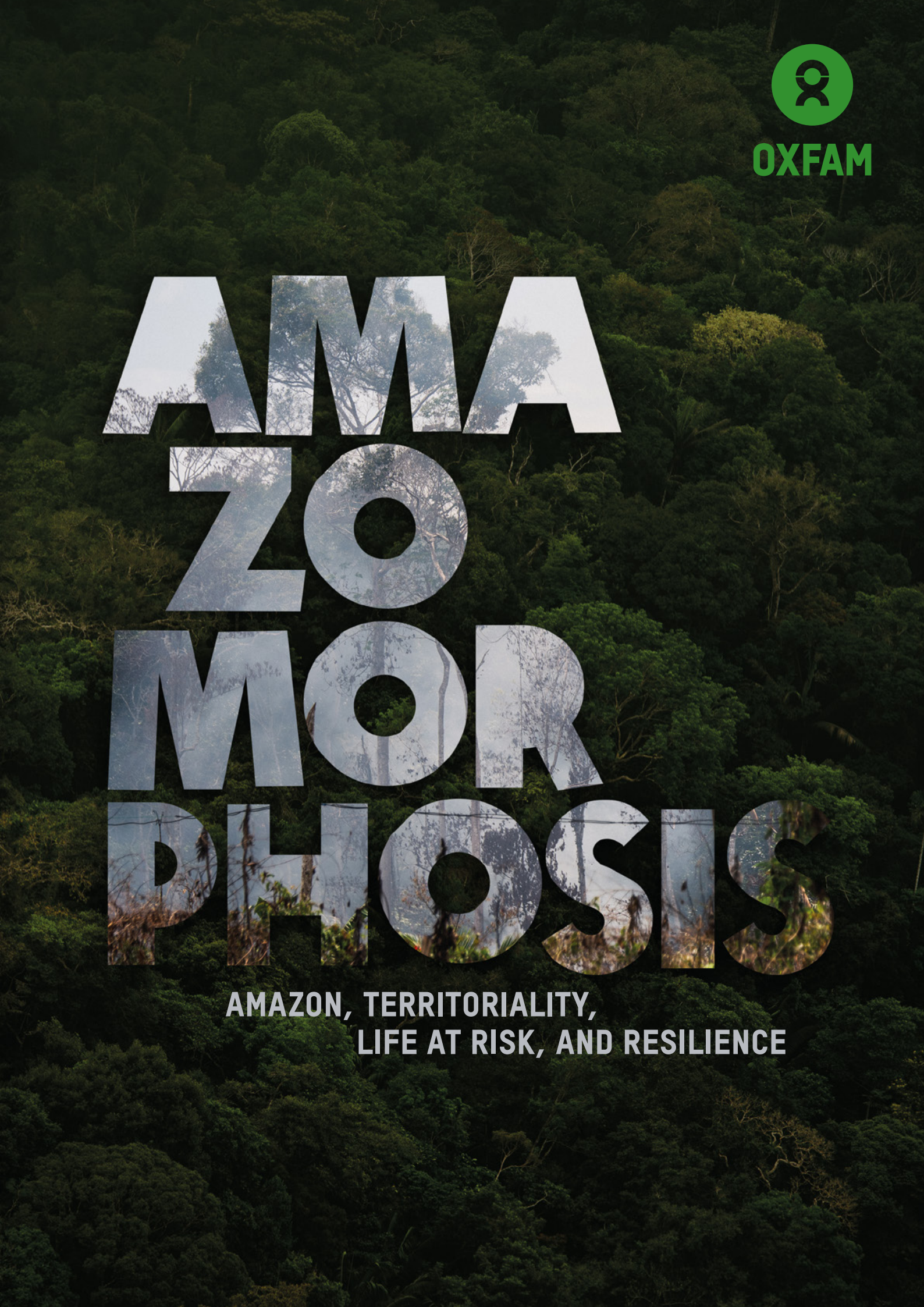
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PHOSIS
AMAZON, TERRITORIALITY,
LIFE AT RISK, AND RESILIENCE

THE AMAZON IS BEING RECONFIGURED BY AN ARCHITECTURE OF POWER THAT IS TRANSFORMING THE TERRITORY INTO A PLACE OF ACCUMULATION, VIOLENCE, AND ILLEGALITY.

This document shows that the Amazonian crisis is not environmental but political: it stems from the structural denial of territorial rights and generates global climate instability. Applying the concept of amazomorphosis, it identifies four systemic dynamics of dispossession that turn life into a condition of risk and the forest into a commodity.

In this scenario, it is argued that without territorial security, effective climate governance is impossible, and that the amazomorphosis of resilience is now the only possible pathway for preserving the future of the Amazon.

Photo: Mathieu LaPrise/Oxfam

AMAZOMORPHOSIS

AMAZON, TERRITORIALITY, LIFE AT RISK AND RESILIENCE

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CONTENTS

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The Amazon is undergoing a deep and accelerated transformation. This document introduces the concept of *amazomorphosis* to describe a process of dispute in which the territory is reconfigured, on the one hand, as a space for extractive expansion, illegal economies, and violence; and, on the other, as a sphere of resistance, care, and the reproduction of life, sustained by Indigenous peoples and local communities. Far from being solely an environmental crisis, the situation in the Amazon reflects a territorial, political, and rights-based crisis, with direct impact on regional and global climate stability.

The purpose of this briefing paper is to demonstrate that the right to territorial security for Amazonian communities —who have long stewarded the region— is an indispensable condition for any effective climate action and sustainable development strategy.

Photo: Ana Zaldívar/Oxfam

AXIS 1

LAND INSECURITY AS THE ROOT OF THE AMAZONIAN CRISIS

The evidence analyzed shows that the degradation of forests, the expansion of extractive activities, and the consolidation of illegal economies are not isolated phenomena, but rather the result of the systematic denial of territorial rights, weak state presence, and regulations that fragment, condition, or hollow out the substance of territorial tenure. In this context, the Amazon must be understood not only as a strategic ecosystem, but as a space of rights, where environmental protection depends directly on the recognition and enforcement of the rights of those who inhabit and care for it.

This structural relationship supports the claim that effective climate governance cannot exist in contexts of territorial insecurity. Where community control is weakened or replaced by external actors —legal or illegal— deforestation, violence, and vulnerability intensify, simultaneously eroding social well-being and ecological integrity.

AXIS 2

REGRESSIVE AMAZOMORPHOSIS: DYNAMICS THAT DEEPEN DISPOSSESSION

The document identifies four interrelated dynamics that shape what is called ***regressive amazomorphosis***, characterized by the deepening of territorial dispossession and exclusion:

- **A legal architecture of dispossession**, in which regulations, administrative procedures, and technical criteria turn the right to territory into a conditional privilege, reproducing historical inequalities and structural racism.
- **The expansion of new frontiers of exclusion**, driven by conservation, climate action, or productive development initiatives that, in the absence of adequate safeguards, restrict communities' use, control, and self-determination under "green" narratives.
- **The normalization of illegality as a form of *de facto* governance**, in which illicit economies replace the State, impose violent control, and reconfigure the territory based on criminal interests.
- **The high human cost of defending territory**, reflected in criminalization, threats, and killings of environmental and collective rights defenders, particularly in areas under intense extractive pressure.

These dynamics do not affect everyone equally. From an intersectional perspective, the analysis shows that Indigenous and rural women, youth, and children face compounded impacts arising from overlapping inequalities related to gender, ethnicity, age, and socioeconomic exclusion. Territorial insecurity thus produces intergenerational dispossession, undermining cultural continuity, food sovereignty, and future life prospects, and deepening climate injustice.

AXIS 3

AMAZOMORPHOSIS OF RESILIENCE: ALTERNATIVE FROM TERRITORIES

In the face of these regressive dynamics, this document highlights an *amazomorphosis of resilience,* sustained by communities that, even in highly vulnerable contexts, actively contest control over their territories and build alternatives grounded in the care of the forest and of life. These experiences go beyond merely adapting to harm; they are political processes of territorial transformation.

The cases analyzed in Brazil, Colombia, and Peru show that when communities exercise effective control—through collective land tenure, their own governance systems, territorial monitoring, and life-sustaining economies—social cohesion, environmental protection, and climate resilience are simultaneously strengthened. Particularly, women's leadership emerges as a key factor in sustaining these processes, linking care, territorial defense, and reproduction.

These experiences demonstrate that territorial security is not an obstacle to climate action, but it is its foundational infrastructure. Ignoring this reality leads to partial solutions that shift the costs of the crisis onto those who have contributed least to causing it.

Implications and call to action

Persisting with governance and development models that subordinate territorial rights reproduces *regressive amazomorphosis* under new narratives, without addressing the structural causes of the crisis. By contrast, placing territorial security, community autonomy, and the leadership of Amazonian communities who steward the forest at the center of public policy, international cooperation, and climate finance is essential to advancing effective social and climate justice.

This briefing paper calls on Amazonian countries, multilateral organizations, and funders to prioritize the protection of territorial rights, strengthen mechanisms to defend human rights and protect environmental defenders, and recognize that the future of the Amazon —and of global climate stability— is decided on the territory.

> **Resilience does not arise from adapting to harm, but from territorial control by those who sustain life.**

Photo: Archive/Oxfam

1. INTRODUCTION

The Amazon is a biocultural and strategic region whose preservation is essential for the stability of the planet's climate system. This territory is home to nearly 47 million people who, with their identities, knowledge, and ways of life, form the living fabric that safeguards the forest. For this reason, the Amazon can be understood not only as an ecological biome, but also as a biome of rights.

However, this global centrality coexists with a reality marked by territorial insecurity and violence. The Amazon concentrates the highest levels of violence against environmental and territorial defenders worldwide. In countries such as Brazil, Colombia, and Peru, most killings of Indigenous and community leaders are directly linked to disputes over land, territorial control, and the expansion of extractive and illegal economies, making the defense of the Amazonian territory a high-risk daily practice.

This scenario is pushing the Amazon toward a tipping point that entails not only potentially irreversible environmental degradation, but also the collapse of the social and political conditions that sustain its ecological functions. The fate of the Amazon therefore ceases to be a regional issue and becomes a matter of global climate security, directly shaped by the political decisions made —or left unmade— regarding its territory.

Consequently, this revealed crisis is not only environmental or climatic, but profoundly political, historical, and civilizational. It reflects a structural matrix of dispossession and land concentration —racialized from its origins— that has shaped the occupation of the Amazonian territory and hierarchized lives, knowledge systems and landscapes. In this context, structural racism operates as an articulating axis that normalizes inequality, enables dispossession, and legitimizes the exclusion of the communities that have lived in and safeguarded the Amazon.

> **The Amazon is not only an ecological biome, but also a biome of rights.**

> **The territorial security of the communities that steward the Amazon is an enabling condition for global climate stability.**

The reproduction of this crisis is reinforced by two seemingly opposing perspectives. On one hand, a pristine and abstract view that conceives the Amazon as an empty, untouchable space, disconnected from the social dynamics that sustain it. On the other, an instrumental view that reduces it to a frontier of extraction and economic expansion. Although apparently divergent, both narratives converge in the same outcome: they render invisible those who inhabit the territory and strip away their capacity for decision-making, weakening governance and deepening conflict. Overcoming this dilemma requires ensuring the territorial security of Amazonian communities and recognizing their political leadership, while avoiding the imposition of external models that reproduce inequality and erode climate resilience.

Within this framework, this briefing paper analyzes the dynamics of exclusion and conflict shaping the Amazon, with a particular focus on tensions over the access to and control over land. Likewise, it highlights the urgency of placing the Amazonian communities who steward the region at the center of territorial

> The Amazon is undergoing an AMAZOMORPHOSIS: a contested process in which extractive deterioration advances in parallel with territorial systems of resilience led by the communities that steward it.

governance strategies and the implementation of international commitments, recognizing territorial security as an enabling condition for advancing effective social and climate justice.

ANALYSIS DIMENSIONS

- **REGRESSIVE AMAZOMORPHOSIS,** which captures the systemic deterioration of the Amazon, expressed in the violent expansion of extractive frontiers and ongoing processes of territorial dispossession.
- **AMAZOMORPHOSIS OF RESILIENCE,** which centers the proactive agency of Amazonian communities, whose self-determined development alternatives and biocultural leadership sustain the integrity of the Amazon as a biome of rights.

This framing makes clear that the Amazonian crisis is neither a natural nor an inevitable phenomenon, but the result of concrete political decisions. At the same time, it highlights resilience as a strategic foundation for reorienting territorial governance and advancing toward effective social and climate justice.

OPERATIONAL APPROACH

The study is based on a comparative systematization of Oxfam's country reports from Colombia, Brazil, Bolivia, and Peru (Table 1). While each case is analyzed with due attention to its specificities, the findings are integrated across cases to identify common trends at the pan-Amazonian scale.

The analysis is structured around three interrelated levels: (i) the structural level, which examines the regulatory frameworks and political decisions that enable the architecture of dispossession and territorial exclusion; (ii) the territorial level, which analyzes specific conflicts where weak state presence allows illegal economies to consolidate as forms of *de facto* governance; and (iii) the human factor level, which centers Amazonian communities in stewardship—understood as Indigenous and rural populations that, in highly vulnerable contexts, sustain daily life, territory, and Amazonian socioecological systems—highlighting both the human cost of this role and the emergence of practices of resistance and resilience.

The integration of these levels makes it possible to understand the Amazonian crisis as a systemic mechanism of dispossession and violence, but also as a contested field in which the biocultural leadership of communities constitutes the central axis for reconfiguring governance and the future of the Amazonian territory.

TABLE 1. Comparative Analysis of Approaches by Country Study

ANALYSIS	BOLIVIA	BRAZIL	COLOMBIA	PERU
Vulnerabilized groups	Rural peasant / Indigenous women	Indigenous and Quilombola peoples	Rural peasant women	Native communities (Indigenous peoples)
Prioritized scale and scope	Northern Bolivian Amazon	Legal Amazon with focus on Pará and Maranhão	Caquetá Department	Ucayali Department

2.

REGRESSIVE AMAZOMORPHOSIS

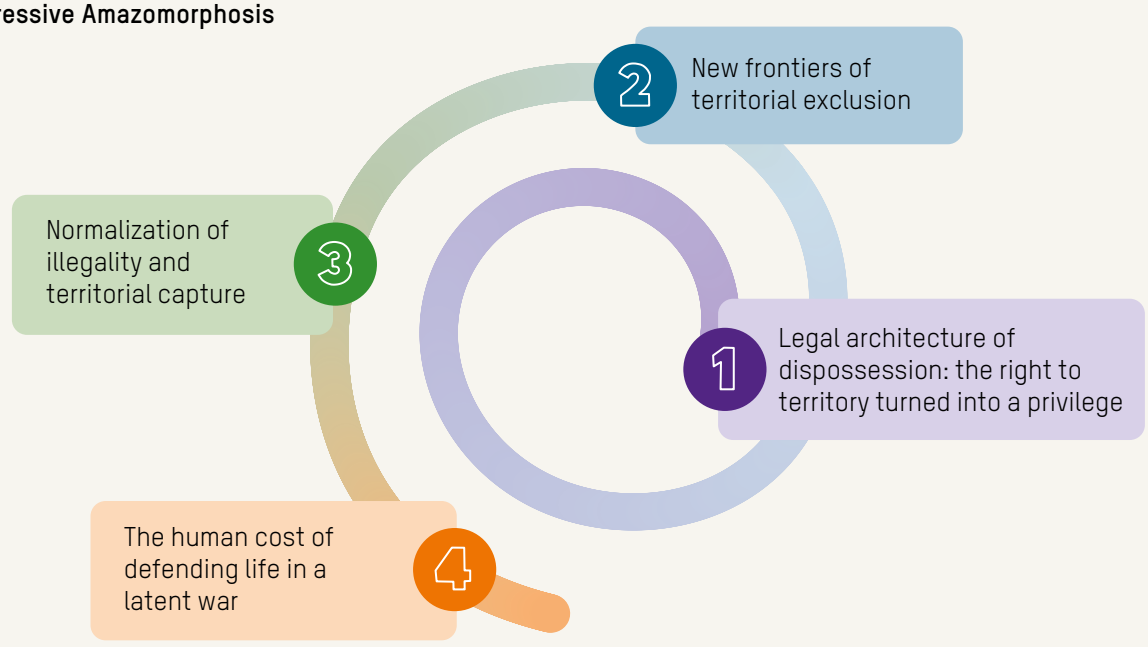
ANATOMY AND MECHANISM OF DISPOSSESSION AND THE DYNAMICS DRIVING THE APPROACH TO THE CLIMATE THRESHOLD

This complex web does not originate exclusively in formal regulation; rather, it is supported and legitimized by it, while simultaneously unfolding, being contested, and reconfigured across the Amazonian territory. *Regressive amazomorphosis* is not a direct or automatic outcome of state institutional frameworks, but a co-produced process in which regulation functions as an enabling framework, granting legality or tolerance to dynamics of dispossession.

As shown in Figure 1, the architecture of power in the Amazon operates as a spiral that brings together regulations, public policies, and institutional arrangements with increasingly intense scenarios of territorial conflict and violence.

This process is reinforced by structural racism, which devalues bodies, cultures, and ways of life, normalizing inequality and undermining territorial security. The result is a cycle of degradation that erodes the biocultural fabric, weakens the protection of rights, and deepens the exclusion of those who steward the Amazon.

FIGURE 1. Four-Phase Spiral of Regressive Amazomorphosis



FIRST TREND

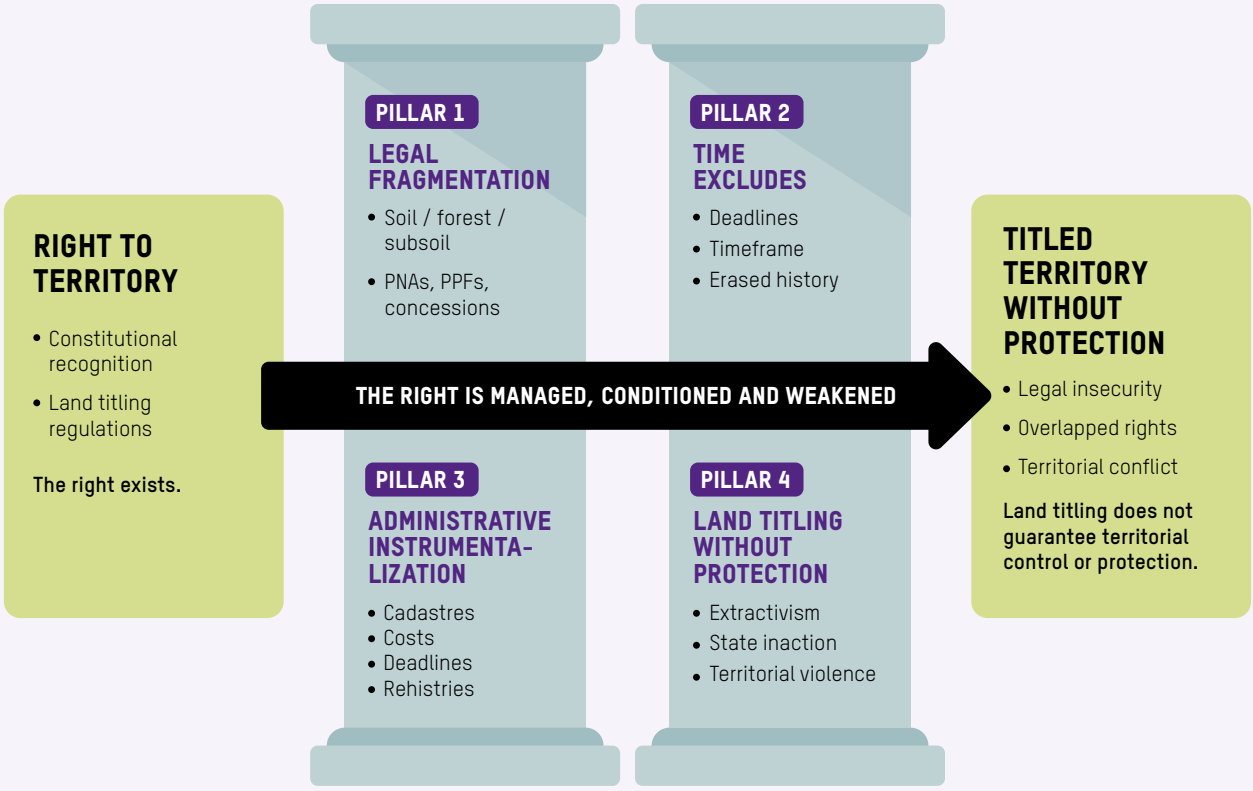
THE LEGAL ARCHITECTURE OF DISPOSSESSION

HOW THE RIGHT TO TERRITORY TURNS INTO A CONDITIONED PRIVILEGE

This first trend is not a failure of the State, but a deliberate way of exercising power over territory through institutional instruments, using technical and regulatory criteria that define who can inhabit, use, and decide over it. In this way, through regulations, procedures, and bureaucratic mechanisms, the State does not openly deny the right to territory but recognizes it in a conditional manner, placing it under a regime of precariousness, latent reversibility, and uncertainty. What would otherwise function as protected recognition is redefined as an administrative authorization, revocable and subject to technical criteria, timeframes, and/or procedural costs.

The right to territory thus becomes an instrument through which it is sufficient to manage both the territory and its inhabitants as objects of governance rather than as rights-bearing subjects. These effects are reflected in four pillars (Figure 2) that operate interdependently, forming a structural web that limits the effective protection of the Amazonian territory and deepens inequalities.

FIGURE 2. Legal Architecture of Dispossession: from Right to Territory



FIRST TREND / FIRST PILLAR
THE LEGAL FRAGMENTATION OF TERRITORY

The first pillar hollows out the right to territorial security through the law, fragmenting the territory into differentiated regimes that undermine its unity as a space for life and collective governance, as illustrated in the following case:

> In Peru, Indigenous communities[1] do not hold full ownership over their territories: forests (specifically Permanent Production Forests) fall outside communal property and are recognized only under usufruct arrangements —a precarious and revocable mechanism that allows the State to reassign these areas for mining, oil, forestry, and/or conservation concessions (Ruiz Molleda & Gavancho León, 2022; Monterroso et al., 2017).

This fragmentation is compounded by the overlap of State-protected conservation areas, private properties, and/or existing extractive concessions (mining, hydrocarbons, or forestry), which blocks comprehensive land titling and deepens the subordination of Indigenous peoples' collective rights (Aidesep et al., 2021). This generates insecurity, conflict, and a racialized hierarchy of space, by which the collective and individual rights of Amazonian communities in stewardship are systematically subordinated to state priorities.

FIRST TREND / SECOND PILLAR
TIME AS AN EXCLUSION CRITERION

Time becomes an instrument for denying Indigenous territorial rights. Rather than recognizing the real history of occupation and dispossession, the State sets an artificial cutoff date that erases expulsions, violence, and displacement, while legitimizing the appropriation of territory by third parties.

> In Brazil, this dynamic is embodied in the *Time Framework* thesis, which makes the recognition of Indigenous territories contingent upon proof of physical occupation as of October 5, 1988, introducing a restrictive criterion that disregards historical processes of dispossession and forced displacement.

This criterion deliberately ignores centuries of dispossession and turns the victims of historical violence into "legal absences." Although Brazil's Supreme Federal Court declared this thesis unconstitutional, Congress reinstated it through Act 14.701/2023. In this way, time ceases to function as memory and instead becomes a filter, determining who has the right to exist in the territory and who is legally excluded.

> **Time becomes a legal filter that determines who exists and who is legally expelled from the territory.**

Both pillars operate in a complementary manner. Legal fragmentation separates land from forest, while the time framework separates present from past. Together, they produce a form of legal and symbolic violence that not only dispossesses territories, but also expropriates the memory and historical narratives of Indigenous and tribal peoples, replacing them with technical frameworks that deny the territorial, cultural, and political continuity of Amazonian communities in stewardship.

1 Native communities in Peru, primarily located in the Amazon, are legally recognized as Indigenous or original peoples, descended from pre-colonial populations that maintain their own social, economic, cultural, and political institutions.

FRIST TREND / THIRD PILLAR

ADMINISTRATIVE INSTRUMENTALIZATION

Land titling processes establish deadlines, costs, and documentary requirements defined by technical criteria with the aim of providing legal certainty over territory. However, tools such as georeferencing, beyond delimiting space, introduce economic and procedural demands that decisively affect the real ability of Amazonian communities in stewardship to access formal recognition of their territorial rights.

The cases of Colombia and Peru show that, even where regulatory frameworks exist to promote redistribution and recognition of territorial rights, their implementation faces constraints that limit their transformative scope and deepen longstanding gaps of exclusion.

In Colombia, the Comprehensive Rural Reform under the Peace Agreement introduced explicit mechanisms to address historical inequalities, such as the Land Fund and the allocation of land to rural women. However, effective progress in land allocation has reached only 0.65% of the target as of 2023. This gap between policy design and outcomes reveals persistent bottlenecks in key administrative stages (identification, legal clearance, allocation, and registration), as well as low budget execution and weak institutional coordination. These limitations disproportionately affect rural women in the Amazon, reducing the reform's transformative potential (Office of the Inspector General of Colombia, 2023).

> **In the Peruvian Amazon, titling an Indigenous community can cost up to USD 15,000 and take as long as 20 years.**

In Peru, communal land titling in the Amazon reproduces similar patterns of institutional exclusion. The high costs of the process —reaching up to USD 15,000— and its lengthy time frames —up to 20 years— are often borne by the communities themselves (Oxfam in Peru, 2025), while procedures for corporate actors can be completed in significantly shorter periods (Notess et al., 2018). This asymmetry reflects not only limited institutional capacity, as seen in Ucayali —where, on average, one native community is titled per year— but also a fragmented administrative architecture, marked by delays in SUNARP, overlaps with concessions, and non-interoperable sectoral cadastres.

Taken together, both examples show that the barriers cannot be explained solely by technical or financial deficits, but by institutional arrangements that, by imposing disproportionate burdens on Indigenous and rural Amazonian communities, turn access to territorial legal security into a selective process —eroding its character as a right and limiting its redistributive function.

FIRST TREND / FOURTH PILLAR
TITLING WITHOUT EFFECTIVE PROTECTION

This fourth pillar shows that the formal recognition of territorial rights is not sufficient to guarantee their effective exercise. The gap between land titling and actual protection allows structural forms of dispossession to persist, especially when the State is absent from the territory or, through action or inaction, enables extractive dynamics that weaken previously recognized rights. This gap constitutes a form of political violence consistent with the logics of dispossession analyzed in the previous pillars and is clearly illustrated in the case of Bolivia, where formally titled Indigenous territories continue to be exposed to extractive pressures without effective protection mechanisms.

> In Bolivia, the titling of Community Lands of Origin and Indigenous Native Peasant Territories (TCO/TIOC), promoted by the INRA Act and the Constitution, represented a historic step forward. However, the lack of effective protection mechanisms has left many Indigenous territories exposed to the expansion of extractive activities. The case of the Tacana Indigenous community of Miraflores, within the Multiethnic Indigenous Territory II (TIM II), illustrates this gap, as despite holding collective land title, the territory faces a growing presence of mining cooperatives and gold mining in the Madre de Dios and Beni rivers (Oxfam in Bolivia, 2024).

From a gender perspective, this pillar shows that the impacts of this gap are not neutral. Tacana Indigenous women have documented the entry of mining actors without prior consultation and the direct effects on agriculture and fishing—activities that are central to community food security (Oxfam in Bolivia, 2024, p. 111). The alteration of riverbanks and water flows through the use of dredges directly affects productive and territorial care practices, deepening the vulnerability of those who sustain the daily reproduction of life.

> **We can't farm because the miners take everything down. Up there on my chaco (land plot), I had five hectares of bananas, and the miners came in and destroyed it all.**
>
> **Testimony from the Women's Focus Group, Miraflores. *Fire and Mercury* Report (2024).**

In summary, this fourth pillar shows that land titling, when not accompanied by effective protection mechanisms, enforcement, and state presence, can become a merely formal recognition that does not guarantee territorial security. The sustained violation of the right to territory weakens both the collective and individual rights of Amazonian communities who inhabit, manage, and steward it, with differentiated impacts on rural women.

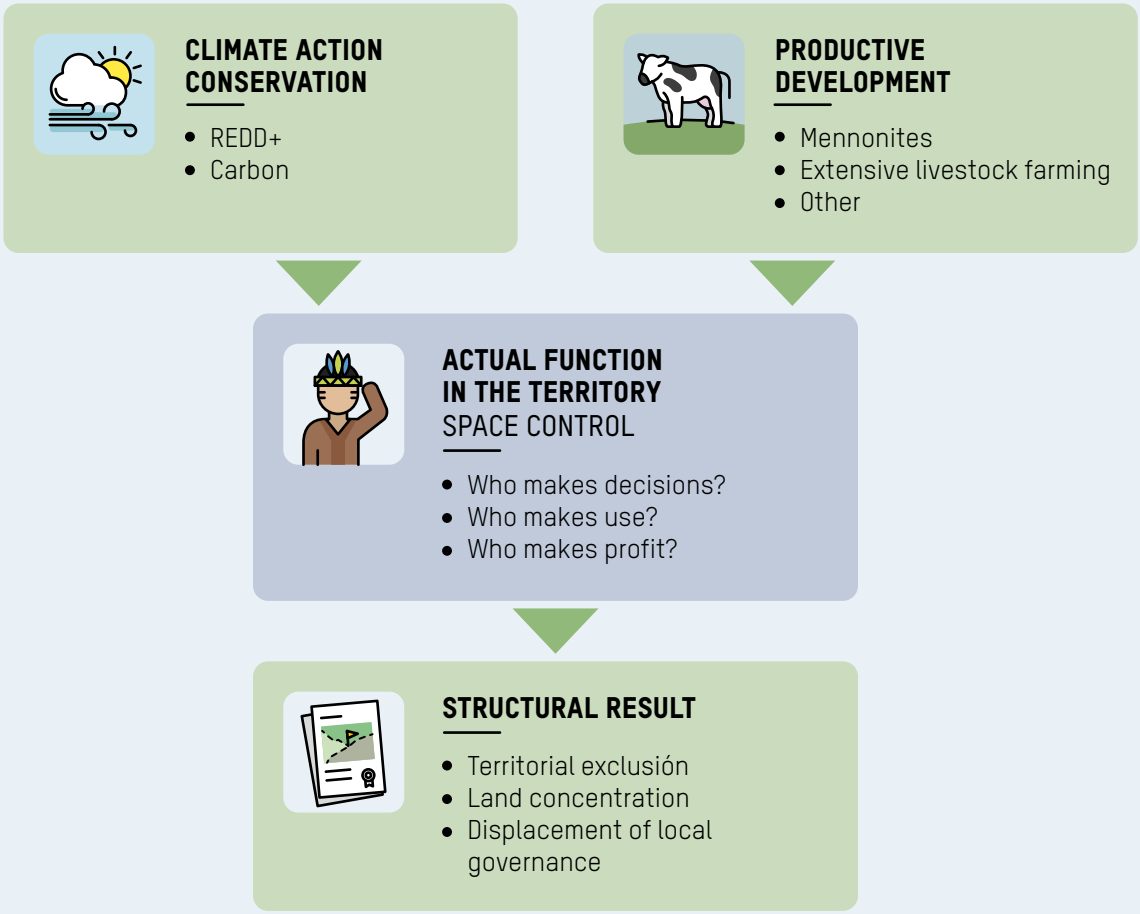
Although women play a strategic role in territorial care, food security, and forest governance —directly contributing to the containment of deforestation and the climate crisis— their capacity to act is eroded when the State, through action or inaction, tolerates extractive dynamics that delegitimize previously recognized rights.

In this way, the gap between land titling and effective protection not only reproduces logics of dispossession, but also simultaneously undermines environmental governance, legal certainty, and the material conditions for a dignified life in the Amazon, weakening the real implementation of the international commitments undertaken by States.

SECOND TREND
NEW FRONTIERS OF TERRITORIAL EXCLUSIÓN

As illustrated in Figure 3, the so-called "new" frontiers of territorial exclusion are not truly novel phenomena, but rather the reactivation of historical frontiers of dispossession that are reshaped and adapted to different political, economic, and discursive contexts. Rather than a transformation in the logic of exclusion, what changes are the instruments and narratives through which it is exercised. Today, these dynamics are framed in the language of environmental conservation, climate action, or productive development, which can operate in irregular and/or exclusionary ways across Amazonian territories.

FIGURE 3. Converging territorial functions



SECOND TREND / FIRST PILLAR

GREEN CAPITAL: A DOUBLE-EDGED SWORD FOR EXCLUSION IN THE NAME OF CLIMATE ACTION

The rise of so-called green capital (through carbon markets, REDD+ projects, and other compensation mechanisms) is presented as a response to the climate crisis. However, without the diligent and adequate implementation of rights safeguards (information transparency, effective participation, and accountability), it can generate or reproduce rights violations and intensify inequality. In certain cases, green capital reconfigures control and use of the territory, restricting the traditional practices of Amazonian communities. In this way, the costs of climate action are shifted onto those least responsible for the crisis, deepening territorial exclusion in the name of conservation.

A representative case is the REDD+ Baka Rokarire project in the Indigenous territory of Pirá Paraná, Colombia, currently under review by the Constitutional Court following a lawsuit filed by the Indigenous Council of Pirá Paraná. Civil society organizations have indicated that the project may have been developed irregularly, disregarding Indigenous systems of territorial governance and free, prior and informed consent (Censat Agua Viva, 2024). These tensions are also present in Brazil: in 2023, 22 conflicts linked to carbon projects were reported, with 88.4% occurring in Indigenous territories, associated with community fragmentation and increased risks for local leaders (Comissão Pastoral da Terra, 2024).

88,4 %

of carbon-related conflicts in Brazil affect Indigenous territories.

These dynamics highlight the risks of oversimplifying the complexity of the Amazon biome through carbon-centered metrics, which favor the financialization of forests and the displacement of decision-making power toward external actors. This process has been analyzed as a form of racism, in which those who have historically conserved forests disproportionately bear the costs of climate action, while major emitters retain broad operational leeway (WRM, 2024). For this reason, there is an urgent need to strengthen rights safeguards in such interventions as minimum conditions to simultaneously ensure environmental effectiveness, social equity, climate justice, and territorial legitimacy for carbon projects.

SECOND TREND / SECOND PILLAR

SHADOW COLONIZATION AND STATE TOLERANCE

This pattern is clearly expressed in the expansion of Mennonite colonies in the Amazon of Bolivia and Peru, a form of territorial dispossession that, although not framed within the discourse of green capital, reproduces historical structures of land appropriation through deforestation, the accumulation of large landholdings, and the displacement of local communities, under sustained state tolerance.

Between 2017 and 2021, Mennonite colonies were responsible for 33% of deforestation associated with soybean cultivation in the Bolivian Amazon (MAAP, 2023).

In Peru, a representative case is found in the Shipibo-Konibo Native Community of Caimito, in the Ucayali region, where the Mennonite colony of Masisea has irregularly occupied at least 73 hectares of ancestral territory, causing significant deforestation and violating collective rights (Sierra, 2022).

In Colombia, extensive livestock farming plays a similar role (opening forest, planting pasture, and establishing de facto land possession). Specifically in the department of Caquetá, this process manifests in extreme land concentration. According to the 2014 National Agricultural Census, 5% of agricultural holdings control more than 70% of the agricultural land, mainly dedicated to extensive livestock farming (Funmapaz, 2025).

In both cases, colonization is not presented as an openly illegal process, but rather as a normalized and socially tolerated practice that operates in the grey zones of land governance, reproduces land concentration, and erodes territorial governance.

Overall, this trend shows that territorial exclusion in the Amazon is not defined by the "green" or "productive" label of interventions, but by the territorial function they ultimately fulfill in contexts of state tolerance and flexible legality. When different instruments (conservation, climate action, and/or agro-extractive expansion) converge in similar outcomes of land concentration, restricted use, and/or weakened rights, exclusion ceases to be a collateral effect and becomes a structural feature of territorial governance. Recognizing this convergence is key to preventing new policies from reproducing, under different names, the same historical frontiers of dispossession.

THIRD TREND
NORMALIZATION OF ILLEGALITY AND TERRITORIAL CAPTURE

The third trend emerges when dispossession ceases to operate primarily through regulations, projects, or administrative frameworks and becomes embedded in the everyday life of territories. Where the right to territory has been stripped of state protection and territorial control has shifted toward external actors, illegal economies find the conditions to expand and to reorder social, economic, and community life in the Amazon (Global Witness, 2025).

Its central effect is the erosion of territorial well-being and the breakdown of the social fabric. The territory ceases to be a space of life and self-determination and becomes a platform that serves economies dependent on precarity, structural inequality, and territorial capture. This dynamic is sustained by three interconnected pillars, as detailed below.

THIRD TREND / FIRST PILLAR
ECONOMIES THAT GOVERN WITHOUT A STATE

The first feature of the normalization of illegality is the imposition of informal rules that replace the State as the effective framework for territorial governance, based on coercion and systemic violence.

These economies do not operate in isolation, but rather are articulated through organized illegal networks linked to timber extraction for smuggling, illegal mining, and the actions of *grileiros* (land grabbers) (Fórum Brasileiro de Segurança Pública, 2024), the presence of armed groups, as is the case in the Colombian Amazon (CNMH, 2020), and/or alleged corruption networks involving authorities in land trafficking and money laundering.

In addition, other illicit economies such as drug trafficking further intensify violence, threats, and the erosion of territorial security for Amazonian communities that act as stewards of the territory.

> According to Soberón (2025), in Ucayali (Peru), dozens of clandestine airstrips have been documented, evidencing effective territorial control by illegal networks. This pattern is replicated in other Amazonian countries, where criminal factions dominate entire value chains associated with illegal logging and mining.

This pillar represents a structural rupture in which illegality ceases to be marginal and instead consolidates itself as a normalized and functional form of territorial governance, with differentiated impacts on vulnerable groups.

> **We, as women, feel unsafe in our territory. It is not possible to be alone or to leave the community, and even less to leave our children alone, due to the encroachments we sometimes suffer. We don't feel safe.**
>
> **Testimony from EP Bolivia. ODS and Territorial Development**

THIRD TREND / SECOND PILLAR
EROSION OF TERRITORIAL WELLBEING

De facto territorial control produces a systematic erosion of well-being and ways of life in the Amazon by dismantling territorial security. Although the territory continues to be occupied and exploited, the Amazonian communities that steward it lose effective control over the space, resources, and decisions that sustain their collective and individual lives.

This erosion translates into direct impacts on health and the conditions for sustaining life. In the northern Amazon of Bolivia, for example, gold mining has generated critical levels of mercury contamination in riverside communities, with severe effects on health —including reproductive health— and on children.

In Brazil, social indicators confirm this structural relationship. The Brazil Social Progress Index 2024 shows that Amazonian municipalities with higher levels of land conflict and illegal economies report the worst performance in basic human needs (Amazon 2030, 2024). In Colombia, particularly in Caquetá, this dynamic translates into the deterioration of services and food insecurity, generating differentiated and disproportionate exclusions for men and women (Oxfam in Colombia, 2025).

Taken together, these processes turn the territory into a source of rent without life, where illegality extracts value while dispossessing Amazonian communities of well-being, autonomy, and future.

THIRD TREND / THIRD PILLAR
EPISTEMIC DELEGITIMIZATION

Epistemic delegitimization is a form of structural violence in Amazonian territories and precedes territorial dispossession by nullifying knowledge systems, worldviews, and life projects of communities, particularly women. The extractivist model transforms the territory from a space of life, memory, and culture into a commodity in service of extraction, stripping communities of their capacity to define their present and project their future, under a *de facto* control sustained by institutional weakness and the capture of local power.

Amazonian women experience this violence in a differentiated way. Their relationship with the land —grounded in care, reciprocity, and food sovereignty— makes them a primary target of extractivism, generating a "double dispossession": the loss of territory, and exclusion from legal recognition and land titling. This increases vulnerability through exposure to violence.

Despite this, women are political actors who build resistance through their knowledge systems, organizations, and community leadership. Their struggle for land is an epistemic claim that reaffirms the legitimacy of their knowledge and care practices, proposing an alternative political project to extractivism. In doing so, they redefine territorial and gender justice, affirming that *neither land nor women's bodies are territories of conquest.*

> **Rural women not only cultivate the land; they also cultivate territories of peace, care, self-determined economies, and collective decision-making.**
>
> **EP Colombia**

FOURTH TREND

THE HUMAN COST OF DEFENDING LIFE IN A LATENT WAR

Violence against Amazonian defenders is not the result of isolated incidents, but rather the accumulation of structural dynamics of territorial unprotection described in the previous trends. This violence occurs in contexts where state action is fragmented and uneven, with limited capacity to effectively guarantee territorial rights and the conditions that sustain community life.

Extractive dynamics spread within these protection gaps and generate differentiated impacts, particularly on women, whose role in the care, management, and defense of territory is key to cultural, social, environmental, and community sustainability. Before manifesting in physical attacks or killings, violence appears through institutional and symbolic practices —selective criminalization, judicial harassment, stigmatization, and the silencing of local knowledge— that progressively erode territorial security, as recognized under international standards such as the CEDAW Committee's General Recommendation No. 39.

> Lethal violence is the visible tip of a system of territorial dispossession and lack of protection.

As illustrated in Figure 4, the iceberg approach is used as an analytical tool to understand territorial violence in the Amazon. Attacks and killings represent only the visible tip of a broader structure of invisible, underlying forms of violence —fragmented regulatory frameworks, administrative barriers, structural racism, and the absence of effective protection. Without addressing these underlying layers, responses focused exclusively on lethal violence are insufficient to prevent it and to strengthen territorial governance.

The magnitude of this human cost goes beyond local cases and is reflected in regional and global patterns of systematic violence against those who sustain life and territory. According to Global Witness (2025),

FIGURE 4. Iceberg of Territorial Dispossession and Violence Against Defenders in the Amazon

DIRECT VIOLENCE
- Killings
- Threats, attacks, and forced displacement

INSTITUTIONAL & NORMALIZED VIOLENCE
- Selective criminalization and judicial harassment
- Stigmatization and gender biases
- Fragmented state response
- Land titling without effective protection

STRUCTURAL ARCHITECTURE OF DISPOSSESSION
- Fragmentation of the territory
- Exclusionary administrative procedures
- Structural racism
- Unequal distribution of care burdens within the territory
- Expansion of extractive economies in contexts of weak state presence

in 2024 alone, at least 146 land and environmental defenders were killed or disappeared worldwide while protecting their territories and ecosystems. Of these cases, 117 (82%) occurred in Latin America, confirming the region as the deadliest in the world for territorial defense.

This regional concentration of violence is not random. It reflects structural configurations in which high extractive pressure converges with weakened legal protection frameworks, expanding illegal economies and deep power asymmetries. In this context, Colombia recorded 48 killings in 2024 —the highest figure worldwide— highlighting how lethal violence becomes an operational mechanism of territorial control in settings where institutions fail to guarantee rights and security.

These patterns of violence against defenders are disproportionately directed at racialized and territorialized bodies that carry out the daily work of caring for forests, water, and community life. As shown in Table 1, the cases of Peru and Brazil demonstrate that lethal violence is concentrated in territories under high extractive pressure, in contexts of weak territorial recognition and the progressive hollowing out of institutional safeguards.

A landmark case that materializes these structural patterns is that of the Alto Tamaya Saweto Native Community (Ucayali, Peru), which illustrates the extreme costs of territorial defense against illegal extractive economies. After years of threats and complaints regarding illegal logging, on September 1, 2014, four Asháninka leaders —Edwin Chota Valera, Jorge Ríos Pérez, Leoncio Quintisima Meléndez, and Francisco Pinedo Ramírez— were ambushed and killed by illegal loggers while protecting their forests and seeking to coordinate cross-border territorial defense actions (IDL, 2024).

Although the community was later granted recognition of approximately 78,000 hectares in 2015, the judicial response was delayed and fragmented: it was only in 2025 that a conviction was upheld against those responsible, after more than a decade of impunity (Defensoría del Pueblo, 2025). This time gap reveals how the absence of effective protection

TABLE 1. Defense of Life, Sacrificial Bodies

COUNTRY	KEY FACTS	QUANTITATIVE DATA
PERU Ucayali	Killing of Indigenous leaders following reports of illegal logging	A total of 57 environmental defenders were reported killed between 2019 and 2024, most of them in Amazonian regions. The Ucayali region is the epicenter of lethal violence against Indigenous defenders in the country, with 11 documented killings (ORAU & Asociación ProPurús, 2025).
BRAZIL Legal Amazon	Systematic lethal violence on extractive frontiers	Between 2019 and 2022, 169 defenders were killed, of which 140 (83%) were directly linked to struggles over land, territory, and environmental protection. In the state of Pará, 32 Indigenous people were killed, with an annual average of 6 cases. In the state of Maranhão, between 2019 and 2024, at least 14 quilombola people were killed in territorial disputes (Fórum Brasileiro de Segurança Pública, 2024).

not only exposes defenders to violence, but also normalizes physical elimination as an assumed cost of territorial governance.

This case illustrates the most extreme expression of the human cost of territorial defense: targeted killings as a mechanism of control. Their purpose is not only to eliminate an individual, but to silence leadership, dismantle collective processes, and weaken the systems that sustain community life. Each killing operates as a collective warning directed at the territory as a whole, seeking to normalize fear and discipline resistance.

The recurrence of these events confirms that lethal violence against defenders is not exceptional, but a structural component of territorial disputes in the Amazon. From a gender and intersectional perspective, this violence is inscribed on differentiated bodies and is enabled by the invisibilization of care work, collective trauma, and the non-lethal forms of violence that precede assassination. In this sense, the bodies of those who defend the territory become the final site of territorial struggle, revealing the collapse of territorial well-being and the deep asymmetries that structure environmental governance in the region.

Photo: Archive/Oxfam

3.

INTERSECTIONAL READING OF REGRESSIVE AMAZOMORPHOSIS

THE AMAZON AS A POLYCRISIS OF TERRITORIAL SECURITY

Regressive amazomorphosis does not result from isolated impacts nor from an exclusively environmental or climatic crisis. The four trends analyzed operate simultaneously and cumulatively, configuring a territorial polycrisis that articulates legal, social, economic, environmental, and human rights dimensions across the Amazon.

The common axis of this polycrisis is territorial insecurity, in which the right to territory is fragmented, conditioned, or stripped of effective protection, territorial control shifting toward external actors, and dynamics of violence, illegality, and exclusion becoming entrenched.

TERRITORIAL SECURITY AS AN INFRASTRUCTURE OF INTERNATIONAL FRAMEWORKS

Table 2 summarizes how international frameworks —the Escazú Agreement, climate change policies, and biodiversity commitments— converge on the Amazonian territory, showing that their effectiveness depends on territorial security. Without it, procedural rights, climate strategies, and conservation policies lose their effectiveness.

TABLE 2. Territorial Security as a Common Basis for International Policy Frameworks (Escazú, CMNUC, CBD)

AXIS	ESCAZÚ AGREEMENT (ARTS. 5, 6, 7, 8, 9)	CLIMATE POLICIES (CMNUCC) (ARTS. 8, 10, 17, 26)	BIODIVERSITY (CB) (GOALS 3, 22 AND 23)
Rights-holders	Environmental human rights defenders and communities with access to information, participation, and justice	Local communities as actors of adaptation and resilience	Indigenous peoples and local communities as stewards of biodiversity
Object	Access rights and protection of defenders	Climate mitigation and adaptation	Conservation of life
Type of emerging governance	Legal exception and repression	Extractive or technocratic climate governance	Conservation without peoples or with displacement
Risk without territorial security	Criminalization and violence. Hollowing out od the rule of law	Rising emissions, policy failure, and false climate solutions	Accelerated biodiversity loss and the collapse of socioecological life

INTERSECTIONAL IMPACTS OF REGRESSIVE AMAZOMORPHOSIS

Table 3 shows how territorial insecurity produces differentiated impacts across territorial subjects, amplified by factors of gender, age, ethnicity, and economic injustice. This matrix makes it possible to identify how the axes of structural racism (R), gender (G), denied interculturality (I), and economic injustice (E) overlap and generate specific patterns of vulnerability.

TABLE 3. Intersectional matrix of exclusion

SUBJECTS TRENDS	T1. LEGAL ARCHITECTURE OF DISPOSSESSION	T2. NEW FRONTIERS OF TERRITORIAL EXCLUSION	T3. EXTRACTIVE AND ILLEGAL ECONOMIES AS GOVERNANCE	T4. HUMAN COST AND VIOLENCE
Indigenous and tribal peoples	Hollowing out of territorial rights through legal fragmentation and exclusionary bureaucracy (R–I–E)	Displacement of self-determination by extractive and conservation projects (R–I–E)	Loss of territorial control and imposition of de *facto rules* (R–E)	Criminalization, forced displacement, racialized and lethal violence, with high levels of impunity (R–E)
Women (native and Indigenous, Afro-descendant, rural peasant)	Legal and patriarchal invisibilization of territorial rights (R–G–I–E)	Exclusion from territorial decision-making and loss of autonomy over livelihoods (R–G–I–E)	Overburden of care work, economic precaritization, and exposure to illegality (G–E)	Multiple forms of violence: criminalization, sexual violence, and lethal violence (R–G–E)
Amazonian youth	Denial of the right to territorial and cultural continuity (R–I–E)	Imposition of economic models alien to the territory (I–E)	Recruitment and precarious labor within illegal/ extractive economies (E)	Stigmatization, armed violence, and the disruption of life projects (R–E)
Amazonian children	Intergenerational invisibilization as subjects of territorial rights (R–I–E)	Anticipatory dispossession of spaces of life, play, and learning (I–E)	Normalization of precarity / early disruption of cultural and social reproduction (E)	Prolonged structural violence: hunger, displacement, and trauma (R–E)

LEGEND:
The acronyms R-G-I-E indicate the transversal axes of structural racism, gender, denied interculturality, and socio-economic inequality that overlap in each case, evidencing the intersectional accumulation of exclusions.
R (Structural Racism) ▸ racialized territories, impunity, lack of protection
G (Gender) ▸ women facing care burdens, political exclusion, and specific forms of violence
I (Denied Interculturality) ▸ symbolic recognition without territorial power
E (Economic Injustice) ▸ accumulation of costs and concentration of benefits

The intersectional matrix shows that gender and age act as amplifiers of territorial harm.

FOR WOMEN
Territorial insecurity translates into an increased burden of care work, loss of economic autonomy, and direct exposure to specific forms of violence, including sexual violence, criminalization, and threats due to their role as women in defending the territory.

FOR AMAZONINAN CHILDREN
Territorial dispossession entails an anticipated intergenerational harm. The loss of territory directly affects the rights to food and cultural continuity, among others, and thus precarity, fear, forced displacement, and trauma become normalized from an early age.

Territorial insecurity in the Amazon produces an intergenerational dispossession that goes beyond the immediate harm to communities and ecosystems. The loss of territory entails the rupture of cultural transmission, the anticipatory denial of life projects, and the inheritance of degraded, violated, or contaminated landscapes for future generations. In this sense, *regressive amazomorphosis* not only compromises the present but mortgages the future, consolidating a form of intergenerational climate injustice in which Amazonian children and youth bear costs they did not cause and over which they had no decision-making power.

Overall, the intersectional reading of this section allows us to claim that territorial insecurity is the core axis of the Amazonian polycrisis. The fragmentation of the right to territory, the displacement of territorial control, and the normalization of violence not only weaken the validity of collective and individual rights, but also erode the very foundations of environmental, climate, and social governance in the region. In this scenario, international policy frameworks aimed at environmental protection, climate action, and human rights converge on the Amazonian territory, but their effectiveness remains conditioned by the absence of effective territorial guarantees for those who inhabit and steward it.

4

FROM REGRESSIVE AMAZOMORPHOSIS TO AMAZOMORPHOSIS OF RESILIENCE

DISPUTE OVER THE MANAGEMENT OF THE AMAZONIAN TERRITORY

The analysis of *regressive amazomorphosis* makes it possible to grasp the depth of the Amazonian crisis and the structural axes of the ongoing territorial conflict. Extractive expansion, territorial dispossession, and governance breakdown configure a scenario in which life —human and non-human— becomes increasingly vulnerable, while territorial control shifts toward external and illegal actors.

In response, the *amazomorphosis of resilience* does not emerge as a defensive reaction, but as a political and transformative process that contests the very dimensions where dispossession operates. As summarized in Table 4, Amazonian communities in stewardship reconfigure the territory through resistance, re-existence, and collective forms of governance that sustain alternative logics of life.

The *amazomorphosis of resilience* is not a future scenario, but an ongoing political reality that emerges in the face of territorial insecurity and governance crises in the Amazon. Sustained by communities, peoples, and organizations, it unfolds even in highly vulnerable contexts, actively challenging logics of dispossession. This resilience consolidates alternative forms of territorial control, governance, and the reproduction of life. The following section further explores its dimensions and practices as a structuring force for governance and the continuity of life.

Photo: Archive/Oxfam

TABLE 4. Structural Correspondences between Regressive Trends and Dimensions of Territorial Resilience in the Amazon

REGRESSIVE AMAZOMORPHOSIS TRENDS	AMAZOMORPHOSIS OF RESILIENCE DIMENSIONS	TERRITORIAL ARTICULATION KEY
Legal and regulatory architecture of dispossession	Territorial resistences	Active defense of the territory in the face of the hollowing out of rights, regulatory flexibilization, and institutional capture
Expansion of frontiers of exclusion and territorial sacrifice	Community re-existences	Reaffirmation of life systems, identities, and self-determined forms of governance in the face of the extractive reconfiguration
Extractive and illegal economies as forms of de facto governance	Alternatives to development	Construction of territorial economies, community control, and autonomy in the face of extractive dependency
Violence and human cost of the defense of territory	Articulation of resistence sand re-existences	Collective protection, community leadership, and the continuity of life in the face of criminalization and permanent risk

5.

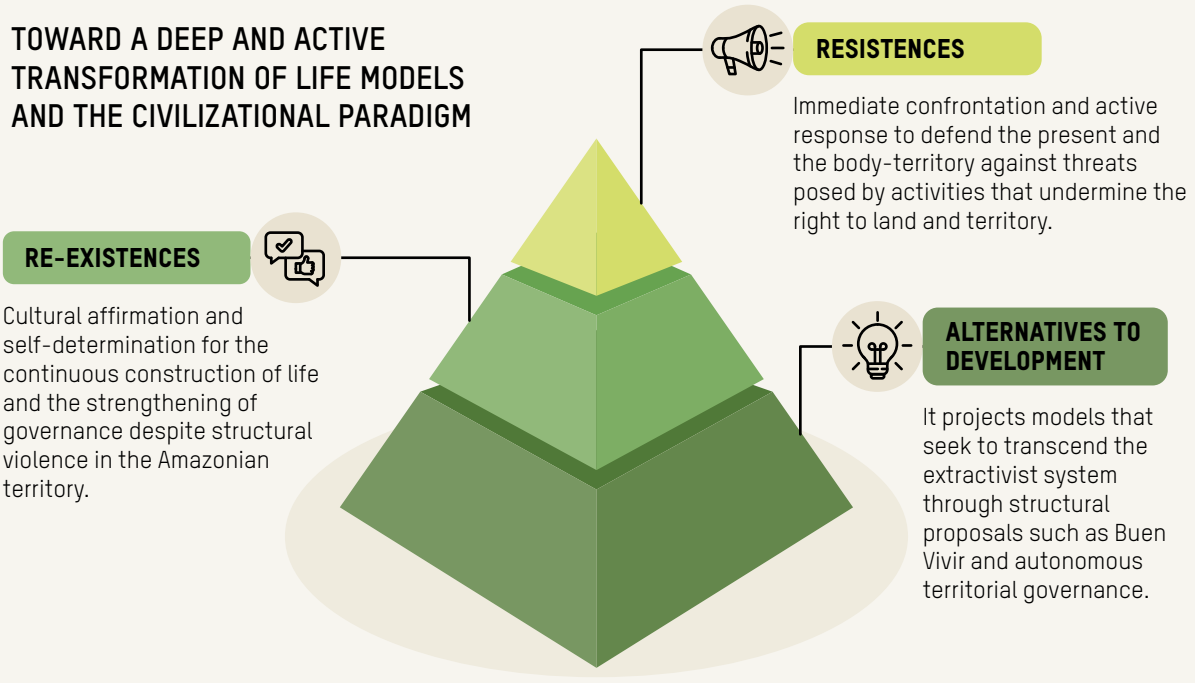
AMAZOMORPHOSIS OF RESILIENCE

RESILIENCE EMERGES FROM INHABITED TERRITORY

Against this systemic threat of regressive *amazomorphosis*, the *amazomorphosis of resilience* emerges not as a defensive reaction, but as an ongoing political and territorial process in which knowledge systems, practices, and forms of organization are recreated, capable of sustaining social, environmental, and climate resilience at a planetary scale. Built from Amazonian communities in stewardship, this active transformation shifts the horizon from fragmented resistance toward the collective production of possible futures, consolidating the capacity of inhabited territories to sustain, govern, and regenerate life in contexts of multiple crises.

The *amazomorphosis of resilience* is articulated around three interdependent dimensions —resistances, re-existences, and alternatives to development— which operate simultaneously and relationally (Figure 5). Their interaction not only challenges mechanisms of dispossession, but also drives a profound transformation of dominant models of life, territorial relations, and the prevailing civilizational horizon.

FIGURE 5. Foundations Sustaining the AMAZOMORPHOSIS of Resilience



These territorial practices are directly aligned with global climate agendas, particularly mitigation and adaptation strategies based on forests and community systems. Rather than merely "complementing" climate policies, solutions emerging from the territory demonstrate that there is no effective climate action without territorial autonomy, well-being, community control, and social justice.

Within this framework, three experiences are presented below that illustrate how collective action and active territorial management operate as drivers of a propositional *amazomorphosis*, simultaneously strengthening territorial security, environmental justice, and climate viability.

TERRITORIAL AUTONOMY IN ACTION

In contexts of state absence and expansion of illegal economies, Amazonian resilience does not take the form of waiting or passive adaptation, but rather of active territorial autonomy. Indigenous communities in Brazil and Peru have developed their own systems of territorial control, defense, and management that integrate environmental protection, the exercise of rights, and climate action within a single political process.

In Brazil, the Ka'apor people created the Forest Guardians (*Ka'a Usak Há Ta*), a community-based monitoring system that blocked illegal extraction routes, closing at least fourteen logging roads and enabling the recovery of more than 80% of degraded areas within their territory. This experience demonstrates that forest protection is not a collateral effect, but the direct result of territorial control exercised by communities. Similarly, in the Peruvian Amazon, Indigenous communities in Ucayali have transformed collective land titling into a strategy of self-protection against violence, drug trafficking, and institutional capture. The MDE Saweto process, led by Indigenous organizations, breaks with the state's tutelary model and redefines land tenure as a basis for autonomy, collective protection, and the recognition of Indigenous guards.

RE-EXISTING THROUGH CARE AND MEMORY

The *amazomorphosis of resilience* is expressed not only through physical territorial control, but also through the reconstruction of the social, symbolic, and economic fabrics that sustain life. In Colombia's Caquetá region, rural women organized within Funmapaz have linked territorial defense with gender justice, historical memory, and peacebuilding, proposing a deeply feminized form of resilience.

Their initiatives—such as Amazonian nurseries and integrated home gardens—simultaneously respond to ecological degradation, food insecurity, and the impacts of climate change, restoring ecosystems and strengthening livelihoods rooted in the territory. These practices not only recover local biodiversity but also reconfigure women's political role in territorial and climate governance.

Resilience is also expressed at the symbolic and communicative level. Through political training processes and the Amazonian Women's Audiovisual School, Funmapaz transforms communication into a tool for climate adaptation, conflict visibility, and narrative contestation, reclaiming the voices of those historically silenced.

ALTERNATIVES TO DEVELOPMENT

Amazonian resilience experiences are not limited to mitigating harm, but instead formulate structural alternatives to the dominant development model.

In Ucayali, the consolidation of self-protection mechanisms led by Indigenous organizations and the emergence of a new generation of Indigenous professionals mark a key shift: the territory ceases to be an object of intervention and is consolidated as an autonomous political subject. As noted by the Regional Organization AIDESEP Ucayali (ORAU), these processes are expressed in spaces such as the Third Meeting of Defender Platforms for Life and PIACI Territorial Corridors (Pucallpa, March 2025), where strategies are articulated in response to threats, response protocols are validated, and collective actions are projected—including binational strategies and territorial protection measures. Rather than constituting formalized structures, these mechanisms operate as evolving processes that reconfigure governance from the territory, positioning Indigenous peoples as central actors in defending life and defining their own futures (ORAU, 2025).

Likewise, in the Amazonian municipalities of Palos Blancos and Alto Beni, in the department of La Paz (Bolivia), the increase in gold mining triggered local processes aimed at protecting the agroecological vocation of the territory, centered on cocoa production. In 2021, both municipalities declared themselves free of mining through municipal regulations, a decision supported by Indigenous and peasant communities committed to sustainable production models. The process followed institutional channels and culminated in ratification by the Plurinational Constitutional Court of Bolivia, resulting in the temporary suspension of mining applications overlapping the municipal jurisdictions in both areas (Sabin, 2024).

Beyond the cases presented, numerous community initiatives continue to develop across the Amazon, though they still require greater visibility and recognition. These actions are not limited to improving land management; they also seek to reformulate existing regulatory frameworks by demanding full territorial tenure, recognition of Indigenous protection systems, and effective legal guarantees. In this process, the territory ceases to be conceived as a resource or an economic frontier and is consolidated as an integral way of life, legally recognized and politically governed by communities.

Each of these actions —protecting forests, securing land, sustaining peace, and maintaining local productive systems— expresses a notion of well-being understood as territorial and relational integration: connection with nature, strong social ties, local autonomy, and the capacity to redistribute knowledge and care. This form of well-being not only sustains daily life but also strengthens socio-ecological resilience and directly contributes to climate action and global environmental stability.

The analysis of cases from Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, and Peru demonstrates that the *amazomorphosis of resilience* is not an aspirational narrative, but a living and ongoing process, built from inhabited territories and from Amazonian communities that perform stewardship functions. In this sense, strategic territorial defense, economies for life, and collective well-being emerge as inseparable dimensions. Protecting the Amazon, therefore, is not only a local responsibility but a global imperative to ensure a sustainable, just, and viable future for humanity.

6. RECOMMENDATIONS

The Amazon is going through a decisive moment, marked by the convergence between the climate crisis and electoral cycles that shape public decision-making in the region. Although the biome now occupies a central place on the global climate agenda, this visibility has not translated into structural changes in the way it is governed. On the contrary, environmental commitments often coexist with short-term policies that prioritize extractive expansion, regulatory flexibilization, and the postponement of territorial rights, deepening ecological and social vulnerability.

This scenario is not accidental. It reflects a trajectory identified in this document as regressive amazomorphosis, in which the State does not act through omission, but as an enabler of territorial fragmentation and dispossession. In response, a different pathway emerges from the territories: the amazomorphosis of resilience, driven by Amazonian communities that sustain territorial control, economies for life, and self-determined forms of governance. This resilience is not passive adaptation to harm, but an active dispute over the future of the territory and over models of well-being that integrate nature, social ties, local autonomy, and collective care.

The recommendations that follow are based on a simple and central premise: there will be no effective climate transition or sustainable development in the Amazon without territorial security, recognition of collective rights, and strengthening of the capacities of those who inhabit and steward the territory. States, local authorities, multilateral organizations, and funders all have a key role in reorienting Amazonian governance, moving from fragmented and technocratic approaches toward a real political commitment to life, territory, and the shared future of the Amazon biome.

AMAZONIAN STATES

Where the State turns the right to territory into a privilege, violence, illegality, and climate degradation become structural.

RECOMMENDATIONS

- Dismantle the legal architecture of dispossession by eliminating regimes that fragment the territory (usufruct arrangements, overlapping land categories, sectoral exceptions). As long as the territory remains divided into administrative functions, governance will continue to be captured.
- Restore the integrity of territorial rights by recognizing land, forest, water, and traditional use as a unified system of life and governance, rather than separable assets.
- Suspend extractive, agro-industrial, and carbon concessions in territories with incomplete titling or without effective protection. Authorizing projects in insecure territories reproduces regressive *amazomorphosis* under new narratives.
- Recognize Amazonian communities in stewardship as territorial authorities, incorporating their governance systems into climate, environmental, and development decision-making processes.
- Mainstream alternatives to development as structural public policy, integrating them into Nationally Determined Contributions (NDCs), adaptation plans, and national budgets.

Without territorial security, no climate transition is possible; there is only managed collapse.

AMAZONIAN COMMUNITIES IN STEWARDSHIP

FROM SACRIFICIAL SUBJECTS TO ARCHITECTS OF VIABLE FUTURES

Regressive amazomorphosis turns communities —especially women— into sacrificial bodies within a model that extracts value while eroding well-being. However, the *amazomorphosis of resilience* demonstrates that where communities retain territorial control, economies for life, forest protection, and genuine climate stability emerge.

Resilience does not arise from adapting to harm, but from territorial control by those who sustain life.

RECOMMENDATIONS

- Strengthen self-determined systems of territorial governance by integrating territorial control, community justice, local economies, and the care of life.
- Scale up existing alternatives to development —agroforestry, food sovereignty, care economies, and community forest management— as territorial political projects, not merely productive ones.
- Challenge epistemic delegitimization by positioning community-based knowledge systems as strategic knowledge for climate resilience.
- Strengthen the leadership of Amazonian women as a pillar of re-existence, economic autonomy, and intergenerational sustainability.
- Build territorial and cross-border alliances to confront dispossession dynamics operating at a regional scale.

LOCAL AND SUBNATIONAL AUTHORITIES

The research shows that *regressive amazomorphosis* consolidates in territories where local authority coexists with illegality, tolerates shadow colonization, or reproduces the fragmentation of rights. Conversely, resilience emerges when the local level becomes a space of protection and community articulation.

Amazonian resilience emerges from the territories.

RECOMMENDATIONS

- Formally recognize communities as territorial co-governments, integrating them into land-use planning and development frameworks.
- Prioritize public investment in territorial security, not only in environmental control or extractive infrastructure.
- Halt the normalization of illegal and extractive economies, recognizing that they replace the state and erode territorial well-being.
- Ensure binding participation of Amazonian women in decisions on land, resources, and climate-related projects.
- Protect community leadership by preventing criminalization, which accelerates the fourth trend of *regressive amazomorphosis*.

MULTILATERAL ORGANIZATIONS (OTCA, CAN AND OTHERS)

FROM TECHNOCRATIC MANAGERS TO GUARANTORS OF THE AMAZONIAN PACT

The document shows that international frameworks fail when implemented without territorial security, reproducing conservation without people, green extractivism, and climate governance disconnected from life in the Amazonian territory.

Without decision-making power for Amazonian communities in stewardship, regional governance becomes merely green rhetoric.

RECOMMENDATIONS

- Position territorial security as regional climate infrastructure, a transversal pillar of Amazonian cooperation.
- Promote a shared Amazonian framework of alternatives to development, ground up by communities.
- Establish binding regional standards on free, prior and informed consent (FPIC), collective protection, and direct financing.
- Avoid reducing the Amazon to carbon metrics, recognizing its biocultural and political dimensions.
- Act as political guarantors of the *amazomorphosis of resilience* in the face of extractive pressures.

CLIMATE FUNDERS

Regressive *amazomorphosis* shows that a significant portion of climate finance has reinforced territorial exclusion, shifting the costs of climate action onto those who have contributed least to the crisis.

Sustaining the Amazon biome as an axis of climate stability requires engaging with territorial proposals for climate finance.

RECOMMENDATIONS

- Condition all climate investment on prior territorial security, not as a subsequent outcome.
- Provide direct funding to territorial organizations, avoiding intermediaries that capture decision-making and value.
- Prioritize long-term, flexible financing not exclusively tied to carbon metrics.
- Recognize alternatives to development as structural climate solutions, not as co-benefits.
- Adopt a climate reparations approach, acknowledging the historical debt to Amazonian communities.

ANNEXES

ANNEX 1.
GLOSSARY

- **Amazomorphosis**
  An accelerated and regressive process of transformation of the Amazonian ecosystem and the social fabrics that inhabit it.

- **Regressive amazomorphosis**
  Structural dimension of the problem focused on degradation and dispossession.

- **Amazomorphosis of resilience**
  Dimension focused on response, namely alternatives and biocultural leadership.

- **Civilizational crisis**
  Concept according to which the life and autonomy of peoples are subordinated to global economic interests.

- **Amazonian communities in stewardship**
  Indigenous, Afro-descendant, peasant, and Native peoples who sustain, protect, and de facto govern Amazonian territories, even when the State does not fully guarantee their rights. These collective subjects keep the biocultural fabric of the forest alive, preserve ancestral knowledge, and practice territorial management that ensures the continuity of life. This category recognizes that, despite facing structural inequality, violence, legal insecurity, and political exclusion, these communities are the primary holders of socio-ecological resilience and the guardians of systems that regulate the global climate. They are not defined by vulnerability, but by the historical, political, and civilizational role they play, even in contexts where the State fails to fulfill its duty of protection.

- **Free, prior and informed consultation**
  It is the right of Indigenous peoples to be consulted in good faith and through their own representative institutions before the State adopts any legislative or administrative measure, or undertakes any project that may affect them, with the aim of obtaining their free, prior and informed consent (FPIC). This safeguard requires full and culturally appropriate information, the absence of coercion, and a process aimed at reaching agreements. This definition is based on the standards established by the Inter-American Human Rights System.

- **Socioecological approach**
  Under this approach, the territory is understood as a living unit in which society and nature are inseparable, and where sustainability depends on the balance between ecosystems, human well-being, and governance. In the Amazon, this perspective requires strengthening territorial autonomy and economies for life as the foundation of climate resilience.

- **Grilagem**
  In Brazil, it refers to the illegal occupation of land.

- **Titling without effective protection**
  It represents the paradox of holding formal land titles that do not guarantee effective territorial protection against extractive pressures and encroachment.

ANNEX 2:
COUNTRY STUDIES (EP) OF THE AMAZON

COUNTRY STUDY	NAME	DOWNLOAD QR
EP Brazil	*Amazon in Dispute: Land Conflicts and the Situation of Territorial Defenders*	
EP Bolivia	*Fire and Mercury: Ecological Crisis and Inequalities in Bolivia*	
EP Colombia	*Sowing Dignity: Rural Women and Land Titling as a Public Issue in Caquetá*	
EP Peru	*Inequalities and Conflicts in the Legal Security of Indigenous Peoples' Territories and the Situation of Indigenous Defenders in the Amazon*	

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