

AURA: Aarhus University Research on the Anthropocene, <http://anthropocene.au.dk/publications/>, updated October 26, 2010.

52. “Capitalocene” is a term attributed to Andreas Malm (2015) and Jason W. Moore (2016, 2017), who locate the rise of capitalist society in the year 1450, corresponding with the European formation of capitalism. This dating also places the Capitalocene in historical parallel with Anthropocene theories that emphasize colonial expansion as fundamental to the epoch’s formation. The designation Capitalocene is meant to dislodge the industrial revolution as the primary impetus for anthropogenic changes. However, it is also important to note that the industrial revolution initiates a new “means of production” (in a Marxist sense), which takes place within a capitalist “mode of production,” and thus represents a specific form of capitalist accumulation. To eschew the importance of that late nineteenth-century moment (the rise of industrialism) and how it convened capitalism and the environment in very specific ways would be a mistake. In other words, the operations of capital and industrialism cannot, at this point in time, be analytically separate. However, I do agree with Moore, and with Isabelle Stengers (2015) as well, that Anthropocene discourse, and perhaps intervention, risks becoming neo-Malthusianism (often as depopulation rhetoric), too technophilic (as in, “we can engineer our way out of this”), and can become a set of tropes that overlook inequalities. Finally, while Capitalocene proponents find capitalism as the primary force driving toward ecological degradation, it is also true that we continue to live with emissions from the (former) noncapitalist world (e.g., the USSR and China under actually existing socialism).

53. Alternatively, the Anthropocene can be seen as crystallizing capitalism with nature. See Swyngedouw 2010.

54. I thank Kalyanakrishnan Sivaramakrishnan for the phrasing “velocities of change,” which he proposed during our seminar in the Yale MacMillan Agrarian Studies program. See Steffen et al. 2015 on the Great Acceleration.

#### 1. WIND

1. See Barad 2007 on intrarelations; Ingold 2007 on touching “in” wind.

2. Both “aeolian” and “eólica” draw their etymology from Aeolis. I want to signal that link and also underscore the linguistic relationship between the terms used in Mexico and “the aeolian” as a concept. *Los eólicos* is the Spanish term commonly used in Oaxaca to designate wind park developments (or the turbines themselves), and wind-generated electricity is *energía eólica*. Resistance to the proliferation of wind parks is commonly known as the *antieólico* struggle.

3. See the introduction to “Life above Earth” (Howe 2015a).

4. See Harvey and Knox 2015, 6–15, on how roads (or in this case, roads transformed into streets) are spaces of projection and material transformation where we can observe a negotiation between generic and specific forms of knowledge. Copaving by government and corporate entities in La Ventosa reflects a similar concentration of specialized knowledges and expert intervention. See also Dalakoglou and Harvey 2012; Masquelier 2002.

5. Large-scale energy projects, such as wind parks, are prone to follow a “developmentalist” model (Turner and Fajans-Turner 2006, 2) that is capital intensive, dependent upon both state and private financing, and oriented toward installing physical infrastructures. In my discussion of wind park development(s) throughout this book, I am building from several overlapping discussions in anthropology that take “development” as their central engagement. While I do not offer here a specific prognosis on development writ large, I do advance the proposition that pursuing the development trajectories of carbon energy acquisition and distribution cannot suffice in the present. For more on development (and “underdevelopment”), see, for example, Crewe and Axelby 2013; Edelman and Haugerud 2005; Escobar 1994; Ferguson 1990; Frank 1969; Kearney 1986; Li 2007.

6. See chapter 2 in *Energopolitics*, the companion volume to this one.

7. Don José does not describe himself as an “aeolian subject,” but he is clear that his life has, in fact, been deeply contoured by wind’s effects and powers.

8. Terán’s poem was originally written in Zapotec and was translated by the author into Spanish. The Spanish-to-English translation was done by David Shook, and it appeared in English in the April 2009 edition of the internationally acclaimed *Poetry* magazine. Also see Terán 2009, 2015; Terán and Shook 2015.

9. The term *binnizá* (people of the clouds) is often used to mark Zapotec ethnicity in the isthmus. However, in our conversation, Terán used the term “Zapotec.”

10. On Zapotec language, see, for example, Augsburger 2004. See OLAC (Open Language Archives) 2018 for a comprehensive list of scholarly work on isthmus Zapotec language from the 1940s to the present (including lexicons, grammar, literacy, etc.).

11. See Adey 2014, 15.

12. See Barad 2003. On “agential realist ontology” and “intra-acting ‘agencies,’” see Barad 2007, 136–39. Also see Mol 2002 on the onto-specificities formed in medical practices and the social production of disease.

13. For Ingold (2007), the wind shows us that we cannot touch unless we first feel. Wind’s relational force is also captured in his statement, “To feel the wind is to experience [a] commingling” (S29).

14. Irigaray’s *The Forgetting of Air in Martin Heidegger* (1999) was a response to Heidegger’s prioritization of Logos and earth in his formulation of Dasein. Irigaray contends that the omission of air is consequential. As she sees it, no philosophy of being can exist without a philosophy of breathing (315).

15. De Garay 1846, 35. De Garay’s team was tasked with surveying the region for the purposes of a future transisthmus canal, and their exploration appears to have been contracted by the British.

16. The Institute of Electrical Studies and the National Water Commission (CONAGUA) was also involved in the wind-mapping project.

17. Elliott et al. 2003, 21.

18. For work on isthmus politics, see, for example, Binford 1985; Campbell 1990; Campbell et. al. 1993; Chassen-López 2004; Conant 2010; Kraemer Bayer 2008; Nader 1990; Rubin 1998; Stephen 2013; Warman 1993. On Mexico and indigeneity,

see Liffman 2014. On Mexico more generally, see Sánchez Prado 2015; Wolf and Hansen 1967.

19. In comparison, see a Texas utility company's offering of free nighttime electricity to customers due to the combination of nighttime wind power generation and lesser nighttime demand: Krauss and Cardwell 2015.

20. These debates are addressed in depth in chapters 3 and 5 of this volume.

21. De la Bellacasa 2011, 90.

22. For further reading on the politics of collectivity and proprietorship, see Ferry 2005.

23. See chapter 1 in *Energopolitics* for more detail on Sergio and the Ixtepec proposal.

24. The collective estate (bienes comunales) in Ixtepec was established in 1944 and covers 29,440 hectares (approximately 114 square miles) of land.

25. Also see more detail in *Energopolitics*, chapter 1.

26. One question that was posed in our survey of La Ventosa was, "To whom does the wind belong?" See *Energopolitics*, chapter 2, for more detail on the survey process and results. We spent approximately two weeks in La Ventosa, working with local residents and a handful of researchers from Juchitán to conduct a comprehensive survey of the community where every home was queried about the residents' feelings and experiences with wind park development.

27. See chapter 2 of this volume.

28. The term *clima* in Spanish designates "climate" in two senses, meteorological and political. It is also a term commonly used for "weather" (as is *tiempo*). On the changing climate, Terán noted, "He escuchado algo sobre los cambios de la naturaleza o el clima." In an interview, three young antieólico protestors observed, "El mundo está muy mal en la cuestión de clima ¿no?" Or, as Governor Cué enunciated at the FIER (Foro Internacional de Energía Renovables) symposium, "Porque el clima está cambiando, eso es exactamente lo que significa el cambio climático, el clima está cambiando."

29. For more on birds and other nonhuman life and ecological considerations, see chapter 5 of this volume.

30. How the winds have—at least potentially—been distorted by turbines is a question that remains. This was not the most common worry in the isthmus. More pressing political questions about land and bribery and intimidation were the most present concerns among istmo residents, as well as among officials in the state and national capitals seeking to manage the effects of the wind parks. But the ways that the winds had changed, would change, or might change were not inconsequential.

31. In his essay "Earth, Sky, Wind, and Weather" (2007), Tim Ingold sketches the qualities of an "open" world, where persons and things relate not as closed, separate, autonomous forms reacting to one another, but are instead constituted by their common immersion in a medium of generative flux. That medium, for Ingold, is air, wind, and weather. He posits, if earth and sky are viewed as separate but complementary hemispheres, furnished with "environment"—for example, trees, rocks, mountains—then we face a phenomenological dilemma: "If we are out in the open, how can we also be in the wind?" (S19).