



ENVIRONMENTAL POLICIES FOR GREENWASHING: AGENCY IN ARGENTINA'S CLIMATE LAW

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Resumo: Discursos sobre questões ambientais têm aparecido sob diversas formas desde a publicação do Relatório Brundtland. Muitas das manifestações discursivas nele apresentadas ainda podem ser vistas nos discursos atuais. Alshelm & Hultman (2015) qualificam esses discursos dominantes como fatalismo industrial. Nos países em que o capitalismo não foi adotado integralmente, o fatalismo industrial se combina com elementos locais e apresenta novas facetas. No caso da Argentina os discursos industriais são sempre relacionados a agricomida e criação de animais, situação que pode ser vista em diversos tipos de discursos. O objetivo deste ensaio é analisar a representação industrial em duas leis nacionais que regulamentam esses assuntos localmente: A Lei Ambiental Geral n. 25675 e a Lei de Educação Ambiental Integral n. 27621. Adotamos o arcabouço teórico da Análise do Discurso Crítica, sobretudo o modelo de Hodge & Kress (1993) para processos e participantes bem como Lakoff (2004, 2010) para a análise de *frames*. Nossa hipótese de trabalho é a de que os dois textos permitem algum tipo de ação (*agency*) pelos participantes engajados em *frames* específicos.

Palavras-Chave: Discurso legislativo; Ambientalismo; Lei argentina; Fatalismo industrial.

Abstract: Discourses on environmental issues have adopted many forms since the publication of the Brundtland report. Many of discursive representations presented in the report are still present

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in current discourses. Alshelm & Hultman (2015) describe these dominant discourse as Industrial Fatalism. In countries where capitalism has not been fully developed, Industrial Fatalism combines with local elements and present new varieties. In the case of Argentina industrial discourses are always related to agrifood and animal farming. And this situation can be seen in different kinds of texts.

The aim of this paper is to analyze industrial representation in two national laws that regulate environmental matters in Argentina: General Environmental Law No. 25675 and Integral Environmental Education Law, No. 27621. We adopt as main framework Critical Discourse Analysis, particularly the model by Hodge & Kress (1993) for processes and participants and Lakoff (2004, 2010) for frame analysis. Our working hypothesis is that both texts allow agency to a certain type of participants, involved in particular frames.

Key words: Legislative discourse: Environmentalism: Argentine Law; Industrial Fatalism.

1. Industrial environmentalism

Since the publication of the Brundtland Report, in 1987, discourses about climate change have adopted many forms and have been described in different ways. Many perspectives have adopted varied approaches focusing on different aspects of the problem (BECKER, 2006; MEISNER, SRISKANDARAJAH & DEPOE, 2015; PENZ, 2018) but in one way or another, they all recognize the topicality of the problem. In their study about discourse and climate change, Anshelm & Hultman (2015) describe their findings in the Swedish case and classify discourses about environment in four possibilities: Industrial Fatalism, Green Keynesian, Eco-socialism and Skeptisism.

According to the authors, the discourse of Industrial Fatalism conveys the dominant view on environmental issues in the western world. This discourse poses a hard capitalist-industrial representation in which climate change is considered as a problem that must be solved by the same industrial-technological-scientific model that created it in the first place (2015: 15). In other words, technological development must achieve the appropriate level in order to be able to solve the climate crisis:

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Confronted with the question of how climate challenge might be handled, the answer is that it can only be done according to the logic of linear modernization. This means that the same purposeful rationality, claims of control and risk management that have guided the relationship to nature industrial modernity must be adopted to handle the climate crisis (ANSHELM; HULTMAN, 2015: 19).

In practice, this means to implement marginal changes in order to save old structures. Our current industrial model is based on an economic-oriented conception of science and technology, subordinated to a neoclassical economics perspective. In this context, Industrial Fatalism claims that the machine must be kept running until the same processes that provoked the crisis lead us out of it, instead of making a full stop and a change of direction.

1.1. Peripheral industrialism

One of the main effects discourses have on societies are related to daily habits and worldviews. Discourses encode particular worldviews that become “the real one” for those who accept it, actively or passively (RAITER, 2003: 78). Among other meanings, neoclassical economics establishes the idea of *much is better than less* (STIBBE, 2014: 40) as a reality for those involved in it (at least the majority of the Western World). Therefore, there is no big difference between centre or periphery in this matter. In places where capitalism has not been fully developed the situation seems to be the same as in places where it is. Neither governments nor companies are willing to make a radical change in production systems just for the sake of environment. Because much is still better than less and any change means less.

Different dynamics established by central and peripheral countries for industrial development indicates that climate change is not in the priority list for the latter. Discussions on environmental topics and climate change are put behind social and economic issues. In Latin America, industrial practices are linked to practices like the so-called neo-extractivism - always connected to social conflict - (SVAMPA; VIALE, 2020: 61) and in some cases like Argentina, Industrial Fatalism merges with Carnism (JOY, 2011) to conform a belief system that locates the idea of progress in a non-human animal production industry. This model can be traced in literature, the media, and even legislative discourse.

Be that as it may, whether peripheral dynamics or the carnist view, Argentine regulations on environmental topics seem to avoid some key points in climate change discourses. While

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national environmental regulations address a variety of issues none of these involve animal farming. Perhaps this has something to do with bovine agriculture being one of its most important industries and the one that is strongly tied to its national identity (FORTE, 2019).

Since the first narratives of English travellers in the Río de la Plata, in XIX century, to current music and literature, Argentina's discursive identity is tied to bovine cattle and animal agriculture. Farmed animals were used before and after the so-called *desert conquest* to develop population growth in areas previously occupied by South American Native People. From that moment on farmed animals remain as a flagship industry for the country.

The fact that a harmful activity is strongly linked to a national identity makes harder to get rid of it. According to Svampa & Viale:

El modelo alimentario a gran escala [...] tiene enormes impactos sobre nuestra salud y sobre la vida de los animales, plantas y campos. Se trata de un modelo construido por las grandes firmas agroalimentarias del planeta [...] El modelo de agronegocios es responsable del mayor problema socioambiental de la Argentina, nuestro Chernóbil en potencia (2020: 65, 72)^a.

In this sense, situation does not differ much from the one in developed countries: much is still better than less even when we are reaching the end of the rope.

1.2. Animals, nature, industry and the law

There is plenty of Argentine legislation destined to protect the environment and biodiversity, but in most of them nature is considered – as in the media, and the Argentine common sense – as goods or services for the enjoyment of the human inhabitants of the territory or goods and services to be profited on.

The cornerstone of Argentine environmental legislation is the National Constitution. With the 1994 amendment the following paragraph was introduced in the Art. 41:

Todos los habitantes gozan del derecho a un ambiente sano, equilibrado, apto para el desarrollo humano y para que las actividades productivas satisfagan las necesidades presentes sin comprometer las de las generaciones futuras; y tienen el deber de preservarlo. El daño ambiental generará prioritariamente la obligación de recomponer, según lo establezca la ley [...] Las autoridades proveerán a la protección de este derecho,

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a la utilización racional de los recursos naturales, a la preservación del patrimonio natural y cultural y de la diversidad biológica, y a la información y educación ambientales^b.

And so the labeling of nature as a resource was legally established. The following national regulations were not passed until 2002, with the General Environmental law No. 25675, and they cover areas such as protection of glaciers, rivers, water sources and native forests, management of residues and contaminants, leaving the regulation of agricultural activities in the hands of agrifood authorities (Ministry of Agriculture) and provincial governments.

Following the National Constitution, Law 25675 is the most important legal frame and provides the minimum requirements for environmental protection, although they are broadened by subsequent legislation. In addition, recently enacted Law No. 27621 presents the national system to implement an environmental education in all levels. It establishes organizational mechanisms to introduce environmental perspectives in the educational system.

The aim of this paper is to identify and analyze the discursive strategies that articulate the Industrial Fatalist discourse in both laws. Our working hypothesis is that agency is allowed to a certain kind of participants while the text evades to signal, among these, responsible for harmful actions as much as for protection measures, maintaining every aspect of the industrial model and, therefore, implementing an industrial fatalist perspective on nature.

2. Theoretical framework and corpora

This paper adopts Ecolinguistics as main framework, as detailed in Stibbe (2014). We work with tools provided by Hodge & Kress (1993) to analyse participants and processes and Lakoff (2004, 2010) for frame analysis. We classify participants according to their possibilities of action: actor (agentive) and affected (passive) and correlate them with the frames built by the text.

Hodge & Kress focus their work in the study of transactivity, that differs from Halliday's vision of transitivity. Transactivity concerns types of processes, participants-Actors and the potential effect of the process carried out on other participants-Affected. This analysis evidences who is socially enabled to carry out a certain kind of processes over others. In this case, this means who is responsible for processes that may or may not have an impact on others and who can those others be. We will also adopt Kress & van Leeuwen (2005) model to analyze several images as an example. This model presents the same characteristics that Hodge & Kress present for the verbal level but allows to perform the same work in multimodal texts.

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According to Lakoff, our minds store meanings in a certain way: creating frames of related meanings that set cognitive patterns. When one of the meanings in the frame is brought to attention, all the meanings in the frame are activated (2010: 71-72). As Gare points out, the dominant discourse in the medieval world was theology, in the modern world, science, and now the discourse that defines reality for most people is economics (2022: 132, quoted in STIBBE, 2014: 36).

From Stibbe's perspective, neo-classical economics discourse constructs a destructive relationship between humans and non-humans through language. The ideology of neo-classical economics unfolds into the framing of development, resulting, in the cases we analyze, in the metaphor "nature as a resource/machine".

3. Representational crossroads in Industrial Fatalism

This representation has consequences that manifest in various areas. Scientific studies about agrifood topics frequently introduce concepts such as "sustainable livestock", combining two elements that in other discourses are described as antagonistic. Supporting this type of mixed representations we can find an increasing number of research for the introduction of animal farming in protected areas as the wetlands. In the digital journal *Argentina Ambiental*, an industry publication that presents new developments on agrifood science, the cross roads of industry, science and greenwashing can be observed:

La Fundación Humedales, oficina argentina de Wetlands International, entre muchas iniciativas para la conservación y uso sustentable de los humedales, trabaja promoviendo una ganadería ambientalmente sustentable en el Delta del Paraná en forma conjunta con otras organizaciones y también con productores de la región (Boné, Casa, Mataloni y Sfara, 2019: 8)^c.

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The text is illustrated by several photographs that help build an industry oriented meaning, not focusing on nature but on human activity:



Image 1: Man, horse and dog

Following Kress & van Leeuwen, the picture represents three participants: a human, a horse and a dog. The horse and the dog are developing a non-transactive process: walk. The process developed by the human participant presents a certain degree of difficulty because there are two possible interpretations: 1. the participant is riding a horse. If we consider the image this way the human is just “transporting himself”. This is the speciesist interpretation. 2. The human is performing a process by which he is forcing the horse to carry him. In this case the participant is performing a narrative transactive process that has a material effect on the horse. This is a more egalitarian interpretation. In addition, we see the three participants from behind, as if they were leaving, creating an effect of “we are watching them work with the livestock”.

And in the next image we find “the livestock”.

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Image 2: livestock

In image 2 we find a case similar to that present in the previous illustration. Interpretation depends on what we consider as process. If we think about the animals represented as actors, they are just walking in the water. A narrative non-transactive process, no participants affected. But if we follow the logic of the article, these animals are presented as “material” for the research. In this interpretation they are part of a symbolic attributive process in which they represent what they are considered to be: food.

This perspective, as we have seen, adopted by the industry and the science, is the same perspective that runs through the legislation we are going to analyze in the following sections.

3.1. General environmental law. No. 25.675

Passed on November 6, 2002 and in force since november 27 of the same year, this law introduces its main objective, to provide [...] *the minimum requirements for the fullfilment of a sustainable and appropriate management of the environment, the preservation and protection of biological diversity and the implementation of sustainable development.*¹ The text presents relational and actional processes that involve participants construed in a particular way.

¹ ARTICULO 1° — La presente ley establece los presupuestos mínimos para el logro de una gestión sustentable y adecuada del ambiente, la preservación y protección de la diversidad biológica y la implementación del desarrollo sustentable (Author’s translation).

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3.1.1. Classification as a process

According Hodge & Kress, the relational model allows the speaker to establish relationships between various categories, on the one hand, and attributes to be linked to any entity, on the other (1993: 103). In this sense, the text connect abstract constructions (such as *administrative processes, environmental information, environmental studies*) with attributes (*reserved, of general or particular pertinence*) or other abstract constructions (*a detailed description of the project*). On the other hand, entities with the semantic feature [+human] (*the competent authorities, every person, Federal and Provincial governments*), are linked to one attribute in the whole text (*responsible*), and an abstract construction: *the right to be consulted*.

Entity 1	classification	Entity 2
Las autoridades competentes <i>the competent authorities</i>	Serán <i>will be</i>	Responsables <i>responsible</i>
Toda persona <i>Every person</i>	tiene <i>has</i>	Derecho a ser consultada <i>the right to be consulted</i>
Procesos administrativos <i>Administrative processes</i>	Serán <i>will be</i>	De injerencia general o particular <i>of general or particular pertinence</i>
Información ambiental <i>Environmental information</i>	No sea <i>won't be</i>	Reservada <i>reserved</i>
Los estudios de impacto ambiental <i>Environmental impact studies</i>	Deberán contener <i>must include</i>	Una descripción detallada del proyecto <i>a detailed description of the project</i>
La competencia <i>Competence</i>	Será <i>will be</i>	Federal <i>federal</i>
La nación y los gobiernos provinciales <i>Federal and provincial governments</i>	Serán <i>will be</i>	Responsables <i>responsible</i>
Sus disposiciones	Son	De orden público

Their desitions are of public interest

Table 1: relational processes

3.1.2. Actional model

The actional model presents a description “for things that move” (1993: 38) and classifies processes according the effect (transactive) or lack of it (non-transactive) on a second participant (1993: 40). Regarding this topic, the text presents mostly transactional processes, in which abstract constructions and nouns as having effects on other abstract constructions and nouns (*anthropic activities generate impact on environment*), or on an attribute of a certain group of humans (*the present law promotes improvement in quality of life for present and future generations*). Human participans (*those responsible for environmental protection*) are shown as having an effect (*must watch*) on an erased participant (*for the appropriate usage and enjoyment of environment: X uses and enjoys the environment*).

Actor	Proccess	Affected
La presente ley <i>the present law</i>	Promover <i>promotes</i>	El mejoramiento de la calidad de vida para generaciones presentes y futuras <i>Improvement in the quality of life for present and future generations</i>
La presente ley <i>the present law</i>	Promover <i>to promote</i>	El uso racional y sustentable de los recursos naturales <i>rational and sustainable usage of natural resources</i>
La presente ley <i>the present law</i>	Mantener <i>to maintain</i>	La dinámica y el equilibrio de los sistemas ecológicos <i>The dynamics and balance of ecological systems</i>
Las actividades antrópicas	Generan	Sobre el ambiente

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<i>Anthropic activities</i>	<i>generate</i>	<i>(impact) on environment</i>
La contaminación ambiental	Causa	Daños
<i>environmental pollution</i>	<i>causes</i>	<i>harm</i>
Los responsables de la protección ambiental	Deberán velar	Por el uso apropiado y goce del ambiente
<i>Those responsible for environmental protection</i>	<i>must watch</i>	<i>for the appropriate usage and enjoyment of environment</i>

Table 2: transactive processes

Moreover, in processes that represent a direct action over nature, actors tend to be elided.

Actor	Proccess	Affected
X	Realiza <i>develops</i>	Actividades antrópicas <i>anthropic activities</i>
X	Usa <i>uses</i>	Los recursos ambientales <i>Environmenta resources</i>
X	Posibilita <i>makes possible</i>	La máxima producción <i>maximum production</i>
X	Utiliza <i>utilizes</i>	Los diferentes ecosistemas <i>different ecosystems</i>
X	Garantiza <i>guarantees</i>	La mínima degradación <i>minumum degradation</i>
X	Garantiza <i>guarantees</i>	El mínimo desaprovechamiento <i>Minimum waste</i>

Table 3: Elided actors

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When the actors are explicit, they are constructed as nominalizations involving material processes:

Actor	Process	Affected
los asentamientos humanos <i>Human settlements</i>	Alteran <i>alter</i>	los biomas <i>biomes</i>
las actividades económicas <i>economic activities</i>	Alteran <i>alter</i>	los biomas <i>biomes</i>
otras actividades humanas o fenómenos naturales <i>other human activities or natural phenomena</i>	Alteran <i>alter</i>	los biomas <i>biomes</i>

Table 4: Nominalizations as actors

Thus represented, actors do not seem to be individuals but concepts in the abstract world that have an abstract impact on other abstract concepts. Instead of *human settlements alter biomes* we could think of a more concrete option that identifies clear participants: *human individuals alter forests, seas, and particular ecosystems with particular individuals of non-human species*.

3.1.3. Framing nature in the law

The text manifests trails of the discourse of neoclassical economics. Constructions such as *principio de progresividad* (principle of progressiveness), *recursos naturales* (natural resources), *generaciones futuras* (future generations), *aprovechamiento de recursos naturales* (exploitation of natural resources), *sustentabilidad ecológica, social y económica* (ecologic, social and economic sustainability), *desarrollo sustentable* (sustainable development) are frequent in the narrative. Humans are presented as consumers of “natural resources” and, as such, they cannot be completely satisfied, therefore, industrial processes are continuous and with no end in sight. According to this story, many of the polarities established by economic discourses are present (the following are author’s translations):

More is better than less,

Posibilitar la máxima producción y utilización de los diferentes ecosistemas, garantizar la mínima degradación y desaprovechamiento (Art. 10)^d.

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Grow is better than shrink,

Promover la planificación del crecimiento y desarrollo económico con equidad social en armonía con el medio ambiente (Art. 2)^e.

Forward is better than behind

[...] tendiente al mejoramiento de la calidad de vida de las generaciones presentes y futuras (Art. 2.)^f.

Moreover, the environment is considered as system that needs to be managed to get a rational and sustainable use of natural resources and keep the balance and dynamics:

El desarrollo económico y social y el aprovechamiento de los recursos naturales deberán realizarse a través de una gestión apropiada del ambiente, de manera tal, que no comprometa las posibilidades de las generaciones presentes y futuras (Art. 4)^g.

As Hulme poses, framing environmental issues as a market topic implies that entrepreneurs, economists and businesses are the actors involved in the protection of our relationship with nature and environment (2009: 266).

3.2. Integral Environmental Education Law, No. 27621

Passed by the Congress on may 3, 2021 and enacted a month later, in June 3, this law is presented as a tool to introduce environmental issues in education. Its purpose is to establish the right to comprehensive environmental education as a national public policy in accordance with the provisions of Article 41 of the National Constitution and in accordance with the provisions of Article 8 of the General Environmental Law, 25,675; Article 89 of the National Education Law, 26,206; and other related laws such as the Environmental Water Management Regime Law, 25,688; Household Waste Management Law, 25,916; Native Forest Law, 26,331; Glacier Law, 26,639; Fire Management Law, 26,815; and international treaties and agreements on the matter.

4.1.1. Classification as a process

Being part of the same discursive genre – legislative – than the previous text, the law connects abstract constructions with other similar entities, and it deals mostly with definitions:

Entity 1	classification	Entity 2
La educación ambiental integral <i>integral environmental educationis</i>	Es	Un proceso educativo permanente <i>a constant educational process</i>
La educación ambiental integral <i>integral environmental educationis</i>	Es	Un proceso que defiende la sustentabilidad como proyecto social <i>a process that defends sustainability as a social project</i>
Estrategia Nacional de Educación Ambiental Integral <i>National Strategy for Integral Environmental Education</i>	Es <i>is</i>	Instrumento de planificación estratégica <i>an instrument for strategic planning</i>
Coordinación Ejecutiva de la Estrategia Jurisdiccional de Educación Ambiental Integral <i>Executive Coordination for Jurisdictional Integral Environmental Education Strategy</i>	Es <i>is</i>	el ámbito en el que se implementa y promueve la articulación de la Estrategia Jurisdiccional de Educación Ambiental Integral <i>the field in wich articulation for Jurisdictiona Integral Environmental Education Strategy is implemented</i>

Table 5: relational processes

These concepts are presented in terms of features and characteristics they posses, relating them with attributes.

3.1.2. Actional model

Analizing the actional model we find mostly non-transactive processes with nominalizations as actors, in a great degree modalized with “must”.

Actor	Process	Affected
La educación ambiental <i>Environmental education</i>	Debe contemplar <i>must include</i>	Formas democráticas de participación <i>democratic ways for participation</i>
La educación ambiental <i>Environmental education</i>	Debe adoptar <i>must adopt</i>	Un enfoque que permita comprender la interdependencia de todos los elementos que interactúan en el ambiente <i>an approach that enables to understand the interdependence of all elements involved in the environment</i>
Estrategia Nacional de Educación Ambiental Integral <i>National Strategy for Integral Environmental Education</i>	Desarrollar <i>to develop</i>	Un estudio de percepción <i>a perception study</i>
Estrategia Nacional de Educación Ambiental Integral <i>National Strategy for Integral Environmental Education</i>	Alcanzar <i>reach</i>	La más amplia cobertura territorial <i>the widest territorial coverage</i>
Las personas miembros de la Coordinación Ejecutiva de la Estrategia Nacional de Educación Ambiental Integral	Desempeñarán <i>will perform</i>	Sus cargos ad honorem <i>their duties pro bono</i>

*Members of Executive
Coordination for National
Environmental Education
Strategy*

Table 6: Transactional processes

The argumentative system is mainly a relational one, relating concepts through verb to be. Nevertheless, when actional processes appear, they are non-transactive ones – with no consequences over second participant – with a modal verb granting them an obligation feature.

3.2.3. Framing the law

The general story behind the law is, once again, neoclassical economics discourse, although in this case related to other social (human) issues: it develops other discourses that articulate with economics such as social conflict, science, legal and even references to Brundtland report.

- Economic discourse: Environment is defined in terms of goods and services [*bienes y servicios ambientales*] and the management of environment is referred to as a waste issue.
- Social activism: environmental awareness, sustainability as a social project, development with social justice, wealth distribution, nature preservation, gender equality, health protection, participatory democracy and respect for cultural diversity [*conciencia ambiental, sustentabilidad como proyecto social, el desarrollo con justicia social, la distribución de la riqueza, preservación de la naturaleza, igualdad de género, protección de la salud, democracia participativa y respeto por la diversidad cultural*].
- Brundtland report: sustainability, our common home, the human and productive development of present and future generations [*sustentabilidad, nuestra casa común, el desarrollo humano y productivo de las presentes y futuras generaciones*]
- Science: integral educational process, construction of a rationality [*proceso educativo integral, construcción de una racionalidad*]

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- Legal discourse: jurisdictional strategy, interministerial management, cultural heritage, environmental commitment [*estrategia jurisdiccional, gestión interministerial, patrimonio cultural, compromiso ambiental*].

4. Discussion

The analysis presents two varieties of the same type of discourse. In the first case, law 25675, transactional processes seem to unfold in a structure with identified participants, but these participants are abstract constructions linked with attributes or other abstract constructions that avoid a clear identification of responsables. Nature is still referred to as “natural resources that must be used and preserved for future generations”, while polarities like *more is better than less, grow is better than shrink, forward is better than behind*, define the narrative.

In the case of law 27.621, we also find the topic of abstract actors related to attributes, but the actional model is mainly non-transactive, therefore, no affected participants are represented in it. Regarding framing analysis, environmental issues are inserted in a major frame – legal practice – that articulates with others: social activism, science, etc. A small reference to Brundtland report, that seems to be there just to introduce the environmental issue in a narrative about human development. Social, ecological, political and economic balance are mentioned again and correlated with the Brundtland concept of “Our Common Home”. This reference was not present in the general law of 2002 and it looks a little out of place, more than 30 years later since the report.

Anthropocentrism is central in both laws: the principle of equality is stated for relations among human and human-nature relations, but in terms of the human right to enjoy a clean and healthy environment:

El ejercicio ciudadano del derecho a un ambiente sano: debe ser abordado desde un enfoque de derechos, promover el derecho a un ambiente sano, equilibrado y apto para el desarrollo humano y productivo de las presentes y futuras generaciones, en relación con la vida, las comunidades y los territorios (Law 27621)^h.

This equality with nature must be, according to both laws, in the terms of neoclassical economics discourse. Environment is goods and services [*bienes y servicios ambientales*] and cultural heritage [*patrimonio cultural*] and the management of environment is related to the waste issue.

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El cuidado del patrimonio natural y cultural: debe incluir la valoración de las identidades culturales y el patrimonio natural y cultural en todas sus formasⁱ.

Nevertheless, the law introduces the perspective of ecofeminisms, and even when the text does not define what exactly is going to be adopted from them, most of the ecofeminist movements mentions the desarticulation of economic discourse.

Principio de igualdad desde el enfoque de género: debe contemplar en su implementación la inclusión en los análisis ambientales y ecológicos provenientes de las corrientes teóricas de los ecofeminismos^j.

Similar case with native south-americans:

Reconocimiento de la diversidad cultural; el rescate y la preservación de las culturas de los pueblos indígenas: la educación ambiental debe contemplar formas democráticas de participación de las diversas formas de relacionarse con la naturaleza, valorando los diferentes modelos culturales como oportunidad de crecimiento en la comprensión del mundo^k.

Being the introduction of different cultural perspectives seem to widen perspectives. Nevertheless, in many topics, native south-americans' vision on environment differs considerably from the eurocentric one adopted in the national identity. Therefore it would be necessary some specifics.

4.1. Nature, industry and agency

One of the main issues this kind of legislation poses lies in the different types of harmful discourses it involves. Not only neoclassical economic discourse sustains the representation of the world these laws present. Anthropocentrism is at the beginning of a line of prejudice that establishes white male humans as the ruling class that implements an industrial and colonial system which later will become an economic form of oppression (FERNÁNDEZ, 2019: 85). When these laws describe potential harm, actors and processes, they do it in a profuse way, with nominalizations and abstract processes, even though when the damage can be already seen as well

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as the responsables for it. Discourses on nature and environmentalism refuse agency to non-human individuals. Anthropocentrism and industrialism dominate the argumental structure in both texts granting human organizations agency and the power to use, maximize benefits and protect natural and environmental resources as if they belong to human kind. In this sense, these laws are just part of an ancient western discursive tradition that denies not only agency but rights over their own lives to non-human individuals and other forms of life (HRIBAL, 2007: 102-103).

5. Is a non-anthropocentrist environmental legislation possible?

In other Latin American countries, where the story of meat and its carnist trails are not present, things go a little bit different. Bolivia, a bordering country with Argentina and whose population is constituted by a majority of indigenous people, presents a relationship between government and climate change with particular features. After the revolution of 1809 the country broke up with the Spanish crown and started to build a national identity, in a similar way to Argentina, with European features. This situation did not change until recently, in 2006, with the presidency of Evo Morales, the first indigenous president of Bolivia. During Morales' first term (2006-2009), indigenous narratives started to replace neo-liberal stories in government narratives. Being Morales an Aymara himself, he embraced the multicultural inheritance of the country, changing its name to Plurinational State of Bolivia, to reflect the multiplicity.

This change brought in the indigenous perspectives on nature, and they not only became part of the national narrative but they entered the legal system as well. The preface of the Political Constitution of the Plurinational State of Bolivia, enacted in 2009, reads:

Poblamos esta sagrada Madre Tierra con rostros diferentes, y comprendimos desde entonces la pluralidad vigente de todas las cosas y nuestra diversidad como seres y culturas. Así conformamos nuestros pueblos, y jamás comprendimos el racismo hasta que lo sufrimos desde los funestos tiempos de la colonia. El pueblo boliviano, de composición plural, desde la profundidad de la historia, inspirado en las luchas del pasado, en la sublevación indígena anticolonial, en la independencia, en las luchas populares de liberación, en las marchas indígenas, sociales y sindicales, en las guerras del agua y de octubre, en las luchas por la tierra y territorio, y con la memoria de nuestros mártires, construimos un nuevo Estado (Asamblea Legislativa Plurinacional Boliviana, 2009)¹.

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The inclusion of non-European world views in a legal system constitutes an unprecedented event in Latin American countries and grants a high social prestige to a different way for humans to relate with nature. Regarding abortion topics, Mexican gynaecologist Raffaella Schiavon Ermani (quoted in CARBAJAL, 2020: 1) mentions that the law changes the public opinion because once laws that repair a social damage are enacted, fanatic opposition starts to fade away and constitutes an important step towards social justice. From our linguistic point of view, we conclude that granting legal status to discourses that remove a prejudice or improve a conflictive situation is a step towards justice, in the case of non-human animals and nature climate justice.

Anthropocentric Climate Change is heavily related to social change, and now, more than ever, institutional actors, such as governments, are important drivers for this change. The industrial discourse of development adopted by many western governments is a denialist. Countries like Argentina would make a big difference including aboriginal narratives in their national epics, more over when many of the population has indigenous roots and the constitution recognizes the country as a multicultural immigration based nation. As holders of the official narrative, governments are not only the guardians of national interests but the builders of important features for the stories we live by. These stories drink from the common sense of the society and, in turn, they feed it. To include these representations in the national story means to engage decolonial, antiracist, antispeciesist, feminist, queer and several counterhegemonic intellectual traditions that have been part of the Argentine common sense for two hundred years, introducing a salience of traditional destructive discourses.

Notes

a. The massive agrifood model [...] presents a huge impact on our health and the lives of animals, plants and fields. It's a model constructed by big international companies [...] Agribusiness model is responsible for the main socio-environmental trouble of Argentina, our potential Chernobyl (author's translation).

b. All inhabitants have the right to a healthy, balanced environment, suitable for human development and for productive activities to satisfy present needs without compromising those of future generations; and they have a duty to preserve it. Environmental damage will generate as a priority the obligation to restore, as established by law [...]. The authorities will provide for the protection of this right, the rational use of natural resources, the preservation of natural and cultural

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heritage and the biological diversity, and environmental information and education (author's translation).

c. The Humedales Co., Argentine office of Wetlands International, among many initiatives for the conservation and sustainable use of wetlands, works promoting environmentally sustainable livestock in the Paraná Delta in conjunction with other organizations and also with producers in the region (Author's translation).

d. To make possible the maximum production and the use of the different ecosystems, and to guarantee the minimum degradation and waste (Art. 10).

e. To promote planning of economic growing and development considering social equity related to environmental care (Art. 2).

f. [...] aimed at improving the quality of life of present and future generations (Art. 2.).

g. Economic and social development and the use of natural resources must be carried out through appropriate management of the environment, in such a way that it does not compromise the possibilities of present and future generations.

h. The citizen exercise of the right to a healthy environment: it must be approached from a rights perspective, promoting the right to a healthy, balanced and suitable environment for the human and productive development of present and future generations, in relation to life, communities and territories (Law 27621) (author's translation).

i. The care of the natural and cultural heritage: it must include the appreciation of cultural identities and natural and cultural heritage in all its forms (Law 27621) (author's translation).

j. Principle of equality from a gender perspective: in its implementation, it must include the inclusion in environmental and ecological analyzes from the theoretical currents of ecofeminisms (law 27621) (author's translation).

k. Recognition of cultural diversity; the rescue and preservation of the cultures of indigenous peoples: environmental education must contemplate democratic forms of participation in the various ways of relating to nature, valuing the different cultural models as an opportunity for growth in understanding the world (27621) (author's translation).

l. We populate this sacred Mother Earth with different faces, and since then we have understood the prevailing plurality of all things and our diversity as beings and cultures. Thus our people

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developed, and we never understood racism until we suffered it since the dismal times of the colony. We, the Bolivian people, of plural composition, from the depth of history, inspired by the struggles of the past, in the anti-colonial indigenous uprising, in independence, in popular liberation struggles, in indigenous, social and union marches, in the Water wars and October wars, in the struggles for land and territory, and with the memory of our martyrs, we built a new state (Author's translation).

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