

Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität
Rachel Carson Center for Environment and Society
WS 2018/19
Seminar: Introduction to Environmental Anthropology
Dr. Monica Vasile

Living in a Multispecies Pluriverse in Capitalist Ruins **- The Encounter between Sue and Nelida -**

Kathrin Schulz
11120939
1. Semester
Master: Social and Cultural Anthropology
Certificate Program: Environmental Studies

Stroblstraße 51
80689 München
Tel.: 015734289026
Kathrin.Schulz@campus.lmu.de

Living in a Multispecies Pluriverse in Capitalist Ruins

- The Encounter between Sue and Nelida -

Kathrin Schulz

keywords: transition, pluriverse, multispecies, capitalism, precarity

Abstract: This fiction piece is situated in the year of 2035. It is about a world that is slowly transforming from a capitalist world-ecology (one-world ontology or “universe”) into a pluriverse of multiple cultural worlds that are based on shared ecological principles. How this is happening will be conveyed by the content of letters that two young women are exchanging: Sue from USA/Laos and Nelida from Mexico. This work is inspired by ideas of the anthropologists Anna Tsing (multispecies studies) and Arturo Escobar (transition studies).

Preface

We hear about precarity in the news every day. People lose their jobs or get angry because they never had them. Gorillas and river porpoises hover at the edge of extinction. Rising seas swamp whole Pacific islands. But most of the time we imagine such precarity to be an exception to how the world works. It’s what “drops out” from the system. What if, as I’m suggesting, precarity *is* the condition of our time – or, to put it another way, what if our time is ripe for sensing precarity? What if precarity, indeterminacy, and what we imagine as trivial are the center of the systematicity we seek? (Tsing 2015: 20)

Motivation and Inspiration

Inspired by the ideas of two different anthropologists, Anna Tsing and Arturo Escobar, who both have visions about how to deal with our world’s contemporary condition which most geologists call the “Anthropocene” (Crutzen & Stoermer 2000), I am writing a fiction piece about a transforming future world in the year of 2035. The Anthropocene is our current geological era and signifies that the human species has become a geological force and is influencing a lot of processes on earth. This era is characterized by inequalities, climate change, biodiversity loss, environmental degradation et cetera, and “as we go further into the Anthropocene, we risk driving the Earth System onto a trajectory toward more hostile states from which we cannot easily return” (Steffen et al. 2011: 739). The crises of the Anthropocene call for the exploration of new ways and approaches how to deal with them. Anna Tsing’s and Arturo Escobar’s approaches will be examined in the following.

Living in a Multispecies World in Capitalist Ruins

In her monography “The Mushroom at the End of the World: On the Possibility of Life in Capitalist Ruins” Tsing follows a multispecies approach and creates an ethnography of the global matsutake commodity chain with its various actors. Thereby, she literally describes how life in the Anthropocene in the ruins of capitalism is possible. Multispecies scholars act on the assumption that life in isolation is not possible and that all living beings live in multispecies communities (Van Dooren et al. 2016: 1). Therefore, Tsing assumes that “if survival always involves others, it is also necessarily subject to the indeterminacy of self-and-other transformations. We change through our collaborations both within and across species. The important stuff for life on earth happens in those transformations, not in the decision trees of self-contained individuals” (2015: 29). She highlights indeterminacy in these encounters because, in her opinion, life in the age of the Anthropocene is characterized by uncertainty, therefore living beings have to be able to deal with changes and precarious situations.

Precarity is the condition of being vulnerable to others. Unpredictable encounters transform us: we are not in control, even of ourselves. Unable to rely on a stable structure of community, we are thrown into shifting assemblages, which remake us as well as our others. (...) Indeterminacy, the unplanned nature of time, is frightening, but thinking through precarity makes it evident that indeterminacy also makes life possible. (Tsing 2015: 20)

Transition from a Universe to a Pluriverse

Instead of studying how life in the ruins of capitalism is possible, Arturo Escobar is focusing on how to transform the predominantly capitalist or “modern” world with social ecological movements. Worldwide, social ecological movements such as Buen Vivir or Degrowth have emerged out of the crises of the Anthropocene. All of these movements are post-capitalist, post-neoliberal and post-development and are fighting dominant systems and lifestyles that are destructing the environment (Escobar 2015: 451f). “Social movements, it is argued, emerge out of the crisis of modernity; (...) They result in the formation of novel collective identities which foster social and cultural forms of relating and solidarity as a response to the crises of meanings and economies that the world faces today” (1992: 396).

Because all of these movements want to achieve social-ecological transformation and are about discourses about transition, Escobar speaks of the emerging field of transition studies: “It seems to me that it is possible to argue that “transition discourses” (TDs) are emerging today with particular richness, diversity and intensity to the point that a veritable field of “transition studies” can be posited as an emergent scholarly-political domain” (2012: xix).

Transition/translation entails multiple ontologies; in other words, when radically envisioned, transition involves moving from the modern understanding of the world as universe to the world as “pluriverse” (without pre-existing universals) or, as I shall put it below, from a paradigm of “globalization” to one of “planetarization”. If the former privileges economic and cultural integration and homogenization under a set of (Eurocentric) universal principles, the latter advocates for communicability among a multiplicity of cultural worlds on the grounds of shared ecological and political understandings. (Escobar 2012: xx)

With bringing together Escobar’s ideas about transition and Tsing’s multispecies approach, I want to emphasize, that, in order to deal with the crises of the Anthropocene, the by capitalism dominated world needs a social-ecological transformation that includes cultural plurality as well as other beings than only humans. Or, in Donna Haraway’s words, “a livable world is remade with disregarded human persons and other displaced beings, or not at all. A livable world also requires making ontological room for beings that do not fit one’s cast of characters” (Haraway 2018: 105). At the same time, we have to learn how to deal with the damage that has already been done.

Why write a fictional piece?

Since Escobar’s and Tsing’s ideas might seem abstract, I wanted to think of a world in which these thoughts are put into practice. Although there are already movements such as Via Campesina, Buen Vivir or Degrowth that want to contribute to social-ecological change, planet Earth right now in the year of 2019 seems to be dominated by a capitalist logic and the promotion of more development and modernity. In Jason W. Moore’s terms, we are living in a capitalist world ecology (2017: 601). Hoping that the world will slowly transform from a capitalist world ecology, which is a one-world ontology or “universe”, into a pluriverse of multiple cultural worlds that share similar ecological principles, I am writing a fiction piece about the world 16 years later in 2035, where exactly this has been happening to a certain extent. This piece is based on knowledge from different anthropological and environmental humanities texts and ethnographies, such as Anna Tsing’s ethnography about the global Matsutake commodity chain which I already mentioned. Whenever a passage is informed and/or inspired by a certain text or website, I will make this clear in the fiction piece with references in footnotes. Furthermore, some content of the piece is inspired by own ideas as well as my personal experiences and family history.

The two narrators Nelida and Sue

This piece will be narrated by two fictional characters, Sue and Nelida. They are both young women in their early twenties who are University students. They met each other when they both studied one semester abroad in Munich. Nelida grew up in a small village in the Mexican province of Chiapas and is of Tzotzil (Mayan) descent. After finishing high school, she moved to Mexico City in order to study Biology. Sue was born in a small town in Oregon, USA and is of Hmong descent. The Hmong people are an ethnic minority in East and Southeast Asia. Sue's grandparents emigrated from Laos to the USA as refugees in the late 1970s. When she finished high school, she decided to study Cultural and Social Anthropology in New York City.

Nelida and Sue met at a New Year's party only a few weeks before they left Munich in March 2035, but they became good friends in this short time. Since they get along really well and they are both activists and want to make the world a better place for everyone, they wanted to stay in touch after going back to their home countries. So, they decided to exchange e-mails once in a while to be informed about news in each other's lives and also to get to know each other better. The following is the first exchange of their letters after some busy months with only short messages going back and forth.

From Sue's and Nelida's perspectives, we will see a possibility of how some regions of the world might change until 2035. I decided to choose his form – the exchange of e-mails/letters – because it will give both insight to some personal stories of the characters and insight to events of global scale when they write about them. In addition, the exchanging of letters stands for the encounter of two young women, who interact with each other and shape each other and their thoughts through their interactions.

Living in a Multispecies Pluriverse in Capitalist Ruins

- The Encounter between Sue and Nelida -

The evolving pluriverse might be described as a process of planetarization articulated around a vision of the Earth as a living whole that is always emerging out of the manifold biophysical, human, and spiritual elements and relations that make it up. Many of the features envisioned in the TDs [transition discourses] - from strategies of re-localization to the rise of an ecological civilization - will find a more auspicious home in this notion. We need to stop burdening the Earth with the dualisms of the past centuries, and acknowledge the radical interrelatedness, openness, and plurality that inhabit it. To accomplish this goal, we need to start thinking about human practice in terms of ontological design, or the design of other worlds and knowledges. Design would no longer involve the instrumental taming of the world for human purposes, but building worlds in which humans and the Earth can coexist and flourish. (Escobar 2011: 139)

July 12th 2035

Dear Sue,

Today was a beautiful day. The sun was shining and I was walking through the forest close to our village. When I passed my favorite pine tree I sat down for a while, smelled the tree's particular aroma and listened to the distinctive voices of all the different birds. It calms me down. I was so sentimental about being back and being able to walk in this forest, that I wrote a poem dedicated to my favorite pine tree, I hope you don't think I'm crazy.

Chirping, chirring, croaking -

Noise surrounds you all the time.

When the wind is blowing

Your own rustling fills the air.

I would never forget your shape, your smell, your sound.

When I come back, I hope you'll always be around!

As you probably already noticed, right now, I am visiting my family in my hometown in the central highlands of Chiapas. It is good to be home. And finally, now that I have time off from University, I have some time to write you a decent letter and not just small text messages as we did during the last months.

Can you imagine that the forest around my hometown would probably not exist, if the different indigenous peoples of Chiapas had not risen up against commercial agrobusinesses, the Coca Cola company and our traditional leaders, who made sure that Coca Cola could extract as much water as they wanted from the central highland's area around San Cristobal de las Casas? The deforestation and water extraction they carried out were devastating for the environment. Not only that, the very high consumption of Coca Cola in Mexico caused various health problems among the local people. It's not like commercial businesses have been forcing us to drink all that coke, but what are people supposed to do in a country where water is more expensive than coke? Coke has even replaced traditional drinks for ritual purposes in lots of indigenous communities. After having protested for decades, more and more people started to realize what kind of destruction has been going on and the Mexican government was finally on our side. They took away Coca Cola's water rights and prohibited deforestation for commercial purposes. Now, only the local people in Chiapas are allowed to cut trees for subsistence purposes and water rights are also mainly in our hands. This doesn't mean that it's all sunshine and rainbows now. Small conflicts happen once in a while, for example when a neighboring

village seems to cut more trees than the other. But all this is negotiable. Nobody is taking away the means of existence of the other. It is really hard to recover the environment from the damage. But a lot of people around here are trying their best with reforestation initiatives. I am also trying to help with what I have learned in my studies. Furthermore, environmental engineers and local people together are trying to find new ways of how to handle the scarce water we have. They are studying the water systems of the ancient Mayas and Aztecs, who had perfectly to the environment adapted water systems, and they hope that they will find similar ways to manage the water. Since the groundwater table has lowered dramatically through the activities of the Coca Cola company and agrobusinesses, it is a very hard task. A lot of villages and cities are suffering from water scarcity.¹

Luckily, my family is doing okay. Our village has two wells that still give us enough water. My younger sister will finish high school next year and she is struggling with her decision whether to apply for a university scholarship or not. On the one hand, she wants to stay here and help my parents as well as the village. On the other hand, she is thinking that she could be of more help to the whole central highland's area if she would go away for some years and study environmental engineering. I was going through the same struggle as well when I was about to finish high school, and when I got accepted for the scholarship, my parents encouraged me to take the opportunity. My family was quite proud of me because I was the first person of our village to go to University. I encourage my sister to simply apply for scholarships and see, I told her that she can always come back to our village, in case she will not enjoy living in a city.

Here, the families grow as much food as they can by themselves and exchange it with other families, so most of the time, there is enough for everyone. Our village also created food and goods exchange friendships with other villages all across Chiapas, so whenever a village is hit hard by water scarcity and could not grow enough food, they can count on the help of others that were luckier. The regions that were never deforested or that were reforested by different activist groups before the Coca Cola company had left, are usually the ones that can sustain themselves. I believe that if we sustain the forest, the forest will sustain us.

How are you, my dear? What's new? I miss you a lot!

With love. Nelida

¹ This passage is informed and inspired by this article:

Nash, June. 2007. Consuming Interests: Water, Rum, and Coca-Cola from Ritual Propitiation to Corporate Expropriation in Highland Chiapas. *Current Anthropology* 22(4): 621-639.

August 6th 2035

Dear Nelida,

I am glad to hear you and your family are doing okay. I really hope your sister will apply for University scholarships and at least give it a try! And no, I don't think that you are crazy, I think it's lovely that you write poems for your favorite tree! But I think you should write a poem about the whole forest as well, so the other trees and creatures will not get jealous! (Just kidding)

Right now, I am on my way back to New York City after having spent six weeks with my family in Oregon. Since I am taking the train, I have enough time to write you a detailed account of my thoughts and what has been going on. The train ride takes two and a half days, a little eternity... Well, at least I can have a look at the magnificent scenery passing by and have good talks with interesting strangers.

When I was in Oregon, I was spending a lot of time in the forest, just like you in Chiapas. My maternal grandparents prefer to live in the forest during the summer, just like they always have since they moved from Laos to the USA. They asked me to join them, so I stayed with them for three weeks. During the day time we went hiking a lot and most of the time we were looking for mushrooms. In the evenings we prepared dinner and get-togethers with the other people at the improvised camp in the forest and told each other stories. At night we slept in tents tucked in in our sleeping bags. Most of the people here sell the mushrooms they collect, a lot of them really make a living with this activity. My grandparents used to do that as well. I think I mentioned it in one of our conversations, but never went into detail. The mushroom that these people collect is one of the most expensive mushrooms in the world – the matsutake. In Japan it is a highly appreciated delicacy and gift because of a long cultural tradition around this special mushroom. The matsutake only grows in symbiosis with special pine trees, mostly in forests that have been disturbed by humans. When a tiny creature that can harm and kill pine trees – the pine wood nematode – started spreading in the Japanese forests at the beginning of the 20th century, pine forests became rare in Japan and so did the matsutake mushroom. In order to get a sufficient supply of their precious mushrooms, the Japanese started to import matsutake from different places around the globe, China or Finland for example. Another place where these mushrooms grow is the Northwest coast of the USA. Here, most of the people that collect and sell them are refugees from Cambodia and Laos. They belong to different ethnicities, Lao, Hmong and Khmer for instance. My grandparents are Hmong. They used to live in the forests in Laos most of their young lives, and when they came to Oregon, they did not feel comfortable with living in the city. Because they hardly knew any English, it was hard for them to find a

job. At first, they had cleaning jobs that they were not really happy with. When they heard from other Hmong refugees that some people are making their living with picking mushrooms in the pine forests, my grandparents felt that this was an opportunity for them and they left the small town they were assigned to. With the help of other Hmong they learned how to find matsutake under pine trees and they started to make a living with mushroom picking and lived in the forest for around six months every year. For the other half of the year they went back to town for cleaning jobs, but sometimes when they made enough money with mushroom picking, they did not have to go to work for a while. Living in the forest in Oregon reminded them to their life in Laos. A lot of the refugees, including my grandparents, associate the mushroom picking with freedom. Can you imagine, the reason why my grandparents could survive, and even more than just that, live in a way they wanted to live, because of mushrooms? ²

Now that they are older, my mom only lets my grandparents live in the forest for maximum three months in the summer, when it is quite warm. She is too afraid that they might freeze to death at night in their tents. My mom grew up with mushroom picking and living in the forest. But she insisted on going to school and only helped my grandparents during summer break – she always wanted to become a doctor for some reason, and that’s what she has become with being good at school and getting a college scholarship after graduating high school. From when she started elementary school until she was 14 years old, her mom or her dad stayed in town with her so she could go to school. With turning 14 they thought she is mature enough and my mom stayed in their small apartment by herself for half the year.

The other three weeks of my stay in Oregon I spent with my parents and helped them with their project. As you already know, my family is active in one cooperative that tries to provide everything they need to live by themselves in an ecological way. My dad left his sales job and is mainly growing vegetables now. Since my mom is a doctor and also working, it is quite a lot on her plate, but she likes what she is doing and helps my dad as much as she can. Some people in the cooperative are growing all kinds of vegetables, others different kinds of fruit, some are growing hemp and are producing clothes with their crops, a few are holding chickens and provide meat once in a while, and so on and so forth. I’d tell you more about it now, but I have to get some readings done for a class. I would love to hear more from you soon! Miss you, too!

XOXO, Sue

² This paragraph is informed and inspired by this monograph:

Tsing, Anna. 2015. *The mushroom at the end of the world: on the possibility of life in capitalist ruins*. Princeton, Oxford: Princeton University Press.

August 27th 2035

Dear Sue,

You are totally right! I should write a poem about the whole forest. With the humongous amount of species living there, it would probably become a whole book though! Next time, when I feel inspired, I will start with it! It's good to hear that you had a nice summer with your family in Oregon! And wow, I am impressed by your family history and the story of the matsutake mushroom!

The story about how your grandparents survived because of picking mushrooms in the forest reminds me of another story. Do you remember my Russian-German friend Katharina? She once told me that she and her family maybe only exist because of ground squirrels that are called "susliki". Her grandpa, who was born in Soviet Ukraine and has German ancestors, was deported to Kazakhstan at the end of the second world war when he was still a boy. His mother, his older brother and him were thrown into the Northern Kazakh steppe with literally nothing and maybe would not have survived without susliki. While adapting to living in a small Kazakh village, they were forced to hunt these little ground squirrels and eat them because of food shortages.³

These kinds of stories make one acknowledge that we can only survive with or because of other living beings. And they make us see how creative people can or have to get in precarious situations. Also, when I think about the situation of my home region in Chiapas, I see that we cannot live without the forest. And now that so much damage has been done, we have to get creative and learn how to cope with it.

I skyped with Katharina the other day and she told me how the Degrowth movement⁴ in Europe has been growing and just achieved a major success. When you and I were in Munich, it was already quite big. It consists mainly of grassroot initiatives in different countries that are connected through networks. For instance, there are a bunch of food cooperatives similar to that one your parents are a part of, ecovillages, ecological farmers and entrepreneurs that promote alternative economic models such as solidarity economy. Now, for the first time, their collective activism lead to a change in supranational politics. Member of the Degrowth movement have been fighting for a new EU agrarian reform that assigns more subsidies to ecological farmers

³ This passage is informed and inspired by my own family history.

⁴ This paragraph is informed and inspired by this website: <https://www.degrowth.info/en/dim/degrowth-in-movements/>

and stops mainly subsidizing conventional agricultural practices that have been degrading the soil with chemicals and pesticides. For years, some academic Degrowth activists have been conducting research with different Universities in order to show that Europe wide ecological farming is possible and necessary in order to ensure a socially, ecologically and economically sustainable food production. They have been trying to convince a lot of politicians and finally, they did! It is up to the different countries in the EU how exactly they want to reform their agricultural practices, so they can all do it in their own way. But with this new reform the hopes are high that more and more farmers across Europe will switch to ecological farming practices because they will have the means to do so. Furthermore, a lot of new start-up companies have emerged that are based on the principles of solidarity economy. The next political goal will be to promote this kind of economic model and similar concepts on a bigger scale.

I am glad that also South America has been going more into a direction of social-ecological transformation during the last years. Peru and Chile have followed the examples of Ecuador and Bolivia and they have adopted principles to their constitutions that are similar to Buen Vivir. Unlike Chiapas, the rest of Mexico has not changed a lot and is still mostly ruled by a neoliberal logic. I hope that with the different activists I met in Mexico City and the ongoing Environmental Justice movement, we can change that. Next week I will go back to Mexico City. Uni will start again soon. How is it going in New York?

Love you tons!

Nelida

September 22nd 2035

Dear Nelida,

I am very much looking forward to your next poem! And this time, I am not kidding. Yes, I remember Katharina, but I did not know about her family history, it is astonishing! And yes, you are entirely right! Stories like the one of Katharina's grandpa and the suslik, my grandparents and the matsutake, and your people and the forest remind us that we depend on other species. And on other fellow humans. We could never survive on our own.

I am also glad about the ongoing and spreading social-ecological change in big parts of Europe and South America. I wish the North American continent would also take a similar path. In comparison to Europe, the Degrowth movement in the USA is still quite marginal. On the West Coast there is a decent amount of people trying to live in more sustainable ways. But still, my parents for example often get weird looks from people when they tell them that they grow their own food and that they are active in a food and good's cooperative. They think that my parents are very backward and say that what they are doing is unnecessary. Most of these people think that everything can get fixed with more technological input and development.

Life in New York City is getting harder and harder, namely because of the neoliberal logic that I just described. A lot of people with average and lower incomes are struggling with paying rent or with finding a new place to live after they have been gentrified out of their homes. Through radical city renewal policies and gentrification processes that go with them, New York has become a city of the superrich. There have been movements against gentrification as well as Environmental Justice movements for decades now, but they had only small successes so far. And the Environmental Justice activism has had unintended and unwanted side effects: environmental gentrification. Whenever environmentally disadvantaged neighborhoods have been greened and made nicer, investors were interested in these neighborhoods and a wave of gentrification was initiated. So, a lot of local people, who have been fighting for their neighborhoods to become more livable, could not benefit from it at all. They could not afford to live in their neighborhoods anymore and they have been replaced by richer people. More and more rich people from all across the country and all over the world keep moving to New York. A bunch of them only buy apartments and don't even use them, or even whole buildings. This is where they store their capital. The city government is enforcing all of that and doesn't seem to care about the people who are not multimillionaires and billionaires.⁵

⁵ This passage is informed and inspired by these two texts:

Without having gotten my scholarship and my parents being able to help me out a bit financially, I for sure would not be able to study here. The scholarship only covers the study costs. And without having gotten to know people from the alternative scene in Brooklyn, I would probably be homeless because I couldn't find an affordable place to stay on my own. As you know, with some friends' help, shortly after I came to New York I moved into an old warehouse that looks pretty run down from the outside with five other people. We are trying to make the house look old, so it will not catch a lot of attention, and at the same time it cannot look too old and run down, because then potential investors might think of buying the property and just tearing the place down. This strategy – making a building look run down, but not too run down – has been working for a bunch of places around here, but the people are not sure for how much longer this will work. The investors are on their way and are looking for new places to gentrify. You have to tell me what the situation looks like in Mexico City.⁶

The financial capitals of the world like New York City, Hong Kong, Tokyo or London seem far, far away from sustainability. Their city governments don't want to let go of their “business as usual” and are convinced that economic growth is necessary. I fear that in these kinds of places, nothing will change until big disasters happen or they will run out of resources.

The world will never be perfect. But we can at least try, and step by step, it is becoming a more just and more livable place. Let's hope so!

Love you to pieces,

Sue

Busà, Alessandro. 2017. *The creative destruction of New York City: engineering the city for the elite*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Checker, Melissa. 2011. Wiped out by the “Greenwave”: Environmental Gentrification and the Paradoxical Politics of Urban Sustainability. *City and Society* 23: 210-229.

⁶ This paragraph is informed and inspired by my own field work in Brooklyn, which I conducted in February/March 2018.

References

- Busà, Alessandro. 2017. *The creative destruction of New York City: engineering the city for the elite*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Checker, Melissa. 2011. Wiped out by the “Greenwave”: Environmental Gentrification and the Paradoxical Politics of Urban Sustainability. *City and Society* 23: 210-229.
- Crutzen, Paul J. und Eugene F. Stoermer. 2000. The “Anthropocene”. *Global Change Newsletter* 41: 17-18.
- Degrowth-Webportal. 2019. degrowth in movements. URL: <https://www.degrowth.info/en/dim/degrowth-in-movements/> (last visited: 27.03.2019).
- Escobar, Arturo. 1992. Culture, Practice and Politics: Anthropology and the study of social movements. *Critique of Anthropology* 12(4): 395-432.
- . 2012. Preface to the 2012 Edition. In: *Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World*. Arturo Escobar, Hg. S. vii-xliii. Princeton, Oxford: Princeton University Press.
- . 2015. Degrowth, postdevelopment, and transitions: a preliminary conversation. *Sustainability Science* 10(3): 451-462.
- . 2018. *Designs for the Pluriverse: Radical Interdependence, Autonomy, and the Making of Worlds*. Duke University Press: Durham und London.
- Haraway, Donna. 2018. Staying with the trouble for multispecies environmental justice. *Dialogues in Human Geography* 8(1): 102-105.
- Moore, Jason W. 2017. The Capitalocene, Part I: on the nature and origins of our ecological crisis. *The Journal of Peasant Studies* 44(3): 594-630.
- Nash, June. 2007. Consuming Interests: Water, Rum, and Coca-Cola from Ritual Propitiation to Corporate Expropriation in Highland Chiapas. *Current Anthropology* 22(4): 621-639.
- Steffen, Will, Asa Persson, Lisa Deutsch, Jan Zalasiewicz, Mark Williams, Katherine Richardson, Carole Crumley, Paul Crutzen, Carl Folke, Line Gordon, Mario Molina, Ramanathan Veerabhadran, Johan Rockström, Marten Scheffer, Hans Joachim Schellnhuber und Uno Svedin. 2011. The Anthropocene: From Global Change to Planetary Stewardship. *AMBIO* 40(7): 739-761.
- Tsing, Anna. 2015. *The mushroom at the end of the world: on the possibility of life in capitalist ruins*. Princeton, Oxford: Princeton University Press.
- Van Dooren, Thom, Eben Kirskey und Ursula Münster. 2016. Multispecies Studies: Cultivating Arts of Attentiveness. *Environmental Humanities* 8(2): 1-26.

Erklärung:

Hiermit versichere ich, dass ich die vorliegende Arbeit selbständig verfasst und keine anderen als die angegebenen Hilfsmittel benutzt habe. Alle Passagen und Sätze dieser Arbeit, die dem Wortlaut oder dem Sinn nach anderen Werken entnommen sind, habe ich als Entlehnung kenntlich gemacht. Dies gilt gleichermaßen für gedruckte Quellen wie für Quellen aus dem Internet. Ich versichere weiterhin, dass die Arbeit in gleicher oder ähnlicher Form noch in keinem anderen Studiengang als Prüfungsleistung vorgelegt worden ist.

Mir ist bekannt, dass gemäß § 29 der Prüfungs- und Studienordnung Zuwiderhandlungen gegen diese Erklärung eine Benotung mit der Note „nicht ausreichend“ und in schwerwiegenden oder wiederholten Fällen die Exmatrikulation zur Folge haben.

München, 30.03.2019

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'K. Sch'.