

Discussion of the multi-scale common from the Territory of the Isolated Peoples

Discusión del común multiescalar a partir del Territorio de los Pueblos Aislados¹

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Abstract

In the last two decades, the Ecuadorian society has become more aware of the reality of the Tagaeri-Taromenane, the last of the Isolated People living in the Ecuadorian Amazon, and the greatest challenge for the so called plurinational Ecuadorian Constitution. However, the existence of oil reserves in their space has promoted the expansion of the extractivist frontier, which created a networks of roads that promoted its successive agricultural colonization. This paper gets deeper in the history of acknowledgement of these Isolated people's rights and territoriality. Big parts of the Ecuadorian society have been involved in their defense, therefore constructing the Yasuni as a territorial common transcending its scale and spatial barriers.

Keywords

Pluriterritoriality, isolated people, Ecuador, Amazon, ecologism.

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¹ This article is a product of the knowledge of the Critical Geography Collective of Ecuador, which integrates more people than ones signing this document, in the interaction with other organizations and struggles for the territories. Knowledge acquired in conversations, collective mappings, journeys, and meetings held since 2012, also linking with our thesis or professional work. That is, this text is the product of the sum of collective reflections.

Resumen

En las dos últimas décadas, la sociedad ecuatoriana ha tomado progresiva conciencia de los Pueblos Indígenas en Aislamiento Tagaeri-Taromenane, los últimos pueblos que hasta el momento habitan en la Amazonía ecuatoriana sin ser asimilados, el mayor reto para la pluriculturalidad y pluriterritorialidad asumida en la Constitución de Ecuador de 2018. Sin embargo, la existencia de yacimientos petroleros en el subsuelo de su territorio ha generado sucesivas ampliaciones de la frontera petrolera, incluyendo la construcción de un entramado de vías que ha propiciado una fuerte colonización agrícola. Este artículo profundiza en la historia del reconocimiento de la territorialidad de los Pueblos en Aislamiento y la defensa de la misma que se ha realizado desde la sociedad ecuatoriana, convirtiendo el Yasuní en un común territorial que ha excedido sus fronteras espaciales.

Palabras clave

Pluriterritorialidad, pueblos en aislamiento, Ecuador, Amazonía, ecologismo.

Introduction: The IPI facing a process of colonization guided by the State

The Isolated Indigenous Peoples (IPI) and the Ecuadorian State are in a conflict whose origin dates back to 500 years of colonization of the Amazon region. The colonization of this area gained special intensity from the 60s of the 20th century when large deposits of oil were found in this space. Until the mid-20th century, these peoples were called *aucas* (wild in Kichwa), due to their fierce resistance to the colonizing expeditions that began trying to contact them in the last decades of the 19th century, although with scarce results (Álvarez, 2017).

The tensions with these peoples have their roots in Spanish colonial history and the attempts at colonization led by the various religious orders that managed to exert a relative influence on the main rivers of the Northern High Amazon, important in the transport of merchandise and in the search of gold, which caused the displacement of other peoples of the Andes to these regions (Wilson, Bayón & Díez, 2015). The rubber boom in the Amazon generated a new cycle of capital expansion linked to the kidnapping and disappearance of entire communities, causing the isolation of numerous groups that persists un-

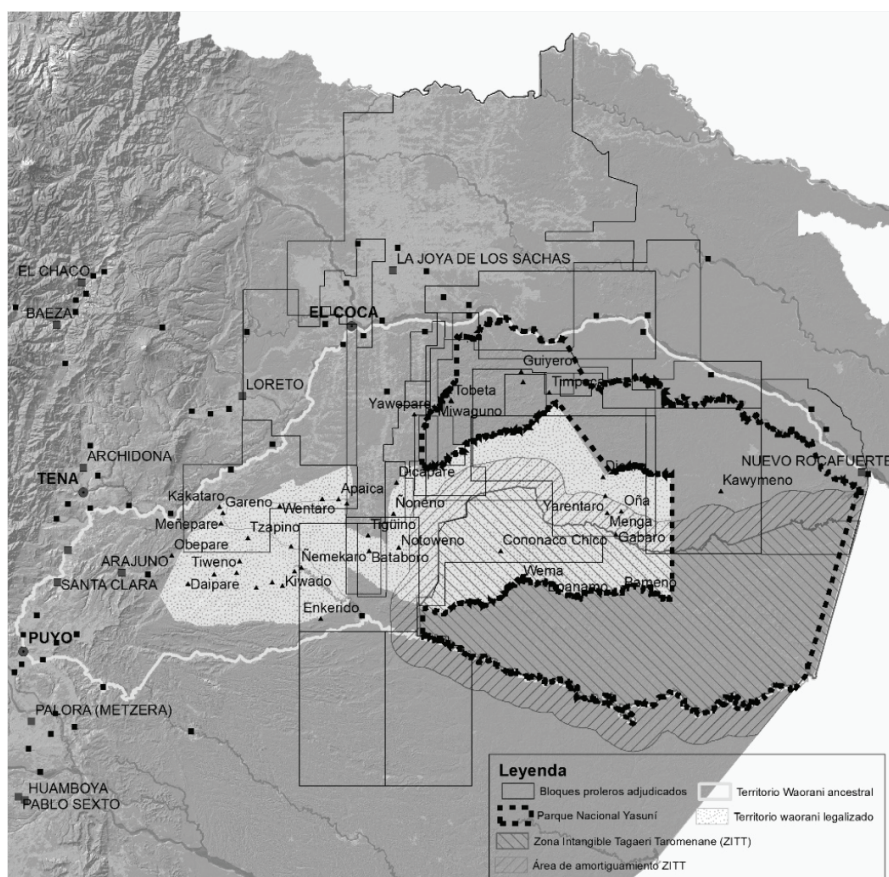
til the present (Muratorio, 1987). These cycles of expansion and abandonment of extractive activities in the region contributed until the 1950s in the construction of the Amazon as a “myth,” according to the words of President Galo Plaza Lasso. This type of statement, so common at the time, showed, at the same time, the lack of territorial control by the State over these areas.

The arrival of transnational oil companies began in 1960 and marked a drastic change in the socio-spatial configuration of the region. The arrival of Texaco to the Waorani territories was facilitated by the contact and re-settlement of many groups of this nationality in a protectorate in charge of the Summer Linguistic Institute, an evangelical organization whose action was devastating in several Latin American countries. This protectorate literally locked up complete clans under strict moral standards that included clothing, housing or work. This is a paradigmatic case of the deterritorialization of an entire group: when they left the protectorate, they found their territories full of roads and oil wells (Almeida & Proaño, 2008).

However, the Tagaeri and Taromenane ethnic groups did not accept this way of linking with Christian missionary orders and continue facing the colonization process started by the State from the first oil concessions that led to the construction of roads, the arrival of settlers (mostly farmers without land), the appearance of the first cities, etc. During the last 50 years, the territory of these peoples has been dramatically reduced, beset by new combinations of oil blocks and a minuscule recognition of their territorial rights by the State (Maldonado & Bayón, 2017).

Concomitantly, the civil society of Ecuador has gradually assumed a role in the protection of these peoples. In 1999, the Tagaeri-Taromenane Intangible Zone (ZITT) for the IPIs was decreed. With its buffer zone being enlarged by 10 km eight years later (De Marchi et al., 2011). Similarly, the emergence of international legislation such as Convention 169 of the International Labor Organization in the 1990s, the Declaration of Indigenous Peoples at the United Nations in 1997 and the explicit recognition of IPIs in The Constitution of Ecuador of 2008 represents the crystallization of protection efforts gestated for years. Also, in 2007, a campaign that sought to leave the oil of block 43 underground in exchange for international compensation began. This initiative was the result of the pressure and work of organized civil society groups that for years had defended biodiversity and respect for the presence of IPIs in this space (CMCTF, 2014).

Map 1
The territory of the IPIs, Waorani, PNY and Oil Blocks



Elaboration by Paola Maldonado (2017)

In 2013, the government repealed the Yasuni-ITT initiative in a televised message by, then, President Rafael Correa, communicating that he opened the area for oil exploitation. This announcement generated a new type of mobilizations in the history of the country, in which groups of urban citizens —especially young people— took center stage in the marches and collecting signatures for the convening of a referendum on the exploitation of oil in the Yasuni Na-

tional Park. In the heat of these mobilizations Yasunidos was born, a paradigmatic group of this new process of ecological awareness in Ecuador. Finally, the referendum was not held because the National Electoral Council invalidated the process, despite numerous allegations of fraud by civil society. Despite this, however, Yasuni has managed to become a global symbol following the Yasuni-ITT initiative at first and later due to Yasunidos national and international activism in its defense (Paredes, 2016). In this way, the Yasuni has been constituted as common that transcends its own spatial limits, as a concrete proposal to reorient the priorities of the economy and not destroy the living spaces of the IPIs (Collective of Critical Geography of Ecuador, 2018).

The disputes over the territory in Latin America insofar as state monopoly

Historically, the territory was conceived from the modern state that emerged in Europe. The territory is a central element in the constitution of the State since it serves to delimit the exclusive exercise of power by the latter within its domains (Benz, 2010). For Foucault, in the emergence of the modern state:

The sovereign of the territory had become an architect of the space, disciplined, but also and almost at the same time a regulator of a medium in which it is not so much about setting boundaries and borders or determining locations as, above all and essentially, to allow, guarantee, to ensure different types of circulation. (Foucault, 2006, p. 45)

This marks the way in which capitalism and the territoriality of the State were to feedback in a process that ends up generating the nation-states of mercantile capitalism.

According to Foucault, the process of shaping “governmentality” based on mercantilism had as fundamental ingredients political economy as knowledge, security devices as technical instruments and the group of people located in a territory. This process ended with the formation of the modern State in the 17th century (Foucault, 2007, p. 213). These States arose from homogenizing projects that implied colonization outward and inward, therefore, from Latin American critical theory, they began to be considered as modern-colonial territorial states (Porto Gonçalves, 2009, p. 126).

The decolonization processes of European metropolises would lead to the creation of nation-states throughout the Americas.

The conflicts between metropolis and colonies, represented by Creole elites, descendants from Europeans, gave rise to a process of self-determination that eventually generated new territorial states during the 19th century. However, these States did not undergo a process of decolonization of the power structures through which they had been configured. Rather, these were adapted to new national contexts. All this implied that the other forms of territoriality, those of indigenous peoples, blacks or peasants were systematically denied until practically the beginning of the 21st century. It is possible to perceive these territorialities from various points of view. From a more symbolic perspective, “territory is appropriated space, space made one’s own, ultimately, the territory is instituted by subjects and social groups that are affirmed through it” and, therefore, “there is, always, territory and territoriality, that is, social processes of territorialization” (Porto Gonçalves, 2009, p. 127). Porto Gonçalves theorizes it as a triad “território-territorialidade-territorialização” (2002, p. 230).

From a perspective that conceives the exercise of multiple territorialities, Haesbert considers the territory as the development of those other powers that do not emanate from the State. The approach of this Brazilian geographer is also linked to the symbolic appropriation of the non-articulated space around the State:

Territory, therefore, in any sense, has to do with power, but not just the traditional ‘political power’. It refers both to power in the most concrete sense of domination, and to power in the most symbolic sense of appropriation. Lefebvre distinguishes ownership from domination (‘possession’, ‘property’): the first consists of a much more symbolic process, loaded with the marks of the ‘lived’, of the use-value; the second most concrete, functional and linked to the exchange value [...] We can then affirm that the territory, immersed in relations of domination and/or society-space appropriation, extends [...] along a continuum that goes from the more ‘concrete’ and ‘functional’ political-economic domination to the most subjective and or ‘cultural-symbolic’ appropriation. (Haesbaert, 2008, p. 20; free translation from the Critical Geography Collective).

In the opinion of this author, the dynamics of appropriation of space are seen as territorialization processes. These processes of (re) territorializa-

tion are diverse and respond to the multiple powers that converge in space from different fields and origins (Haesbaert, 2007, p. 22). Likewise, Haesbaert defends the importance of taking into account the enormous historical and geographical variation of these dynamics of spatial appropriation: “obviously territorializing for an indigenous group in the Amazon is not the same as territorializing for the great executives of a transnational corporation” (2007, p. 97).

The claims for the exercise of territoriality by the subaltern groups was configured as the “territorial rights”, considered as “the indigenous borders of globalization” (Toledo, 2005, p. 67). During the last two decades of the 20th century, the uprisings of indigenous peoples in Latin America resulted in the recognition of their territorial rights in several countries (Toledo, 2005, p.86). It is paradoxical, however, that the recognition of these rights comes from a nation-state increasingly immersed in the globalization process, characteristic of the evolution of the last stages of capitalism in which the financing of the economy and global cities seems to drastically reconfigure the previous spatial arrangements.

This paradox is best conceived through the intrinsic contradiction of this stage of the territorial development of capitalism. Economic globalization causes a socio-spatial reconfiguration of the accumulation mechanisms that place formidable obstacles when thinking about viable autonomy projects for the peoples that guarantee their territorial rights. This offensive causes a huge wave of resistance against the advance of capital in these spaces through megaprojects, attempts at bioprospecting, mining or hydrocarbon exploitation, etc. (Toledo, 2005).

In the works and reflections as a Collective of Critical Geography, we have found the category of territorial (dis)ordering of great use to understand the role of the State in all these processes. This concept offers a critical look at the much-proposed land planning (ordering) proposal promoted by the State, supposedly the only actor with the legitimacy to perform such a task in the territory. The idea of territorial (dis) ordering is elaborated from the point of view of those most affected by the exploitation of their living spaces and seeks to highlight that the order intended by the State is necessarily linked to its opposite, the disorganization, which it implies the rupture of the other spatial arrangements of peoples and communities due to the imposition of the state territorial grid (Guerra, 2003).

The capitalist disordering after the plurinational-territorial Constitution

The Constitution of Ecuador was promoted with the electoral triumph of Rafael Correa in 2006. This constitution is part of the legal paradigm known as neo-constitutionalism, based on plural and guarantor approaches that underline the importance of fundamental rights (Prieto Sanchís, 2009). Indigenous rights, including territorial rights, acquire a double dimension, individual and collective, to the umbrella of neo-constitutionalism (Ávila, 2008, p. 44). In turn, pluralism guarantees the recognition of fundamental rights in a non-homogenizing manner. It takes as a starting point several sources of law and not just Roman law. It also identifies three dimensions of these fundamental rights for the peoples: 1) the right to self-government; 2) special right of representation and 3) poly-ethnic rights (Porto Gonçalves, 2009, p. 128).

The Ecuadorian constitutional text has a large mosaic of indigenous territorial rights covered by ILO Convention 169 and the UN Declaration on Indigenous Peoples. In particular, they place the rights of IPIs in their article 57, through which extractive activities are explicitly prohibited and their right to self-government is recognized.

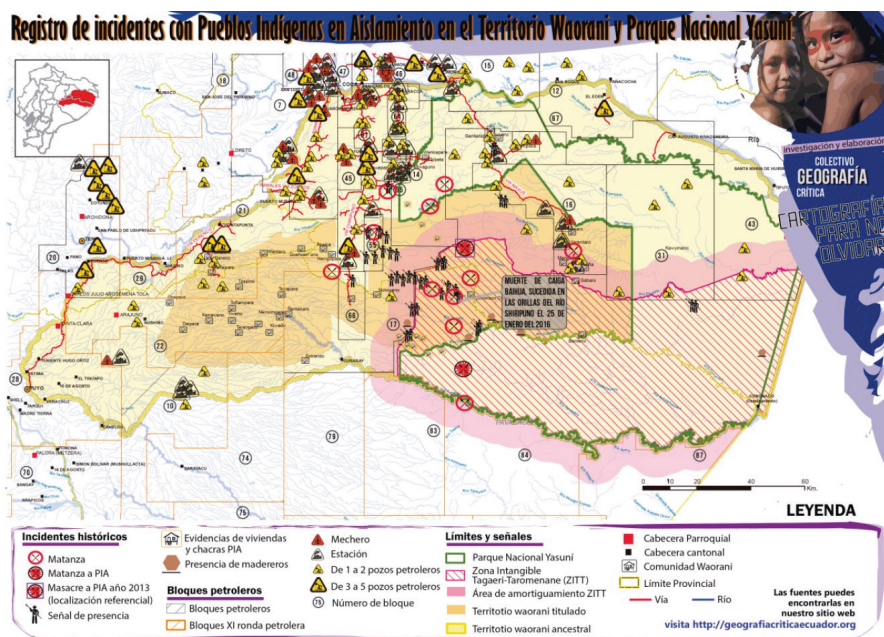
The territories of the peoples in voluntary isolation are of irreducible and intangible ancestral possession, and in them, all types of extractive activity will be prohibited. The State will adopt measures to guarantee their lives, enforce their self-determination and willingness to remain in isolation, and safeguard the observance of their rights. Violation of these rights will constitute the crime of genocide, which will be typified by law. (Art. 57, Constitution of the Republic of Ecuador)

However, the implementation of concrete measures for their effective protection has not been carried out. The process of enclosing the IPI, in recent times, has expanded the territorial conflict of these peoples. Today the conflicts are centered around the northwestern zone of the ZITT, in its outer limits, in the area of progress of the oil extraction of the Armadillo blocks, 14 and 17 (Maldonado & Bayón, 2017). Capital, with the facilitation of the State, imposes the exercise of its territoriality through the advance of the extraction of crude oil while the forms of protection of peoples and nature are subordinated. The right of the Waorani peoples to exercise their territoriality is also relegated and this, together with the recent limitation of the ZITT

by extractive activities, endangers their survival and that of the IPIs. There is already factual evidence that the construction of road infrastructure have caused strong dynamics of colonization (Maldonado & Bayón, 2017).

In the map below one can see the ways in which the territorial (de) ordering does not have effective actions to protect the living space of the IPIs. The map also illustrates the large number of attacks and clashes in the ZITT that evidence this point.

Map 2
Record of incidents with Indigenous Peoples
in isolation and oil infrastructure



Elaboration: Paola Maldonado and Braulio Gutiérrez (2017)

In August 2014, the cancellation of the Yasuní-ITT Initiative involved generating a new aggression to the northeastern part of the IPI territory within the PNY, where the Ministry of Environment of Ecuador has approved drilling the Ishpingo Platforms A and B, to just 300 meters from the ZITT Bu-

ffer Zone, with proposals to be carried out in the Oil Seismic area, just 5 kilometers from where their houses are documented to be (Bayón et al., 2017).

The oil invasion of Yasuni National Park in Block 43-ITT began in 2018 with the opening of the Tambococha platforms. When the Yasuní-ITT Initiative was canceled, with a promise of territorial exploitation of only 1x1000, the Collective provoked a wide debate on the territory in relation to oil exploitation, denouncing the fallacious argument that only the deforested areas are exploited and contributing scientific and communicative elements to unveil this territorial fallacy of the Government of Ecuador (Collective of Critical Geography of Ecuador, 2014).

The Constitution of Ecuador is clear in its prohibition of promoting new oil spaces in the territory of the IPIs. Neo-constitutional legal guarantees and legal pluralism are not acting as a restraint on a liberal state that claims for itself the subsoil as a nation-state in its eagerness to exploit Yasuni oil. The national good happens to be above the indigenous peoples' rights over their territories and the IPIs disappears from the public policy referring to their territories (CMCTF, 2014).

The Yasuni as a multiscale territorial common in dispute

First, the commons allow us to observe social relations beyond the dichotomy between the State and the market to analyze social wealth: its production, distribution, and reproduction. Therefore, the commons have been a reference for the formulation of new emancipatory paradigms that emerge from said dichotomy (Laval & Dardot, 2015). This boom of the commons has generated the analysis and construction of alternative ways of seeking alternatives to neoliberal dogmas, which throughout their globalization impose competitiveness and the capitalist market as a unique form of social relationship (Collective of Critical Geography, 2018).

Although there are multiple points of view regarding the conception and scope of the commons, we consider, according to Hardt and Negri (2011) as well as Laval and Dardot (2015,) as the first principle, the common as an alternative to think about social relations beyond the concept of ownership in the regulation of the processes of production, redistribution, and reproduction of social wealth. This must be framed in the current conditions of the historical development of late capitalism, not as a transhistorical propo-

sal. Thus, it overcomes the dichotomy between public and private property, which has been an obstacle in emancipatory thinking, by positioning individuals or a diffuse people as pre-existing subjects to the establishment of a way of governing the common. Therefore, this proposal from the commons will not so much enter into the private or public dispute, but rather transform the social relationships that emanate from the practices, norms, and institutions that are at the base of the operation of capital and the state. For example, it does not propose so much to destroy or question the State in its multiplicity of forms, but rather communalize the State, and this can only be done beyond representative liberal democracy and its limits (Hardt & Negri, 2011; Laval & Dardot, 2015).

As a Critical Geography Collective, our point of view seeks to understand the commons from a territorial perspective. To analyze the role of space in the enclosure of it, we must understand the territory not just as a container that assumes the spatial basis of the processes. In addition, the way in which the enclosure of the commons takes place represents a clear deployment in control mechanisms and territorial significance that will be at the center of the dispute, seeking to subordinate social actors and privatize the common (Sevilla Buitrago, 2015). For this reason, the enclosures of the commons are analyzed as an erosion of the mechanisms that seek to create chains of equivalent territories: to deprive the social space of those social relations characteristic of the common in order to convert it to the abstract rationality that offers greater control to the major market mechanisms and also to those linked to the State. On the other hand, the enclosures of the commons are processes that promote concrete forms of commercialization and domain in a purely spatial manner. Sevilla Buitrago emphasizes the mechanisms of domination of space analyzed in the enclosures of the commons that will be linked to the regulatory regimes of a specific space-time. As a result, these mechanisms of domination and the logic they constitute depend on the space-time in which they are installed, inserted into processes of unequal geographical development that will specify different forms (Sevilla Buitrago, 2015).

The Yasuni, as one of the most important and continuing cases in the Collective of Critical Geography of Ecuador, was also part of our booklet *“Territory and commons: Utopia and challenges”*, inscribed in *“Geography for Resistance: towards a Critical Atlas of the Ecuador”*, in which the group has analyzed more than thirty territorial conflicts in which we have

had some involvement. We enunciate the Yasuni as a “multi-scale common” because of the way in which it is considered a common and is disputed on multiple scales. The reading of the Yasuni case as a spatial common presented below consists of two main analytical elements. In the first place, we will make an outline of the mechanisms by which the processes of domination and spatial resistance at various scales orbit. Next, we will give an account of the set of meanings and senses put into play in the attempts of exploitation and the associated resistance processes.

Communities guide their strategies to maintain their territory as a fundamental common. The Amazonian communities and peoples present in the conflict over the extraction of crude oil in the Yasuni share the fact that their territory is the basis of their reproduction, both material and symbolic. We also analyze the forms and mechanisms of spatial control that they deploy and are linked to the forms of maintenance of the collective ownership of the space and to the forms through which they decide collectively on the uses of the space, such as, for example, the agreements on entry and exit to their territory or the belonging of the spoils of the hunt. Regarding the IPIs, we do not know their mechanisms in detail, but it is clear that the territory is even more essential in material terms for their reproduction, also in symbolic terms. Multiple studies have shown that at least two IPI groups coexist in the Yasuni, whose manner of occupying the territory takes the form of a large community dwelling or *maloka*, which has a limited use within semi-nomadic logics, and with a diet which combines hunting, with the collection and cultivation of *chakras* (Rival, 1992).

As for the actors, within their disparity in their composition, they share the search for strategies to gain control over the territory of these communities. The oil activity entails, for the analyzed case, mechanisms associated with the extraction and distribution of crude oil that involve the construction of military infrastructure and the presence of the army to act quickly in the face of any pushback on the part of the communities. However, there are also less explicit ways of exercising dominance, which are manifested in the expression of communal centers, schools, courts, collection centers, and other State-owned investments. These types of works, together with the promise of generating local employment, are offered to buy the local consensus. Thus, these mechanisms through which oil activity is made viable, provide it with specific socio-spatial forms.

As it has been previously noted, these strategies are developed on scales that go beyond the local: companies and the State play a very active role in trying to present the extraction of oil as legitimate, responsible for the environment and with the IPIs —invoking, among other things, the myth of cutting-edge technology— and as a matter of national interest. On the other hand, environmental groups, both nationally and internationally, have tried to reinforce strategies and interests linked to the non-extraction of crude oil. The Yasuní-ITT Initiative, which allowed oil to be left underground in exchange for international compensation was created between Ecuadorian environmental movements and other countries to later be appropriated and abandoned by the State. The Yasunidos group represents another example of this. This group managed to bring together the sensitivities of a mostly young and urban population against the socio-environmental devastation that the exploitation of crude would entail. The Yasunidos organization was the protagonist in the request for a referendum on the extraction in the Yasuni with collections of signatures and support throughout the country, ultimately truncated by the government (Silveira, Bayón & Moreano, 2019).

Regarding the meanings, the different actors are in a dialectical position where the unequal relations will create forms of resistance, but also agreements. The communities live strong internal and external inequalities that will be concretized in different ways of understanding the response to oil exploitation and agrarian colonization in their territories. But for the IPIs, this disruption of space and the negotiation possibilities of state and capitalist agents will imply an explicit prohibition in the Constitution of Ecuador and all international agreements. Non-contact as part of the right to self-determination, and the manifestation of no entry into their territory through warnings and killings when their territorial commons are infringed upon.

Within the Waorani nationality, there is also a multiplicity of positions that tend to be divided into two; adapt to the oil economy to be able to obtain some benefit from it (companies give jobs and compensation to communities that have to give their approval for oil exploitation), while the minority is against extraction and proposes to boost tourism activities. The divisions caused by the extraction of crude have caused the inter-community associations to be more weakened, where the organization that groups all of them, the NAWE, has become a growing dispute between the communities. However, in both visions of oil and tourism development, the territory is

fundamental as common: the jungle is understood as the element to defend, whether for an oil negotiation or as a source of life for the future.

There have also been strong reconfigurations in the state and market apparatus in oil exploitation, given that the promotion of an Ecuadorian public company, Petroamazonas, has been considered a better strategy for advancing in the new oil enclaves. . This new company has been a fundamental element to co-opt community leaderships throughout the Amazon, also the Waorani nationality, with whom there is a conflictive relationship, but the “oil-gifts” have limited the questioning of oil exploitation in the surrounding communities. We understand that both this company and the State try to construct the Yasuni area, as well as many other areas of oil or mining extraction, such as sacrifice areas (Silveira et al., 2016). This process of signification tries to make tolerable the effects of exploitation —denied or minimized on the other hand— for a broader good, in the interest of the nation. It is a logic that prioritizes the exchange value and that semiotically construct territories —and the beings that inhabit them— in a hierarchy, below a more abstract formal space located on the national scale.

Finally, on the national scale, groups opposed to oil exploitation that come from social environmentalism such as Yasunidos or *Acción Ecológica* construct different meanings and senses on the spaces they try to defend. Throughout the popular mobilization process commented earlier that this group led, it could be seen how the great biodiversity of the Yasuni placed it as a kind of “threatened natural paradise” in the eyes of a large part of the young and urban population that supported its non-exploitation. The range of sensitivities and emotions projected on this space are therefore based on a very different position since it is not an essential living space for its material reproduction, but a common one that projects a way of understanding rights, democracy and the search for a post-capitalist horizon. These differences in the position occupied by communities, activists, and State-market occasionally caused some debate about the legitimacy of the actors who, allies and working for a shared objective, speak in the name of Yasuni.

From the above, we can establish some key elements to think about the Yasuni in its dialectic of enclosure/construction of the multi-scale common. The Yasuni in its material and symbolic dimension is a common for the peoples that inhabit it in their social reproduction. At the local level, there are these communities that entered into complex disputes with the oil companies that, however, hoist their strategies on broader scales. The State, for

its part, proclaiming its legitimacy in the name of the Common Good for the whole nation, tries to make the extraction of crude oil in the Yasuní interpreted by public opinion as necessary and responsible in environmental and social terms. On the transnational scale, environmental groups and movements have also shown their ability to weave alliances and mobilize support for the protection of the eco-socio-system. Therefore, the Yasuni is in dispute as common, and this statement must be observed on multiple scales. In this way, the very meaning of the common is woven into a contradictory multiscale process between the different actors involved in the process of its construction and dispossession.

Conclusions

The colonization promoted by the State and by the capitalist expansion throughout the recent history of the Amazon has configured the territory of the IPIs as a space of strong tensions, in which they have sought to maintain their territory against external aggressions. The post-independence liberalism with which the Ecuadorian nation-state has developed its policy clashes with constitutional principles since 2008 regarding the plurinationality, pluriterritoriality, and exercise of self-determination that has also been recognized in international declarations regarding indigenous territories.

The territorial tensions produced in the Yasuni, home of the IPIs, have generated a conflict of strong social visibility, which has motivated it to become a multiscale territorial common, given that there are different actors in relation; local communities in isolation and with different antiquities in their colonization, state institutions at their different levels, national environmental groups with the support of the international fight against climate change, and a national rentier capital based on international investments of the oil transnationals. These visions dispute the future vision of the Amazonian space.

This multiscale model is not a clearly applicable example to other spaces where the non-presence of IPis implies forms of dialectics of less extreme territorialities: their right to self-determination and non-contact implies very different forms of territorial hegemony for companies and the State. Despite this, this article allows analyzing the collisions of rights through the expansion of the oil frontier as an emblem of the territorialization of capital, which finds limits in the multi-scale dispute of the common, especially the one led by indi-

genous peoples who remain isolated of the most refined mechanisms of companies and the State to subordinate territories to their rationality.

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