Ever since the first map collections of the late 16th century carried the word "Atlas" on their covers, the notion of an "Atlas" has come with a promise: to show the world as it really is, and to produce true knowledge about the surface of the earth. But as we know, truth and knowledge are deeply linked to power and hegemony. It is no coincidence to find the Atlas Minor (see illustration bottom left), compiled by the Flemish cartographer Gerardus Mercator in the early 17th century, being decorated with two white men surveying the world (sporting massive beards). In turn, their object of interest - the globe - rests on the shoulders of Atlas, the Greek titan, and is surrounded by various religious and mythological symbols as well as fragments of ancient architecture. This mobilization of the power of scientific, religious and worldly authorities is characteristic for the rhetoric of maps and atlases.

Over time, atlases have changed: From being rare artefacts in the possession of the rich and powerful they have turned into everyday objects. With the rise of modern nation states and the establishment of geography as a school subject in the 19th century, school atlases have not only taught pupils how to read maps but also how to place themselves in the world as citizens-to-be. For this, the school atlas often deals with one's own nation first, cartographically exploring it with great diligence. Only after the 'own' spaces have been dealt with, the 'rest' can be understood, but often in less detail. This order fundamentally affects young people's worldviews. Supported by the authority and the resources of the state, the market and science, atlases do not only reproduce these dominant actors' worldviews, they also produce realities - such as the idea that the world is the sum of spatially distinct nation states and that this distinction is the natural order of things. Atlases usually appear as very thick books declaring to present a more or less complete description of the world and claiming to show things as - and especially where - they really are. In other words, atlases proclaim truth, neutrality and objectivity and consequently invoke authority and gravitas. Therefore, atlases and maps rarely allow for ambivalence or contradiction. This can be advantageous when navigating home, for example. But as John Pickles reminds us it can also be dangerous:

"The lack of cartographic 'buts' and 'ifs' gave the cartographer 'much less leeway' to remind the map-reader of the interpretative nature of the mapping process, and, as a result, the map-reader easily falls into the habit of seeing 'the map as a precise portrayal of reality.' (2004: 35)
Not an Atlas?
We do not claim to present an all-encompassing, true-to-scale, and objective view of the world with the collection of maps, that are published in this book. Rather we follow the idea that maps are by no means just representations of reality. Maps articulate statements that are shaped by social relations, discourses and practices, but these statements also influence them in turn. Hence, maps (and atlases) are always political. "In this interplay between facts and perception, the cartographer is both witness and actor. [...] In order to create, or, more accurately: to invent, "his worlds", he finally arrives at a subtle mixture of the world as it is, and the world he desires" (Rekacewicz 2006). Thus, many of the maps presented in this volume are full of "ifs", "buts" and question marks but also of desired worlds.

For some time now, we can witness a growing presence and relevance of maps in art, activism and social movements. This certainly goes hand in hand with new ways of producing, distributing and using maps that lend new weight to them as a medium for communication. Never has it been easier to design and to publish maps online or on paper, even without formal cartographic training. Maps are probably more present in many people’s everyday life than ever before. Many critical cartographers are delighted to find the old and institutionalized cartography of universities, publishing houses and the state lose its exclusive power over maps:

"Cartography Is Dead (Thank God!) Let’s admit it. Cartography is dead. And then let’s thank our lucky stars that after the better part of a century.mapmaking is freeing itself from the dead hand of academia." (Wood 2003: 4)

Freed from academia’s dead hand, more and more radicals and activists use maps as tools for their struggles – be it to protect indigenous territories, to visualize spatial injustices, or to organize protest and resistance. These new, diverse practices and styles of using maps for political and emancipatory means, and the political processes and social forces they contain, were the starting point for this collection of maps we do not call an atlas. We chose to call it Not-an-Atlas because we wanted to break with the conventions of traditional atlases. At the same time we wanted to build on other counter-atlases. This contradiction gave us the feeling of being on the right track. We wanted to be clear about what we do not want to be. At the same time we wanted to show respect to our sources of inspiration.1

The Three Cs: Critical, Counter and Cartography
For us, critical cartography is an opportunity to critically work with maps. The – mostly academic – debate of this name emerged in the late 1980s. In the beginning it focused to a large degree on criticizing maps or, more accurately, on the work done within the discipline of cartography. Cartography, in this sense, refers to a practice strongly institutionalized by the state and by capital. The resulting critique uncovers how maps were complicit in the history of colonialism and nationalism and how they contributed to their stabilization and legitimization. It also traced how maps make social conditions appear natural by connecting them to space. Cartography does not exist outside of power structures, and maps can be powerful devices in society. Not only do they locate and thereby spatialize the natural environment, they also put ownership, rights and social norms in their place.

Critical cartographers therefore critically scrutinized maps in various ways – both methodologically and theoretically – using semiotics, discourse analysis or deconstructivism. This approach is represented most notably by John Brian Harley’s Deconstructing the Map (1989) and Denis Wood’s The Power of Maps (1992), in which it is argued that maps should be understood as signs and texts and, by being signs and texts, they should be read critically.

This made many critical geographers and others skeptical regarding the use of maps as tools for the production and visualization of geographic knowledge. Critical geographers and other critical academics, it seemed, did not make maps anymore, as they were quickly labeled to be reductionist, reifying social relations and, accordingly, would be seen as “uncritical”. They were frequently considered instruments of positivism as well as of technocratic thought and planning. Against this notion, other critical geographers began to call for Reclaiming the Map (Dodge & Perkins 2008). Jeremy Crampton and John Krygier argue to conceive of “critical cartography as a one-two punch of new mapping practices and theoretical critique” (2005: II). With Not-an-Atlas we intend to follow this call. At the same time, we build upon a long tradition of counter-cartographies – or, rather, multiple traditions in a range of fields, such as the arts, academia or political activism. We understand counter-cartography as a political practice of mapping back.

It was especially artists who initiated the use of maps to criticize, provoke and challenge our ways of thinking about space, place and maps. Examples include the surrealist world map of 1929, or Joaquin Torres’ America Invertida (see illustration on opposite page top) with its slogan ‘Our North is the South’ from 1943 – both of which subvert the hegemonic, Eurocentric view of our world. This did not only aim at questioning familiar imagi-
nations of the world. Quite often, it was also about challenging the aesthetic customs and boundaries of what actually counts as a map. Just as Lewis Carroll has the bellmen of his 1876 poem “The Hunting of the Snark” (Carroll 1876: 17) present the ‘perfect and absolute blank’ map (see illustration on opposite page) to his crew:

“What’s the good of Mercator’s North Poles and Equators, Tropics, Zones, and Meridian Lines?”
So the Bellman would cry: and the crew would reply
“They are merely conventional signs!”

‘Other maps are such shapes, with their islands and capes!
But we’ve got our brave Captain to thank
(So the crew would protest) “that he’s bought us the best –
A perfect and absolute blank!”

Milestones for the fusion of art maps and counter-cartography are, among others, the works of Öyvind Fahlström (since the 1970s) and Mark Lombardi (1990s) (see article page 26). These artists notably contributed to the new wave of counter-cartographies that emerged with the new millennium. They included, for example, the Bureau d’Études (see article page 26) and hackitectura.net. Currently, the Argentinian art and research duo Iconoclasistas plays a major role in the dissemination of counter-cartographies.

Accordingly, they are one of our central sources of inspiration (see second map at the end of the editorial and articles pages 86 & 183). They in turn are influenced by indigenous drawing traditions of Latin America as well as Gerd Arntz’s and Otto Neurath’s pictograms and mappings. Arntz’s and Neurath’s work does not only influence present day graphic design. In its core, it was also a project of developing a revolutionary and internationalist tool for communication (Neurath 1933) (see illustration below and on following spread left).

The social and political conflicts around land and place between Patagonia and Alaska actually seem to be a particularly fertile ground for this kind of combination of art, activism and counter-cartography, as groups like the Counter Cartographies Collective (see articles pages 26 & 212), Arte Callejero6 or the Beehive Collective (see first map at the end of the editorial) impressively indicate.

Counter-maps also grow from a long tradition of post-colonial practices of mapping back. These practices can be traced back to the struggles of First Nations political organizations in Canada and Alaska in the 1970s. The idea behind indigenous counter-cartography is as simple as it is good: ‘More indigenous territory has been claimed by maps than by guns. This assertion has its corollary: more indigenous territory can be reclaimed and defended
by maps than by guns” (Nietschmann 1995: 37). The mapping of indigenous biographies played a crucial part in the First Nations campaigns for autonomy in the North of the Americas. This was eventually successful: not only did it lead to the establishment of Nunavut, a self-governed Inuit territory of two million square kilometers in northern Canada (see illustration on opposite page top); it also initiated a spreading of indigenous counter-mappings all over the world (see articles pages 46, 110, 130 & 144). Mapping struggles for indigenous territories and rights are a central chapter in the history of counter-cartography. Even the term “counter-mapping” was coined by Nancy Lee Peluso (1995) working with the Dayak in Indonesia, using maps for (re)claiming their land.

Beyond appropriating western map practices for indigenous purposes, however, there have always been other forms of spatial representation – incongruent with western cartography. Some Aztec codices could be seen as an example of these (see illustrations on opposite page bottom). At times, these geographies of words and images, songs or handicraft even merged with colonial maps, as in the case of Tupaia’s map (see illustration this page right). Just by the simple fact of their existence, indigenous geographic representations challenge dominant cartographic imaginations and methods that exclude all non-European modes of knowledge and representation. By reflecting dominant notions of territoriality and shedding light on different human-space interactions, indigenous cartography serves as inspiration for non-hegemonic worldviews and emancipatory practices.

At the same time, indigenous counter-mappings often contain a paradoxical element: In order to be heard and recognized, the claim for territory and empowerment has to translate indigenious cosmovisions into dominant cartographic tools. Hence, there is always the danger of distorting original messages or intentions, and to become instrumentalized by those in power. Precisely because maps are powerful tools, it is necessary to keep questioning and reinterpreting them in order to make sure they are still useful for emancipatory purposes.

“... The fact that groups across the political spectrum create these sorts of maps illustrates that counter-mapping itself is not necessarily politically progressive, but that geographical imaginations are important sites of struggle.” (Wood cited from Counter Cartographies Collective, Dalton & Mason-Desee, 2012: 443)

When dealing with geographical imaginations in an emancipatory way, William Bunge’s work is an important reference (especially for us as geographers). His geography from below emerged in Detroit’s periphery and aimed at building cartographic tools for marginalized communities. This type of counter-cartographic culture utilizes simple and vivid cartographic language in order to promote geographical alphabetization and the self-determination of local communities (see illustration on following spread).

Today the battle over geographical imaginations is very much alive and well. In that sense, Not-an-Atlas is our contribution to this contested practice. At the same time, it is necessary to stress that counter-cartographies can only be “a departure point or a tool that can aid in analysis but do not speak for themselves” (Paglen 2007: 43): the map can never be the territory (see article page 86) and the struggles will not be decided on paper.
This Is a Global Collection of Counter-Cartographies

The current panorama of counter-cartographies is as diverse as the roots of critical mapping. Accordingly, Not-an-Atlas collects a very broad range of different contributions, originating from various contexts, and utilizing diverse methods of creation and presentation. Our aim is not to tell a coherent story of counter-cartography, or to provide a simple template for critical mapping. Rather, we would like to give an impression of how open and diverse the field has become, especially due to the practices of people without formal cartographic training. However, with Not-an-Atlas we do not only intend to show but also to contribute to this opening up of actors, topics and forms of map-making. We would like to give space to counter-hegemonic worldviews and at the same time hope to support practices of resistance. And we intend to inspire you to pick up this practical, powerful tool – without losing sight of its pitfalls.

Not-an-Atlas deals with counter-cartographies from different contexts and regions, with maps that were produced for various reasons with a wide range of techniques, practices and people. These counter-cartographies largely exist beyond the traditional spheres of cartography, and in most cases their creators are primarily activists, critical educators, militant researchers, artists and/or part of social movements. They see mapping as a means to an end: They map for a cause.

To get some form of order into this heterogeneous field, which at the same time challenges order, we tried to cluster the maps of Not-an-Atlas into chapters – a challenging task. There could have been other chapters. At the end we decided to group the maps and projects around their causes and motivations even if most of the maps have more than just one reason to exist. After defining the chapters, we ordered the maps within them, as far as possible, from concrete 'maps' to abstract 'mappings'.

In the first chapter the maps are used as a Tool for Action, to directly change the space around us. In the second chapter maps are used to Tie Networks for fostering dialogue and exchange among them. In the third chapter maps serve to uncover social problems and to Create Political Pressure. In the fourth chapter Counter-Cartography is Education: maps can be part of critical educational work, not only serving to criticize hegemonic cartographic images, but also as an invitation to Become an Occasional Cartographer through self-organized mapping processes as can be seen in the fifth chapter. As chapter six shows, counter-cartographies Create Visibility for ‘invisible’ groups and processes, breaking the cartographic silence. In chapter seven counter-maps Show Spatial Subjectivity, empowering people to visualize their personal geographies and perceptions of space. This goes hand in hand with their potential to initiate and support processes of Self-Reflection shown in chapter eight. In the final chapter, counter-cartographies articulate Critique of society, of dominant cartographic imaginings and of critical maps themselves. The collection in your hands wants to reflect these various approaches and aims.

Not-an-Atlas focuses on discussing the practical aspects of mapping projects. This includes not only a presentation of various methods and techniques for creating maps, but also an exploration of different political topics and regional contexts in which maps matter. It becomes clear that a convergence of critical-cartographic and political actors can lead to productive interactions. Not-an-Atlas understands itself as colorful panorama, displaying the range of possibilities for using critical maps for political struggles and emancipatory education. Not-an-Atlas seeks to inspire, to document the under-represented and to be a useful companion when becoming a counter-cartographer oneself. This is how we would like to encourage a critical reflection of dominant spatial imaginations. We want to support social struggles by presenting maps as a useful tool for these struggles.
How to Edit and Reflect Counter-Cartographies Collectively as Activists and Academics?

Both our activist experiences with collective and critical mapping workshops as kollektiv orangotango+ as well as our individual and academic engagements with maps served as starting points for Not-an-Atlas. In the spring of 2015 we released a Call for Maps in English, German and Spanish, inviting everyone engaged with practices of critical mapping to send us ideas, texts, photos and, of course, maps. We were overwhelmed by the resonance! Nearly 150 submissions found their way to us. Some of them came from places, struggles and activists we had not heard of before; others came from long-time companions and friends. Among them were contributions from well-known critical cartographers, activists, and social movements who have been working with maps for many years; but even more emerging mapmakers sent us their proposals. What followed were exciting three years of discussing, selecting and editing the various maps and projects. Again and again we had to ask ourselves: What actually makes a map (not) critical? And what do we (not) have in mind when working on a counter-atlas? We also had to continually negotiate between more activist and more academic modes of knowledge production – be it in regards to the content of the maps or in regards to our own mode of working and living. With the large number of submissions, Not-an-Atlas quickly outgrew its initial frame in terms of involved languages, time and resources. The resulting process of collective learning therefore included various challenges, personal fluctuations and surprises.

The exciting insights we were able to gather regarding various processes connected to mapping and resistance, as well as growing as a network, are the fruits of this labor. With Not-an-Atlas, we hope to strengthen and to contribute to this kind of processes and networks in analog and digital ways (see notanatlas.org).

The following 330 pages aim to inspire current debates about maps, and to promote counter-mapping practices. Not-an-Atlas wants to contribute to emancipatory transformations on the ground by supporting counter-cartographies within and beyond these pages. Finally – and maybe most importantly – we see this book as a guide pointing at many possible worlds, and as an invitation to create more of them: on paper, online and in space.

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Endnotes

1. In its German edition the Atlas Minor is a “short but thorough description of the entire world and all of its parts” (Mercator; 1651).

2. At this point it should not be concealed that the authors of this text are white European males as well, one of which is also bearded. This is why we would like to distance ourselves as much as possible from the claim of being able to measure out the world of counter-cartographies since this would be presumptuous. We seek to trade assumed objectivity and mathematical precision for respect and modesty towards all actors who take care of their daily territories by defending them against destruction, capitalism, colonialism, nationalism, racism, sexism — also with the help of maps.

3. Maps are powerful since they are not only a product of societal structures but also a producer of social realities. Maps do not only represent realities by building symbolic orders and hierarchies; they also create realities while being part of the interaction between people and their environments (Pickles, 2004).

4. This is why we would like to refer to atlases, which break with the traditional image of an atlas, for example: An Atlas of Radical Cartography (Mogel & Bhagat, 2007), Everything sings: Maps for a Narrative Atlas (Wood, 2010), The Nuclear War Atlas (Bunge, 1992), Atlas der Globalisierung (Le Monde Diplomatique 2003-2015), The Nunavut Atlas (Rewee, 1992), The Maya Atlas (Toledo Maya Cultural Council, 1997), Food Atlas (Jensen & Roy, 2012), We Are Here Map Archive (see mapsarchive.wordpress.com) and antiAtlas of Borders (see antitlas.net). So even if we consider Not-An-Atlas to be a counter-atlas, it is not the counter-atlas. “Rather, it is one of many possible atlases, given the abundance of artists, architects, and others using maps and mapping in their work” (Mogel & Bhagat, 2007: 6).

5. Hackitectura (2002-2011) was a group of architects, programmers, artists and activists. In their work, they created a fusion of theoretical research with emerging territories of physical and digital movements. Their famous counter-cartography of the Straits of Gibraltar draws an alternative image of the Moroccan-Spanish border: The map shows the existing networks and flows of migration, communication and capital in a heavily monitored border region with the idea to reshape it (see hackitectura.net).

6. The Argentinian Grupo de Arte Callejero is composed of artists, photographers and designers. They work closely with social movements like H.I.J.O.S (an organization created by the children of the victims of the military dictatorship). With their series of maps Aquí Viven Genocidas (2001-2006) the Grupo de Arte Callejero actively participated in the escraches, which translates into acts of public shaming to condemn the injustice, violence and genocides committed during the military dictatorship (see grupodeartecallejero.wordpress.com).

7. Some examples for relevant indigenous mapping projects and groups from different regions are The Nunavut Atlas (Rewee, 1992), The Maya Atlas (Toledo Maya Cultural Council, 1997), Aboriginal Mapping Network (nativemaps.org) and Nova Cartografia Social da Amazonia (see article page 46). It seems that China is the only region around the world with an indigenous population but without an indigenous counter-mapping culture (Rundstrom, 2009: 316).

8. In the meantime a lot of different concepts that have been interlinked with other counter-cartography besides counter-mapping, such as alternative cartography, bioregional mapping, collective mapping, community mapping, counter-hegemonic mapping, ethno cartography, ethno mapping, green mapping, mapping back, participatory rural appraisal, public participation geographic information system, (public) participatory mapping, radical cartography, subversive mapping and remapping.

9. In 1769 the legendary Polynesian sailor Tupaia, son of a preacher family from Raatea, accompanied James Cook on the Endeavour and drew the cartographic representation of the region Pacific islands (Eckstein & Schwarz 2015). Tupaia’s chart of 74 islands can be seen as a fusion of Oceanic geographical imaginations like star compasses with European cartography. Di Piazza and Pearthree (2007) propose such a reading for Tupaia’s drawing: “Tupaia’s chart, while having the appearance of a map, is in fact a mosaic of sailing directions or plotting diagrams drawn on paper; similar to those made by master navigators tracing lines in the sand or arranging pebbles on a mat to instruct their pupils” (Di Piazza & Pearthree, 2007: 321). This means that Tupaia was applying a cartographic technique with the center point or island of departure as a “subjective coordinate”.

10. The term alphabetization is used by Paulo Freire in his Pedagogy of the Oppressed (1968) to describe an emancipatory learning process. As kollektiv orangotango, we see our own collective mapping practice as a continuation of the popular education of Freire and Bunge and as a collective process of geographical alphabetization in spaces of everyday action (Halder; 2018: 308).

11. Kollektiv orangotango was founded in 2008. Since then it has been constantly developing through a network of critical geographers, friends and activists who deal with questions regarding space, power and resistance. With our geographical activism, we seek to support processes and oppositional actors who instigate social change by prefiguring social alternatives. We conduct emancipatory educational work as well as concrete political and artistic interventions. These are supposed to enforce reflections on and changes of social conditions. Since 2010 we have been engaged in processes of collective and critical mapping within the fields of right to the city, (urban) agriculture, critical pedagogy, alternative housing and solidarity economy, mostly in Europe and also in Latin America. But kollektiv orangotango also functions as a platform for different actions. In the case of Not-an-Atlas, its publication was realized by kollektiv orangotango in cooperation with other activists and academics. That is the reason why it was named kollektiv orangotango+.
**Mega ciudades y crisis ambiental**

En 2007, por primera vez en la historia, la población residente en ciudades pasó la población rural. Ahora, en las zonas rurales viven unas 3,400 millones de personas que se dedican a producir alimentos y más de la mitad son mujeres. Éstos son fenómenos de movilidad, provocan la pérdida de saberes ancestrales, trabajan y cuidan la tierra en equilibrio con los ciclos de la naturaleza, y ofrecen soluciones a la crisis ecológica y a los desastres climáticos, cada uno más mortales en el mundo.

**Megacitíes and environmental crisis**

In 2007, for the first time ever, the population living in cities surpassed the one living in the countryside. However, some 3.4 billion people still live in rural areas and work in food production—more than half of them are women. They support family-level practices, preserve ancestral memories and knowledge, work and cultivate the land in harmony with the cycles of nature, and provide a solution to the environmental crisis and the consequences of climate change worldwide.

**Trabajo rural y doméstico**

Estas 1.7 mil millones de mujeres representan 25% de la población mundial, y alimentan a un 70% de los habitantes del planeta. Las mujeres rurales, además del cuidado de la producción, la obtención de agua y leña y la cría de animales, realizan un trabajo invisible y no remunerado. El doméstico, el cual incluye el cuidado de los hijos y de personas enfermas, y la limpieza del hogar y la elaboración de alimentos, todas labores consideradas como una extensión (obligatoria) de sus tareas de reproducción.

**Rural and domestic work**

These 1.7 billion women represent 25% of the world's population and feed 70% of the world's population. Aside from tending crops, gathering water and firewood, and raising animals, they perform invisible work. They are not paid for their domestic work, which includes caring for children and the sick, cleaning the home, and preparing food—all activities that are considered an (obligatory) extension of their reproductive responsibilities.
¿A QUIÉN PERTENECE LA TIERRA?
WHO OWNS THE LAND?

En un mundo donde los cuerpos y territorios creadores de vida, son considerados objetos de conquista, explotados en actos neocoloniales y capitalistas, y amenazados por una violencia machista y patriarcal que se manifiesta en múltiples dimensiones; las mujeres resisten y organizan sus comunidades a través de economías del cuidado, protegiendo los bienes comunes y la soberanía alimentaria.

In a world where bodies and territories are considered objects of conquest, plundered by neocolonial capitalist acts and threatened by multiple forms of sexist and patriarchal violence, women resist and organize their communities through care economies, protecting common goods and food sovereignty.

**Mundo árabe:** Las mujeres sostienen una economía de cuidados en medio de conflictos armados y devastanías en sus comunidades. La escasez en salud, alimentos, cobijo, y educación.

**Arab World:** Women maintain a care economy in the middle of massive armed conflicts and destruction. Scarcity in health, food, shelter, and educational assistance in their communities.

**Mesoamérica:** Las mujeres se enfrentan a las usurpaciones de tierras comerciales, a la expansión de conflictos armados y al maíz transgénico, y protegen la diversidad de especies existentes.

**Central America:** Women stand against free trade agreements, the spread of armed conflicts, and genetically modified maize, and protect the diversity of the living species.

**Rural exodus and repression**
The agrarian-industrial food system, based on monocultures and dominated by multinational firms, leaves 20% of the rural population and employs in appalling conditions—irreducible portions of rural workers. It degrades the environment, impoverishes and drives out native populations, and thins through militarization and repression—thus causing the loss of collective rights over natural assets and harming public goods into relative poverty.

**Soberanía alimentaria y cultural**
Las mujeres rurales, mediante prácticas de defensa de los bienes comunes, de protección de la cultura popular y solidaria, y de respeto hacia la naturaleza, aseguran la agrodiversidad frente al avance del modelo neocolonial. Guatemaltecas, además, las más de 6 mil lugares viven en todo el mundo, cada una desarrollada durante siglos de costumbres y prácticas rurales, y su realidad desconocida, lo que las convierte en guías en las mismas de los lugares.

**Food and cultural sovereignty**
Through practices that defend public goods, protect shared traditional culture, and respect nature, rural women ensure agricultural diversity in the face of neocolonial dispossession. They are also guardians of over 6,000 languages spoken across the world, which developed over centuries, bear rich traditions, and are mostly unknown. As a result, these women are the keepers of the memories of the Earth.