

# Aesthetics of green dispossession: From coal to wind extraction in La Guajira, Colombia

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## Abstract

In La Guajira, Colombia, current projections for the reconfiguration of coal mining and proposals for decarbonization through wind energy have become central to the national political debate on energy transition. Several national and multinational companies have proposals for wind energy projects that will cross the territory of the Wayúu people. The Wayúu have raised debates about the cultural and territorial implications of energy transition projects, demanding recognition of their way of life, self-determination, and autonomy. Drawing on theoretical insights from green extractivism and its articulation with visual political ecology, I argue that energy transition, despite rethinking some extractive processes, produces similar territorial, environmental, and socio-cultural impacts as conventional extractive processes. This green extractivism also aestheticizes dispossession – making it invisible, acceptable, and legitimate – masking new global commodity chains and delegitimizing indigenous demands in favor of green energies to address climate change. I focus my analysis on the images and representations of wind energy proposals offered by government institutions and national and multinational corporations, as well as the siting of wind infrastructure and its impact on the Wayúu people. I also analyzed the proposals and demands made by ancestral authorities and Wayúu leaders in policy documents on wind projects.

**Keywords:** wind energy, indigenous peoples, green extractivism, aesthetics of green dispossession, La Guajira, Colombia

## Résumé

À La Guajira, en Colombie, les projections actuelles de reconfiguration de l'exploitation du charbon et les propositions de décarbonisation par l'énergie éolienne sont devenues un élément central du débat politique national sur la transition énergétique. Plusieurs entreprises nationales et multinationales ont proposé des projets d'énergie éolienne qui traverseront le territoire du peuple Wayúu. Les Wayúu ont soulevé des débats sur les implications culturelles et territoriales des projets de transition énergétique, exigeant la reconnaissance de leur mode de vie, de leur autodétermination et de leur autonomie. En m'appuyant sur les idées théoriques de l'extractivisme vert et sur son articulation avec l'écologie politique visuelle, je soutiens que la transition énergétique, même si elle repense certains processus d'extraction, produit des impacts territoriaux, environnementaux et socioculturels similaires à ceux des processus d'extraction conventionnels. Cet extractivisme vert esthétique également la dépossession - la rendant invisible, acceptable et légitime - masquant les nouvelles chaînes de production mondiales et délégitimant les demandes indigènes en faveur d'énergies vertes pour lutter contre le changement climatique. Mon analyse se concentre sur les images et les représentations des propositions d'énergie éolienne offertes par les institutions gouvernementales et les entreprises nationales et multinationales, ainsi que sur l'implantation des infrastructures éoliennes et leur impact sur le peuple Wayúu. J'ai également analysé les propositions et les demandes formulées par les autorités ancestrales et les dirigeants Wayúu dans les documents politiques relatifs aux projets éoliens.

**Mots-clés:** énergie éolienne, peuples indigènes, extractivisme vert, esthétique de la dépossession verte, La Guajira, Colombie.

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## Resumen

En La Guajira, Colombia, las actuales proyecciones de reconfiguración de la minería del carbón y las propuestas de descarbonización a través de la energía eólica se han convertido en el centro del debate político nacional sobre la transición energética. Varias empresas nacionales y multinacionales tienen propuestas de proyectos de energía eólica que atravesarán el territorio del pueblo wayúu. Los Wayúu han planteado debates sobre las implicaciones culturales y territoriales de los proyectos de transición energética, exigiendo el reconocimiento de su forma de vida, autodeterminación y autonomía. Basándome en las ideas teóricas del extractivismo verde y su articulación con la ecología política visual, sostengo que la transición energética, a pesar de replantear algunos procesos extractivos, produce impactos territoriales, ambientales y socioculturales similares a los de los procesos extractivos convencionales. Este extractivismo verde también estetiza la desposesión -haciéndola invisible, aceptable y legítima-, enmascarando las nuevas cadenas globales de mercancías y deslegitimando las demandas indígenas a favor de las energías verdes para hacer frente al cambio climático. Enfoco mi análisis en las imágenes y representaciones de las propuestas de energía eólica ofrecidas por instituciones gubernamentales y corporaciones nacionales y multinacionales, así como en el emplazamiento de la infraestructura eólica y su impacto en el pueblo wayúu. También analicé las propuestas y demandas realizadas por las autoridades ancestrales y los líderes wayúu en sus documentos políticos sobre proyectos eólicos.

**Palabras clave:** energía eólica, pueblos indígenas, extractivismo verde, estéticas del despojo verde, La Guajira, Colombia

## 1. Introduction

In the 21<sup>st</sup> century, the La Guajira region, in Colombia, has been rife with territorial, environmental, and cultural conflicts related to mining. The Cerrejón coal mine, operated by Glencore, is scheduled to close in 2034, but there is no concrete closure plan. International demand for coal and new resource pressures from the war in Ukraine have accelerated another new coal mine proposal in the Afro-Guajiro territory of Cañaverales led by the Turkish Best Coal Company. The socio-ecological impacts of mining in the area receive little attention, which is intensified by extractive pressures from international demands to decarbonize industrial production and meet climate change mitigation agreements. This entails proposals for the implementation of wind and solar energies as alternatives of so-called renewable energy and as energy transition strategies. Colombia has ratified the United Nations' international agreements (United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, Kyoto Protocol, Paris Agreement) to implement low-carbon energy policies, legally manifesting nationally in 2021 as the Energy Transition Law (Ley 2099).

La Guajira has diverse ecosystems, from desert areas in the northern peninsula to fertile foothills along the southern Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta and the Serranía del Perijá. This is an area of great complexity, which combines various types of extractivism (coal, salt, copper, iron, barite, and limestone, among others) with a new reconfiguration toward wind energy generation. In La Guajira, wind projects are deployed through proposals for a green future for the region and the nation, requiring a new analytical approach. The complexity of La Guajira deserves a greater analysis of the political ecology of green extractivism in general, and specifically the under-researched advancement of these projects through images and their representation. Wind energy development is becoming an increasing issue in the region, alongside coal mining, which has serious implications for the Wayúu people. From the Wayúu's ontology, all living beings have the capacity for agency, therefore, they maintain affinity and kinship relations with all, even the winds. Likewise, their proposals are based on their demands for recognition and respect of their ancestral rights and legal rights over their territories based on the relationality between beings (Ulloa 2020; 2022). The Wayúu worldview and practices establish spiritual and sacred relationships with various beings, which are embedded in their territory. Simultaneously, corporation impositions have ontological implications, generating an oppositional ontology of space, which naturalize structural differences and inequalities (Stanley 2009), among which racism (ethnicism) is central to the reproduction of these inequalities (Pulido 2020). The corporate, and statist, ontology of space generates new spatial dynamics (Ávila *et al.* 2021), which, in this case, generates territorial and environmental inequalities that together produce ethnicized extractive geographies.

The situation in La Guajira has similarities with the implementation of wind energy projects in Oaxaca, Mexico. Those wind projects privileged the owners of large properties, the ranchers and regional elites

(Vázquez and Zepeda 2022). They also generated a process of land control and wind privatization, which Dunlap and Correa-Arce (2022) call "wind factories." Wind projects are also disrupting Wayúu sacred territories, analogous to the processes associated with how the sacred burial sites of Zapotec people were violated in Mexico (Dunlap 2019). On the Mexican Isthmus of Tehuantepec wind power has implied territorial dispossession (Ávila-Calero 2017), which is also beginning to occur in La Guajira region.

Although analyses like these have been made of the implications of wind projects in indigenous territories, it is important to address how corporations deploy actions that allow them to perform as the new "environmentalists", delegitimizing indigenous territorial demands. In such a context, I examine what role narratives and representations of energy transition projects (wind parks) can have in the depoliticization of territorial demands by the Wayúu people in La Guajira. The argument is that, despite rethinking some extractive processes, energy transition produces similar territorial, environmental, and socio-cultural effects to conventional mining-energy processes, articulating a process of green extractivism. This process, as the article shows, also aestheticizes dispossession, which makes dispossession invisible, acceptable, and legitimate, masking new global commodity chains and delegitimizing indigenous demands for the need for global green energies to address climate change.

The article first reviews the theoretical perspectives that allow me to understand wind projects in relation to the wind infrastructures and aestheticizing green extractivism in a Wind Extractive Zone. Then, I describe the process of implementation of wind projects in La Guajira. In the next section, the article focuses on analyzing wind landscapes through the narratives and aesthetic representations of the future, as well as the implementation of wind infrastructures and their territorial effects. In the last section, I deal with the Wayúu's demands and proposals in relation to wind parks, before presenting some conclusions.

#### *Theoretical perspectives and approaches: aestheticizing green extractivism*

I will focus on theoretical debates that allow me to analyze wind projects in La Guajira, and how green extractivism is being implemented. In the same way, I will analyze the process of construction of wind energy infrastructures and technologies and their relationship with new extraction materials (copper, stone, wood), and their territorial impact. These processes, in turn, configure what Gómez-Barris (2021) describes as a new extractive zone. The extractive zone is a "colonial paradigm, worldview, and technologies that mark out regions of "high biodiversity" to reduce life to capitalist resource conversion" (p.13).

Inspired by Gómez-Barris's work, I use the term *renewable extractive zone* (REZ). I define an REZ as a site combining several conventional extractive processes (mining-energy), which are necessary for energy transitions such as copper mining, and low-carbon infrastructures or 'green extractivism' projects (Dunlap 2021a, Dunlap & Brock 2022). Such places hold considerable scope for green and energy extraction and so-called energy transition, which uses wind and sunlight, with other metals extracted as commodities. There are subterranean (copper) and aerial vertical (wind) extractive dynamics, with solar extraction areas all connected through various extraction processes. These have their own social, cultural, environmental, and territorial impacts. Dunlap & Brock (2022, 2021) call this the "renewable energy-extraction nexus," which complements the idea of an REZ. A REZ includes extractive and green projects (Non-Conventional Renewable Energy Sources) that are co-dependent, co-produced, and/or complementary. These occur simultaneously, are overlapping, and/or spatially and/or temporally sequential (Ulloa 2014). To be implemented, they generally require the articulation of socio-technical expertise, government policies, the actions of international organizations and multinational corporations, and also involve local processes.

Similar extractive and sequential processes are highlighted by Dunlap & Brock (2021) for coal mining in Germany. Such processes operate under the idea of supporting sustainable economic development and are proposed as environmentally responsible, which is aided by a representational aesthetic regime (Legun, Comi & Vicol 2022). Such dynamics are sustained by narratives that evince power relations (Dietz 2019) given that they occur under (modern) notions of the commodification of nature, advancing consumption and compensation processes (Ulloa 2014; Feeney 2023). Finally, these processes are territorialized through infrastructures that are imposed (Schaffer 2022) or that become invasive (Spice 2018) in specific places. REZs, moreover, are sustained by an aesthetic regime of representations and narratives of technological futures, materialized in infrastructures,

which become a 'green spectacle' (Igoe 2017), a specific vision of the future, with overlapping territorialities. Local territorialities, relationalities, and knowledge are excluded, exacerbating structural socio-environmental inequalities.

In the case of La Guajira, an emerging *wind extractive zone* (WEZ) is emerging. It is presented as an economic opportunity, a solution to the global climate crisis, a pathway for a sustainable future, and a just transition, in response to the global demand for low-carbon energy (sometimes call green energy) to address climate change. The WEZ is also proposed as an area of social and economic prosperity, supported by narratives and images of a better environmental future. The representations of projects present a future based on environmentally friendly, harmoniously integrated infrastructure and technology, building the wind landscapes of the future, and supporting a new territorial dynamic of green economic investment. An aesthetic regime is imposed through which harmonious, blue, and green landscapes are portrayed, marked by techno-scientific solutions that evoke and build an economically prosperous future, and a manageable nature, leading to a vision of a future that is balanced and non-conflictual. This aesthetic regime, as we will see below, is misleading, to say the least.

The implementation of a WEZ ignores local territorial relations by representing territories as places for 'green investment' or as an economic zone that conceals new global commodity chains. Economic zones, as Cross (2025: 424) proposes, are:

Uniquely charged objects of conviction and anxiety about the capitalist future. They are places in which people attempt to know and master the unknowable future with technologies of planning, calculation, and prediction and borrow against the expectation of future profits by mapping and modeling growth trajectories or bracketing potential risks.

Wind energy developments also aestheticize dispossession through such futurist narratives and imagery. These remove people from the environment and territory, meanwhile minimizing the damage to ecologies. This form of representation of a WEZ rebrands the colonial *terra nullius* to portray the land as being empty, vacant, or 'un-peopled', delegitimizing and depoliticizing local demands from people like the Wayúu (Gómez-Barris 2017; see also Tornel, 2023). These technical-scientific solutions impose infrastructures that become invasive, cause deterritorialization, and affect not only spatial practices but also relations with non-humans, imposing diverse temporal-spatialities (Ulloa 2021) while disregarding the rights of Indigenous Peoples.

Thus, what the Wayúu seek to do through their life proposals is to confront such narratives and images, which construct realities of the future around energy transitions, sustainable development, and capitalist socio-ecological solutions that continue under the same extractivist model that legitimizes and aestheticizes the dispossession of their lands. An aesthetics of dispossession encourages the making of landscapes to fit specific visions of the future based on 'green spectacle' (Igoe 2017) or a 'sustainable spectacle', in Koch's terms (2022, 16): a "spectacle can be understood as something of uncommonly large scale or experientially exceptional: it can be extraordinary in terms of space, time, reach, emotion, and more." The spectacle construct, in this case, is a specific image of nature marked by blue skies, empty territories, and large-scale technological infrastructures. Expectations are fabricated to support future realities based around these eco-modernist 'green' solutions that will mitigate climate change.

Through environmental and climate legislation, wind projects are proposed, initiated, and established through narratives of a sustainable future and energy transition that will generate mutual benefit—'win-win' narratives. Thus, we need to understand the role of the narratives (Dietz 2019) and representations that are manufactured by wind energy companies. In the case of wind energy, the narratives of corporate actors around a green future manage to maintain the power to intervene in a territory by superimposing a global interest over local demands (Howe, 2014). Such narratives are immersed in aesthetic representations of a possible and harmonious world from energy transition, leading to the implementation of an aesthetic regime. According to Legun, Comi & Vicol (2022: 149):

The concept of aesthetic *regimes* is intended to denote the ways that aesthetics, and the ways they are produced and experienced, are part of a historically situated social and political environment. The aesthetics of things become crafted to allow for specific ideas and cultural readings to be advanced; to allow for a particular kind of communication in market relations.

This process also is happening in La Guajira. As I will demonstrate below, the imposed images and infrastructures are not related to the Wayúu people but are celebrating and promoting wind and other extractive infrastructures. Wind infrastructures will cross Wayúu territory and become invasive (Spice, 2018) which implies fragmentation of not only their territory but their territoriality. The socio-ecological and cultural practices of the Wayúu people in their territories are not considered, nor are their socio-territorial relations with non-human beings and ancestors. Green capitalist optimism will not only affect the Wayúu people but also the region's expectations regarding the energy transition. This is because those who promote current wind projects assume that Colombia's energy transition process will affect national and international strategies to confront climate change. This will soon reveal the contradictions of dreams of green extractivism in the name of climate change mitigation and will become a cruel green capitalist optimism (Berlant 2011) that will affect the Wayúu people.

*Putting together different narratives and voices about wind projects: methodology*

I have been researching the effects of coal mining in the Wayúu territory of La Guajira for five years. In this article, however, I focus on the protests and demands of Wayúu communities affected by the implementation of wind energy projects. The energy transition around wind power has become a field of political dispute, where the Wayúu proposals are positioned as a political voice that enters the field of public negotiation with the State.

As a first methodological approach, I focus on the written documents of the Wayúu people, as they are political tools for negotiating with the current government. Their documents reflect the Wayúu ontology and epistemology, as well as their territorial representations, political positions, and internal collective discussions, processed through their ancestral authorities or legitimate spokespersons in the national political arena. Wayúu anthropologist Weilder Guerra-Curvelo (2019), explains that according to the Wayúu worldview: "the winds, whose mother is Palaa (the Sea), are gendered beings, masculine or feminine; they establish alliances, love or antagonistic relationships, and travel through ancestral places and paths. Some are considered beneficial and loving like Jepirachi, because of the cold that surrounds it" (2019: 89).

Wayúu ontology and relationships with non-humans are expressed in some documents and media statements that Wayúu leaders and ancestral authorities have expressed in public debates about the wind parks. I will focus on four documents as expressions of the political voice of Wayúu's ancestral and political authorities in relation to the current process of initiating wind projects and projecting the remaining in the WEZ. The documents, which I will refer to here and below as Letter, Declaration, Protocol, and Memories, respectively are the focus of the analysis. The first is a letter written by Denys Velásquez Uriana, the authority of the Maleen Wayúu community, to President Iván Duque, on 17 January 2022, in relation to the Guajira I wind park. It denounces how the wind park has been built without the due process of Free, Prior, and Informed Consent (FPIC), without the consent of the ancestral authorities, and on sacred sites.

The second is a public statement written by Wayúu fishermen, who consider the sea as part of their territory, called Declaration of the Wayúu who live from the sea in the corregimiento of Cabo de la Vela (*Declaración de los wayúu que viven del mar en el corregimiento del Cabo de la Vela Corregimiento del Cabo de la Vela, Departamento de la Guajira, 3 de noviembre de 2022*) that was sent to the Colombian President Gustavo Petro, and Minister of Environment, Susana Muhamad, and Minister of Mines and Energy, Irene Vélez. The declaration arises from the lack of knowledge they had, as caretakers of the sea, about an offshore wind energy project in their marine territory which is a sacred site. They also denounce the lack of an FPIC procedure, which did not recognize their autonomy and self-determination.

The third is a Protocol (2022) to address wind infrastructure written by the Ancestral Authorities and Representatives of the Own Government of the E'irrukuus Ipuana, Epinayú, Uriana, Epiyú of the Extended

Indigenous Reserve of the Upper and Middle Guajira, Cabo de la Vela region, La Guajira (*Gobierno Propio de e'irrukuus Ipuana, Epinayú, Uriana, Epiyú del Resguardo Indígena Ampliado de la Alta y Media Guajira, sector Cabo de la Vela, La Guajira*). They proposed, in accordance with national and international legislation, an Autonomous Protocol for Prior Consultation and Free, Prior, and Informed Consent (*Protocolo Autonomico de Consulta Previa y Consentimiento Previo, Libre e Informado, 2022*). To summarize, the protocol demands the recognition of their ontological perspective that allows for the inclusion of the relationships between the Wayúu, their territory, and the beings that make up their world.

Fourth is a document written by Wayúu people called Memories of the Meeting of December 17, 2022, in Riohacha and proposals to the PND [National Plan of Development] by the Wayúu community regarding a just energy transition (*Memorias de la reunión del 17 de diciembre de 2022 en Riohacha y propuestas al PND de la comunidad wayúu. En lo que respecta a la transición energética justa*). This document expresses the agreement among ancestral owners of the territories, representatives of the territories that will be affected by the wind parks, and other community members regarding the just energy transition. This political document was delivered to the Minister of Mines and Energy, Irene Vélez, on December 28, 2022. For this reason, it becomes a central document to understand Wayúu proposals in relation to wind projects.

Recognizing the Wayúu proposals through their political documents – oral or visual – makes it possible to position Wayúu political voices and perspectives. Their proposals are based on their own legitimate and valid organizational processes, claiming equal political status with their interlocutors. They position themselves as collective witnesses to the effects of wind parks in their territories, going beyond individual testimony. I use quotations to substantiate my arguments and I consider indigenous voices as statements of their perspective based on their own political process and territorial demands.

As a second approach, I drew on documents and representations of the wind turbines on corporate web pages, which also narrate political perspectives. I used the narrative approach, which according to Dietz (2019: 511) is "a means of studying how antagonists of claims for popular democratic participation in the mining sector counter these claims to preserve and reproduce existing power relations within the resource sector." I prioritized narratives and images of corporations and government institutions displaying the La Guajira wind projects on their pages, to understand how the territories of indigenous peoples are represented in the future and the implications for economic development and environmental processes. Aesthetic representations of the future try to legitimize energy transition as something urgent and immediate, associated with decarbonization proposals in the light of climate change. At the same time, they erase Wayúu perspectives of time and space, and their cultural and territorial practices.

## 2. Wind Extractive Zone: A disruptive territorial process in La Guajira

The Wayyu make up 20.2% of all indigenous people and a population of 380,460, the largest indigenous group in the country. Some 97.5% of Wayúu people reside in the department of La Guajira, across 21 indigenous *resguardos* (legal collective territories). Most live in the largest *resguardo*, Alta y Media Guajira where they make up more than 50% of the total population (DANE 2021).

Various national and multinational companies have designed wind energy projects (González and Barney 2019), and there are currently 57 wind park proposals (on land and offshore, led by 17 corporations)<sup>2</sup> with 2,833 wind turbines with the potential of producing 12,851 MW, crossing the Wayúu territory (Barney 2023). These 57 parks are proposed for the mid and high Guajira, in different temporalities. There are three projects already under construction. Some will start their operations before 2026, and others before 2030 and 2040, but subject to changing political and economic conditions. The situation is fluid, with some projects merging or being withdrawn, faced with local opposition and altered energy policies.

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<sup>2</sup> Of these 17 companies, 12 are international, from 10 countries (Spain, Canada, France, Ireland, the United States, Italy, the Netherlands, Portugal, Brazil, and Germany), and 5 are Colombian, with their own projects or in alliances. For an overview of the detailed role of each company and their wind projects, see Barney (2023).

Land for wind farms was allocated by previous Colombian governments, without respecting the Wayúu's legally recognized right to autonomy and self-determination in their territories. In Colombia, Indigenous territories are inalienable, imprescriptible, and unattachable. However, the Government of ex-president Ivan Duque (2018-2022) overrode territorial rights because the wind projects were considered a national priority (González 2022). The pressing need for action on climate change, and to meet international agreements, meant the Colombian government gave companies tariff and investment benefits (Ley 2099) along with territorial control, fragmenting Wayúu territory.

Although the processes of prior consultation with Wayúu authorities on cultural, environmental, and territorial impacts are underway, Wayúu leaders have spoken out against the process: raising criticism based on their previous experience with the Jepirachi wind park (Rojas 2013), and others in Alta Guajira in 2022. Denys Velásquez Uriana (2022, 1) explained:

In my ancestral territories, arbitrarily and contrary to the Fundamental Right to Free Prior and Informed Consent, the Guajira 1 wind park project owned by the ISAGEN company was affected, invading, and desecrating our sacred sites. Faced with this serious violation since the beginning of 2021, I tried by all means to find a space for dialogue with the ISAGEN company, but it was never possible; only until December 27 and 28, when protected by our self-determination and territorial autonomy, we decided to take possession of our territories and stop the works carried out.

Subterranean Wayúu land holds sacred sites associated with cemeteries, ancestral spirits, and overall, vertical territoriality. In the Wayúu universe, people move between different worlds. Cultural and spatial practices are related to the places of non-human beings, where all have their territorialities. Therefore, any territorial transformation affects the relationships between them and non-humans. Two wind projects begun in 2022 (Guajira 1 and WESP 01) have already disrupted these relationships.

This, in turn, has affected their relationship with the winds, which are considered living beings. Kinetic energy extraction, or "direct green extraction" (Verweijen & Dunlap 2021) from wind turbines impacts Wayúu culture and spiritual and environmental dynamics. Constructing the wind turbines and especially in a forceful way, disregards Wayúu ontology and knowledge, subordinating it to the science and objectives of wind extraction industries.

Knowledge impositions have had a long history in La Guajira. As stated by Carmona and Jaramillo (2020) regarding the diversion of Bruno Creek for the expansion of the Cerrejón coal mining, in which the expert and technical knowledge linked to the company considers the environmental effects of the stream diversion as small and manageable. Corporate expertise has prevailed given the power relations and articulation with extractivist governments, ignoring indigenous knowledge and independent experts, who present the effects of the deviation related to the semi-desert ecosystem and under water stress. Carmona and Jaramillo maintain (2020: 1093):

Therefore, the decision-making process of how humans interact with their environments at a global scale is led by contending enactments of expertise, that in the end not only imagine but also define the future of the material world that we all inhabit.

The technical knowledge related to wind extraction zones will reproduce a similar process of decision-making of experts who will define the future for La Guajira, through narratives and representation of a theological future.

### 3. Wind landscapes: narratives, infrastructures, and green aesthetics

The aesthetic forms of wind landscapes thus configure a response to the global climate problem and become a future solution that reassures the global population. These aesthetic forms expand to the WEZ by presenting images that symbolically extend to conventional extractive processes, minimizing uncertainties regarding the use of new extractive materials, and the risk and unsustainability of their production under conventional extraction schemes. Notions of the innocuousness of environmental transformation, therefore, prevail in the representations of the WEZ.

#### *Narratives of the future*

The role of energy transition processes in the wind projects planned to be implemented in La Guajira is based on narratives of the future that propose a world with solutions based on technical efficiency and the promise of profitability that leaves little room for social contestation or opposition. Representations that have allowed the production and maintenance of inequalities.

Wind project company websites —whether for investment, manufacture, or implementation— present and promote La Guajira under narratives of the territorial and environmental promise of prosperity. The Colombian Ministry of Mines and Energy website state the following about the Guajira I (Jouktai) wind park: "Energy transition is our legacy for the present and the future of Colombia." (Minenergia 2023). In 2019, the Colombian government tendered two 20-year contracts to Energías de Portugal Renovables-EDPR for the construction of wind parks Alpha (212 MW) and Beta (280 MW). EDPR (2023) states the following in this respect:

We work to be leaders. To transform the world. We want to lead decarbonization and be 100% green by 2030. But our commitment is not only with planet earth. We want to make a difference for both environment and the people. We are changing tomorrow now.

In local and national newspapers, the projects are presented under slogans such as: "The revolution of the country's energy transition" (Portafolio 2022). This ignores the extractive supply-webs, socio-ecological impacts, and decommissioning issues related to wind energy projects (Dunlap 2021a; Dunlap and Marin 2022). Consequently, a process of generating, corporate and governmental narratives, reinforces the representations of a Guajira as ready for wind energy extraction and territorial control.

#### *Aesthetics of illusion*

The images of wind energy circulating on the Internet are generally in vivid, flat colors, showing a landscape with a blue sky or a warm sunset over which the white blades of wind turbines are centered in the photo. They are orderly rows of wind turbines over deserts, land covered with green meadows, sunflower fields, monoculture areas, or sea surfaces. These images portray a fusion of technology and nature, both ordered and simple in their forms and articulation. These images are reproduced on company and government websites and/or advertisements for economic investment, which are presented as an option for a new life and as vital for the energy transition, and greening extractive development. A quick Google search yields thousands of representations of wind turbines that promote this positive vision of wind turbines (see Figure 1).





Figure 1: Images from Google in relation to wind parks. Source: [https://www.google.com/search?q=energias+eolicas&rlz=1C1ALOY\\_esCO983CO983&source=lnms&tbm=isch&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwjIIMnN0Zz6AhVrfTABHeICArEQ\\_AUoAXoECAIQAw&biw=1517&bih=730&dpr=0.9](https://www.google.com/search?q=energias+eolicas&rlz=1C1ALOY_esCO983CO983&source=lnms&tbm=isch&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwjIIMnN0Zz6AhVrfTABHeICArEQ_AUoAXoECAIQAw&biw=1517&bih=730&dpr=0.9)

Images of wind turbines become a new aesthetic regime of energy transition (Legun, Comi & Vicol 2022). This illustrative media approach communicates future options in which technology displaces the human and the non-human (nature), to become a core of manageable, stable, and predictable 'nature', for development and economic profitability. In other words, air and light (two key variables previously used to sustain climatic transformations) become predictable and easy to manage through technical-scientific knowledge. The image conceals negative social, environmental, and economic impacts. And by taking the turbines as the center, it is taken out of the territorial and sociocultural context. These become timeless images, without spatiality, focusing on the technological. They are propaganda that will have serious socio-environmental consequences.

Wind landscapes are easily managed because they are separated from the hidden economic chains and infrastructures that support them. There is no disorderly entanglement of human actions or of the various contexts (urban, rural) that cross the infrastructures that distribute energy, or indeed the various extraction processes and economic dynamics related to wind energy (copper, stone, baryta [barium sulphate], etc.). The realities of wind turbines, high-voltage power lines (HVPLs), energy transformers, the power of the industries, and the socio-ecological transformations they demand are all erased from sight. Extractive processes, land grabbing, and accumulative socioecological impact are separated, sanitized, and lost to produce renewable extractive areas. When humans do appear, there are representations of men with helmets, synonymous with expertise and technical knowledge. This creates an aura of professionalism and approved scientific governance by the expert (see Figure 2).

Non-humans are also marginalized, rendered as a visual landscape to be contemplated, that is neutral, green, and under control. Given the reality of developing wind turbines on agrarian territories, this is highly misleading. The images of wind turbines, again, do not include HVPLs, transformers, the impacts of infrastructure on farmland, or the effects on local fauna in general. That is the case for pink flamingos (*Phoenicopterus ruber*) in La Guajira whose migratory patterns and lifeways will be impacted by wind energy development (El Espectador 2022). Flamingos are not mentioned in the environmental licenses sought by wind projects, and consequently, mitigation actions are not considered for them. Wayúu leaders raise the importance of taking non-humans into account in their demands. Technical knowledge and environmental impact assessments from consultancy firms, tend to miss the extent of socioecological impacts and find their 'costs' acceptable in line with the general ideology of modernist and capitalist development. In the *Memories* of the December 2022 meeting (Memorias 2022: 5), Wayúu authorities describe the environmental impact of the wind project:



Figure 2: Male expertise in relation to wind parks. Source: <https://www.aprendum.com.ar/curso-de-tecnico-energia-eolica-y-solar/>

The communities that have had projects or have been visited by companies said that they do not agree with the way in which environmental impact studies have been carried out in our communities. We now know that those companies that must define these impacts are paid by the same companies and will never say the real risk that we or our environment run. Examples of the above can be seen in the bodies of the environmental licenses granted to the wind projects, where the communities express their concern about being a transit area for the Pink Flamingo, but the company determines that, during their captures within the framework of their investigations, these birds were not observed and, therefore, should not make a management plan. To this, we ask ourselves a question: don't we, the communities that live in the territory, know more about what birds live or pass through here? Why on no occasion do these companies, which claim to be run by biologists, come to ask us and why do they enter our territories without asking or asking for permission? Are we not, perhaps, the communities' environmental authorities?

Wind landscapes thus become an idyllic futuristic landscape, a future alternative based on technology, symbolizing a technological future in tune with the environment. The regime of energy transition becomes a hope that unites the world's population, but that depoliticizes local demands, and renders invisible environmental or territorial effects by presenting an aesthetic version of the future, concealing the dispossession of the planet's resources. In La Guajira, the same type of representation of wind turbines is reproduced, supported by a blue background, giving rise to a sensation of harmony and synchronization of technology and wind. This is the case for the image of the First Jeparachi wind park, on EPM's website (see Figure 3), and Wind Park Guajira I (see Figure 4).



Figure 3: Image from EPM website in Wayúu territory. Source: <https://www.epm.com.co/site/home/nuestra-empresa/nuestras-plantas/energia/parque-eolico>



Figure 4: The Guajira I wind park. Source: <https://www.isagen.com.co/es/nuestro-negocio/generamos-energia>

Along similar lines, the Minister of Mines and Energy prepared a coloring book for La Guajira, titled: *Give color to the new energy. Energy transition in Colombia (Ponle color a la nueva energía. Transición energética en Colombia)* (Minenergia, 2021). The images within the coloring book emphasize technology, the environmentally friendly benefits of wind energy, and an empty territory ready for extractive development (see Figure 5).

The book is targeted to children. The content has the following phrases: "We are all the new energy", "We have a great potential", and "The energy of the sun and the wind illuminate more power", accompanied by graphic representations of turbines, houses with solar panels on their roofs, and cars. However, these representations do not interrelate. They do not include processes related to low-carbon infrastructure supply webs, and they do not show the socio-ecological realities of the effect of wind turbines.

These representations of wind projects, which are like other representations of wind parks in webpages or renewable energy firms<sup>3</sup>, blur practices and relationships with the territory of local people and non-humans, by making visible technological proposals for the future associated with expert knowledge that unifies territories under the idea of the 'energy transition.'

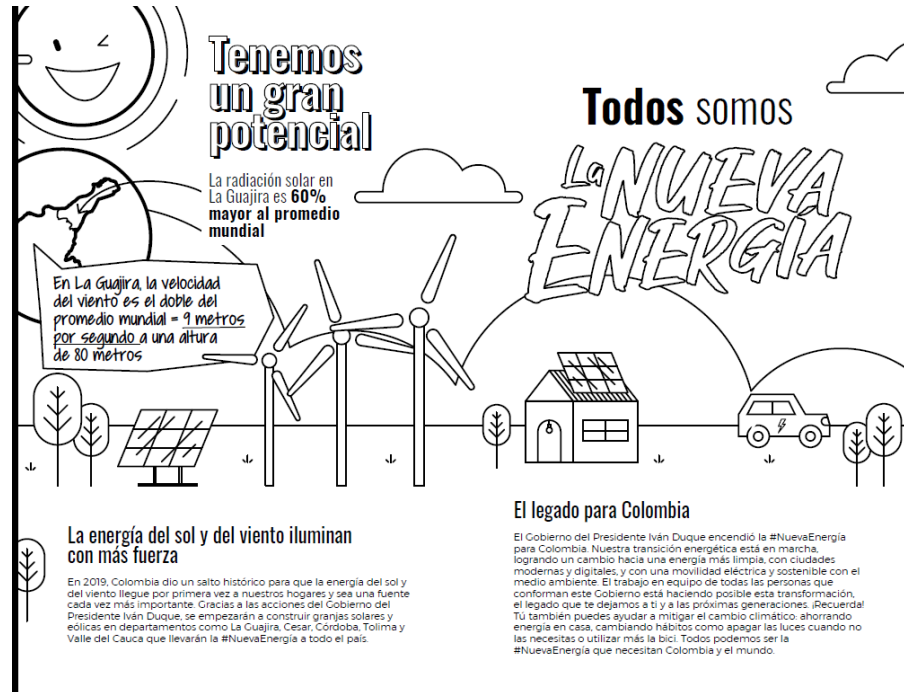


Figure 5: Image from a children's booklet *Give color to the new energy: Energy transition in Colombia* (Minenergía, 2021)

Most of the web pages of corporations ignore the serious issues related to decommissioning wind projects. Sovacool *et al.* (2020: 4) calculate:

...that a single 3.1 MW wind turbine created 772 to 1807 tons of landfill waste, 40 to 85 tons of waste sent for incineration, and about 7.3 tons of e-waste per unit. Enevoldsen *et al.* (2019) project that Europe will need to install at least 100,000 new wind turbines by 2050. By these calculations, wind energy will result in another 730,000 tons of e-waste.

Decommissioning wind turbines have serious socio-ecological implications, not to mention asking who must pay to decommission these turbines after 25-35 years of operations. Local municipalities in Europe (Dunlap 2021b), for example, are reported to be stuck with costly decommissioning bills, which they did not consider during the initial contract negotiation.

WEZ also requires more sourcing of critical minerals and raw materials to produce wind turbines. As the World Bank notes in relation to a future of carbon-constraints: "Metals which could see a growing market include aluminum (including its key constituent, bauxite), cobalt, copper, iron ore, lead, lithium, nickel, manganese, the platinum group of metals, rare earth metals including cadmium, molybdenum, neodymium, and

<sup>3</sup> See for example: <https://www.shutterstock.com/es/image-vector/renewable-energy-sources-concept-isometric-vector-1901697532>

indium—silver, steel, titanium and zinc" (World Bank 2017, xii). In La Jagua del Pilar, La Guajira, on September 14, 2021, the National Mining Agency signed a contract with the company Carbomas S.A.S, for the first Strategic Mining Area for the exploration and exploitation of copper (ANM 2021).

In La Guajira inequalities have been part of the historical relationship with the Wayúu territory (Carabali 2019). Promises of economic development and social welfare have not been reflected locally, but pollution, water scarcity, and territorial and environmental transformations have resulted. On the other hand, the expectations of economic development centered on extractive processes have mainly benefited transnational capital. In fact, the Department of La Guajira has the highest levels of inequity in Colombia with a poverty index of 67.4%, and 40.4% of the population live in extreme poverty (DANE 2022). These unresolved structural inequalities, in addition to mining and wind energy development, operate to advance territorial control. In relation to the current initiation of the first three parks, the Wayúu authorities said in the document *Memories* (2022: 8):

Renewable energy [sic] companies do not arrive alone. For the alleged situations of insecurity that have been presented against them, they have opted for contract with the Colombian army, in some cases as EPM [Empresas Públicas de Medellín], and with private companies, in the case of ENEL and Renovatio. The two figures have brought conflict to our territories. Sometimes men strongly armed prevent us from passing through our roads and intimidate us.

These territorial controls imply that the companies have local control, are militarizing the area to protect investments, and further affect and degrade indigenous territories and territorialities.

#### *Territories of investment*

At the same time, new cartographies (spatial representations) of the environmental economy have emerged, stressing the need to act on environmental and climate crises. These representations, though produced by institutions, circulate in the mass media, legitimizing new territories and territorialities (see Figure 6).

Various imaginaries circulate about the investment potential of La Guajira, including rumors of Elon Musk's investment in connection with a Tesla factory. A regional media newspaper, *La Guajirahoy.com*, said:

The peninsula of La Guajira has large renewable energy projects, including green hydrogen pilot projects being developed where German investors have their eyes. The strategic location of the Colombian Caribbean Region makes Tesla take advantage of the lithium reserves in Bolivia and Mexico. In addition, they can export electric cars to North America or anywhere in the world. (Laguajirahoy 2023).

So is asserted that Guajira has the potential to attract local and international investors due to its winds and solar radiation, even if other media and newspapers might consider this to be fake news. Again, the marketing strategy is to empty the territory in imagery, erase the inhabitants, and ignore territorial rights. When wind projects are tied to green narratives (e.g., 'greening'), it allows the process of deterritorialization by only accepting permitted identities that fit with the green ideal. Wind parks become infrastructures of anticipation for future capitalist investments, being not only a WEZ, but also a type of economic zone (Cross 2015).

Corporate images and advertising construct and sell "green dreams" (Takedomi Karlsson & Ramasar 2022) around various products. Takedomi Karlsson & Ramasar argue that fast and sustainable fashion links to environmentalism, feminism, and elements of gender diversity, underpinned by "corporate image and advertising to sell products (predominantly to women) so that through our consumption we can feel empowered whilst also 'saving the world.'" (Takedomi Karlsson & Ramasar 2022: 337). In the case of wind projects marketed as green investments, "...the sustainability spectacle is produced by harnessing the eco-friendly image of renewables but, detached from the political and economic context that would determine whether they actually advance progressive environmental agendas" (Koch 2020: 16). There are new ways to talk about La Guajira in

the media with phrases such as: "The promised land", "the guajiro miracle", or "La Guajira will be the epicenter of the energy transition."

Something similar happens with the corporate image of wind project companies that are selling green and blue dreams about a world controlled through technology to tackle climate change. Thus, the narratives and images of green and imagined futures underpin mining megaprojects and new WEZ, but mask mechanisms of dispossession and the exacerbation of previous structural inequalities.

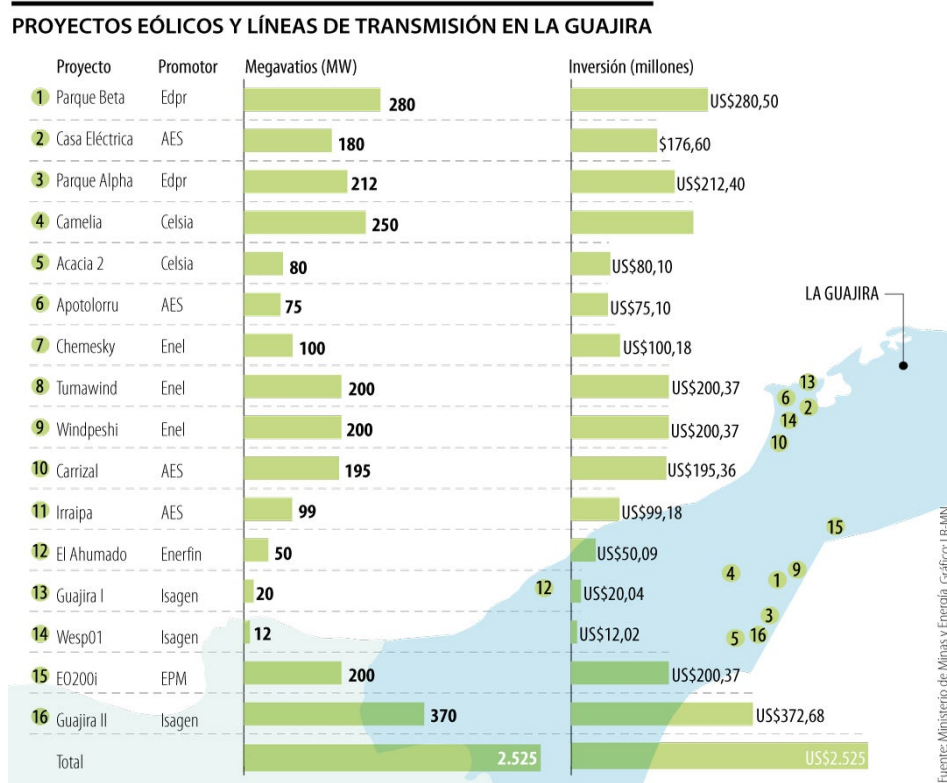


Figure 6: Image from the newspaper *La República* in relation to the wind parks in La Guajira. Source: <https://www.larepublica.co/economia/la-guajira-tiene-16-proyectos-de-energia-eolico-con-inversiones-de-us-2-525-millones-3408676>

It is important to highlight once more that Wayúu people have legal collective ownership of their territory, making it inalienable, imprescriptible, and unseizable. However, their territorial rights have been not recognized by government policies for energy transition, given that those are proposed as priority actions for the nation according to the Law of Energy Transition (2021) and currently the National Plan of Development (NPD).

*Invasive and spectacular infrastructures*

Future technologies are supported by narratives and representations, which showcase infrastructures in specific locations, constituting the materiality of the energy transition. Infrastructures are the promise of a future, which are embedded in specific places as a symbol of a better one. The representations of infrastructures tend to focus on the specific places where wind parks are located and tend not to show the networks of energy



connection, transmission, transformation, distribution, accumulation, and transportation infrastructures. Jaramillo (2013) suggests that a wind park requires a spatiality that considers different areas for its implementation. The land area for turbines, substations, and other site-specific wind energy facilities; the area related to the visual footprint, i.e., the visibility of the wind turbines; and the cleared area that "includes the space occupied by the turbine platforms, access roads, parking areas, site offices, and other civil works, as well as any additional area cleared for the assembly and handling of heavy equipment used during the installation of the turbines" (Jaramillo 2013: 57). Establishing wind turbines in the territory transforms the landscape and fragments it, as does the spatiality required for everything that a wind park implies. This was the case with the first Jepirachi wind park located in Wayúu territory in 2007 (Jaramillo 2013).

In La Guajira, there is interest in implementing three large offshore wind parks, and these too have led to disputes. In relation to these offshore proposals, the Declaration of the Wayúu (2022: 1-2) said:

A few months ago, we realized that Corpoguajira had requested permission to install a wind measurement antenna in the sea of our sacred *Jepira*. It fell to us to make the inquiries and we came across the information that a Spanish company called BlueFloat had the intention of putting a wind park on our coast, less than 3 kilometers from the shore, bordering the area of seagrass. The park has been called Astrolabio and it covers from Musichi passing through Carrizal until reaching the tip of Cabo. That park has planned the installation of 55 wind towers each 261 meters high. We as a community took the tour and understood that the park area encompasses our entire artisanal fishing area. We also understood that the landscape would be terribly affected since the size of the towers on practically our beaches (this park is on the coast) would affect the tourism that comes in search of our original landscapes.

There are two ongoing project proposals, Barlovento and Astrolabio, led by the Spanish company Bluefloat Energy. These will be located on the coasts of the Alta y Media Guajira Indigenous Reservation. Barlovento will occupy 576 km<sup>2</sup> and will have 55 wind turbines with an approximate height of 261 meters above sea level. And Astrolabio Park will have an approximate area of 423 km<sup>2</sup> and 55 wind turbines of the same height. Both parks would be 2.5 kilometers from the coast. The third park belongs to the company Gercol Renewable and plans 174 wind turbines. The wind parks will affect the marine territoriality of the Wayúu people and their practices and relationships with the sea and sacred places. As the quote above shows, there will also be an impact on the landscape, which is an area of tourist activities, with additional implications for dynamic ecosystems of fish and birds. Finally, the right of the Wayúu people to FPIC has not been recognized, affecting their governability and self-determination (Barney 2023).

As stated in the Declaration (2022: 1), in relation to the place of future wind Parks offshore (see Figure 7):

In this same area, all the Wayúu have our most sacred place, the *Jepira* is the place where we will all go to rest, it is the place where we will live the life of the dead, that is why we do many rituals, with them we facilitate the on the way to the last resting place, which also extends to the area of the sea.

The proposed large scale infrastructure will produce renewable energy. As Carlos Martin, Managing Director of Bluefloat said in relation to one of the offshore projects in Colombia (Vientos Alisos): 'We are going to install the most modern wind turbines that exist in the current market' (Estrada 2022). The "most modern [...] in the current market" statement is perpetuating representations and discourses of development that propose wind energy and associated infrastructure as salvation for the region. The installation of offshore infrastructures becomes a sustainable spectacle (Koch 2020) offering a better future. To summarize, wind power is based on an ontology that "informs neoliberal green economy environmental policymaking" (Sullivan 2017: 225). This entails disregarding other ontologies in which non-humans are living beings with an agency that coexists with humans under other ways of relating in terms of mutual interdependence.



Figure 7: Floating offshore wind project by Bluefloat, from their energy webpage. Source: <https://www.bluefloat.com/>

#### 4. Wayúu demands and defenses to confront green representations

The demands of the Wayúu revolve around the recognition of their autonomy and self-determination in their territories, along with environmental and territorial justice. To understand their opposition to the many infrastructure projects proposed, we need to start from the conceptualizations of the non-human in Wayúu territorial practices, which have ontological and epistemological dimensions. They demand the recognition of the interaction and intertwining of networks between different beings for the perpetuation and continuation of life, against the imposition of wind turbines. In their *Protocolo Autónomico*, they demand the recognition of their ontological perspective that allows for the inclusion of the relationships between the Wayúu, their territory, and the beings that make up their world. According to this Protocol (2022: 13), the Wayúu ancestral authorities consider that:

In addition to the territory, the Wayúu of the Cabo de la Vela region share the same origin which is counted from *sumaiwa* (the remote origin); the same word woven in *wayuunaiki* (our language); the same uses and customs (*wacui'pa*); relationships and ancestral knowledge; the way of governing ourselves, the way of ordering our society, our links with all forms of life, and respect for our dead. We are aware that despite the distance and dispersion in the territory, there is a dimension in which we are linked by the same beings that founded and act on the world, and that we maintain ties of solidarity and shared responsibility in the face of the norms of our Wayúu nation.

The Wayúu relational territorial epistemology rethinks notions of socio-environmental and territorial damage, given that all beings are affected at different scales and temporalities. This implies rethinking and, in fact, re-signifying the categories of "territory" and "environmental," and also of the way in which related knowledge is produced. These proposals imply new concepts of ways of life that involve transformations in the conceptions of environmental and territorial justice through the defense of life. They make intersectional inequalities visible, revealing the continuity of extractivism in the same area, despite there being alternatives. Inequalities continue such as access to water, maintaining their food sovereignty, and above all the right to political participation and decision-making in their territory.



The Wayúu authorities in the Memories document (2022: 5) demand to be included in the National Plan of Development:

1. Not grant at auction or by other means of compromising adjudication, any alternative energy project on our reservation. Note that the sea is also part of our territory, of our worldview and we live, and we depend on it. Therefore, this application also covers the space of the sea that is used for our survival. 2. Suspend mining licenses throughout the reservation of Alta, Media Guajira, and Sur de la Guajira for materials that will be used in the framework for energy transitions and coal. 3. In the case of Collector 2, the stakeholders must be involved from the beginning as owners of the territory, training should be done with extensive information and in *wayunaiki* [their language] about the impacts of these lines and the displacement that they generate in its strip of easement.

These initiatives from the Wayúu ancestral and political authorities are a direct response to specific state-corporate proposals of energy transition and the lack of knowledge of FPIC and indigenous rights. For this reason, according to the Protocol (2022: 29), they demand:

Based on our uses and customs, our rights to autonomy, free self-determination, self-government, and in national and international norms and standards previously presented, Wayúu authorities of the territory of Cabo de la Vela, Municipality of Uribia, expanded reservation of Alta and Media Guajira, Colombia, on behalf of our *e'irrukuu* we decided to: 1. Ratify and safeguard our common territory, delimited by our ancestors, and demarcated by our cemeteries, ranches, animal areas, and all other spaces of vital use for our physical and cultural survival, and that of our future generations. 2. Demand respect for and compliance with our Autonomous Protocol for Free Prior Consultation and Free, Prior and Informed Consent by government institutions and any person, company, industry, public or private institution that intends to take measures or develop activities, works or projects that may affect our lives and territory. 3. Socialize the Autonomous Protocol among the *e'irrukuu* of our region and invite them to support and promote its application. 4. Make our Autonomous Protocol known to all national and international entities responsible for guaranteeing and safeguarding the rights of indigenous peoples, and the Uribia Mayor's Office, the Ministry of the Interior, the Ombudsman's Office, the General of the Nation.

However, the misrecognition of the Wayúu people's rights has been evident in the process of construction of the Windpeshi wind park led by ENEL. ENEL said Windpeshi is "...an asset that will promote the economic and social development of the department of La Guajira" (ENEL 2022). However, due to problems related to the prior consultation processes and its social impacts and economic aspects, ENEL (2023) has suspended the work:

Bogotá, May 24, 2023 – Enel Colombia will indefinitely suspend the construction of the Windpeshi wind park (205 MW) in La Guajira. [...] However, and despite the Company's permanent willingness for dialogue and concertation, the works were stopped for close to 50% of the working days during 2021 and 2022, and so far in 2023 the figure rose to 60%.

This project suspension has generated a series of controversies and positions, not only in relation to the energy transition itself, but also because the Wayúu were identified as the cause. Different media outlets used phrases like "constant protests in the area", "difficulties", "opposition from", or "opposed to project development"

directed to the demands of Wayúu communities. Referring to these situations the anthropologist Wilder Guerra-Curvelo wrote:

They [The Companies] feel alone in relation to a desired official accompaniment and see indigenous protests as obstacles that prevent the fulfillment of their goals. The media echo the concerns of the companies, and, in this scenario, the Wayúu population appears as the only villain in history. However, if in a negotiation, there are three parties involved and only one is seen as irrational it is because there is a bias by the observer. (Guerra-Curvelo 2023: 1)

In a similar way, José Silva, a Wayúu leader from the Organization of Humans Rights Nation Wayúu, said in the newspaper *El Herald*, in relation to the process of consultation (De la Hoz 2023):

There are no doubts about the ownership of the territory in the hands of the natives and there is also no doubt that the prior consultations, as well as the environmental licenses, are manipulated to favor these investors to the detriment of the rights of the indigenous people. The Enel company is the one that has had the most conflicts for which they have even been denounced criminally [by indigenous leaders].

The media and social networks have become a disputed terrain, in which the representations of ideals of green development emerge challenged by opponents of the green well-being. This is reproducing colonial histories and stigmatizing indigenous worldviews, opposing them to progress. Representations depoliticize the demands of the Wayúu people and recognition of their cultural and territorial rights, as well as their autonomy and self-determination.

## **5. Conclusions: aesthetics and infrastructures of green dispossession**

The situation in La Guajira reveals exclusions brought about through ethnicized extractive geographies. These dynamics are reflected in the current socio-environmental conflicts related to green extractive processes around wind projects, which have led to violence and a reconfiguration not only of territories and territorialities but also of the Wayúu people's conceptions of time and space. In a Renewables Extractive Zone (REZ), indigenous territories are seen as empty and ready for green and capitalist development, or the Wayúu's right to self-determination is not recognized. Processes operate that imply displacement and uprooting from territory. The immediacy and urgency of the energy transition is a temporal violence that will affect several generations of Wayúu people.

The narratives and representations associated with wind energy development impose what I call an aesthetic of dispossession across the REZ, as they construct landscapes of the future crossed by superimposed territorialities (transnational and national actors on local territories) or empty territories (without people). In other words, they are landscapes of desolation, contributing to the slow death of the Wayúu but giving way to an investment in the future. Climate change mitigation processes end up being used against indigenous peoples because they reproduce hierarchies and power relations based on structural inequalities. Thus, the implementation of wind farms to confront climate change involves territorial appropriation, but this is reproducing colonial strategies and it deploys racialized geographies within indigenous territories.

Paradisiacal wind landscapes generate territorial and environmental transformations over time, with consequent conflicts. The implementation of infrastructures (wind turbines) for wind farms fragments territorial relations and delegitimizes cultural conceptions and dynamics, imposing new territorial relations based on modern socio-technical knowledge. Visible infrastructures obscure the spatiality required and thus the larger territorial transformations implied by a long-term wind complex. Visible infrastructures imply conflict, as they transform, destroy, or collapse local living infrastructures.

In La Guajira, the government, companies, and individuals generate positive green narratives and representations of wind energy development, legitimizing large-scale infrastructures as a kind of green spectacle. All of this is justified through representations of a green future. These representations depoliticize Wayúu actions, as they present them as opponents of green futures and the "need" to implement wind energy in their territories. Not only do wind infrastructures fragment the Wayúu's relationship with their territory, but they create a new form of dispossession through technological infrastructures (Ulloa 2021). Wind farms don't consider indigenous notions of time and space, notions of territoriality, or multiple human-non-human temporalities. They become invasive infrastructures (Spice 2018), or infrastructures of dispossession that transform Wayúu livelihoods and networks. Wind energy development in this case is an imperative of capitalist opportunity, a solution to the global climate crisis, but it generates inequalities and environmental injustices due to the impact of extractivist dynamics on indigenous territories.

These representations of an aesthetic regime also hide their local impacts and evade environmental responsibility. They also reduce the wind to a mere commodity and produce social, cultural, ecological, and territorial effects. In this way, green extractivism is reconfigured as a WEZ. In response, the Wayúu demand that their temporal and spatial dynamics, their beyond-humanity, and their relational territoriality be considered. Their relationality is equally important to wind power infrastructure, since it is a social and environmental process that sustains their lives. They demand that their collective rights to self-determination and autonomy be recognized. There is widespread depoliticization of Wayúu political action by opposing it to green development. In this way, in La Guajira, some representations of green development legitimize appropriation and dispossession by privileging the global demands for renewable energy, sacrificing indigenous territories in the process. The lack of widespread knowledge of their political actions and proposals is a form of genocide politics.

Renewable energy proposals need to be rethought in terms of their structural socio-environmental inequalities, and their effects on places and peoples. Renewable energies are not renewable; in fact in a WEZ, they reinforce extractive processes. As Dunlap states (2021a: 94):

Rivers, wind, sun, tidal waves, and other vital forces are captured, domesticated, and transformed into 'energy', no longer serving the flora, fauna, and soil, being instead reconfigured to power industrial infrastructure and computational systems that break renewable/reciprocal energy cycles.

The Wayúu people are opening the debate on environmental and territorial justice faced with these challenges. In doing so, they are opening a national discussion on the impacts of climate change, water scarcity, and energy transition in La Guajira. Currently, the new Colombian government has begun talks with Wayúu leaders. On June 28, 2023, members of the national government, energy companies and unions, ethnic authorities, and international bodies signed a document called the Pact for a Just Energy Transition in La Guajira (JET): "La Guajira 2050, a territory of life for all" (2023) (*Pacto por la Transición Energética Justa en La Guajira (TEJ): "La Guajira 2050, un territorio de vida para todas y todos"*).

This Pact is "a declaration of intent to put all the efforts of the actors towards a good relationship between communities, companies, and the state to advance the Just Energy Transition in the department of La Guajira" (Pacto 2023: 3). It is important to note that it does not mention FPIC, the territorial rights of the Wayúu people, or the structural and historical socio-environmental and territorial inequalities in the region. Moreover, not all the Wayúu authorities of the communities affected by the wind farms signed this document. However, this new political context opens up a political space for the Wayúu people to demand their autonomy and self-determination, and for their relationality to their territory and non-humans to confront green extractivism. This will allow them to reimagine the future based on their ontology and cultural practices.

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