Local Landscapes, Global Conversations: The Case of Three Environmental Documentary Films from the Hispanic World

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The environmental documentary subgenre has emerged in the twenty-first century as a series of films with a shared recognizable iconography that is closely tied to specific distribution channels. In Green Documentary, one of the few book-length works dedicated to the analysis of environmental documentary films, Helen Hughes identifies some of the images commonly associated with the "eco-doc" subgenre, including "big and ingenious machinery, gigantic starkly colour-coded factories, global transport connectivity, impressive images of mass production and consumption, spectacular waste and landfill sites, crowds of people, cities, landscapes, both beautiful and scarred and animals, domestic and wild" (8). Hughes argues that we can study the eco-doc subgenre as "a response to the dilemma of engagement in modernity" (5). Although she chooses to structure her discussion around a categorization that considers the "tone of response" more so than iconographic attributes, she recognizes that "[c]ontemporary environmental documentaries or eco-docs represent a complex negotiation between the issues raised by environmental awareness and the demands of documentary film-making in the twenty-first century" (10). This tension coincides with a recent surge in the number of environmental documentary films and video productions, a phenomenon that, according to John A. Duvall, could be explained by "the lack of attention given to environmental issues by public media outlets," the availability and portability of "professional quality video production technology," and "the expanding diversity of windows of distribution," including films festivals and online streaming (2). And while Duvall concentrates his discussion on films coming mostly from English-speaking countries, these factors can also explain the growing popularity of such productions in other geographies.

When it comes to the Spanish-speaking world, documentary films with an environmental component have not been unusual. As other critics have noted, Jean-Claude Seguin and Julianne Burton come to mind, twentieth-century documentaries focus on social struggles that all too often are tied to environmental causes. Particularly in Latin America, "documentary filmmaking today is diverse and in dialogue with global trends. While the social documentary undeniably remains a strong force in the region, nation-centered filmmaking, for example, is no longer as central" (Arenillas and Lazzara 7). On the other side of the Atlantic, many recent documentary films are also concerned with contemporary social issues, although in Spain's case, the legacies of the Civil War continue to be a dominant source of inspiration (Paz Rebollo 875).

In this essay, I analyze how three environmental documentary films from the Hispanic world deal with two, often competing, demands: to address homegrown audiences while striving to participate in a global conversation. I have chosen these three films because they exemplify trends in environmental documentary production and distribution in Spanish America and Spain. I start with Cartoneros (2006), by Argentinean director Ernesto Livon-Grosman, a film very much connected to the long tradition of social documentaries in Latin America and shown at numerous film festivals worldwide. Then, I center my analysis on *H2Omx* (2014), by Mexican directors José Cohen and Lorenzo Hagerman, a more contemporary film in tune with transnational trends of the eco-doc subgenre that, just as *Cartoneros*, has been part of the program of many film festivals around the world. I end with Stop! Rodando el cambio (2013), by Spanish directors Alba González de Molina and Blanca Ordóñez de Tena, a film mostly distributed through online streaming platforms under a Creative Commons license and made possible through crowdfunding. I propose that, in fact, the filmmakers behind these three documentaries have modified the iconography that has come to be expected from environmental documentaries in international circles. At the same time, they take advantage of factors that have propelled this subgenre around the world, such as the growing popularity of specialized film festivals and online streaming. To do this, the notion of landscape will be particularly useful.

The term landscape carries numerous connotations. For example, in a widely cited article, the sociologists Thomas Greider and Lorraine Garkovich define it as a symbolic environment "created by human acts of conferring meaning to nature and the environment" (1): that is, a social construction based on our understanding of nature and, as such, a reflection of our cultural identities (2). Related to some extent, Julia Barella Vigal, like others in literary studies, sees it as a cultural construction dependent on the human gaze, invented by the observer and a doorway to understand our own identities and relationships to a particular place (222). For their part, and moving away from

historical associations of the term that emphasize its visual dimension, art historians Emily Eliza Scott and Kirsten Swenson propose a "renewed focus on the material rather than the primarily visual aspects of land" (4), recognizing that "problems of representation itself are a dominant concern" (2) of contemporary artists and visual studies scholars.

In the upcoming discussion, however, I will be working with a conceptualization of the term that borrows from the one used in the field of landscape ecology, where it has been defined as "spatial mosaics of interacting biophysical and socioeconomic components" (Wu 2103). More precisely, I think of a landscape as a representation of a group of ecosystems that interact with each other in an area of land, recognizing that both humans and nonhumans affect the ecological processes taking place in it. Such a perspective is motivated by Daniel Ares-López and Katarzyna Olga Beilin's call for transdisciplinary in environmental cultural studies (ECS), discussed at length in the introduction to this volume of *Hispanic Issues*, as a paradigm that allows us to observe and understand the processes, connections, inter-actions, and hybridizations among entities in the material world (179). Such a notion of landscape, closer to the idea behind Ares-López's "cultures of nature" (58) than to a nineteenth-century passive entity at the mercy of human gaze, will prove especially productive, as it not only provides a useful visual unit of analysis connected to the physicality of a specific place, but it also, thinking about a landscape as a dynamic system, allows us to examine its processes and interactions and recognize the effects of nonhuman components.

Distribution Channels of Environmental Documentaries

Several scholars have observed the peculiarities of the eco-doc subgenre within national contexts, often as part of discussions related to environmental film in general. Two examples include the collection of essays *Chinese Ecocinema: In the Age of Environmental Challenge*, by Sheldon H. Lu and Jiayan Mi, and Pietari Kääpä's *Ecology and Contemporary Nordic Cinemas: From Nation-Building to Ecocosmopolitanism*. However, in *Transnational Ecocinema*, Kääpä and Tommy Gustafsson defend the idea of a transnational cinema in which "[t]he 'transnationality' of the ecodocumentary therefore seems to work on the level of transparency, that is, the national origin of the sender does not seem to matter if the subject is 'nature' in a wide sense" (6), a position that, according to the authors, is supported by looking at the distribution channels of ecodocumentaries in general, and television and Internet, in particular.

Current trends in the creation and global circulation of cultural productions allow us to frame our analysis beyond national borders but within a linguistic area of influence. This is especially clear when we look at the distribution channels of environmental documentaries in Spanish America and Spain, which mainly consist of specialized film festivals in which audiences across the region are often able to see the same films, sometimes even as part of the program of transnational film festivals, for example the FICMA, with regular editions in Spain and Mexico. Additionally, online streaming allows documentary filmmakers to potentially reach audiences across the globe, particularly those that share the language used in their work. As I have suggested, the three documentaries selected for this analysis are representative of such trends.

In terms of environmental film festivals that take place in Spanish America and Spain, the list is long and includes, among others, EcoZine, the International Festival of Film and Environment of Zaragoza; Cinema Planeta, the International Festival of Film and Environment of Mexico; Ecofilm, an international environmental short-film festival that takes place annually in Mexico, but also makes many of the participating films available online; Fincali, the International Environmental Film Festival of Cali; Green Film Fest, Buenos Aires's International Environmental Film Festival; FICAMS, the Antarctic International Film Festival on Environment and Sustainability in Chile; and FICMA, considered the oldest environmental film festival in the world, which now consists of the original festival in Barcelona and two itinerary film series (FICMA MX, in Mexico, and FICMA OEA, which has traveled to multiple countries in Central and South America). However, a comprehensive list would be much longer and ever-expanding, with events taking place in most Spanish-speaking countries and new ones appearing regularly. Furthermore, many productions participate in an expanded film festival circuit that takes them to non-Spanish-speaking countries. In all of these cinematic events, documentaries play a predominant role, often traveling between festivals where they are shown next to environmental films from across the globe.

Additionally, online streaming has become an invaluable distribution channel, since it provides ready access to audiences across borders. As a result, environmental documentaries from Spanish-speaking countries must not only address audiences at the local level, but also participate in global conversations and trends, a balance that often proves challenging and even contradictory. In the rest of this work, I examine how three environmental documentary films face these challenges, highlighting the specific mechanisms they use when attempting to achieve such a difficult balance.

Cardboard Cityscapes

In *Cartoneros*, Argentinean director Ernesto Livon-Grosman follows a group of cardboard collectors (*cartoneros*) through the streets of Buenos Aires, after the financial crisis that originated in 1998 and peaked in 2001. The emphasis on the lives and relationships of the *cartoneros* continues the tradition of social documentaries in Latin America. At the same time, the film is part of a group of works that documented this specific historical moment, including, most notably, *Memoria del saqueo* (Fernando E. Solanas, 2004), *Deuda* (Jorge Lanata and Andrés G. Schaer, 2004), *El tren blanco* (Nahuel García, Ramiro García, and Sheila Pérez Giménez, 2003), and the so-called *documentales piqueteros* (Lehman 31).

Livon-Grosman uses various symbols to highlight the contradictions of postcrisis Argentina. At the beginning of the film we see a group of people boarding a train. The camera soon goes inside one of the cars, filled with shopping carts. A female voice-over explains that these are in fact commuter workers, traveling daily from the outskirts of Buenos Aires to other parts of the city to collect cardboard. As one of the most globally recognizable symbols of consumerism and unsustainable food distribution systems, the shopping cart quickly changes meaning as soon as it is taken out of its familiar context: the supermarket. Once the shopping cart leaves the large parking lots surrounding superstores in many Western suburban landscapes, it quickly loses its mainstream meaning to move into the margins. For example, shopping carts are not uncommonly associated with homelessness when found in urban settings. Livon-Grosman's film finds this symbol fruitful, as it embodies the downfall of Argentina's neoliberal economy and the emergence of alternative movements.

Given that the carts are being used by workers in this new economic model, their depiction destabilizes both consumerism and marginality. In this regard, Beatriz Sarlo has talked about a "peripheral modernity" to explain the cultural context of Argentina in the early twentieth century, a postcolonial echo of the relationship between the metropolis and its colonies. Sarlo places special attention to the urban landscape, where large buildings and technological advancements coexist with defensive and residual elements (*Una modernidad* 29), a notion that is at play when she describes the contradictions found in Argentina at the end of the twentieth century as a "mixture of lights and shadows," with cityscapes that reflect "the condition of so-called postmodernity in the paradoxical setting of a nation that is fractured and impoverished" (*Scenes* 3). In *Cartoneros*, the presence of shopping carts that transport recyclable cardboard, and hence take a productive role as opposed to a consumptive one, highlights the economic processes and human and

nonhuman interactions occurring within Buenos Aires's urban landscape, while emphasizing the connection between the cart, as a symbol, and a geography where distinct historical moments converge.

The film also challenges the meanings of imagery traditionally associated with environmental documentaries. Parallel to the lives of the *cartoneros*, the film follows the "life" of cardboard, from trash to waste collection sites where piles are being organized by forklifts, to recycling factories with workers supervising heavy machinery. All of these images could have negative associations if considered within the eco-doc iconography described by Helen Hughes, such as crowds of workers at a train station, waste collection sites, and heavy machinery. But here they have been recontextualized to show the cycle of cardboard, made possible by positive human interventions.

Buenos Aires is portrayed as an urban space where different foreign traditions are interwoven with local ones. Gisela Heffes identifies three "environmental tropes" as the basis of an ecocritical apparatus to study Latin American productions: environmental destruction, sustainability, and preservation. Each of these tropes maintain a metonymic association with three recurrent images: landfills, the practice of recycling, and utopic imagination (22). In fact, Heffes suggests that by presenting the transformative journey of waste, from roadside litter to consumption products, Livon-Grosman's film illustrates the mobile geography of Latin American urban spaces, a city "made of different materials and textures, divided and differentiated, a tapestry made by distinct hands at different times" (163). And indeed, when considered within our conceptual framework, Buenos Aires is represented as a landscape in which practices, times, humans, and nonhuman matter are juxtaposed. This point is made explicit very early in the film, when it presents archival footage from the 1940s in which a male voice-over states: "Buenos Aires contains a little of Paris, Rome, London, New York, But London, New York, Rome, nor Paris, can contain even a little bit of Buenos Aires." To this effect, Néstor García Canclini, perhaps one of the best-known critics of Latin American modernity, highlights the presence of a "multitemporal heterogeneity of modern culture," in which industrialization and urbanization efforts have rarely operated at the level of substitution, resulting in contemporary societies characterized by hybrid formations (71). In *Cartoneros*, we can find numerous instances in which archival footage is used, and in fact, Livon-Grosman composes his film as a tapestry that precisely draws attention to the multitemporal heterogeneity of the urban landscape. Such a perspective is confirmed closer to the end. We can hear a repetition of the same male voice-over from the archival footage, nevertheless, this time it is visually accompanied by contemporary images of a city with cartoneros on the move. In particular, the camera follows a truck transporting some of them while driving through traffic in Buenos Aires.

As viewers, we are witnessing again the juxtaposition of times, processes, and human and nonhuman matter interactions, creating a dynamic cityscape where the transformation of cardboard has transformed not only the urban landscape, but also the human subjects themselves.

Ancient and Contemporary Waterscapes

Moving now from the life of cardboard to the flow of water, Mexican directors José Cohen and Lorenzo Hagerman explore in *H2Omx* the complexity of water-related issues that the inhabitants of Mexico City face, from the monumental task of providing water to millions of people, to related problems that include floods, shortages, and aging infrastructures. The film saw its international premiere at the 2013 Morelia International Film Festival and then, in 2014, was part of the official program of *Ambulante*, an itinerant noncompetitive documentary film festival founded by Gael García Bernal and Diego Luna. Since then, and similar to the exhibition path followed by *Cartoneros*, it has been shown at numerous film festivals and special screenings both nationally and internationally, winning the 2015 Ariel Award for best feature documentary, a yearly prize given by the Mexican Academy of Film.

From the very beginning, it is clear that the film is in close dialogue with global trends of environmental documentary filmmaking, but at the same time, it seeks to appeal to local audiences. Alissa Simon, in a review for *Variety*, describes it as a "good-looking, well-researched and smartly assembled documentary," noting that "[r]aising awareness a la 'An Inconvenient Truth,' the crusading pic employs dramatic aerial photography, easily assimilated statistics presented via eye-catching graphics and animation, and the testimony of experts and ordinary people." (And indeed, spectators familiar with Davis Guggenheim's film would find themselves in a recognizable territory.) Nonetheless, the film directly addresses Mexican audiences by going back to the mythical foundational moment of their capital.

If tapestry was the central organizing principle of *Cartoneros*, *H2Omx* resorts to geometric patterns to assemble a collection of mosaics. The film opens with a voice-over, which belongs to writer and environmental activist Homero Aridjis, recounting the arrival of the Aztecs to the Valley of Mexico to build Tenochtitlán, a city "founded on water." At the same time, aerial shots of flooded land fill the screen with a color palette dominated by blues and greens. Seconds later, another voice-over, this time belonging to anthropologist Teresa Rojas Rabiela, explains how Spanish colonizers came to the same area with a conception of "dry cities," and how this perspective has prevailed. The screen is now taken over by aerial shots of contemporary Mexico City.

The composition of these last frames is very telling. Any indication of the presence of water has vanished, the camera angle changes slightly so the sky is no longer visible, and gray is now the predominant color. The intention cannot be clearer: to rhetorically and visually contrast two opposing world-views and to present water as the central transformative force. Moreover, the camera is very intentional in portraying the geometrical nature of the city, focusing on areas visibly partitioned by streets and avenues and paying special attention to repetition patterns. This perspective effectively alludes to the idea of "mosaics" that, in the context of landscape ecology, can be described as heterogeneous, fragmented, or connected sets of elements (Burel and Baudry 78). The connection between two distinct historical moments, made by the juxtaposition of sound and images, seeks to recognize the mediating qualities of water as a nonhuman matter central to the physical, cultural, and epistemological transformations occurring in this particular landscape.

In addition to the numerous aerial shots, the film also follows, at ground level, stories of humans, nonhuman animals, and plants that inhabit ecosystems constantly transformed by water, effectively advocating for the need of human action. The resulting product is a film assembled from interviews, observational footage, on-screen text, graphics, and animations. Mark Anderson proposes that, by recurring to a variety of shots and perspectives, the film is explicitly resisting the "flattening" of the urban landscape, a neoliberal impulse rooted in colonial cartographic territorializations that eliminates the ecologies of the city. According to Anderson, the film foregrounds "a systemic perspective of the city's ecological footprint through the volumetric disruption of the divide between verticality and horizontality" (117), or in other words, the combination of aerial perspectives, shots of water flows, and scenes at street level, restoring some volume to the otherwise flat representations of the city found in maps and other data-based cartographic tools. I propose that, even though such representations can be read as expressions of resistance to a colonizing gaze, they also play an essential discursive role. In fact, I would argue that the opening sequence sets the stage for one of the main arguments of the film: that infrastructure projects, big and small, are essential to tackle water-related issues in this landscape.

To develop the previous argument, the camera spends a considerable amount of time showing both citizen-led initiatives and massive hydrological endeavors, whether it is the deployment of community rainwater harvesting structures, the maintenance and modernization of the Cutzamala water distribution system, or the construction of a massive wastewater treatment plant in the nearby municipality of Atotonilco, Hidalgo. The impending need to support such projects comes from unsettling images and testimonies recounting the effects of water scarcity, flooding, and pollution. But also, after those

first minutes at the beginning, it has become a matter connected to national identity debates.

In this regard, the film connects present and past through the infrastructure projects that, for hundreds of years, have modified the ecosystems in the Valley of Mexico. In the Mexican collective imagination, the Aztecs are viewed as master engineers able to create a city in the middle of a lake (Gutiérrez 137), a position referenced at the beginning of the film and somewhat supported by environmental historians. For example, Shawn William Miller describes how they "embarked on a massive hydrological program that included dams, dikes, river diversions, causeways, and sluices that protected the fields from water's threats and allowed the chinampas to expand into new areas" (22). Having made the historical connection between Tenochtitlán and contemporary Mexico City at the beginning, the film effectively places the various projects described in it, especially those of monumental scope, within the tradition of Aztec engineering, and hence, these efforts are now associated with a fundamental part of Mexican national identity. It is worth noting that the film omits any discussion of the impact that large Aztec hydrological works in particular, and Mesoamerican cities in general, had on the environment, a concern not yet settled among scholars (Miller 40). As a consequence, the many infrastructure projects presented in the film also go unchallenged. In the end, rescuing the city becomes an endeavor to rescue the past. The restoration of a broken link. The continuation of a tradition. The landscape, once again, is a dynamic system formed by the juxtaposition of interactions between times, processes, and human and nonhuman matter.

Roads to Sustainability

The documentary film *Stop! Rodando el cambio*, by directors Alba González de Molina and Blanca Ordóñez de Tena, takes us on a road trip through Spain and southern France to survey a variety of rural and urban sustainability projects. Just as *Cartoneros* and *H2Omx*, *Stop! Rodando el cambio* has participated in many film festivals and private screenings across the globe. Additionally, the film bypassed more traditional distribution channels to go directly to audiences via free online streaming platforms, such as Vimeo and YouTube, in part thanks to the fact that its production was crowdfunded. As of 2013, it is distributed under a Creative Commons license, and, consequently, many digital copies circulate beyond those made available by La Semilla Producciones, the production company credited at the end of the film. In an interview with the grassroots multimedia initiative Toma La Tele, which is available online,

director Blanca Ordóñez de Tena locates the origins of the film in the wake of the 15-M movement. She explains that one of the motivations behind the film was to explore alternatives to capitalism, mainly the degrowth movement, with an unambiguous activist goal ("#Documenta"). Thus, the filmmakers join the growing conversation about the movement taking place in Spain, where many contemporary authors have challenged "the illogical 'logic' of constant economic growth in the context of a limited biosphere" (Prádanos 144).

The didactic function of the film is made explicit from the very beginning. To introduce the topic of degrowth, a couple of scholars present their point of view during the first few minutes. In one of those interviews, Jorge Riechmann, writer, political activist, and professor at the Autonomous University of Madrid, explains:

Progress basically means moving forward, but of course, to know if we are moving forward in any meaningful sense we need benchmarks, to progress with respect to what? The social majority has had the impression that it was progressing, that the country was becoming Europeanized, that infrastructure was being built, that the GDP was increasing, that education statistics, or access to health, were improving, that people were getting richer. All this was identified with progress, but notice that, in what are probably the basic dimensions of human life, far from advancing we are going backwards. (Stop! Rodando el cambio, translation and emphasis by the author)

Riechmann's arguments in particular, and degrowth principles more generally, become a set of guidelines that will have a profound effect on the production of the film, most noticeably in the opinions expressed in off-camera commentaries and during many interviews. But, less apparently, they also shape the form of the film itself.

One of the film's most important strategies to support its central argument—namely, that degrowth is a viable alternative to capitalism—consists of destabilizing the idea of linearity, whether in narrative, temporal, or spatial terms. For example, the film explicitly avoids a linear story. Instead, it works as a showcase of characters, communities, projects, ideas, and landscapes, similar to the experience of strolling in a market or a fair, jumping between stories, sometimes coming back, sometimes leaving them behind.

This nonlinear structure also has an effect on temporality. With the constant movement between characters and landscapes, soon the spectator

loses the sense of the diegetic time, as if we were witnessing a collection of timeless vignettes. This is especially noticeable when the camera portrays rural settings, where the idea of time is often transformed. For instance, when describing permaculture practices, the coordinator of the educational farm Finca "La Garma," in Cantabria, explains how they try to follow "nature's rhythm, a more calmed, slower rhythm," an expression of resistance to what Luis I. Prádanos has called "the tyranny of industrial time" (144). Another recurrent theme is the idea of recovering or returning to a sustainable past. For example, a resident of the *ecoaldea* Matavenero describes how the town has "recovered" and houses have been rebuilt from ruins after the town was destroyed by a fire. Later, a neighbor of the *pueblo okupado* of Ibort, Huesca, declares that one of his missions is to "recover rural life": that is, a destabilization of time.

If tapestry characterized *Cartoneros* and geometric mosaics *H2Omx*, *Stop! Rodando el cambio* is structured through a multinodal web. In terms of spatial nonlinearity, the film takes advantage of its most important symbol: the road. The camera is constantly capturing rural roads, highways, and city streets, as the production team travels between different permaculture initiatives, ecovillages, urban cooperatives, and community centers. Roads function as a metaphor for the underlying connections between the various projects, and the people who run them. But more important, they become a visual strategy to challenge the concept of progress. If at first sight, the image of a road appears to reinforce the notion of linearity, its accumulation has the opposite effect. With its constant movement, the camera is outlining a network of roads, mapping a landscape composed by patches of sustainability in a web. There are not too many things that visually represent the idea of "moving forward" better than a road, but also, there are few things that break the sense of linearity as effectively as a congested road map.

Beyond the obvious flaws, like the irony of driving a van all over Spain and southern France to promote sustainable practices, *Stop! Rodando el cambio* offers a good example of how discourse affects form, and vice versa, in contemporary environmental documentaries, how filmmakers adapt their work to address the expectations of local audiences while participating in broader conversations.

Final Remarks

In this essay, I have described how three environmental documentary films have faced two seemingly competing challenges. On the one hand, they seek to participate in global conversations, as the proliferation of international

environmental film festivals in Spanish-speaking countries and the rising popularity of online streaming attest. On the other hand, they attempt to engage local audiences by modifying the iconography that has come to be expected from eco-docs to participate in local and regional debates.

When discussing Ernesto Livon-Grosman's Cartoneros, a film rooted in the tradition of social documentaries in Latin America, I highlighted two important strategies. First, the film disrupts the meanings associated with certain symbols, such as the shopping cart, highlighting the economic processes and human and nonhuman interactions occurring within Buenos Aires's landscape. Second, the film explicitly and visually engages in local and regional critical debates, particularly those that scrutinize the heterogeneous nature of the Argentinean capital in relation to the issue of modernity, by mimicking the city landscape with a tapestry-like structure of sounds and images from different times. In relation to H2Omx, it was noted that although the filmmakers take advantage of techniques associated with other successful films of the eco-doc subgenre, it becomes clear very early on that they are looking to engage Mexican spectators specifically. Furthermore, in order to support a position that sees water infrastructure as an essential solution to many of the issues raised, the film appeals to matters of national pride and identity in the audience, mainly by creating a visual and rhetorical connection to a distant past. Finally, I examined *Stop!* Rodando el cambio, a film made possible by a collective financial effort and that has taken advantage of distribution channels like free video-sharing platforms. In this case, one of the most important strategies to promote degrowth as a viable alternative to capitalism consists of destabilizing the notion of linearity, and hence progress, by following a nonlinear narrative, disrupting the diegetic time, and projecting the linearity of individual roads into a nonlinear web.

These particular films were of interest because they exemplify some of the current trends in the production and distribution of environmental documentaries in the Hispanic world. Additionally, by making use of a conceptualization of landscape informed by landscape ecology, this essay constitutes an example of how transdisciplinarity can enrich and deepen discussions within environmental cultural studies.

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