court to oversee transnational corporations and human rights.
- ✓ Encourage the **participation** of all social actors in the creation, application and monitoring of regulation, and ensure adequate public oversight.

22. OMAL (2021) "[Empresas transnacionales y derechos humanos. Situación actual de los marcos regulatorios y propuestas](#)".

2.3. Preventing crimes from going unpunished

We have discussed how to defend rights, and how we might reverse corporate impunity. However, in the meantime, what can we do about the systematic crimes committed by transnational corporations around the world?

Drawing on the experience of communities affected by corporate megaprojects, we can trace several **pathways towards popular and feminist justice**. This justice must avoid revictimisation or silencing the voice of its protagonists, and should not look for inspiration in current, ineffective legal systems.



LET'S LEARN FROM...

In July 2021, 5 years after the murder of Berta Cáceres, a Honduran court convicted the former president of the construction company DESA in a historic ruling that laid bare the role of the company in the land defender's murder. This is was a victory for the grassroots **Council of Popular and Indigenous Organizations of Honduras (COPINH)**, and an important step towards breaking the “pact of impunity” in Honduras.

a) Legal avenues

Although we have few effective legal mechanisms to defend human rights, combining activism and political pressure with the activation of legal channels can serve to paralyse or slow down megaprojects, or achieve redress. This notwithstanding, we must think carefully if the time and energy required are worth it, since many times our expectations are not met.



HAVE YOU CONSIDERED...

How can we use the law to stop or expel a transnational corporation?

1. Demand that the constitutionality of regulations made in favour of transnational corporations and their compliance with international human rights law are revised.
2. Take legal action against non-compliance with administrative guidelines or environmental regulations.
3. Present appeals on the grounds of the right to prior consultation or collective ownership of the land.
4. Report a company and its directors for non-compliance with legislation, for any activities not covered by the permits obtained, or for any harm suffered as a result of these activities.
5. Activate international reporting channels, such as the Optional Protocol to the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, complaints to International Labour Organization committees, National Contact Points (reporting to the OECD) and multilateral bank liability systems (where these are involved in the megaproject). The possibility of taking extraterritorial legal action can also be considered, although there are few precedents.
6. Highlight the ineffectiveness of official channels and join together to exert international pressure.

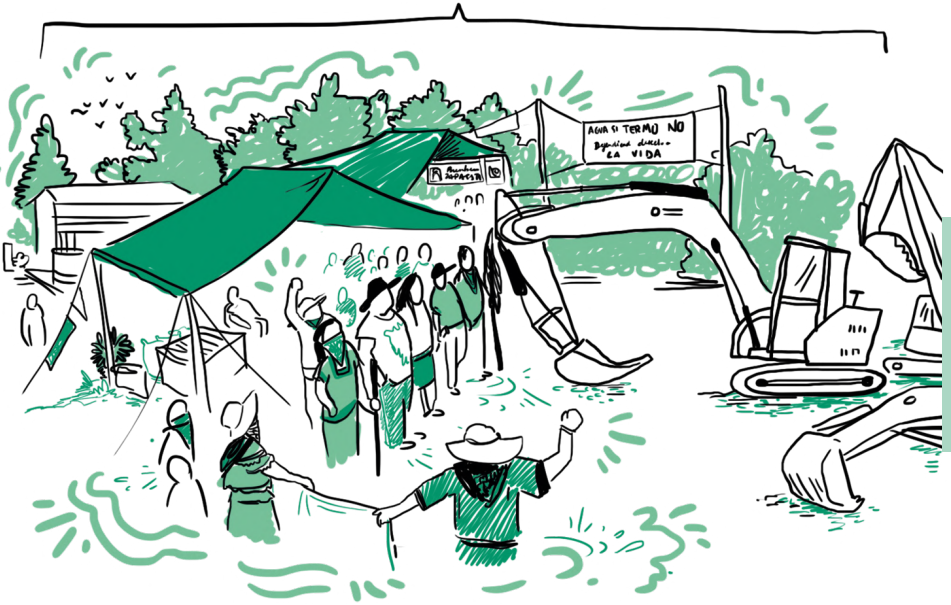
STRATEGY

b) Civil disobedience

An alternative use of the law implies its legal, alegal and illegal use. Where legality clashes with the international legitimacy of human rights, civil disobedience represents a key tool for the grassroots defence of human rights.

Road blocks, pickets, sabotage and the occupation of factories are just some key tools in stopping the construction of a megaproject, causing company's profits to fall and gaining the media's attention.

4 YEARS



The People's Front in Defence of Land and Water (Mexico) held a **sit-in in Apatlaco** (Morelos) for 4 years that prevented the construction of an aqueduct as part of the Integral Morelos project, putting the legal protected status of their water into practice.²³

23. You can read more here: Alabab-Moser, Jacob (03/15/2021) "[Indigenous, Rural Mexicans in Morelos Fight Against Energy Project That Threatens Their Water Supplies](#)", *Latino Rebels*.

c) In the face of disbelief and invisibility, acknowledgement





When we shout “I believe you”, we denounce a system that revictimises, delegitimises suffering, forces victims to prove their victimhood, fails to protect and compensate against harm, and often leaves the guilty unpunished.

Communities affected by megaprojects (non-urban, indigenous, Afro-descendant and rural communities) are delegitimised through racist discourses which depict them as opponents of progress. Their demands are met with persecution and defamation and, in the event that any ruling is made in their favour, it is most likely to be inconsequential or impossible to apply in practice.



LET'S LEARN FROM...

The **Permanent Peoples' Tribunal (PPT)**, which originated in the so-called Russell Tribunals on Vietnam (1966-1967) and emerged following the dictatorships in Latin America (1974-1976), has the role of highlighting mass violations of fundamental human rights that do not find recognition or response from official bodies. Far from asserting itself as a prosecutory body, the real purpose and mission of the PPT is to provide recognition and legitimacy to victims' version of events, serving as an instrument in the fight for recognition by official bodies.

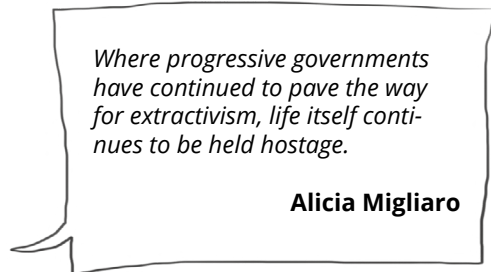



3. POLITICS: DISMANTLING THE STATE-CORPORATE MACHINE

The political power of corporations is based on an alliance between states (and international institutions) and global capital, through which neoliberalism has been crystallised, and is sustained through what is known as the “corporate capture of institutions”. This capture takes the form of lobbies, revolving doors, privatisation, corruption, party funding, advertising agencies, etc.

To understand it, we must first consider that, while states have always been key actors in the reproduction of the capitalist system, in the context of neoliberal globalisation, they go one step further in guaranteeing the survival of capitalism, becoming partners of capital. Therefore, far from being “rolled back”, under neoliberalism the state reinforces its functions which serve global capital (public order, trade policies, infrastructural investment, etc.) while adapting the rest to the diktats of economic competition. By the same token, we have seen how even governments which are considered progressive have remained operating from within extractivist logics – often in alliance with transnational corporate power – with serious impacts for the land. This poses a challenge for social movements.

Dismantling the political power of corporations means fighting against the mechanisms that underpin public-private partnership (lobbies, corruption, revolving doors, etc.) and, above all, dismantling the idea that the big transnationals are the ones that will get us out of the crisis, building alternatives to recover popular sovereignty.

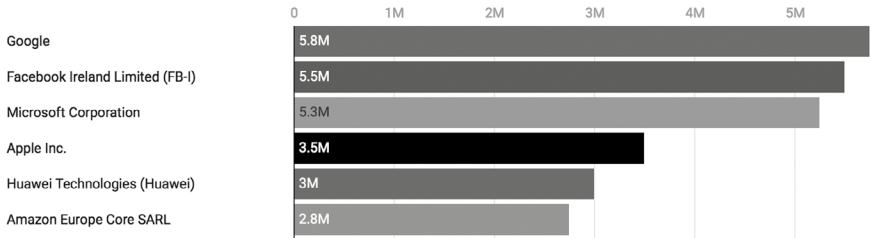


Where progressive governments have continued to pave the way for extractivism, life itself continues to be held hostage.

Alicia Migliaro

3.1. Putting obstacles in the way of neoliberalism

Lobbying in the EU: Do you know how much money digital companies spend each year trying to influence European institutions' decision-making?



*Source: Corporate Europe Observatory (2021) [The lobby network: Big Tech's web of influence in the EU](#)

a) Bringing to light and denouncing corporate capture

The first step in breaking the alliance between states and corporations is to bring this alliance to light. To do so, we must demand transparency and create mechanisms for public control, in order to:

- highlight cases of corruption and tax evasion
- raise awareness about revolving doors
- keep watch over lobbies
- curb projects which run contrary to the collective interest
- shield activities and physical spaces from corporate intrusion
- put closed-door negotiations under the spotlight



LET'S LEARN FROM...

Whistleblowers are people who leak information. **Xnet** carries out work to guarantee their anonymity and use leaked information to report cases of corruption, such as the **#15mpaRato** case regarding the Bankia shares scam in Spain.



HAVE YOU CONSIDERED...

A host of organisations, social observatories and journalists have exposed the underhanded dealings of the alliance between corporations and institutions. You can follow them and support them: corpwatchers.eu, stopcorporateimpunity.org, icij.org

STRATEGY

b) Take back global agendas from the hands of corporate power



A **multi-stakeholder** model is being imposed on a global scale to manage health, climate change and food, allowing corporations a role as legitimate political actors. Third-sector organisations are used to legitimise the privatisation of public management, acknowledging corporations as political interlocutors without taking into account the significant asymmetries of power nor their role in inequality and human rights violations.²⁴

24. For more information read the report: TNI (2016) [*Multi-stakeholderism: a corporate push for a new form of global governance.*](#)

We cannot leave the regulation of transnational corporations or commitments against climate change in the hands of decision-making spaces which have been captured by corporate power.

→ We must urgently build worldwide alliances for action capable of influencing global agendas without losing their rootedness in local struggles.



LET'S LEARN FROM...

La **Via Campesina** brings together 181 local and national organisations from 81 countries across Africa, Asia, Europe and the Americas. In total, it represents some 200 million farmers in the defence of food sovereignty, making it a benchmark for building global struggles.

AGENDA

c) Speaking out against corporate internationalisation policies



DID YOU KNOW...

In the race for global competitiveness, states, regions and cities are fighting to put their brand in the shop window. “Marca España” and “Basque Country”, for example, serve to help Spanish and Basque companies to internationalise and to attract investment from abroad. What impacts they leave behind or the climate consequences of continuing to rely on global production chains are seen as being of little importance.

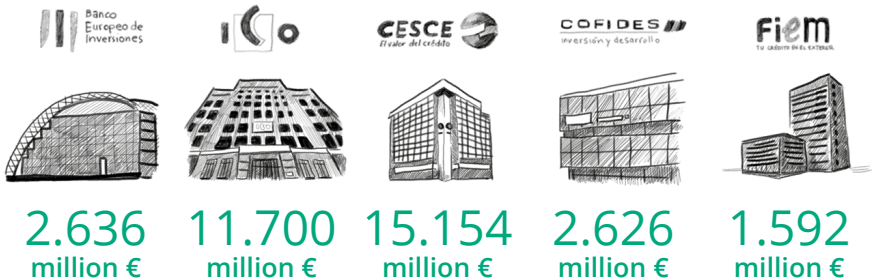
The struggles of the residents of cities and other areas invaded by tourism, as well as those devastated by violence and pollution from industrial corridors and mega-transport infrastructure, show us that the goal of “attracting investment at any cost” must be abandoned. Neither low-quality employment nor the fear of crisis can compensate for this destruction.



The indigenous peoples of southern Mexico are fighting to stop the construction of the so-called **Maya Train**, a mega-infrastructure that will increase tourism, and with it, environmental damage, sex tourism, and the destruction of local cultures and economies.

However, we do not only have to look at the impacts of “investment opportunities”: we must also consider the enormous amount of public money given over to supporting companies in their bid to internationalise.

Between 2006 and 2018, the EU and Spain invested **33,708 million euros** via aid, loans and insurance to help companies to internationalise:²⁵



25. Erika González, Beatriz Casado and Marta Fernández (2020) *Fondos Públicos, Negocios Privados*, OMAL. If you want to find out more information about EIB, you can read the report by Counter Balance and CEE Bankwatch network (2020) [Can the EIB become the EU development bank?](#)

d) Public-social centres to monitor corporate power

Aiming to highlight and speak out against the consequences of business internationalisation, activist groups from Catalonia, Switzerland and the Basque Country have promoted the creation of **public-social centres for monitoring transnational corporations and human rights**, which would have the following responsibilities:

- Investigate the practices of big business.
- Register complaints, investigate them, and transfer them to the relevant authorities.
- Provide legal and psychosocial support to victims and affected groups, and facilitate temporary or permanent displacement when necessary.
- Propose changes in public policies regarding business internationalisation.
- Introduce mechanisms into public procurement procedures to exclude companies found guilty of human rights violations both nationally and abroad, holding parent companies, subcontractors and suppliers responsible.
- Propose sanctions against corporations that violate human rights.



LET'S LEARN FROM...

The **Euskal Herriak Kapitalari Planto!** platform, formed by trade unions, grassroots activists and international solidarity organisations, is the driving force behind the **Basque Centre for Transnational Corporations and Human Rights**, which aims to oversee and report on the actions and impacts of Basque transnational corporations operating abroad, as well as foreign capital operating in the Basque Country. In Catalonia there is a similar proposal promoted by Lafede.cat, which has managed to get the Catalan Parliament to start debating a proposed law for the creation of a **Catalan Business and Human Rights Centre**.²⁶

26. You can find out more here: Catena, Marta, (12/19/2022) "[Ensure good business practices to prevent human rights violations](#)", *Nonprofit*.

3.2. Short-circuiting their information cycle

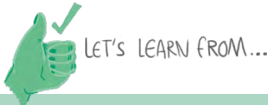
a) Dismantling the dominant narrative and altering the official agenda



The alliance between nation states and corporations is based on fear: fear of companies relocating to another country, fear of losing the jobs they offer, fear of taking the reins of the ecological transition, fear of the far-right, and the fear felt by those in power of losing their position.

The greatest victory of neoliberalism was to impose the idea that “there is no alternative”: either we let companies manage our lives, or we are lost. While the consequences of neoliberal globalisation, privatisation and growth at any cost have demonstrated that there is no hope of an economic miracle, the fear of upsetting big business persists.

Fortunately, more and more people are working to dismantle the narrative and bring to light the many experiences that show that there are, in fact, alternatives.



Index on Censorship campaigns for and defends free expression worldwide, they publish work by censored writers and artists, promote debate, and monitor threats to free speech.



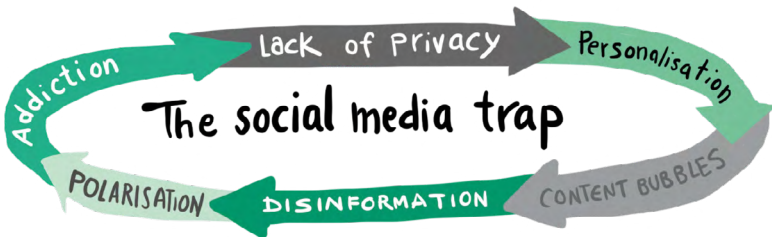
HAVE YOU CONSIDERED...

During the boom in reporting on the feminist strikes in Spain, we learned to take action against the manipulation and appropriation of our discourse:

- Looking after and strengthening collective and diverse voices
- Surfing the media wave without letting it wash over us
- Taking advantage of media interest to shed light on under-reported issues
- Introducing ideas that are difficult to co-opt, such as the “capital-life conflict”
- Creating alliances with like-minded journalists
- Promoting self-run communication outlets

ALTERNATIVES

b) Take back control of reporting



Google, Amazon, Facebook, Apple and Microsoft control 80% of all data stored and analysed in the world. This aggregated data is called “Big Data”, and its accumulation is known as data “mining” or “extractivism”.

With their hold over our data, these companies not only create needs and customised ads, they can even influence electoral outcomes.



DID YOU KNOW...

[Cambridge Analytica](#) used data and bots intensively to manipulate public opinion and spearhead Donald Trump's victory in 2016.



HAVE YOU CONSIDERED...

"We should not depend on a transnational to feed us, nor should we depend on one to communicate with each other"²⁷:

- Secure e-mail providers: Disroot, RiseUp, Pangea
- NextCloud for online work, or see the recommendations from <https://nomoregoogle.com/>
- Fediverso is a set of free, decentralised social networks that guarantee neutrality and sovereignty over infrastructure.





AGENDA

3.3. Shielding the commons and public services

a) Movements against cuts and privatisation

Corporate power has set its sights on the resources which still remain beyond its control, and has redoubled its efforts to take over public services. We must shield those that are still public and activate processes of deprivatisation to recover those that have already been privatised.

What can we do about privatisation?

 <p>I CAUGHT YOU!</p> <p>DAMN, THEY ARE MANY! THERE'S ANOTHER ONE HERE ...</p> <p>Bring privatisation processes undercover to light (such as subcontracting and public-private partnerships).</p>	 <p>HOLD ON!</p> <p>Mobilise against cuts and for the defence of public health and education in the face of dual operating models.</p>
 <p>TOC TOC</p> <p>Organise ourselves to demand decent working conditions in public services.</p>	 <p>(HAPPY TO FIGHT!)</p> <p>SOMEONE! ONE MORE PUSHING!</p> <p>To put pressure on institutions to remunicipalise basic services and push for tax reform to make companies pay more.</p>

27. Zorras Binarias (2020) "Adueñémonos de la tecnología: por una tecnología libre y ética", Donestech.



HAVE YOU CONSIDERED...

The power of everyday life! We believe that the personal is political, but also that the political is personal: campaigning with the families with whom we share our public schools, defending the health centre we share with our neighbours, using public transport even though it isn't always reliable...

ALTERNATIVES

b) Countering public-private partnerships: a public-community model



DID YOU KNOW...

Public-Private Partnerships (PPPs) are a type of agreement between governments and the private sector through which services which historically formed part of the public sector are outsourced to the private sector. It is a means of obtaining private investment that entails privatisation and loss of sovereignty. Moreover, it often comes with lucrative contracts for private companies, since they are guaranteed profitability while the public sector takes on all the risks.²⁸

20% of GDP: the value of public service provision tenders and contracts in Spain.

→ **Public-community partnerships** for the running of canteens, cultural spaces, etc. have emerged as an alternative not just to the privatisation of public services, but also to centralised and often overly-bureaucratic public sector management.

→ **Responsible public procurement** means including social and environmental clauses in public tenders to prioritise companies that guarantee quality employment and sustainability.



LET'S LEARN FROM...

Socioeco.org is an online library dedicated to the social and solidarity economy and its associated concepts. There you can find a lot of resources about public policies and the solidarity economy.

28. You can learn about the impacts of these contracts by reading the report by DAWN Feminist (2021) [PPPs and Women's Human Rights](#).



4. SOCIETY:

PULLING THE PLUG ON TRANSNATIONAL CORPORATIONS

Social power is evident: large companies are able to shape society for their benefit. They control our lives, from how we work and consume to where and how we live or how we interact with and relate to one another. Indeed, as Silvia Federici makes clear²⁹, the beginnings of capitalism forced a transformation in the process of social reproduction to adapt it to the needs of the new economic structure, enclosing care within homes and disciplining women. Today, corporate interests take advantage of inequality and insecurity, exacerbating violence.

In addition, corporations not only trample over the rights won in the last century, but they are increasingly influencing our aspirations, fears and desires. They have managed to impose the myth of the self-made entrepreneur: if we find ourselves at the bottom of the ladder, it is because we haven't figured out how to get ahead in life, and it is nothing to do with class, race or gender. This paves the way for the imposition of individualism and meritocracy, as well as giving ground to hate speech promoting the "war between the poor".

Faced with this pervasive control, we must urgently develop strategies to "disconnect" from transnational corporations and regain control of our lives.



*Caring for all life on a planet with limits
requires co-responsibility, not sacrifice.*

Yayo Herrero

29. Federici, S. (2004) *Caliban and the Witch: Women, the Body and Primitive Accumulation*, Autonomedia.

4.1. Decommodifying our lives, breaking from the capitalist-patriarchal alliance

Capitalism has made us slaves to employment, but at the same time it has given rise to working conditions which are incompatible with life itself. Breaking this vicious cycle requires looking for other ways to sustain life:

a) Deprivatising essential services

If we want to guarantee a life worth living for everyone, we must prioritise non-commercial provision of basic materials and social and cultural services. This can be done by:

1. Expanding public services.

For example, expanding public housing stock, creating public energy companies and more public care services.

2. Expropriating and collectively operating services.

For example, occupying land or properties, curbing evictions, preventing power and water cuts.

3. Focusing on public-community management.

For example, community gardens and canteens and cultural centres, in which local authorities cede the facilities and/or finances to the community, who are responsible for running them.



LET'S LEARN FROM...

Luci Cavallero and Verónica Gago invite us to imagine what a **feminist wage** would look like. This is a form of income distribution that avoids the commodification of life and the patriarchal family care model, in favour of strengthening public care services and community networks.³⁰

30. Luci Cavallero and Verónica Gago (2020) "[10 Theses on Feminist Economics](#)", *CLCWeb: Comparative Literature and Culture*, 22-2.

b) Towards public-community management of life-sustaining processes

How can we make progress in the public and community management of essential services?

1. Decentralise and relocate management and production.

By promoting the remunicipalisation of e.g. water or municipal care services.

2. Universalise access with appropriate criteria.

By guaranteeing supplies at fair rates.

3. Democratise management at different scales: domestic, community, territory, country, world.

By building e.g. energy communities that set their consumption taking into account the limits of the planet.

** this proposal is discussed more in depth on page 72.*

4. Move towards models tailored to each territory

Building e.g. food systems which are culturally and climatically appropriate in each given territory.



HAVE YOU CONSIDERED...

We often debate about whether to oblige the government to guarantee rights, turning organisations into advocacy tools or temporary “patches”, or whether to stop trusting in the government and start organising ourselves. But what if we explored an intermediate option, neither entrusting everything to a state that prioritises the corporate agenda, nor resigning ourselves to having to meet our needs through self-exploitation and insecurity? Could we explore public-community strategies that strengthen and dignify communities and guarantee rights?

c) Distributing workloads and making them compatible with life



LET'S LEARN FROM...

As part of the project **Derivas hacia la soberanía feminista**, we came to the conclusion that we need to “dethrone employment”. In order to achieve this, we need collective and decommericalised channels for accessing housing, food and culture.³¹

As a result of ecology, chronic unemployment or the unsustainability of the way employment currently works. More and more voices are demanding:

1. Reduction of working hours without reduction of wages.
2. Expansion of leave for care and adaptation of schedules.
3. Defence of the right to retirement.
4. Distribution of care and co-responsibility.
5. Distribution of wealth through tax reform to expand rights.



The **Biscay pensioners' movement** has demonstrated its strength by combining mass protests and rallies every Monday in defence of decent pensions.

31. “Derivas hacia la soberanía feminista” (Trends towards feminist sovereignty) was a feminist research project spearheaded by OMAL and Colectiva XXK together with several feminist organisations. The results can be seen in the documentary made by Alborde Films, available at www.omal.info

d) Promote cooperative employment and the popular or social solidarity economy

Cooperativism, the popular economy and the solidarity economy demonstrate that there are alternatives to capitalist exploitation, and that we can organise ourselves to work and produce in another way, in addition to preventing our work from contributing to extractivism, militarism, etc.



In Cordoba, organised seamstresses without bosses make thousands of backpacks for schools in working-class neighbourhoods, as part of the **Quality Education** campaign.



In Buenos Aires, workers from a bankrupt company took over the factory where they were employed in 2004 and created the *Textiles Pigüe Cooperative*, which employs 140 people.



LET'S LEARN FROM...

Maitelan is a cooperative in Gipuzkoa (Basque Country) formed by a group of migrant women who decided to fight to improve working conditions for domestic workers through the creation of a cooperative. The project has become a tool for highlighting the rights infringements suffered by migrant women working in the care sector, in addition to laying the foundations for a collective redistribution of the social responsibility of care among the three types of partners: workers, users and collaborators.

Despite the challenges, cooperative experiences show that quality employment can be provided through self-management and participation.



HAVE YOU CONSIDERED...

How can we dismantle the discourse of the “entrepreneur” and support cooperativism?

- move away from productivism and competitiveness
- develop fair trade relationships
- ensure the participation of workers in decision-making
- support solidarity initiatives

ALTERNATIVES

e) Living outside the norm, decommodifying our lives



DID YOU KNOW...

As Sara Lafuente explains, the commodification of reproductive practices relies heavily on economic insecurity and a system in which productivity takes centre stage.³²

Corporate power shatters our lives at the same time as it offers us the “perfect getaway” for whoever can afford it. Travel, cheap clothing and services “only a click away” have become escape routes, paid for by the overexploitation of territories and people. In addition, they impose a homogeneous way of life that destroys cultures and identities.

However, instead of individual and fleeting escapes, why don't we look towards collective leisure? Spaces for fun, mutual support and rebellion such as those that have been built by feminists, the LGBTI + movement and migrant activists over the decades.³³

32. Lafuente-Funes, Sara & Pérez Orozco, Amaia (2020) “On (global) care chains in times of crisis: egg donation and domestic work in Spain”, *Tapuya*.

33. You can find some examples here www.queerproject.org/resources



LET'S LEARN FROM...

The Black Fraternal Organization of Honduras ([OFRANEH](#)), in its fight against racism and in defence of the land, highlights the importance of cultural identity and the strengthening of culture. As Miriam Miranda states, "We have to be strong to face diseases and epidemics: providing care in terms of food, the way we live, mental health, water, and the air we breathe. We have to be well, and that means to build as well as to deconstruct things".³⁴



HAVE YOU CONSIDERED...

The [map of SSE solutions](#) offers several options to end our reliance on transnational companies:

- Alternative ways of eating
- Access to healthcare and homecare services
- Community housing and cooperatives
- Popular education and cultural initiatives
- Fair trade and responsible consumption
- Alternative media
- Responsible finance
- Transition towards local and renewable energy and ecomobility



34. Capire (4/10/2022) "[Miriam Miranda: There Is a Genocide Against Us, the Peoples Who Defend Nature](#)"

4.2. Ending exploitation and the sexual, international and racial division of labour



DID YOU KNOW...

Capitalist exploitation is underpinned by:

- **Gender:** The sexual division of labour allows corporations to write off the costs of workers' reproductive activity and pay women* lower wages.

**women in a broad sense: cis and trans women who identify as such, queer people who do not identify as women, and those who do not self-identify according to the female/male dichotomy*

- **Colonialism:** imperialism and globalisation, which opens the borders to capital and closes them to people, cause an international division of labour that allows the margins of exploitation to be widened.

- **Racialisation:** slavery, racism, and subsequently laws affecting foreign nationals that divide the working class into those with "regular" and "irregular" status, allowing businesses to deepen forms of exploitation and take advantage of "loopholes".

The trade union movement has achieved important victories: the regulation of the working day, the prohibition of child labour, collective bargaining, the minimum wage, and more. Yet not everyone is guaranteed their rights, and these rights cannot be taken for granted.

Below, we propose several ways to fight exploitation, the gender gap, offshoring, the underground economy, subcontracting and automation.



LET'S LEARN FROM...

Asia Floor Wage is an international alliance between grassroots and trade union organisations from producer countries (such as Bangladesh, India, Indonesia, etc.) and consumer countries in Europe and USA, and works to ensure decent wages in the textile sector, the end of gender discrimination, and freedom for workers to join trade unions.

a) Transnational strategies to short-circuit the international and racial division of labour

What if Inditex workers and subcontractors around the world came together to demand living wages for all? What would happen if collective bargaining at Volkswagen plants in Europe included clauses that prevented deals with suppliers that fail to uphold the right to collective bargaining both here and in other parts of the world?

Without going so far, what would happen if the feminist and trade union movement joined forces to demand the regularisation of all essential workers?

make amazon pay



LET'S LEARN FROM...

The **"Make Amazon Pay"** campaign has led to workers and activists from several countries to come together to organise coordinated strikes, protests and other actions. They are seeking improved working conditions, especially the suspension of the current productivity and surveillance model that puts the pinch on workers, as well as measures against climate change, fiscal abuse and invasions of privacy.



HAVE YOU CONSIDERED...

How can we stand in solidarity with other workers' struggles?

- Organising international missions to raise awareness about and speak out against exploitation, with the participation of trade unions and grassroots and political organisations
- Joining worker-led boycott campaigns
- Contributing to resistance funds to sustain strikes and protests

b) Combatting immigration laws



LET'S LEARN FROM...

#RegularizacionYa is a campaign for “clear migration law based on rights and not exploitation” in Spain. Against a backdrop of crisis, the campaign seeks the permanent and unconditional regularisation of all migrants and refugees’ residency and working status. Many of them are completely unprotected by law, and carry out essential work in the care and agricultural sectors.

If people had the same possibilities to move as capital does, capital could no longer use borders to deepen inequalities and exploitation. That is why we must organise to break down the physical, political and symbolic walls:

- Dismantle hate speech and raise awareness of the pointlessness of borders.
- Denounce systematic human rights abuses which are the result of migration policy.
- Press for the closure of immigration detention centres, the opening of regularisation channels, the guaranteeing of rescue and safe migratory routes, etc.
- Create solidarity networks.



HAVE YOU CONSIDERED...

La Fira de Economia Social i Solidaria Migrante y diversa (Migrant Social and Solidarity Economy Fair) in Barcelona works to highlight the power of the migrant economy and seeks to ensure the social and solidarity economy is transformative, does not reproduce racism, and contributes to removing such obstacles. In addition, those involved have spoken out against laws affecting foreign nationals which prevent free access to economic initiatives for people without papers, and how the requirement of a full-time contract to obtain regular residency status undermines the principle of the self-management of working time.

c) Collective organisation within businesses and sectors

Collective organisation is more necessary than ever, especially in fragmented areas such as work-from-home, remote work or through digital platforms³⁵, if we are to achieve:

- Improvements in working conditions (wages, holidays, shifts, breaks).
- Industrial safety.
- Protection in cases of redundancy.
- Public pension systems.
- Limitation of temporary contracts
- Regulation and control of digital delivery, transport and care platforms.
- Work inspection services.
- Ending the gender pay gap and discriminatory segregation in employment.



In 2017, after **370 days on strike**, nursing home workers in Bizkaia (Basque Country) reached an agreement with employers to improve their working conditions, paving the way for quality employment in what is a significantly insecure sector. This victory demonstrates the potential of resistance funds as tools to sustain long-lasting strikes.

35. We recommend the DAWN and It for Change research: [Feminist Digital Justice](#), for more information about the consequences of digitalisation for gender justice.



HAVE YOU CONSIDERED...

Does your employer exploit you?

Organise with your colleagues, join a union, attend worker self-defence workshops, inform yourself and others about your rights, call strikes and protests, seek out like-minded organisations.

STRATEGY

4.3. Holding ourselves accountable for colonial and gender debts

a) Building communities free from racism and the patriarchy



DID YOU KNOW...

A “war between the poor” is the goal of those who promote hate speech, who seek to blame others for insecurity and poverty instead of looking for the structural causes of the economic crisis and the movement of peoples.

How can we fight hate speech?

- **We cannot limit ourselves to trying to restore democratic rights or institutions.**

Authoritarian practices and the rise of the alt-right are the result of a deeper crisis, and they are not a flash in the pan.

- **It is dangerous to ignore everyday emergencies for the fear of falling into assistentialism.**

Community care networks, in addition to meeting basic needs collectively, plant the seed of mutual recognition and protect us against falsehoods and racism.

- **Fear must be faced collectively and a new hope built based on our collective strength.**

Faced with fear and feelings of guilt, we must organise with our neighbours and avoid falling into inaction.³⁶

36. The ability to organise ourselves in the face of disaster is analysed very well by Rebecca Solnit in *A Paradise Built in Hell: the Extraordinary Communities that Arise in Disaster* (2009, Penguin Random House).

- **We must put intersectionality into practice in our struggles, seek ways of coming together and reaching out to other groups and class-conscious, anti-racist, feminist, LGBTI+, etc. Activists.**

Acknowledging conflicts, not falling into the idealisation of community, avoiding paternalism and ensuring that all voices are heard.



LET'S LEARN FROM...

The **Greek anti-fascist movement** defeated Golden Dawn by combining mass protests, broad platforms, legal action and street level confrontation. "It's not about choosing between them, they worked because they were all done at the same time."³⁷

STRATEGY

b) Locally-rooted and global strategies that connect the everyday and the structural

We defend **the politicisation of everyday life** as a way to:

- Focus on specific issues without falling into resistance for its own sake, and without renouncing structural change.
- Create new platforms to challenge neoliberalism, individualism and authoritarianism.
- Bring change in the here and now to defend our everyday lives, without forgetting the consequences of our actions on a global scale.
- Collectivise care in resistance, build forms of activism that are compatible with the reproductive work.

We also suggest **avoiding "navel-gazing"**, and getting involved in key struggles even if they don't directly affect us. We must be anti-racist, recognise our slave-holding past, not be silent in the face of racist attitudes and aggressions and, above all, join in the struggles against migration laws, immigrant detention centres, deportations, racist raids, etc.

37. Hibaí Arbai (18/08/2019) "Cómo han vencido al fascismo en Grecia" *elsaltodiario.com*



LET'S LEARN FROM...

"Make the others into us" is the expression they use in *La Posada de los Abrazos* to describe their work in supporting women in vulnerable situations. With this phrase, they defend an alliance that goes far beyond assistance or solidarity.



HAVE YOU CONSIDERED...

"A feminism that overcomes all obstacles" is one of the pillars of the **Feminist Confluence of Transformative Economies**, which seeks to bring a feminist focus to the **World Social Forum of Transformative Economies**, while at the same time exploring the role of feminism in areas from which it has been excluded, such as energy and finance.

Through numerous virtual meetings, the platform set up an international dialogue between participants from within the transformative economy, through which strategies and resources for care were shared. This demonstrates the ability of feminism to scale up across a range of working areas and structures while keeping care at the centre.

5. SECURITARIANISM AND EXTRACTIVISM: DEFENDING THE BODY-TERRITORY FROM PATRIARCHAL CAPITALIST VIOLENCE

Corporate power is an extractivist and violent power which attacks bodies and territories. It is a power that knows no limits and bases its survival on violent dispossession through extractivism, the hoarding of land and resources, pollution, the overexploitation of workers, etc. Moreover, despite attempts to pacify economic processes through strategic agreements, and to render this violence invisible by transferring it to the peripheries (or to the so-called territories of sacrifice), present-day capitalist violence stands alone in its crudity, evidenced by the militarisation of the land, the control of borders and the violent command of the populace.

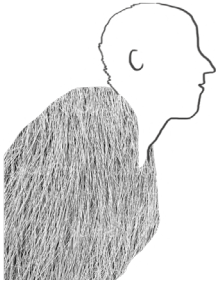
In recent decades, new forms of violence have been consolidated: violence against women, gender diverse and racialised people has become a key tool of discipline through terror, and a way of desensitising us to violence and exploitation.³⁸ Moreover, these practices are exercised both by the state and corporations, as well as by paramilitary actors and organised crime, giving rise to the so-called “low-intensity conflict” which occur in contexts of apparent democratic and capitalist normality. As at European borders, systematic human rights violations coexist here with the supposed democratic “rule of law”.



DID YOU KNOW...

We refer to **securitisation** as the process by which social and political problems are converted into security issues. This includes, for example, migration, poverty and social discontent being dealt with through police and military intervention, punitivism, criminalisation and measures for social control.

38. To analyse this further, we recommend the analyses that Rita Segato and Nerea Barjola have made of capitalist instrumentalisation of sexual terror.



Transnational companies extract life and respite from us. To talk about extractivist companies is to talk about death, about a bullet with your name on it.

Dalila Argueta

STRATEGY

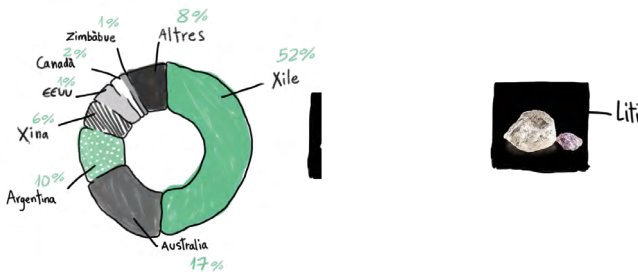
5.1. Sustaining life by acknowledging the limits of the planet and our bodies

a) Degrowth and redistribution

Corporate proposals to replace polluting energy sources with sustainable ones are unfeasible. There are not enough materials to sustain all the renewables needed to maintain current consumption levels. In addition, the reserves of raw materials critical for the energy transition, such as lithium (required to produce batteries), are concentrated in a small number of countries which are already suffering from the new "green extractivism".³⁹

Global Lithium Reserves (2018)

Reserves globales de Liti (2018)



Source: Alfons Pérez (2021) *Green deals in a time of pandemics. The future will be contested now*, ODG, Libros en Acción and Icaria.

39. For more data on resource depletion and energy transition, you can read the book by Alfons Pérez (2021) *Green deals in a time of pandemics. The future will be contested now*, ODG, Libros en Acción and Icaria.



DID YOU KNOW...

Not only is nature finite, the care work necessary to sustain life is also finite. The environmental crisis is deepening the reproductive crisis, forcing us to dedicate more working hours to regenerating and sustaining human (and non-human) life.



HAVE YOU CONSIDERED...

Instead of the consumerism of Western cultures, Jorge Riechmann proposes a **culture of sustainability**, collectively constructing forms of “self-restraint”, that is, “limiting oneself to let the other exist”.⁴⁰ This proposal is based on the understanding that the foundations of well-being and happiness, once certain material minimums are guaranteed, depend mainly on relational bonds, rather than on compulsive consumption.

AGENDA

b) Promoting a just and territorially-embedded transition

Food, water, care, energy, housing, transport and waste management must be kept out of the hands of corporate power. We must change the management of these resources from top-down to bottom-up, **moving from profitability to sustainability.**

Instead of change imposed from above (through measures that do not affect big business and, in fact, aggravate the precariousness of our lives), we argue for local and democratic alternatives.⁴¹ Decisions on how to make our lives and consumption more sustainable must take into account existing circumstances and inequalities.



LET'S LEARN FROM...

Food sovereignty is an opportunity to recover local production and consumption, organic farming, producer-to-consumer sales at fair prices, public and community canteens, traditional recipes and native seeds and breeds. In addition, it encourages local management model such as food councils.

40. Riechmann, Jorge (2015) *Autoconstrucción. La transformación cultural que necesitamos.*

41. If you are interested in finding more examples of local alternatives, we recommend: Bayas, Blanca and Bregolat, Joana (2021) *Ecofeminist proposals for reimagining the city*, ODG.



HAVE YOU CONSIDERED...

Energy communities can serve as key tools for popular control of the energy transition. These are collective projects for the production and self-supply of a community's energy needs, allowing us to fairly distribute energy, stop relying on large companies, create solidarity schemes, and gain an awareness of the costs and impacts of the energy we consume. However, encouraged by the European Union, big business has jumped on this bandwagon. It is essential that we stress the need for energy communities to be popular and democratic in their nature, and not to be fooled by the green promises of the oligopoly.⁴²

ALTERNATIVES

c) Community economies for a sustainable reproduction of life



LET'S LEARN FROM...

The **Xarxa d'Estructures Populars i Comunitàries de Manresa** (Network of Popular and Community Structures of Manresa) (Catalonia) brings together feminist, anti-racist and trade union groups, housing rights activists and training initiatives. Its principles are self-defence, the construction of grassroots projects, the reconstruction of community ties, and the desire to strengthen diverse voices outside of assistentialism and individualism.

More and more self-managed projects are emerging in fields such as food, housing, care and commercial enterprise, all of them seeking to provide a collective outlet for meeting basic needs. The motivation behind them can be providing vital support and/or taking a political stance against corporate power.

These initiatives pave the way for untethering ourselves from transnational corporations and governments which refuse to engage in meeting basic needs, despite the pressures they put on our lives and how we live them. From an ecofeminist point of view, it is therefore important to look for ways to:

- Move beyond the notion of the “activist hero”
- Incorporate care into spaces for activist and collective construction
- Collectivise tasks to transform our free and working time⁴³

42. You can read more here: energy-democracy.net

43. We recommend you consult the reflections shared by SOF and Colectiva XXK (2021) in the book *Together and Rebellious: Exploring Territories of Feminist Economics*, Rosa Luxemburg.



HAVE YOU CONSIDERED...

Community kitchens in popular uprisings in Ecuador, Chile and Colombia have shown the potential to place care at the centre of activist struggles. Showing where we eat and who provides our food is an act of feminist political pedagogy, as well as a form of collectivising the time it takes to sustain life when we engage in activism.

STRATEGY

5.2. Combatting extractivism

a) Stopping megaprojects



DID YOU KNOW...

Megaprojects have become the main weapon in the transnational corporate offensive against the land: agro-industrial monoculture, open-pit mining, land grabbing, ports, canals, fracking, oil and gas exploration, etc.⁴⁴

What can we do about megaprojects?

- Get organised: strengthen organisational processes to avoid co-optation.
- Put a face to the names: identify the developers, funders and companies involved, and raise awareness of the impacts caused in other, similar cases or ones involving the same company.
- Get the word out: speak out publicly, cultivate local and international support.
- Mobilise: confront the company and the institutions that support it, encourage civil disobedience.
- Initiate a legal response.

* As mentioned on page 42.

- Build alternatives that demonstrate that another economic model is possible.

44. For an ecofeminist analysis of the impacts of megaprojects, we recommend the WoMin African Alliance (2019) [Ecofeminist Impact Assessment tool](#).



LET'S LEARN FROM...

Several towns in Gipuzkoa (Basque Country) implemented “**door-to-door**” domestic waste collection as a means of achieving an almost 100% selective collection, demonstrating that the construction of a new waste incinerator was unnecessary, given that most of the waste could be composted or recycled.

STRATEGY

b) Promoting climate action

Tackling climate change has finally become a key point on the agendas of community groups and public authorities. However, in order to achieve clear and coherent commitments, we need to redouble efforts in three areas⁴⁵:

- Expanding the global agenda. We must step up the pressure on official summits, denounce the corporate greenwashing and capture of these spaces, and propose alternative agendas.
- Specifying measures in each territory. We must build specific proposals for reducing emissions, construct alliances to defend these proposals, and encourage protest and civil disobedience to ensure they are implemented.
- Encouraging international solidarity. We must highlight and support struggles in the territories that are at the forefront of pollution and dispossession, incorporating a global outlook in each aspect of our engagement.



LET'S LEARN FROM...

The **ToxiTour Caravan**, made up of environmentalists and international observers, toured several “industrial hells” in Mexico in 2019, obtaining significant media and political interest in its denouncement of the environmental and health crises caused by corporations.

45. You can read the conclusions of the [5th International Ecosocialist Encounters](#) for more information about ecosocialist strategies.

c) Questioning green extractivism

In previous pages, we have warned of the perverse consequences of “green capitalism”. However, what specific consequences does it hold for territories and their populations?

For years, rural people’s movements have been speaking out against the biofuels that have destroyed the countryside, highlighting that they are a false solution and a continuation of colonialism. In the present day, we can see how the expansion of renewable energies in the hands of corporate power once again reproduces the mechanisms of dispossession first seen in large fossil fuel megaprojects.



Under the banner **“Yes to renewables, but not in this way”**, activists from all over Spain have denounced an energy transition model that continues to treat non-urban areas as territories at the service of cities. This model spells short-term gain for long-term pain, given that, without changes in consumption, such a transition is unfeasible.

This is why we are committed to an ecofeminist energy policy based on:⁴⁶

- Non-aggression between sovereignties, meaning that energy sovereignty does not take precedence over food or reproductive sovereignty.
- Learning from the Global South, from its struggles against megaprojects and in defence of a just transition.
- Support for longstanding demands, such as the democratisation of energy systems, so that the urgent need for climate action does not serve as an excuse to ignore them.
- A commitment to a change in consumption that puts large consumers and large cities under the spotlight.

46. These are the reflections of Mònica Guiteras, member of the Network for Energy Sovereignty and the Alliance against Energy Poverty in Catalonia.

5.3. Protect struggles and defend the defenders

a) Collective protection

Defending those who defend human rights has become an essential strategy in strengthening resistance and preventing corporate violence from snuffing them out.

Aura Lolita Chávez Ixcaquic and Marusia López Cruz give us some basic tips to rethink protection from a comprehensive and collective perspective:⁴⁷

1. Be territorially rooted, with a strong and well-organised social fabric focused on solidarity, which serves as a bulwark against violence and attempts to divide or conquer those defending the land.
2. Consolidate models of coexistence and resistance that refute violence and focus on the care and protection of the entire tapestry of life.
3. Provide means of healing the wounds which arise from historical violence, colonisation and extermination through spirituality, culture and safe spaces shared by women.
4. Promote the recognition of women's leadership, speech and contributions, within families, communities and organisational spaces. Acknowledge women defenders as political subjects.



LET'S LEARN FROM...

Casa La Serena is a place of rest and healing for human rights defenders, providing "Holistic Feminist Protection" through physical safety, digital security, self-care, collective care and healing.

47. (2020) ["Collective Protection to Defend Territory: Defense of Territory to Protect Life"](#), Jass & Fund for Global Human Rights.

b) International solidarity and support

The [Mesoamerican Women Defenders Initiative](#) also invites us to rethink the role of the international community in processes of support and protection:

1. Review narratives, question certain models of individualised protection, and construct a discourse that takes into account the urgent need to move toward systemic change.
2. Strengthen collective protection through the knowledge and guidance of communities and women, and support them in their own forms of self-protection.
3. Weave new alliances and strengthen existing ones, without imposing models.
4. Build solidarity that not only looks to the Global South out of concern, but which is active in denouncing colonialist policies, extractivist companies and the consumption model of the countries of the Global North.

c) Feminist digital self-defence against sexist violence and state surveillance

Security must cover our physical and electronic identities. Protect your body and your rights to express yourself, to cooperate, and to be anonymous⁴⁸. With this in mind, cyber-feminist collectives such as **Sursiendo** and **Donestech** share tools for feminist digital self-defence from a comprehensive perspective.



HAVE YOU CONSIDERED...

With **Security in a box**, you can learn how to use your smartphone safely. You can also consult strategies against online gender violence via **"Take back the tech"**.

48. Gomme Julie (2014) "Desde el nada que esconder hasta el nada que enseñar: Desarrollar juntos prácticas más seguras en Internet", *Ritmo – Soberanía tecnológica*.

d) Combatting necropolitics

Tackling necropolitics involves working along two axes:

1. Defying migration policy: Create solidarity networks for people in transit, promote reception spaces for migrants and exiles, create cooperative projects and quality employment opportunities.



LET'S LEARN FROM...

The **Artea network** (Euskal Herria) is a growing community project which welcomes migrants and promotes food sovereignty. In the residential spaces they offer -be they provided free-of-charge, rented or squatted- people in transit can take a break. Those who want to stay can find a place to live and join the community economy projects the network has put in place.

2. Fighting back against the military industry and the securitisation of life:
 - Boycott (both collectively and individually) “armed banks” and companies involved in conflicts (as proposed by the BDS campaign against Israeli apartheid).
 - Join the tax objection against military spending.
 - Take a stand for collective and community security against punitive discourse: “My friends take care of me, not the police”



LET'S LEARN FROM...

In Córdoba (Argentina), the **Casa Comunidad** organisation is constructing a collective neighbourhood self-defence model, taking as its starting point a holistic view of security that acknowledges the existence of sexist violence, inequality and racism, and which is committed to seeking feminist and local grassroots strategies for the protection of women who face violence.



“Bake portua” was a feminist protest against the use of the port of Bilbao to export weapons to countries in conflict.



3

A PROPOSAL
FOR STRENGTHENING
OUR STRUGGLES AND PRACTICES

HOW CAN WE TAKE CARE OF THOSE AT THE FRONTLINE IN TIMES OF NECROPOLITICS?

A lot of fear, but greater courage

As Yayo Herrero affirms, “to be brave is to try to stitch a thread with those around us that links the recognition of violence, fear and pain with a resistance that is determined to transform these into life and joy.”⁴⁹

We must recognise that
... the planet is burning
... we need to renounce the consumerist lifestyle sold to us by the media
... swimming against the current has its risks
... we are all vulnerable to corporate violence
... while we are able to live, for others live is about fleeing

Without falling into inaction. Without letting fear and guilt to stop us.

Committing to the defence of the land and a life worth living for all.

Seeking courage through collective strength. Having hope that we can live differently.



Vulnerability is not something to be managed, it is something to be welcomed and supported, and we can use it to generate collective strength

Mònica Guiteras

49. Yayo Herrero (23/07/2021) “Ausencia de miedo y extravío del valor” cxtx.es

Joyous activism, an existential activism

We share the words of Juan Hernández: resisting capitalist, racist and fascist thought is a way of life.⁵⁰ It pushes us to make a commitment, to move from “free time” activism to an activism that transforms our lives.

Nevertheless, we are also acutely aware that this commitment cannot take our lives away from us. We must be able to strike a balance between collective and personal care. As SOF and XXK say, “we do not sacrifice our lives today for a different future. Instead, we seek to build a radically different future by committing to the life that already exists”⁵¹.



50. Juan Hernández and Júlia Martí (2021) “¿Cómo enfrentar la crisis desde los movimientos sociales en tiempos de pandemia?”, OMAL.

51. SOF and Colectiva XXK (2021) *Together and Rebellious: Exploring Territories of Feminist Economics*, Rosa Luxemburg.

Casa la Serena has shared the following principles on self-care, collective care and healing:



It is important to consider ourselves as political subjects who put into practice what we want for other people.



Defenders have a right to joy, pleasure, enjoyment of their own bodies and to strengthen emotional ties



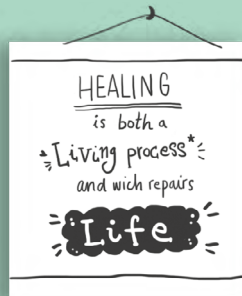
They must be subject to ongoing review and deconstruction.



Exhaustion inhibits our responsiveness and attention.



We must create a culture of respect, conflict resolution mechanisms, etc.



Cultivating spirituality, connection and rootedness with life and nature are transformative acts which stand in contrast to predatory models of violence.





Alliances through differences, solidarity between equals

The complexity of the different forms of oppression and violence we face, and the diverse nature of contexts and experiences from which we engage in struggle, often create obstacles for joined-up activism and the overcoming of divisions in resistance movements.

How can we build alliances that are greater than the sum of their parts and that make us stronger?

1. By recognising and repaying gender and racial debts. We will not be able to build anything together if we do not first identify and redress the sexist, racist and colonial practices.
2. By leaving behind the oppression Olympics and taking steps towards real intersectionality. Recognising that my suffering does not invalidate that of others is a necessary step towards building strategies of resistance that do not silence other voices and that take into account all oppressions.
3. By taking responsibility for our privileges. We must move away from navel-gazing and engage with other struggles even if they do not affect us directly.
4. By constructing horizontal and respectful alliances. This means recognising ourselves as equals, putting aside paternalism, listening to one another, and respecting different ways and rhythms of doing things.
5. By placing the focus on the means and not the end-goal, recognising the difficulties inherent in building a joint project between those who come from different political cultures.



4

A PROPOSAL
FOR ACTION

AN INTERNATIONAL ECOFEMINIST AGENDA AGAINST CORPORATE POWER



1. Stop the activity of transnational corporations.

They cannot continue to have carte blanche over our bodies and territories. The “industries of death” that exploit our labour and our lives must cease to exist. This is no longer about isolated effects: the planet is dying.



2. Shed light on how corporate power operates, denaturalise its practices and dismantle its narratives.

Denounce the precariousness, feminisation and racialisation of work and dispossession of the body-territory. Connect territories, exploitations, violence.



3. Condemn corporate crimes.

Companies and their boards of directors must be brought to justice for the crimes they have committed: those responsible for making the decisions must be identified. Justice cannot entail revictimisation.



4. Take action to protect life and promote ecofeminist resources for tackling necropolitics.

Meet urgent demands, achieve small victories without abandoning the long-term struggle. Promote global networks as spaces for respite, solidarity, protection and mutual recognition.



5. Construct a popular feminist internationalism.

Fight against borders and migration policies. Build an internationalism from territorial struggles outwards, with formal and informal spaces or articulation.



6. Transform our ways of life and of working.

Acknowledge our ecological debt and stop the outsourcing of harm to the Global South. Return to smaller scales, regain the territory, the public and the community. Displace corporate power to regain life.



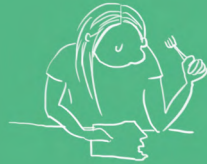
7. Defend collective rights, guarantee decent lives for all.

Put the value placed on care into practice, guarantee access to education, health, energy, water, food, housing, etc. Build spaces for self-defence as a means of guaranteeing lives worth living and free from violence.

Here are the sources of the images used: generoconclase.org, rosalux-ba.org, latfem.org, wriing.org, ruizhealytimes.com, elperiodico.com, elpais.com, nicaleaks.com, capiremov.org, ctxt.es, jornalerasenlucha.org, udapt.org, foei.org, 20minutos.es, elcorreo.com, ela.eus, aliente.org.

We hope[♡]
these pages sow
the seed for many more
ecofeminist actions and
alliances!!!







Are you involved in the fight to defend our lives and territories against landgrabs? Are you concerned about the exorbitant power that transnational corporations have accumulated?

Are you involved in an activist group? Do you want to bring feminism, anti-capitalism, environmentalism and more together as part of an intersectional struggle? Are you interested in learning about other organisations and activists?

You won't find any easy answers or how-tos in this guide, but you will find a collective proposal inspired by the work being done by a range of activists in different places to promote the ecofeminist fightback against corporate power.

We began to explore the ideas included in this toolkit in May 2021, as part of a virtual debate between feminists from Latin America and Europe who confront corporate power in different ways.



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