Chapter 4

In Opposition to Black Feminist Agendas

By Yannia Sofía Garzón Valencia
Investing in Causes, Capitalizing on Effects: Extraction, Militarization, Illegal Flows and Anti-Rights Agendas

COVID-19 is by far one of the biggest cautionary experiences we have endured in this time—one that calls us to focus our attention to the vital resources that sustain life. And, with the limited emergency resources that Black feminist women and gender-expansive people\(^1\) received and managed, we were able to discuss unconditional access to emergency assistance and resources, which included a conversation about the ways in which the acceptance of these resources often came with certain conditions, namely, structural adjustment measures, an increase in public debt, the ways that social investments and support were administered based on clientelism. We argued that access to vaccinations should have started with annulling patents and that direct monetary transfers should have been redistributed with the purpose of stopping the increase in informality, unemployment, underemployment, and hunger, together with the increase in the many forms of violence that occurred during confinement. Some may think that 52 years after the Convention for the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination and 40 years after the Convention for the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women entered into force, that Black women and gender-expansive people across the world would have a multilateral governance framework that would place the enjoyment of our rights and our fundamental freedoms as a priority within State agendas. However, to date, racialization and gender formation continue to be social constructions that are instrumentalized as a perpetual indicator of progress, based on neoliberal expansion and the unlimited accumulation of capital.

\(^1\) Translator note: After speaking with the author, we agreed to translate “mujer” as women and gender-expansive people to communicate that she is speaking about all people who identify as women—cis, trans and non-binary beloveds.
The following sections offer a look at how the money flows from extraction, defense, security, and tax evasion. These elements fuse together with an anti-rights agenda that aims to dismantle the reproductive, social, economic, political and cultural rights achieved by women and gender-expansive people, ultimately creating a common front, with unquestioned links undermining the agendas of Black feminists across the world. We reveal the consequences of this capital flow and how it has translated into controlling, hindering and eliminating the conditions and guarantees for dignified and self-determined life for Black women and gender-expansive people.

### Extractive Capital Flows and the Dismantling of the Collective Life of Black women and gender-expansive people

Between 1998 and 2008, the value of world trade in natural resources increased six-fold, from $600 billion to $3.7 trillion. In 2019, the World Trade Organization estimated that among the 10 main importing economies of products from extractive industries, the participation of the economies of the European Union, China and the United States is 50.7% of the total, equivalent to $1,631 trillion, while the total imports of the 47 least developed economies totaled approximately $272 billion. In the last two decades, of the 73 lower-middle-income countries in the world, 63 increased their dependence on extractive industries.

In the report *World Extractivism and Racial Equality*, Tendayi Achiume characterizes the components of the extractive economy as driven by:

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2 [https://www.wto.org/spanish/res_s/statis_s/wts2020_s/wts2020chapter06_s.pdf](https://www.wto.org/spanish/res_s/statis_s/wts2020_s/wts2020chapter06_s.pdf) page 92; 96


4 [https://undocs.org/es/A/HRC/41/54](https://undocs.org/es/A/HRC/41/54)
Industries, actors and financial flows, as well as the economic, material and social processes and products linked to the globalized extraction of natural resources. The economics of extractivism encompasses the extraction of minerals and fossil fuels, and large-scale monoculture, agricultural, forestry, and fishing operations. The terms of this economy are established by a set of actors, of which the most influential are, among others, States, national and transnational companies and their shareholders, international financial and development institutions, and multilateral bodies and institutions of governance.

The financial leverage of the extractive industries often comes from their participation in different capital market mechanisms, whose operations encrypt the details of the financing model because it behaves fragmentarily with a series of specific contractual and financial instruments for each phase/stage of the project: exploration, extraction, exploitation. Extractive projects usually have an average operating time between 15 to 40 years and each phase chains its financing apparatus to multiple actors and instruments of transnational and national nature. The same thing happens with military defense research projects, or the construction of mega infrastructures.
Without concessions and without consent: mobilizations of Black women and gender-expansive people for the care of life and ancestral territories, against racism, violence and for good living.

It was November 2014 in Colombia and November 2015 in Brazil, when Black women and gender-expansive people decided to walk to the capital cities to create a path, a quilt of resistance—where at each step, at each meeting, at each rally, between the halls, in the public squares, the community rooms, throughout the corridors of justice buildings and in the street—they exposed how extractive economies operate and continue to sabotage good living (buen vivir), and threaten life and ancestral territories. The racial operation of State institutions disintegrates the democracy that they seek to create, while also failing to delegitimize violence against future life.

The strategy of dispossession is simple and well-known: (i) illegal interests arrive to exploit illicit economies in biodiverse territories or submit petition/request for urban renewal. Such interests and requests usually come from local and international foreigners, who come to ‘stimulate the economy’ and establish patterns of consumption and economic dependence. Consequently, employment and access to economic resources is derived from illegal action on the part of these foreign actors; (ii) The conflict of values is caused by a broader circulation of resources that weakens the community value system. The origin of these tensions and conflicts include: forced recruitment into groups through weapons and/or infatuation. Intentionally, the community authority is supplanted by forcing strategic kinship ties between foreign/outside actors and youth. What follows are threats to women and gender-expansive leaders and their families and other indications that these foreign bodies do not want the local community to prosper. In this phase, the newly arrived actors and their interests usually have the institutional support of the State, either through actions such as militarization or increasing militarized presence on the ground, and granting titles/permits to work in the territory; (iii) A third element of these actors, whose imposed economic interests intend to profit from dispossession, is that they possess the conditions to generate legal measures and actions to provide services—such as construct tertiary roads, provide materials for
construction or housing development, fund ‘political’ parties, gain the locals trust in order to regulate and formalize the illegal situation of these foreign institutions being there and working in the first place. This is done by using short term local labor, controlling the ownership and ways land is used, and inserting foreign cultural values that attempt to thwart local resistance. This is what we see in the case of Anglo Gold Ashanti, a South African company that has been complicit in exploiting and illegally and unconstitutionally obtaining local mining titles since 2001 in the territory that is known today has the Community Council of La Toma. In 2009, the Ministry of the Interior formally confirmed that there were no Black people residing in that territory, acutely unaware that the people of La Toma can trace their settlement back to the year 1636. The people of La Toma are descendants of African people forcibly brought to those lands under conditions of chattel enslavement for the purposes of mining gold in Gelima, a hollow ground mine in La Toma, and who, once self-emancipated, purchased these lands and left them as an inheritance to their descendants.

In 2010, some of the mining title owners who had obtained permission to mine in La Toma, but who did not live, come from, or were otherwise connected and invested in the La Toma community, wanted to sell their titles to Anglo Gold. They obtained “permission” from the Colombian State to evict around 7,000 people from the Community Council of La Toma territory, thus starting a juridical fight that led to the presence of more than 200 backhoes guarded by paramilitary groups in the town. The purpose of these machines was to wash the gold that was mined, removing the dirt on the riverbed of the Ovejas river, a being that represents the Mother and Father of the community. A being that was protected during the 1980s when the Colombian government wanted to drain the river and reroute its waters to maintain the energy production capacity of the hydroelectric dam, La Salvajina. La Salvajina is a mega project that was installed in 1986, and it redirects water from the Cauca River to provide irrigation for the Cauca region’s sugar mills while also providing energy to neighboring municipalities, except of course to the families and communities that lost their lands due to its construction.

5 The Community councils are manifestations of collective territorial organization of Black people in Colombia. They exist in rural, semi-rural and urban areas. They were made possible thanks to the collective movement that resulted in the Law 70 of the 1993 constitution. Collective titling another movement achievement that is guaranteed through the 1745 Decree of 1995.

6 https://mujeresnegrascaminan.com/comunicado-1/
In Colombia, 70+ companies in the mining-energy sector have signed more than 1,229 military cooperation agreements for the defense of the sector’s infrastructure and welfare programs for the military, who participate in 20 special mining, energy and roadside barracks that exist in the country. This unconstitutional mining is part of the deepening of the extractive model in Colombia since 2010. Over 70 companies in the mining-energy sector have signed more than 1,229 military cooperation agreements for the defense of the sector’s infrastructure and welfare programs for the military, who participate in 20 special mining, energy and roadside barracks that exist in the country.

Illegal mining, on the other hand, is associated with crops that have been declared for illicit use such as the coca leaf. Both the coca paste and gold have been used as a means of exchange and are resources that help these foreign institutions evade record keeping and invoicing so that there is no evidence that there was any exchange—monetary or otherwise—between these actors and the local community. An example of this type of resource exchange

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8 [https://www.ocmal.org/fuerzas-militares-colombianas-al-servicio-de-las-empresas-extractivistas/](https://www.ocmal.org/fuerzas-militares-colombianas-al-servicio-de-las-empresas-extractivistas/)
can be seen through a particularly cruel type of violence against women and gender-expansive people’s bodies. The male foreigners are ordered to sleep with young people in exchange for leftover material from the mining process, which is often used to obtain smaller particles of gold. Sometimes the members of the young womxn’s family allow this exchange and still this type of violence is part of the laundering and capital flight environment occurring in the territory. It is estimated that between 2010 and 2018 at least $5.6 billion remained in the hands of illegal actors.\(^\text{10}\)

In November 2014, the Mobilization of Black Women for the Care of Life and Ancestral Territories traveled more than 470 kilometers (300 miles), because neither the Joint Command No.2 of the Southwest, nor the energy mining battalion No.8\(^\text{11}\) operating in Cauca removed the backhoes that the ancestral miners had been facing for several months. The mobilization managed to position the illegal and unconstitutional mining operation in both alternative and traditional media networks, until Anglo Gold publicly withdrew its intention to exploit the mining titles in that area. However Anglo Gold maintains their presence in the country through subsidiaries in at least 336 municipalities.\(^\text{12}\) Despite Anglo Gold’s withdrawal from Cauca, the Mobilization of Black Women rose from the negotiating table with the State without achieving the claim of obtaining a mining moratorium that suspends the exploration and exploitation of mining titles granted without prior consultation. This laid a path for the issuance of a mining code, without the process of prior consultation. This mining code obliges traditional miners to register with the State, to limit the amount of gold they can mine, and how much and to whom they can sell their gold to. Here you can see how the strategy of dispossession is followed to the letter.

Though the Black women and gender-expansive people who left for the mobilization and returned back home are not exclusively miners, their relationship


\(^{11}\) They are two bodies within the military armed forces of the Colombian government who are responsible for the protection of mining extraction in the region.

to this activity arises from the place of interdependence\textsuperscript{13} as opposed to exploitation. Interdependence is the most common word used when describing the type of relationship that has been established in communities who have been mining in an artisanal way since colonial times. Extracting gold, just like fishing, washing clothes, cooking, seeing if the families that work by \textit{por corte o por filó}\textsuperscript{14} get enough from their work to pay for the things that are not cultivated from the land. For Black women and gender-expansive people, in many cases, it meant the purchase of their emancipation, that of their family, and a space where they could live. Traditional interdependent relations for the reproduction of life were mediated by the need to obtain what was necessary in order to sustain collective bonds: cooperation, solidarity, generosity under a common sense whereby we could not be good or well off in my house knowing that another house was not. It is here that this common sense was born into the collective consciousnesses; an awareness about the times for harvesting, about the shoal, how disease and ailments can be avoided by eating well, knowing how to walk the roads well, accepting that the rainy seasons along with the sun and moon are the ones who control the hours to cook, get up, to move, to meet and gather and hunt.

Extraction, as a mega-industrialized sector, interrupted this interdependent relationship, automated it, and in exchange for money, time was stolen for other activities. Foreign technologies and machinery were imposed, replacing the tools that did not harm the land, the air, and water sources. The desire for a quick profit destroys the common sense of being well, including the diversity of interdependent relationships that weave well-being from localized knowledge and intimate relationships. These knowledges, practices, and ways of being in relationship are replaced by foreign ones. And with this replacement, we see the proliferation of skin, respiratory, motor-functioning illnesses, which cause spontaneous abortions and birth and fetal health complications. These diseases become chronic because they are preceded by resistance struggles against speeches and actions that seek to

\textsuperscript{13} Although the term can convey the idea of instrumentalization, the meaning is more in the direction of interdependence, taking advantage of the exchange value of the mineral with the purpose of obtaining those goods and services that cannot be provided by the same land or community. Interdependence, meaning, the depletion of the mineral is not being pursued. On the contrary, it is rationed according to seasons and the community’s own indigenous extraction techniques with the intention that future generations can count on those same techniques, as well as gold, who, as a being in and of itself, can continue to exist.

\textsuperscript{14} This is a traditional way of doing mining based on family/kinship networks where people come together to make sure that families have enough to sustain themselves when they are not mining.
The desire for a quick profit destroys the common sense of being well, including the diversity of interdependent relationships that weave well-being from localized knowledge and intimate relationships.

Construct roads and energy infrastructures, which forcibly uproot communities and resettle towns, criminalize, and prosecute local community members. Additionally, these foreign institutions use legal and illegal forces to recruit youth with the use of weapons and to exploit girls throughout their illegal outpost. Similar patterns can be seen from country to country regarding how foreign status is established through the control of weapons, jobs, and salary. Consequently, these foreign entities reorder how contributions to the community are recognized, altering the relations between those who once participated as equals in the social-familial tasks. During these foreign institutions illegal and informal phase (as there was no formally granted title for exploration), they make use of small capital -sums of money- that cover the costs of entering and operating yellow machinery (backhoes and dredgers for example), that together with the promotion of the use of cyanide and mercury, produce dispossession, sick territories and sacrificed bodies. These bodies and territories are then constructed as being "rescued from informality" which remains present in the formal phase of the process—a phase characterized by a state of degradation where large capital generated through employment and meager tax payments represent the final beneficiaries of this illegality. Extractive control replaces collective self-sufficiency with individual acquisition. Furthermore, the way to sustain life becomes increasingly separate from the relationship to the land, the most egregious consequence. What Black feminists are up against is not allowing that distance between life and earth to grow.

Concession is perhaps the most recurring word I came across during the investigative process in writing this article. It is conceptualized as the action and effect of granting, which, in principle, is about coming to agreements so that a third
party assumes their own tasks/obligations. This implies connecting the generation of monetary surpluses to the responsibility of promoting and guaranteeing collective well-being. Collective well-being is becoming less and less public, and it is usually interpreted under a narrow gaze; one that assumes that its content and manifestation is the same for all people around the world.

However, Black women and gender-expansive people are outside the parties who agree and authorize ceding domain, especially because our agenda does not give up the right to how, where and with whom we work and dream our present and future. For this reason, approximately 55,000 Black women and gender-expansive people from all over Brazil gathered on November 18, 2015 to make visible the genocide against Black people, especially against young people.\(^{15}\) The Black Women’s March Against Racism and Violence and for Good Living expands the framework of Caring for Life. The March is part of a long legacy of political organization of Black women and gender-expansive people in Brazil and in the African diaspora and represents a paradigm shift in the social contract. It goes far beyond the guarantee of human civil and political rights, towards one that focuses the ways of being and doing in the world, from a place of re-creating (realizing) values, such as cooperation and interdependence as responses to the demands for the well-being of Black women and gender-expansive people. In this sense, reducing racial and gender inequality and guaranteeing social and political rights is conveyed as going beyond a one-time mobilization. Instead, it is part of an ongoing political process, which denounces that every hour and fifty minutes\(^ {16}\) a breath is cut short as a result of a Black woman or gender-expansive person in Brazil being murdered.

\(^{15}\) [http://celacc.eca.usp.br/sites/default/files/media/tcc/eto_juliane_cintra_-_marcha_das_mulheres_negras.pdf](http://celacc.eca.usp.br/sites/default/files/media/tcc/eto_juliane_cintra_-_marcha_das_mulheres_negras.pdf)  

Fighting us as a warlike enemy\(^{17}\): imprisonment and defense expenses

“Law enforcement” funding comes from two sectors of the nation State: defense and public security. Keeping this distinction in mind allows us to reevaluate in quantitative terms the resources that offer guarantees and the conditions for sustaining the value chains of the extractive industry globally. These same conditions and guarantees are denied to Black women and gender-expansive people who defend the land, occupy buildings, and organize neighbors to guarantee the right to a roof. In effect, these conditions result in our criminalization and imprisonment.

During 2020, military spending reached $1.981 trillion\(^{18}\) in the world. The United States, China, Russia, India and the United Kingdom represented 62% of military spending on the planet.\(^{19}\) Disaggregated by region, we find that: North America makes 43% of military spending; East Asia 17.9%; Western Europe 13.6%; and the other regions of the world combined make 28.13% of global military spending. Military spending across the entire African continent is similar to that of South America representing


\(^{18}\) [https://sipri.org/sites/default/files/2021-04/fs_2104_milex_0.pdf](https://sipri.org/sites/default/files/2021-04/fs_2104_milex_0.pdf) and [https://sipri.org/sites/default/files/Data%20for%20world%20regions%20from%201988%20to%202020%20pdf%29.pdf](https://sipri.org/sites/default/files/Data%20for%20world%20regions%20from%201988%20to%202020%20pdf%29.pdf) not including information from Cuba, Djibouti, Eritrea, North Korea, Somalia, Syria, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, or the former Yugoslavia

less than 2.6%. A portion of this spending is delegated to border protection. The budget spent during 2021 on border defense, including the construction of fences, land and sea patrolling, surveillance, and deportation of undocumented migrant population, totaled 26 billion dollars for the United States, equivalent to 98.07% of the spending of the European Union, in the period 2014–2020 and 87.3% of the total expenditure projected for the period 2021–2027.

In the crosshairs

The United States and Brazil are respectively the first and third countries with the largest prison population in the world. In the prison system, Black women and women of color are overrepresented in the total prison population. In Brazil, about 50% of women in prison are between 18 and 29 years old, and 67% are Black. By 2019, the incarceration rate for Black women in the United States was almost double that of white women: they represented 30% of the female prison population and 44% of women in jail. One-third of women sentenced to life imprisonment and 25% of all those sentenced to death were Black women. Using the indicator for the prison population per 100,000 inhabitants, El Salvador, Rwanda, Cuba, Panama, the Virgin Islands and the Bahamas are on the list of countries with a majority Black population.

References:
20. https://sipri.org/sites/default/files/Data%20for%20world%20regions%20from%201988%E2%80%932020%28pdf%29.pdf (Other Regions such as Central America and the Caribbean, South America, Central Asia, Oceania, South Asia, Southeast Asia, Central Europe and Eastern Europe)
population in prison. In the United Kingdom, Black women are 3% of the population, yet they represent 6% of those who enter the penal system for the first time. And from there, 29% of them will receive preventive detention and 25% will obtain custodial sentences in relation to white women.\textsuperscript{29} Racialization continues to be one of the criteria that determine which women are represented in the criminal justice system globally.\textsuperscript{30}

Prison overcrowding and mass incarceration are driving contracts that expand the operation of the prison infrastructure (the prison industrial complex), under the framework of public-private alliances in the United Kingdom, Peru, Mexico, Chile, Guatemala, Brazil, and South Africa (among other nations). Between 2014 and 2019, 54,806 prison units have been built in Central America.\textsuperscript{31} Countries such as Barbados, Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago spend approximately 0.4% of GDP on prison maintenance, the highest in the region. Between 2010 and 2014, the entire Latin American and Caribbean region used around $14 billion annually to maintain the prison system. In the United States, the government spends around $80.7 million on public prisons, even though since the late 1970s, it began privatizing the operation and construction of prisons, which gave rise to the industrialization of the sector. This can also be seen in the border detention centers, which to date have around 41 holdings or management companies—mostly made up of banks and technology companies—who mobilize investments equal to approximately $648 million.\textsuperscript{32}

\begin{itemize}
\item In Brazil, about 50% of womxn in prison are between 18 and 29 years old, and 67% are Black.
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\item 30 https://www.sagepub.com/sites/default/files/upm-binaries/44337_10_final.pdf page 464.
\item 32 https://prisonfreefunds.org/fund/blackrock-lifepath-index-series/LIPKX/prison-industrial-complex-investments/FSUSA0BDPU/F00000MAPG
\end{itemize}
The same gears: illicit financial flows

According to the NGO, Global Financial Integrity (GFI), illicit financial flows are “cross-border movements of money that have been illegally obtained, transferred or used.” These movements are made to avoid loss of profit and loss of performance or control thereof. In 2016, the issue of illicit financial flows gained attention due to the “Panama Papers” publication that linked businessmen, high-ranking public officials, and celebrities—the wealthiest on the planet—to tax and other evasions, and brought to light their connections to other illegal activities.

Illicit financial flows are recycled through financial centers and come back in the form of debt or investments. These flows impact the agendas of Black feminists because they are excluded from State revenues, which tend to sacrifice social investments. Sacrifices usually include programs designed for diverse women and gender-expansive people and ethnically and racially differentiated peoples, who are exposed to conditions of vulnerability and criminalization when we defend human and collective rights. In these situations, we are met with crueler, longer, and immediate penalties in the criminal and immigration justice system. Black feminist agendas are then forced to focus on protecting our lives and restoring our right rather than tending to our imagination and our dreams of socially just and anti-racist realities.

33 https://taxjustice.net/topics/capital-flight-and-illicit-financial-flows/
34 https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Panama_Papers

$240 MILLION PER YEAR
lost by the global treasury in illicit financial flows
This is not insignificant, particularly since the global treasury loses $240 million a year, with the African continent being among the most affected. Additionally, capital flight is estimated at $88.6 billion per year, $6 billion more than the amount received in 2018 for development cooperation. In other words, the African continent has become a net creditor to the world when its debt in 2018 is $770 billion but the financial flows are around $836 billion, where 50% is generated by fraudulent invoices in the extractive sector of international trade. In the Middle East, the annual loss is estimated between $60 billion and $77.5 billion per year, which exceeds the sum of foreign direct investment flows and development aid received by Arab countries. Unlike the latter, erroneous or fraudulent invoicing related to the extractive industry of non-renewable natural resources totaled $135 million between 2004 and 2013 in Latin America. The economic dependence on the extractive sector facilitates erroneous or fraudulent invoicing, increases illegal financial flows, impacting Black women and gender-expansive people, and those living in the global south disproportionately.

36 https://www.cepal.org/es/publicaciones/40921-flujos-financieros-ilicitos-america-latina-caribe

$88.6 BILLION PER YEAR in capital flight from Africa
Pro-life? beyond the narrative of “gender ideology” and the anti-rights agenda.

The exercise of sexual and reproductive rights in the last century are a starting point in the discussion of women and gender-expansive people’s rights. Although, we know that for African and Afro-Diasporic women and gender-expansive people, reproduction and sexuality are traversed by historical facts that to this day seek to take advantage and profit in our name and at the expense of the control of our bodies. That said, the transformative action that feminists are promoting globally is undeniable. Our actions are removing the institutionalized and normalized foundations with which the subjugation of women and gender-expansive people has been built and transmitted. We are dismantling heteronormativity as one of the only ways to fully experience and be in relationship. Over the past 15 years, the Catholic Church, evangelical churches, parent organizations, and conservative political parties, among many others increasing in numbers, have polarized narratives about access to abortion, gender expression, sexual orientation and its expansiveness, and treated them as anomalies that diminish the moral integrity of society. An example of this is the ACI Catholic Information Agency, a transnational communication network that reaches at least 85 million homes in over 110 countries. Currently, due to its local and grassroots operation, it is financed by individual donations, including funds transferred from the Vatican, the sale of information services and knowledge products. Moreover, in Latin America, such activities are considered tax exempt. As a result, the true nature and scope of this situation is opaque, making it difficult to monitor the annual amounts of their financing. ‘Strategic secularism’ in countries such as Colombia, Peru, Argentina, Ecuador and Chile consists of translating religious arguments into legal arguments in order to stop the legislative and judicial agenda in favor of women and gender-expansive people’s rights and sexual diversity.

42 https://www.nodo50.org/xarxfeministapv/?+Estrategias-camufladas-para-frenar+
A concrete example of this occurred at the 74th Session of the World Health Assembly, where Family Watch International (FWI) lobbied and managed to exclude an entire paragraph in the resolution that aimed to implement an action plan that favored over one billion people, which sought to: end violence against children by strengthening health systems and multisectoral approaches. They were able to pass the resolution by omitting the word ‘sexuality’, arguing that it was a problematic term that broadens the understanding of biological sex imposed at birth. This suppression was promoted and sponsored by the FWI delegation from the Russian Federation, Eswatini, Egypt, Mozambique and Zambia.43 Open Democracy interviewed Érika Guevara, the Director of Amnesty International, where she explains how anti-rights rhetoric transformed into public policies because of events such as Jair Bolsonaro becoming president of Brazil and the conservative political turn in other countries such as Guatemala and Paraguay.

In September 2022, Wikileaks has made public the networks involving politicians

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43 [https://vientosur.info/movilizacion-antigenero-en-la-asamblea-mundial-de-la-salud/](https://vientosur.info/movilizacion-antigenero-en-la-asamblea-mundial-de-la-salud/)

Since 2007, the Christian Right in the United States has delivered at least $270 million dollars globally against the rights of women and LGTBI+ people.
and opposition activists from more than 50 countries that receive funding to create and promote campaigns to dismantle “gender ideology.” “Gender ideology” is a narrative framework that was developed mostly by religious fundamentalists. The discourse has been used to participate or finance political candidates in conservative parties with the aim of repealing and dismantling constitutional guarantees of fundamental freedoms, largely obtained by women and gender expansive people. Countries such as Spain, Mexico, the United States, Canada, Brazil and Argentina are financing this endeavor. Since 2007, the Christian Right in the United States has delivered at least $270 million globally against the rights of women and LGTBI+ people, and during the period between 2009-2018, it has directed $707.2 million exclusively to the European continent.

Closing

Black women and gender-expansive people’s global feminist agendas are woven together with abundant experiences and social technologies that support the defense of and the radical care of life. These experiences and technologies confront the gaze that seeks to commoditize biodiversity as an asset and service. For example, tradable goods that once transformed are supposed to be aimed at improving collective well-being. However, this kind of “well-being” is neither produced nor is it sustainable. Rather, the predominance of the extractivist perspective and attitudes, incites us to defend our lives and the spaces where we work. We organize ourselves because of the negative externalities of megaprojects that strip away communal territories and exploiting communal relations.

We have seen how this ecosystem of extractivism has an interlocking strategy for its operation; one that is not very transparent. This strategy is often updating its measures and instruments, which are grounded in logic of a “colonial burden” that insists on conditioning, controlling, limiting, and even eradicating the ways of being and living life for Black women and gender-expansive people. Based on the case of the Mobilization of Black Women for the Care of Life and Ancestral Territories, it

44 https://unasemillitas.com/2021/09/14/la-financiacion-de-la-ultraderecha/
46 https://www.epfweb.org/sites/ default/files/2021-06/Tip%20of%20the%20Iceberg%20June%202021%20Final.pdf
is possible to identify how the circulation of these financial resources among the extractive sectors finances the legal framework that protects them. Specifically, the privatization of public forces ordered to protect their infrastructure, which includes, alliances with illegal actors, the violation of human rights, the criminalization and laundering of money that escapes local economies and evades taxes. These financial flows undermine Black feminist agendas and Black women and gender-expansive people’s ability to be full in the world. Our resistance continues.
Military spending

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