THE SILENCES *of* DISPOSSESSION

Agrarian Change and Indigenous Politics in Argentina

MERCEDES BIOCCA

The Silences of Dispossession

"*Silences of Dispossession* offers a timely account of indigenous struggles around soybean expansion in post-neoliberal Argentina. Eloquent and engaging, Biocca confronts colliding responses to agrarian transformations in light of histories and memories of dispossession, resistance, and negotiations with the state."

—Paola Canova, author of *Frontier Intimacies: Ayoreo Women and the Sexual Economy of the Paraguayan Chaco*

"In an important contribution to development and peasant studies, Biocca argues that whether rural people resist or acquiesce to dispossession depends on local rationalities. Comparing two groups of Indigenous rural peasants in the Argentine Chaco, she demonstrates the importance of collective memory, previous engagement with capitalist regimes, and aspirations for inclusion."

—Nancy Postero, Professor of Anthropology,
University of California San Diego

The Silences of Dispossession

Agrarian Change and Indigenous Politics in Argentina

Mercedes Biocca

PLUTO PRESS

First published 2023 by Pluto Press
New Wing, Somerset House, Strand, London WC2R 1LA
and Pluto Press Inc.
1930 Village Center Circle, 3-834, Las Vegas, NV 89134

www.plutobooks.com

Selected excerpts from "Between Resistance and Acquiescence: Experiences of Agrarian Transformation in Two Indigenous Communities in Chaco Province, Argentina," by Mercedes Biocca in *Reimagining the Gran Chaco: Identities, Politics, and the Environment in South America*, edited by Silvia Hirsch, Paola Canova, and Mercedes Biocca. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2021, reprinted with permission of the University Press of Florida.

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data
A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

ISBN 978 0 7453 4306 8 Paperback
ISBN 978 0 7453 4310 5 PDF
ISBN 978 0 7453 4308 2 EPUB

Typeset by Stanford DTP Services, Northampton, England

Contents

Acknowledgements

The inspiration for this book in its present form came from a conversation with Laurence Cox and Alf Nilsen in April 2019. I'm deeply grateful to them not only for guiding my work with inexhaustible generosity over the years but also for giving me the confidence to share my points of view.

This book has benefited immensely from the feedback and critical commentary offered by friends, as well as a number of my colleagues. In particular, I would like to thank Silvia Hirsch and Paola Canova for their continued advice and support. Endless conversations about Peronismo and Argentinian history with Santiago Kosiner have informed and improved this book. I am also very grateful to Kit Maude for helping with the language editing of the manuscript.

Pluto Press has supported this project from the start with enthusiasm and flexibility, first with David Shulman as the commissioning editor, then Robert Webb as head of production and managing editor, and Natalie Jones, who copyedited the entire manuscript in fine detail; many thanks to them and the team.

I am also grateful to the University Press of Florida for permission to reproduce selected text from Mercedes Biocca, "Between Resistance and Acquiescence: Experiences of Agrarian Transformation in Two Indigenous Communities in Chaco Province, Argentina," in *Reimagining the Gran Chaco: Identities, Politics, and the Environment in South America*, edited by Silvia Hirsch, Paola Canova, and Mercedes Biocca (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2021), 141–65.

Above all, my greatest debts acquired in the process of researching and writing this book are to those people I have encountered in the field who have opened their lives to me and provided access to sources in addition to their knowledge.

I am fortunate to have Iñaki and Fidel, my sons, in my life. This work is dedicated to them and to my parents, Stella Maris and Carlos, who taught me early on that the search for justice always requires a prior struggle for memory.

Glossary

Algarrobo	(noun) carob tree
Bandas	(noun) social groups; gangs
Cacique	(noun) a native tribal chief in areas dominated primarily by a Spanish culture
Chamamé	(noun) a Guarani word for "party," "disorder"; a folk music genre from northeast Argentina and Argentinian Mesopotamia
Cordobés	(noun) someone born in the province of Córdoba
Criollo	(noun) a person of pure European descent born in Spanish America
Doqshi	(noun) a Qom word for "white people," including both Europeans and those of European descent born in Spanish America
Gauchada	(noun) a favor (slang)
Gendarmería	(noun) a body of *gendarmes* (soldiers serving as an armed police force for the maintenance of public order)
Gringo	(noun) a term in Spanish and Portuguese for a foreigner, usually an English-speaking Anglo-American. There are differences in meaning depending on region and country. In Latin America, it is generally used to refer to non-Latin Americans
Marisca	(noun) the practice of going shellfish gathering (literally) or hunting (slang)
Mariscar	(verb) to go shellfish gathering (literally); to go hunting (slang)
Milanesas	(noun) breaded beef cutlets, similar to schnitzels
Moqoit	(noun; adjective) Indigenous peoples of the Gran Chaco region of South America (also "Mocoví")
Pachamama	(noun) a goddess revered by the Indigenous peoples of the Andes. In Inca mythology she is an "Earth Mother" type of goddess, and a fertility goddess who presides

	over planting and harvesting, embodies the mountains, and causes earthquakes
Paisano	(noun) a fellow countryman or a peasant; someone who lives in the countryside
Paraje	(noun) an isolated spot, place, or location
Partido Justicialista	(noun) a major political party in Argentina, and the largest branch within Peronism
Quebracho	(noun) any of several trees of southern South America with hard wood
Quebracho Colorado	(noun) red quebracho (literally); a red type of quebracho tree that can be found in the forests of South America in the Gran Chaco region
Qom	(noun, adjective) Indigenous peoples of the Gran Chaco region of South America (also "Toba")
Rebusque	(noun) an odd job; a gig
Santiagueño	(noun) someone born in the province of Santiago del Estero
Seguimiento	(noun) follow-up
Sueldito	(noun) a small salary
Tango	(noun) a standard ballroom dance in 4/4 time or a piece of music suited to such a dance
Torta	(noun) fried flapjack or pancake

1

Indigenous Peoples, Agribusiness, and the Post-neoliberal State in Argentina

> *"They want to calm things down with the historic reparation but the state shouldn't just pay salaries. That would only make us employees of the state. Ours is a society that cherishes natural resources and they refuse to hand over the land. Without land or resources, we have no future."*
>
> (Interview with Darío, 2016)

In November 2010, after a long bus journey, I arrived in Chaco, a province located in the northeast of Argentina, for the first time. On the roads leading from Resistencia, the provincial capital, to Pampa del Indio and Colonia Cacique Catán—the two settlements where the stories that I tell in this book took place—rather than the traditional Chaqueño landscape of plump thorny bushes and large hardwoods such as *quebracho* and *algarrobo*, all I could see was plains that had been bulldozed flat. They were then cleared with intentionally lit fires to prepare for their incorporation into the global agribusiness market. The uniform landscape wasn't just empty of vegetation; it was devoid of people too. Historically, this was the territory of the Indigenous Qom and Moqoit communities. Their ancestors lived as hunters and foragers, often retreating into the thick local scrubland to take refuge from raids by the Argentine army soon after the nation was founded. By the late 1920s this land had been transformed into cotton plantations where Indigenous laborers were hired to weed and harvest. But in 2010 all that could be seen were massive machines, textile silos, and empty tanks of glyphosate.

This desolate sight is hardly exclusive to Chaco; indeed, it can be found across several provinces in the country. The geographic transformation that has created this landscape is rooted in changes in soil use that took

place during the prelude to neoliberalism in Argentina. The implementation of industrialized agriculture in the 1970s was a key part of this process, which intensified exponentially in the 1990s with the appearance of transgenic products and the rise in international commodity prices, especially that of soybeans.

In just a few years, Argentina shifted from possessing an extensively diversified agricultural sector, in which family agriculture played a significant role and one that served internal and external markets, to one that specialized in a few basic products for export in which large companies and agro-industrial producers occupied the lion's share (Teubal 2008; Gras and Hernández 2008; Delvenne et al. 2013; Lapegna 2016). While in 1991 soybean output was just 11.3 million tons, by 2003, when Néstor Kirchner's administration came to power, it had risen to 30.5 million tons.

Néstor Kirchner's presidential term (2003–2007) marked the beginning of the post-neoliberal period in Argentina. Similar to other countries in Latin America such as Brazil, Bolivia, Ecuador, Venezuela, Nicaragua, and El Salvador, the new millennium saw the arrival of governments that did not necessarily represent a clean break with the neoliberal project but that did introduce significant changes to socioeconomic policy as well as presenting a very different cultural discourse (Yates and Bakker 2013; Petras and Veltmeyer 2014). Among the most significant transformations was the revalidation of public institutions whose reputation had been severely undermined by the 2001 crisis. This was achieved through modifications in the Supreme Court such as the implementation of transparent procedures for the selection of new federal judges. In the economic sphere, a significant shift from the neoliberal was the policy of debt repayments, which ended with the entirety of the debt to the International Monetary Fund (IMF) paid off. Other measures that represented major shifts in policy were the renationalization of privatized companies (such as the oil company Yacimientos Petrolíferos Fiscales, and Aerolíneas Argentinas, the national airline), the expansion of social welfare policies, and the promotion of national industry and domestic consumption. The Kirchner administration also pursued different policies overseas with a more pan-Latin America outlook and an emphasis on human rights in the wake of the state terrorism of the 1970s.

However, one of the most obvious continuities was the expansion of the soybean monoculture. Far from slowing down during the post-neoliberal period, the production of this crop almost doubled, and by 2015

it had reached 58.8 million tons. In that year, at the end of the second administration of President Cristina Fernández de Kirchner, soybeans accounted for 55 percent of the almost 37 million planted agricultural hectares in the country (Department of Agricultural Statistics 2019).

The switch to the crop was driven by high international prices and growing external demand as well as policies implemented by post-neoliberal governments, including the Law for the Promotion of Bio-Fuels passed in 2006, which offered tax benefits for its production. This was accompanied by the Strategic Agri-food and Agri-industrial Plan implemented in 2010, which favored the expansion of agricultural production by large producers linked to agribusinesses over small and midsized Indigenous and *criollo* producers (Lapegna 2016; Córdoba et al. 2018).

INDIGENOUS RESISTANCE AND ACQUIESCENCE DURING THE SOYBEAN PERIOD

Although the cultivation of transgenic soybeans was initially concentrated in what is known as the "core" zone (the pampas region), it soon spread north into the province of Chaco. In terms of agricultural production, Chaco had traditionally been regarded as a peripheral region. The poor soils and subtropical climate made it difficult to produce the country's traditional export crops, so agriculture in the province concentrated solely on the internal market with a significant focus on cotton, which was heavily subsidized by the state.

The peripheral status of the province, which is inhabited by approximately 1,055,259 people and has one of the largest Indigenous communities in the country, is reflected by high rates of poverty, which in 2001 affected 55.1 percent of the population and 21.7 percent in 2010 when the last national census was carried out.

From the end of the 1990s and into the first decade of the twenty-first century, the combination of glyphosate-resistant seeds and direct planting made it possible for an export crop to be grown in the north of the country for the first time. However, far from transforming the unequal development that had been seen in Argentina throughout its history, the expansion of soybeans had devastating economic, social, and environmental consequences that ended up reinforcing the marginalization of the province and its inhabitants.

In Pampa del Indio, an area located to the far north of Department Libertador General San Martín, the expanse of the oil crop did not just transform the landscape; it also radically changed the dynamics within Qom communities as well as the relationship between them and the state. The new production model was brought there by a large company called Don Panos, and for Indigenous families this meant the loss of their ability to forage in scrubland forests, an increase in unemployment levels, and, due to increased pollution, the destruction of the crops they grew for consumption at home. The main shareholder in Don Panos at the time was Eduardo Eurnekian, a powerful businessman with one of the largest fortunes in Argentina and connections to leading political parties. The result of soybean expansion was that the Ruta 3 highway, which connected Pampa del Indio with the rest of the world, became the scene of a series of blockades set up by Qom families demanding subsidies for production, social welfare plans, and greater environmental monitoring. At the time, one often heard people joking on buses, saying "I'm going to Pampa del Indio, but who knows when I'll get back," or racist remarks from those of European descent complaining about the Qom "always being on the road" (Field notes, 2010).

These transformations, and the resistance they produced, seemed the very embodiment of what authors of numerous studies in Latin America, Asia, Africa, and Oceania* have described as processes of "accumulation by dispossession" (Harvey 2003, 137). In general terms these processes are the ways in which dominant groups seek to resolve the structural problems associated with overaccumulation of capital by expanding and consolidating global capitalist relationships.

Although these studies have sparked numerous debates about the means by which accumulation by dispossession occurs and the role of the state and large multinational companies within these processes, subaltern resistance to them—Indigenous, peasant, worker, and other social movements from below—is generally taken for granted (Cox and Nilsen 2014).

---

* For Latin America, see Spronk and Webber (2007), Cáceres (2015), and Ojeda (2018); for Asia, see Li (2010a; 2010b), Hall (2012), Banerjee-Guha (2013), and Jakobsen and Nielsen (2019); for Africa, see Patnaik and Moyo (2011), Büscher (2009); for Europe, see Mamonova (2015); for Oceania, see Howlett and Lawrence (2019).

However, this image of resistance as the only possible response of subaltern groups to dispossession did not fit with what I had observed on my visits to the Indigenous community in the town of Las Tolderías to the southwest of the province. To get to this Moqoit community, also known as Colonia Cacique Catán, one must travel around twelve miles along a dirt road that turns off from Ruta 89, which joins the provincial capital to the large soybean-producing areas such as Charata and Las Breñas. Throughout my journey and during my stay there, in contrast to what one might expect, I didn't see any blockades or demonstrations. I did, however, regularly see busloads of members of the community headed off to work in other provinces.

This was due to the expansion of soybean cultivation: increasingly, the Moqoit were traveling to carry out deforestation and clearance work in Santiago del Estero, a neighboring province. At the time, one often heard expressions such as "People from Las Tolderías are hardworking," or "you won't see people around here blocking the road like they do elsewhere," establishing clear differences with what was going on in Pampa del Indio, in the north of the province.

One of the main objectives of this book is to study the varied range of political reactions of subaltern groups to contexts of dispossession. With this in mind, I argue that in order to understand how subaltern groups—in this case, rural Indigenous communities—relate to processes of accumulation by dispossession, it is necessary to investigate the complexities of their "local rationalities" (Cox and Nilsen 2014)—that is, the way they perceive, feel, and act in relation to power from above. In other words, in this book I show how the different positions of subaltern actors with regard to these processes are informed by their memories—of struggle, negotiation, resistance, and incorporation—of previous periods of capitalist development, their historic and present status as subaltern groups, their actual experiences of dispossession—which might include enclosure, environmental damage, market mechanisms, and the use of force—as well as their aspirations, which are informed by the specific political contexts in which these processes take place.

INDIGENOUS CITIZENSHIP IN THE SOYBEAN ERA

The post-neoliberal context in which events analyzed in this book took place was not just characterized by the expansion of soybeans into areas

previously considered to be at the periphery of agricultural production. On the contrary, Argentina's post-neoliberal era also saw the return of Indigenous peoples to the Argentine political scene. The reorganization of the state implemented by center-left governments meant, in addition to greater state intervention and regulation of the economy, the reconstruction and expansion of the sectors of the population that the majority of economic, social, and cultural policy was designed to help. These "popular sectors" were expanded to include, in addition to the "white, or criollo" urban and rural poor, historically marginalized Indigenous populations.*

One of the first symbolic gestures of that inclusion occurred when, a few months after assuming the presidency, Néstor Kirchner became the first Argentine president to attend the Pachamama festival, an Indigenous celebration linked to the agricultural cycle held every August 1. That year the celebration was particularly significant because in July 2003 the Quebrada de Humahuaca, a stunning natural landmark in the provinces of Salta and Jujuy, had been declared Patrimony of Humanity by United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organizations (UNESCO), and the national government had arranged for the international body's decision to be announced in parallel to the Indigenous holiday. At the event, held in Maimará, Jujuy Province, the president gave the following speech:

> I am excited because today the country is truly coming together in Jujuy. We're happy to be sharing this day here with you because it is recognition for a living part of our culture, our history, and our vision of Argentina but also because the designation of the Quebrada de Humahuaca as Patrimony of Humanity is just the beginning. … We always said that we were going to integrate Argentina into the world but that we weren't going to kneel to, or repress, anyone. We also said that first thing's first and the first thing we must address is our poor, our unemployed, our homeless, our brothers and sisters

* Although Indigenous rights began to be recognized at the end of the twentieth century, for example in the constitutional reform of 1994 in which the peoples' initial occupation of the land was recognized and the creation in 1996 of the National Registry of Indigenous Communities (RENACI), until the arrival of the post-neoliberal governments, actual policies to fulfill these constitutional mandates were few and far between (Briones 2015).

> who need the healing hand of the state and nation of Argentina. We are going to be there working with you. Be in no doubt of that, some might get angry, some might not like to hear us say things like that but Argentina belongs to everyone and we all dream with our brothers in the [Indigenous] communities who offer us a clear vision of a nation and spirituality that can rebuild an Argentina in which a roof can be stretched over the head of everyone. … We're going to work hard and unconditionally together with you to make up for the years of neglect and deferment from which [Indigenous] communities have suffered. (Casa Rosada Archive 2003)

Seven years later, in May 2010, as part of the celebrations for the Bicentenary of National Independence, hundreds of Indigenous peoples from different communities across the country paraded through the streets of the capital and occupied seven blocks of Avenida 9 de Julio, one of the main thoroughfares of the city of Buenos Aires. "Marching for the truth, for a pluri-national state" was the slogan at the march, which combined the Wiphala and Argentine flags.

The march concluded with an event at which President Cristina Fernández de Kirchner met with representatives from the Indigenous communities in the Salón de las Mujeres of the Casa Rosada, the presidential palace. On that occasion, the president said:

> I genuinely want to thank you for sharing this moment. I heard each of your languages, each of your expressions and I have received your gifts. I remember when in this Salón de las Mujeres Argentinas we included Aimé Painé in homage to the Indigenous peoples.* She's here, together with other women, because between us we are building a definitive Argentine identity. Respect, freedom, equality, equitable distribution of income, the winning of rights, protection of traditions, and not wanting to be anyone other than who we are. I think that the most important thing is to be able to choose who you want to be. And to ensure for those who wish to preserve their traditions, their language, what they learned from their grandmother and great-grandmother, as someone was recently saying here, is also a right that should be respected not just

* Aimé Painé (1943–1987) was a Mapuche-Tehuelche singer famous for her work promoting Indigenous folk music.

> because the constitution says so but because at the end of the day it is the obligation of every human being to respect what the other wants to be, their history and identity. The history of humanity, unfortunately, is a history that is also full of discrimination, neglect and denial of identity and culture. And I think that as Argentinians, and as universal citizens, we have an obligation to tend to these wounds and, especially, respect each of our cultural identities. I like that things that have never happened in 200 years of history are beginning to happen in the Argentine Republic of the Bicentenary. (Casa Rosada Archive 2010)

These events, albeit mainly symbolic, are nonetheless significant if one considers the fact that, throughout the two hundred years of its existence as a nation, Indigenous peoples had never been present at the head of political and media power in such numbers in Argentina. But in addition to these sorts of speeches, during successive governments the expansion of popular sectors and inclusion of Indigenous groups was implemented in a tangible manner through what was known as a "Public Policy of Interculturality" by which several measures aimed at promoting greater visibility of these groups as political, social, economic, and cultural actors and offering them a greater say in the formulation and implementation of public policy were implemented.* In rural areas, the "Public Policy of

---

* These measures included: a) the creation of the Indigenous Participation Council (2004), a forum for participation and consultation between the state and Indigenous peoples coordinated by the National Institute of Indigenous Affairs (Resolution 737, 2014); b) Proposal Nº 215 of the National Plan against Discrimination (Decree 1086, 2005), which sought to "make effective the promotion of indigenous rights across the country"; c) the opening of the Department of Indigenous Peoples and Natural Resources within the Ministry for the Environment and Sustainable Development run by leaders from Indigenous communities; d) the establishment of Bilingual Intercultural Education (2006) as a mode of teaching; e) Law 26522 on Audiovisual Communication Services, which promotes the right to communication of identity and led among other effects to the creation of the Coordinator of Indigenous Argentine Audiovisual Communication (2011); f) the creation of the Department for the Affirmation of Indigenous Rights (2010), whose goal was to promote greater participation of Indigenous communities in the formulation of public policy; g) the opening of the National Registry of Indigenous Peoples (RENOPI); and h) the establishment of a regime of exceptions for the registry of all citizens who claim Indigenous heritage and lack a National Identity Document (DNI), to allow access to social security provisions (Universal Allocation for Children, Allocation for Pregnancy, pensions and retirement plans), among others.

Interculturality" involved the expansion of selection criteria for development programs and the establishment of special procedures aimed at Indigenous communities that sought to respect their ways of life, organizations, and traditional modes of production.*

However, this new initiative of interaction and dialogue, barely seen before between Indigenous communities and the Argentine state, was occurring in a context of significant tension caused by the expansion and consolidation of the (neo)-extractivist developmental model based on increased soybean cultivation and the exploitation of natural resources (Gudynas 2009; Svampa 2013; Petras and Veltmeyer 2014; Lapegna 2016). To return to the central argument of this book, I suggest that to properly understand the processes of accumulation by dispossession analyzed here and particularly how Indigenous communities relate to them, one must answer the following questions: What kind of experiences have shaped how these communities perceive the events related to the expansion of soybean cultivation in the post-neoliberal period? What meanings and memories inform their "local rationalities" in their specific historical context of inclusion and exclusion? What different positions were held by these communities while these processes occurred? In other words, it is necessary to examine and incorporate the multiple memories, perspectives, and aspirations of the actors involved in the analysis of specific processes of dispossession (Nielsen 2018).

Considering the full range of political responses to processes of accumulation by dispossession is important not only for an understanding of the insidious mechanisms by which capitalism expands, but also for comprehending the political dilemmas this diversity of reactions presents. By "political dilemmas," I mean the circumstances under which a practical position taken as part of a struggle for social justice or labor justice might, for instance, undermine the struggle for environmental justice. Recognizing these dilemmas is an essential step toward a conception of

* These criteria and measures included: a) the declaration of an emergency of community land and the suspension of evictions of communities (Law 26.160, 2006); b) the creation of the National Program for Territorial Surveys of Indigenous Communities set up to define the boundaries of land occupied by Indigenous communities and establish the framework for their subsequent recognition (2007); and c) the establishment of special procedures for programs and projects coordinated by Unit for Rural Change and the Ministry Agriculture, Livestock and Fisheries (2009) focused on Indigenous communities.

the potential bridges that might be built between the different struggles and negotiations of subaltern groups within these contexts.

WHEN THE GLOBAL BECOMES LOCAL

One of the challenges that arises when we try to analyze the relationship between processes of accumulation by dispossession, post-neoliberal governments, and the different positions of Indigenous communities is the need to consider both global and local historical processes without giving one greater priority than the other. It is important to move beyond the fallacy of a global-local dichotomy: first, because it is the only way in which we can avoid being overwhelmed by the sensation that global forces are imposing themselves upon us and there's nothing we can do about it. Second, because it will allow us to avoid exclusive specificity, helping us see that our struggles are not isolated occurrences but constitute part of a historical wave from which a larger resistance movement might emerge (Cox and Nilsen 2014, 3).

To achieve this, I used the Extended Case Method (ECM) (Burawoy 1998, 2001, 2009). This is a methodological approach that, through theoretically guided ethnography, allows us to analyze how global and local processes are connected or separate across space and time (Hart 2004, 2006; Jakobsen and Nielsen 2020). When working with the ECM, the starting point is the hypothesis that our perception of the world is governed by the theories to which we adhere—for example, Marxist theory in this case—and especially what one might call a focus on accumulation by dispossession. As Burawoy argues, "rather than theory emerging from the field, what is interesting in the field emerges from the theory" (1991, 9). It is important to make clear that theoretically guided ethnography does not regard social reality as a mere reflection or fully resolved confirmation of preexisting theory. To the contrary, the method focuses on cases that cannot apparently be explained by our chosen theoretical framework. Because it requires immersion in local environments and direct contact with actors and informants, the ECM provides the necessary tools to expand our theories by analyzing specific aspects of capitalist development in different places as well as the resistance and negotiations it generates. This methodology allows for a macro analysis of the structures and power flows of accumulation without losing sight of the importance of local experiences or what in the following chapters are

described, following Nilsen and Cox (2013), as "local rationalities"—the varied, fragmentary, and contradictory ways in which these processes are perceived and interpreted as well as their different effects on people's actions.

The Extended Case Method in Chaco

With the goal of analyzing the dynamics generated by the expansion of soybean farming, both in terms of resistance and in terms of accommodation, I embarked upon field work in Chaco. One of the reasons I chose this province for my research was the publication in local newspapers of reports establishing that between 2007 and 2008 there was a correlation between the increase in mortality rates among the Indigenous communities of that province and the soybean boom. For example, *Página 12* published an article in May 2008 entitled "Chaco, Where Poverty Is Even More Impoverished," in which it reported that "the socioeconomic situation being suffered in Chaco can be explained, according to the specialists consulted, by the process of rural expulsion caused by single crop planting practices, especially soybeans." I wanted to analyze the issue in greater depth because becoming widespread among the population was the idea that poverty in Chaco and the marginalization of Indigenous peoples were exclusively caused by a crop rather than a production model or long-standing political, economic, and cultural systems.

The debate about the socioeconomic consequences of the expansion of soybean cultivation was also related to historic conflicts between the Peronist government and the opposition. As tensions between the Kirchner administration and the agricultural sector grew following the implementation of a series of policies, such as an increase in the taxation of exports of soybeans, large portions of the urban middle classes who did not support the government began to fill their social media feeds with images of Indigenous communities living in extreme poverty. These images were presented as evidence of the supposed failure of the government's economic and social policies. The accusation was that the government was more interested in increasing its control over provincial governors through its distribution of income from export tariffs than addressing the needs of rural communities. A good example of these arguments can be found in an article published in *La Política Online* (2008), which reported that

> in the Impenetrable forests of Chaco, indigenous populations are suffering from extreme neglect and poverty comparable to the most underdeveloped areas of Africa. While the government crows about the global economic crisis and boasts about the "strength" of Argentina, dramatic cases of extreme malnutrition, tuberculosis and Chagas are hitting Capitanich's province. … However, nothing can help the fact that the published photographs … reflect the banality and criminal incompetence of a government that celebrates its trade surplus but is unable to fulfil the state's responsibility to provide even the most basic support.

Meanwhile, supporters of the government argued that opposition sectors seeking to reestablish the neoliberal model were using the historic poverty and marginalization of Indigenous communities for their own ends to manipulate public opinion. As a counterargument, the government presented the policies of social inclusion it had been implementing since 2003 and the progressive—albeit gradual—improvements in social indicators among these groups. Significantly, the perceptions, experiences, and expectations of Indigenous peoples were absent from these debates.

My first visit to Chaco occurred between December 2010 and February 2011. Initially I got in touch with representatives from the Department for Family Agriculture, who arranged my visits to the interior of the province. These initial journeys were useful for building up a network of contacts as well as gaining a better understanding of the different realities and challenges faced by the Indigenous communities of Chaco. The case studies I selected were those of Colonia Cacique Catán, home to several Moqoit communities, and Pampa del Indio, which is mainly populated by Qom communities.* Both groups belong to the Guaykurú linguistic

* Throughout this work I shall use the denominations *Moqoit* and *Mocoví* and *Qom* and *Toba*, interchangeably. Although the term *Toba* has been imposed upon Qom communities and has negative connotations, they have now reappropriated the name and use it themselves interchangeably. Toba is a word of Guaraní origin and means "large forehead," alluding to the ancient custom of shaving one's eyebrows (Tola 2010). Qom, in contrast, refers to those who speak the same language (qom laqtaq) and share certain practices (for a more detailed analysis, see Tola 2010).

family.* Colonia Cacique Catán is located in the southwest of the province close to Charata, in the Department of Chacabuco. This department is part of an area known as the Western Agriculture Region, where much of the land has been used for agriculture for many years. Pampa del Indio, meanwhile, is located in the Department of General San Martín and forms part of an area known as the Mixed Northern Region. In contrast to Chacabuco, agricultural activities here initially focused on raising livestock and tannin production (commercial agriculture only arrived in the area in the 1940s). In spite of their differences, between the late 1990s and the first decade of the twenty-first century both experienced a significant increase in soybean production, resulting in significant changes to the geography and to economic, social, and cultural dynamics in each region.

The decision to focus my research on communities inhabited by different ethnic groups who had experienced contrasting forms of exclusion and insertion in the history of capitalist development in Argentina—as well as variations in the modes of relationship, negotiation, and rupture with the state—is aimed at revealing the different ways in which subaltern groups perceive, interpret, and experience processes of accumulation by dispossession. I have tried to avoid homogeneous representations of Indigenous communities that sometimes appear in sociological studies of dispossession. By investigating parallel case studies in areas where the land has historically been used differently, I was able to emphasize the importance of the unequal geographies of capitalism and how they relate to the specific ways in which processes of dispossession occur. These distinctive characteristics in each case reflect more clearly the contingent and varied nature of the process of accumulation by dispossession.

In 2012 I spent four months doing fieldwork in Pampa del Indio and Colonia Cacique Catán, followed by several brief visits to both areas in 2016, 2017, and 2018. In both Pampa del Indio and Colonia Cacique Catán, I conducted structured, semi-structured, and open-ended interviews with key interlocutors and carried out participatory observation. In general terms, I employed the "snowball" sampling method, by which the interviewees suggested further informants for me to contact.

In many cases the interviews were carried out on the patios of the homes of Qom and Moqoit families, meaning that although they were originally

* Made up of the Qom, Moqoit, Pilagá, and Abipones peoples.

planned as individual conversations, they often ended up involving larger groups. These groups varied in nature, sometimes involving other family members who happened to be present in the space where the interview was taking place as well as neighbors who were invited to join in and share their opinion. In contrast, the interviews with public officials, both criollo and Indigenous, generally took place in their offices and were carried out individually. It was through these interviews and the accounts I gathered that I was able to consider the uniqueness of the "local rationalities" and their most relevant aspects in understanding how processes of accumulation by dispossession were perceived, experienced, and resisted (Nilsen and Cox 2013).

However, being a person of European descent and a temporary visitor to the area where the communities lived obviously influenced my analysis and my perspective on the issues in question. Significantly, both the interviews and the testimonies were carried out and recorded in Spanish. Because Spanish is my first language, I did not require translators or mediators, but even though both the Qom and Moqoit communities are generally bilingual, it is nonetheless a language that has been imposed upon them. The language in which the information was collected is in itself significant in terms of relationships of power and the experience of silencing. In spite of these limitations, in these pages I have tried to bear faithful witness to the perspectives of the Indigenous groups with whom I have shared my analysis of forms of development, access to resources, citizenship, and agribusiness. Finally, it is important to make clear that with the exception of public officials and organization leaders whose positions are public knowledge, the names of those interviewed for this publication are pseudonyms.

THE SILENCES OF DISPOSSESSION: ARGUMENT AND OUTLINE

This book analyzes the different ways in which subaltern groups interact with and mold processes of accumulation by dispossession at a local level. Taking a long-term historical perspective, this book shows how these processes are perceived, experienced, and resisted or accepted, depending on the different ways in which dispossession, resistance, and negotiation have been incorporated into local collective memory.

The chosen title, *The Silences of Dispossession*, reflects the three objectives of this text. First, the book seeks to question the dominant vision of processes of agrarian transformation that tend only to offer structural explanations. Through the study of two Indigenous communities living in the north of Argentina, the Qom community in Pampa del Indio and the Moqoit community of Colonia Cacique Catán, this text shows how processes of agrarian reform, usually analyzed in terms of "accumulation by dispossession," are processes perceived and experienced by different actors in accordance with their specific memories and histories. Coming in the wake of a series of studies highlighting the importance of the emotions and aspirations of subaltern groups in the development of these processes (Li 2014; Lapegna 2016; Jakobsen and Nielsen 2019), this work exposes the silence that surrounds the role of these actors, placing the emphasis on the specifically local nature of their strategies of resistance and reaccommodation. As shown throughout the book, actions that might be described as resistance or acquiescence cannot be explained solely by their positions regarding agribusiness or the preservation of the environment; they must also be understood as reactions to the access and restrictions that the state has historically granted or imposed upon these communities through different mechanisms.

Second, *The Silences of Dispossession* seeks to counter a form of silence that still remains within rural studies regarding the active roles played by Indigenous communities within processes of agrarian transformation. Although some studies analyze the actions of rural populations with regard to the expansion of agribusiness, most still focus on the experiences of criollo peasants, reproducing, intentionally or otherwise, the erasure of Indigenous communities from official historical discourse.

Finally, but closely related to the second point, the book seeks to examine the silences that are often reproduced in academic output and political plans and assessments with regard to the multiple and conflicting positions of Indigenous communities as they relate to the new agrarian dynamics (Wolford 2010). This book thus seeks to offer a critical reflection on "authorized" and "unauthorized" ethnicities and subalternities as seen by governments, academics, and activists (Hale 2004). Avoiding homogeneous representations of Indigenous communities in the context of expanding agribusiness, I shall try to present an overview of the many different forms of ascription and the varied political positions that unfold during these processes.

Chapter 2 presents a brief overview of studies of accumulation by dispossession (Harvey 2003). Although the usefulness of this approach lies in the ways it perceives and analyzes the ties between changes in rural areas at a local level and global transformations produced by contemporary mechanisms of accumulation of capital, I argue that to understand how these processes are produced and prolonged over time, we must consider how they are perceived and experienced by the actors involved. To encourage a political reading of these processes that allows us to transcend mere description of the effects of neo-extractivism in rural areas and move on to an understanding of the dynamics of production and reproduction of these processes, I suggest employing the concept of "local rationalities" developed by Nilsen and Cox (2013; see also Cox and Nilsen 2014). I thus believe that an analysis based in the different memories, perceptions, and feelings that give rise to the multiple positions of these subaltern groups in these processes will allow for better comprehension of the complex relationships through which the actually existing processes of accumulation by dispossession are shaped.

Chapter 3 contains a brief summary of the history of the province of Chaco and our protagonists, the Indigenous peoples who live there. The history of Chaco will provide us with a privileged perspective from which to consider the history of capitalist development on the peripheries of Argentina; the periphery of the global periphery, considering both mechanisms of dominance; and the struggles and negotiations carried out by the Indigenous communities themselves.

Chapters 4 and 5 will then present the case studies on which this research was based. In addition to analyzing different histories and dynamics, each chapter will identify issues related to the expansion of the agribusiness model. Chapter 4, which examines the case of the Qom community in Pampa del Indio, reveals the varied, fragmentary, and changing nature of resistance to new agrarian dynamics. Through information gathered in interviews, it shows that different groups within a single community take contrasting positions with regard to the various transformations that have occurred in recent years. This chapter analyzes the differences between the positions that emerge within the "ethno-bureaucratic" space and the positions of the groups that live in the different communities.

Examining the experience of the Moqoit community that lives in Paraje Las Tolderías, in chapter 5 I explore the cases in which accumu-

lation by dispossession has not resulted in resistance and has even been met with the acceptance and support of subaltern actors. In addition to analyzing the relationships with dominant sectors, this chapter seeks to identify how tensions within the community and with other groups at a provincial level affect positions regarding recent agrarian issues.

The fragments that appear in chapters 4 and 5 should be seen as a sample of the complex framework of relationships through which communities interpret their past, perceive the present, and adopt diverse positions in new agrarian and political dynamics. It is a necessarily incomplete picture that seeks to bring to the fore some of the ways in which the history and politics of these communities have been molded by but also contributed to the molding of processes of accumulation by dispossession.

Map 1 Chaco Province. Map by Ana Dell'Arciprete.

2

Accumulation by Dispossession and the Everyday Life of Indigenous Peoples

It is the summer of 2010. The sun beats down pitilessly in Campo Nuevo, an area in Pampa del Indio home to several Qom families. "It's pleasant today. It won't even get to 40 degrees," says Avelino with a laugh when I arrive red-faced and sweating. He holds a chair in each hand to set out in the shade of a tree where his wife and one of his sons are already sitting. An affable Qom man in his seventies, Avelino lives in a humble house next to Don Panos. On his fifty hectares plot of land, he and his family used to plant some vegetables and raise animals.

He continues, "When the company does a lot of spraying, you don't even get crickets in the fields. There's always a plane circling around. The poison gets carried on the wind. It damages the grass, water, and our health." María, Avelino's wife, interrupts him. "Even the animals die, the fish… turtles are safe because they can hide in their shells," she jokes, trying to lighten the mood a little in very difficult circumstances.

Jorge, their son, looks down at the ground and kicks the dirt a little. "There's always trouble, they won't let us forage on this side, you have to sneak in because if they see you, they'll shoot at you and have you arrested. We keep going back to get food. When it rains, we go to forage. When people are hungry, there's no such thing as private property."

"We saw the need to speak out. We sent a letter demanding they stop [spraying] and went out to protest," Avelino resumes.

The facilities belonging to the company Don Panos in Pampa del Indio, the deforestation and spraying of soybean crops, as we shall see in the following chapters, generated a series of conflicts and numerous demonstrations by Qom families. However, although transgenic soybeans have

spread to many other parts of the province, Indigenous families do not always adopt a position of open resistance.

A few weeks after my first trip to Pampa del Indio, Rodolfo, a worker at the Department of Family Agriculture, offered to take me to the southwest of the province, the soybean hub of Chaco. The trip from Resistencia, the provincial capital, where Rodolfo lived, to the home of Ángel in Colonia Cacique Catán ought to have taken about three and a half hours. However, the poor state of the provincial roads, which were pockmarked with potholes, possibly caused by trucks weighed down with lumber, forced us to go slower. For most of the journey, the only thing to be seen was hectare after hectare of soybeans stretching out either side of the freeway.

When we finally arrived, the dogs' insistent barking brought Ángel out of his house, one of the few brick buildings in the town. It was almost midday. Clouds of dust swirled in the warm breeze and stuck to our skin, which was already damp with sweat. Before inviting us in, Ángel gestured around his house and said that several midsized producers had come in from other provinces, mainly Córdoba and Santiago del Estero, to grow soybeans. Inside, sitting around his table, Ángel said, "Yesterday the plane was treating all day, they're treating the soybeans. You hear it all the time, they're going all out with the spraying." "Treating the soybeans" was his way of describing their spraying the crops with glyphosate. When I asked if the spraying had caused any problems among the Moqoit families who lived there, Ángel said, "There wasn't much trouble around here." Then he added, "Some families rented out their fields, because it was quite late for cotton. So they rented some out for soybeans. It's just plots of four, five, six hectares, though, more a gauchada [favor] they're doing for the *paisanos* because generally they want plots of a hundred, two hundred, five hundred hectares. They don't want to waste their time."* Similarly to Pampa del Indio, the arrival of soybeans in Colonia Cacique Catán had created new dynamics, but the Moqoit families who lived there had not protested or organized demonstrations.

---

* In the Chaco region, *paisano* is a term used to describe Indigenous peoples. Seen as inoffensive, it is used by the Indigenous community to describe people of their own and other Indigenous ethnicities and by nonindigenous peoples indiscriminately to describe an Indigenous group or person.

GROUNDING ACCUMULATION BY DISPOSSESSION IN EVERYDAY LIFE

The scenes described here are examples of the multiple positions and dynamics that can be found in Chaco in relation to the expansion of soybean production. These varied perceptions and positions associated with the process of accumulation by dispossession are often overlooked when the concept is applied, an issue I will examine in this chapter. My goal is to show how these preexisting relationships, which reflect Indigenous families' memories of everyday life, have a key influence on how they perceive processes of dispossession under the post-neoliberal regime and on the positions taken by members of these communities. I believe that analysis of the memories, perceptions, experiences, and aspirations of subaltern groups is crucial to a full understanding of contemporary dynamics.

In Argentina, as well as many other countries around the world, the transformations associated with processes of accumulation by dispossession generate not just resistance by subaltern sectors but also acceptance and accommodation. In several cases, as I will show, the demands of subaltern groups are not just related to and shaped by dispossession that is ongoing in the present; on the contrary, they attempt to revert a long history of marginalization. Although in many cases one of the demands is that the expansion of soybean production be halted, in others—or even simultaneously—the demand is to be included in the industrial agriculture system or to benefit from the commercialization of areas that had previously been on the periphery of the market (see also Li 2014; Castellanos-Navarrete and Jansen 2015; Mamonova 2015).

The purpose of this chapter is to contribute to the debate about processes of accumulation by dispossession by redirecting the focus toward the actually existing agency of subaltern groups. More specifically, I want to suggest a reconsideration of these processes as phenomena that different actors experience, perceive, and respond to in different ways. To do so, I must examine what Cox and Nilsen (2014) call "local rationalities." This approach, which I expand upon in the following section, helps to overcome the dichotomous perceptions of spaces of power and resistance generally seen, explicitly or implicitly, in studies of accumulation by dispossession with a more complex portrayal of Indigenous agency (Nilsen 2010; Nilsen and Cox 2013).

Before beginning with the case study, we need to take a look at how the concept of accumulation by dispossession originated, understanding its main points in addition to how it has been challenged and criticized.

THE ROOTS OF ACCUMULATION BY DISPOSSESSION

Harvey (2003) presents the concept of accumulation by dispossession as a reformulation of the concept of "primitive accumulation" that Marx set out in *Capital* ([1867] 1990). In very general terms, primitive accumulation can be understood as the historical process by which direct producers are separated from their means of subsistence. In Marx's words:

> The process, therefore, which creates the capital-relation can be nothing other than the process which divorces the worker from the ownership of the conditions of his own labour; it is a process which operates two transformations, whereby the social means of subsistence and of production are turned into capital, and the immediate producers are turned into wage labourers. So-called primitive accumulation, therefore, is nothing else than the historical process of divorcing the producer from the means of production. ([1867] 1990, 874–75)

As a result of this separation, human beings are compelled to sell their labor in the marketplace as their only means of survival, converting them into wage workers. This process, which gives rise to the capital-labor relationship, is achieved through political and extra-economic means such as the fraudulent alienation of state domains and the theft of commons lands. In Marx's notion of primitive accumulation, "the expropriation of the agricultural producer, of the peasant, from the soil is the basis of the whole process" ([1867] 1990, 876). These lands were given away, sold at derisory prices, or simply annexed to private properties while the law became a means of legitimizing the pillage.

Debates over how to understand primitive accumulation have been a key preoccupation in Marxist theory (Glassman 2006; Hart 2006; Chatterjee 2017; Levien 2018). One of the proposed readings holds that primitive accumulation was a closed phase and was later replaced by the expanded reproduction of capital. This interpretation is based on the idea that primitive accumulation, in Marx's terms, was the "original sin," "the pre-history of capital, and of the mode of production corresponding to

capital" ([1867] 1990, 875). Primitive accumulation refers here only to the founding moment of capitalism.

However, other approaches have suggested that primitive accumulation should be thought of as a process inherent to how capitalism functions. Marxist studies of imperialism seek to explain why the development of capitalism in core countries led to increasing territorial expansion, exportation of capital, and, finally, the rivalry between the new imperial powers (Brewer 1990, 7; De Angelis 2001). This approach was arguably pioneered by Rosa Luxemburg, whose analysis would later be used by Harvey as the starting point for the development of the concept of "accumulation by dispossession." In *The Accumulation of Capital* ([1913] 1951), Luxemburg suggested that primitive accumulation had a dual nature: on the one hand, it referred to the separation of direct producers from the means of production, and on the other hand, it referred to how the relationship between capitalist and pre-capitalist formations was used to resolve the crisis of underconsumption in the capitalist system. Luxemburg writes:

> Since the primitive associations of the natives are the strongest protection for their social organisations and for their material bases of existence, capital must begin by planning for the systematic destruction and annihilation of all the non-capitalist social units which obstruct its development. With that we have passed beyond the stage of primitive accumulation; this process is still going on. Each new colonial expansion is accompanied, as a matter of course, by a relentless battle of capital against the social and economic ties of the natives, who are forcibly robbed of their means of production and labour power. ([1913] 1951, 370)

Thus, primitive accumulation was no longer seen as being a part of a historical period during which capitalism was born. It was now viewed as a condition for the reproduction of capital in suitably capitalist social formations.

In addition to identifying the link between primitive accumulation and the reproduction of capital, Luxemburg's analysis calls attention to the political nature of the process. In her explanation of the separation of agriculture and industry, Luxemburg argues: "In reality, however, the process of separating agriculture and industry is determined by factors such as oppressive taxation, war, or squandering and monopolization of

the nation's land, and thus belongs to the spheres of political power and criminal law no less than with economics" ([1913] 1951, 396). However, as De Angelis (2001) notes, in Luxemburg's analysis conflict was a side effect and not a constitutive part of the process. In other words, the conflict was caused by the expansion of capitalist sectors into pre-capitalist sectors, which, in spite of their greater or lesser resistance, were destined to disappear. This observation becomes extremely valuable when assessing contemporary studies that focus on accumulation by dispossession but ignore the role of subaltern groups. As we shall see in greater detail further on, Harvey's concept, like Luxemburg's, dilutes the political nature of the process insofar as the conflicts that inevitably arise are seen as a result rather than a starting point and driving force.

In the first decade of the twenty-first century, debates about the role of primitive accumulation came to the fore once more. Perelman (2000) suggested that Marx's formulation should be understood as both a *historic process* and an *ongoing process* within capitalist formations.* Referring to the historical process, Perelman emphasizes that primitive accumulation did not just refer to the enclosure of the commons, or the gathering of a mass of capital, as this was a necessary condition but not sufficient to convert the dispossessed into wage workers. Rather, what Marx described as "primitive accumulation" was a long-term material and ideological process; the appearance of capitalist social relations required the establishment of enclosures, but also "a host of oftentimes brutal laws designed to undermine whatever resistance people maintained against the demands of wage labor accompanied the dispossession of the peasant rights" (2000, 14; see also Perelman 2001). Furthermore, Perelman views primitive accumulation as an ongoing process—a mechanism by which the conditions of the existence of the working class were defined. There would then be a gradual process that ensured the continuous benefit of

* Other early texts to this effect appear in *Midnight Notes* (1990), in which the contemporary role of enclosures was already suggested. In the introduction, the author writes: "The Enclosures, however, are not a one-time process exhausted at the dawn of capitalism. They are a regular return on the path of accumulation and a structural component of class struggle. Any leap in proletarian power demands a dynamic capitalist response: both the expanded appropriation of new resources and new labor power and the extension of capitalist relations, or else capitalism threatened with extinction. Thus Enclosure is one process that unifies proletarians throughout capital's history" (Collective 1990, 1).

capital. According to Perelman, "all-out primitive accumulation would not be in the best interests of capital. Instead, capital would manipulate the extent to which workers relied on self-provisioning in order to maximize its advantage" (2000, 32).

Furthering this argument, De Angelis (2001) states that primitive accumulation is a *necessary process* for the functioning of the system, and it is therefore continuous in nature. He claims that primitive accumulation is characterized by the use of extra-economic methods and occurs "any time the producers set themselves as an obstacle to the reproduction of their separation to the means of production" (13). Primitive accumulation thus functions as "a reassertion of capital's priorities vis-à-vis those social forces that run against this separation. … Objects of primitive accumulation also become any given balance of power among classes that constitutes a 'rigidity' for furthering the capitalist process of accumulation" (14). Consequently, the continuous nature of primitive accumulation is explained by the continuity of social conflict, which is inherent to the capitalist system.*

Although each of these readings of the concept of primitive accumulation has helped expand our understanding of how the capitalist system works in general and the scope of the concept in particular, Harvey's reformulation, which will be examined next, is undoubtedly the most influential of contemporary studies.

ACCUMULATION BY DISPOSSESSION IN A NUTSHELL

In *The New Imperialism* (2003), Harvey argues that in the neoliberal era, to avoid crises of overaccumulation, capital has sought out new territories and commercialized social sectors that had previously been partially

* Representations of primitive accumulation as a "continuous process" applicable to any stage of capitalist development, and more specifically the theses presented by Perelman (2000, 2001) and De Angelis (2001) have been criticized by Zarembka (2002). Zarembka believes that Marx's development of the concept of primitive accumulation only sought to frame the history of the beginning of capitalism to demonstrate the contingent or "unnatural" nature of the transition from one mode of production to another. According to Zarembka, given that "capital accumulation" always involves an act of separation and violence, the use of the concept of primitive accumulation is only justified when it refers to the historical moment of transition from feudalism to capitalism. See also Sassen (2010).

or completely free of the influence of the market. In Harvey's reading, accumulation by dispossession includes not just the co-option of preexisting structures but also their confrontation and violent suppression in cases where they are inconsistent with the needs of capital (146). The final objective is none other than the liberation of a series of "goods" at a very low cost, in such a way that capital can make use of them in highly profitable ways (149).

A more detailed definition of processes of accumulation by dispossession appears in *A Brief History of Neoliberalism* (2005), in which Harvey describes the continuation and proliferation of primitive accumulation through privatization of land, forced expulsion of peasants, aggressive assertion of rights to private property, suppression of rights to the commons, and, especially, the radical use of credit and debt systems (159).

These forms of accumulation by dispossession during the neoliberal period occur and multiply via different mechanisms. According to Harvey (2006) there are four main mechanisms: 1) *privatization and commodification of public goods and services* (this may include the privatization of public services such as the provision of water and transport, the privatization of education, pensions, and retirement funds, and even the mercantilization of culture and some ways of life—through tourism, for example); 2) *financialization* (mechanisms that require the destruction and/or seizing of shares and resources via inflationary processes, debts, and other practices linked to financial speculation); 3) *management and manipulation of crises* (here, Harvey refers to the relationship with processes of sovereign debt and the subsequent imposition of structural cuts as a prerequisite for access to international credit); and 4) *state redistribution* (e.g., via tax reform or the provision of subsidies to large corporations).

After explaining how accumulation by dispossession occurs, Harvey goes on to analyze the social and political consequences of these processes. He argues that in addition to a significant transfer of assets to the dominant classes, the preeminence of this form of accumulation acquired during neoliberalism created a new politics of resistance. In Harvey's words: "The whole field of anti-capitalist, anti-imperialist, and anti-globalization struggle has consequently been reconfigured and a very different political dynamic has been set in motion" (2003, 174). According to Harvey, struggles against accumulation by dispossession, in contrast to traditional forms of resistance against or in relation to

expanded reproduction of capital, are characterized by the persecution of fragmentary and contingent objectives, function on different scales, and also tend to remain as social movements (162–79).

The versatility of the concept of accumulation by dispossession perhaps explains why it became so important to contemporary agricultural studies (Levien 2013a, 2013b, 2013c). The first main advantage of the concept is its multifaceted nature. In contrast to other studies in which primitive accumulation is limited to the conversion of "the commons," Harvey's concept addresses the transfer—or retransfer—of different kinds of property into private hands. This encompasses a wide range of contemporary dispossessions brought about through both extra-economic and economic mechanisms. Second, accumulation by dispossession is not limited to production; it also includes other economic sectors such as the financial and public spheres, making it possible to analyze the role of national states in these processes more clearly. Third, Harvey, in contrast to other scholars, says that accumulation by dispossession can have both regressive and progressive aspects (such as agrarian reform; for example, see Harvey 2003, 178). This factor, even though it is not fully developed, is significant because it suggests that these processes can only be understood and evaluated in their actual forms. Finally, because it distinguishes between movements against accumulation by dispossession and movements against the expansion of reproduction, this approach makes it possible to see how the changes in the mechanisms of accumulation also shape the resistance of subaltern groups. However, as I argue in the next section, the reduction of the role of subaltern groups to reactive postures limits our understanding of these processes.

WHAT ACCUMULATION BY DISPOSSESSION LEAVES OUT

In recent years, several studies have identified limitations and challenged aspects of the concept of accumulation by dispossession. Initially, academics such as Wood (2007) and Brenner (2006) have argued that the emphasis Harvey places on the crisis of overaccumulation as the driver of the process makes his theoretical development of accumulation by dispossession more a liberal analysis than a Marxist one. Wood (2007) says that primitive accumulation is characterized not by the concentration of wealth but by the transformation of social relations—that is, the establishment of new rules for reproduction and new forms of domina-

tion based on market dependence. From this perspective, the primitive accumulation of the neoliberal era would be defined not as much by the hoarding of goods, the crisis of overaccumulation, or the use of extra-economic forms of coercion as by the subjection of an increasing number of spheres of human life to the imperatives of the market. Meanwhile, Brenner notes that Harvey classifies all processes and mechanisms of the expanded reproduction of capital as processes of accumulation by dispossession. Brenner argues that this classification makes Harvey's concept too wide-ranging, meaning that it loses sight of the specifics of the process itself, which essentially are those that create the conditions for the accumulation of capital (2006; see also Webber 2008; Negi and Auerbach 2009; Bailey 2014; Bin 2018).

Another important criticism has been presented by Hart, who has argued that "what gets lost in the conception of accumulation by dispossession is the constitutive role of contestation" (2006, 9). In her view, in Harvey's argument, while overaccumulation of capital is the driving force behind the process, the resistance movements of those affected are relegated to the status of being mere reactions to external processes.

Recently, Kenney-Lazar has presented a similar criticism, arguing that both Marx and Harvey's concepts "do not sufficiently account for its political contingencies or how it materializes in unexpected and unique ways on the ground. In other words, they fall short of explaining the differential dynamics of actually existing dispossession" (2018, 3).

Following on from these criticisms, other recent studies have noted that Harvey's portrayal of accumulation by dispossession is rooted in the Global North and the actions of hegemonic actors. They thus argue that the original formulation of accumulation by dispossession does not offer a complete explanation of the political nature of these processes or how they occur in other parts of the world, and neither do they reflect the varied nature of subaltern groups. As Tilley, Kumar, and Cowan argue, "the transformations of primitive accumulation (and the derived formulation of accumulation by dispossession) are often analyzed as though they occur across undifferentiated spaces and bodies, rather than in relation to raced and gendered productions of difference" (2017, 421). These arguments aim to decolonize the concept, reinterpreting, challenging, and redeveloping it to better fit the specific characteristics of the Global South in order to provide a more complete analysis (Cabrera Pacheco 2017; Mollett 2016; Moreno and Hyun Bang Shin 2018).

Returning to some of the criticisms mentioned, such as the loss of specificity and lack of attention to the political nature of the process, Levien (2013a, 2013b, 2013c, 2015, 2017, 2018) has suggested a reformulation of Harvey's concept, what he calls "regimes of dispossession." The author believes that the limitations of the concept of accumulation by dispossession result in part from its high degree of abstractions and overextension in that it encompasses too wide a range of theft and fraud. As Levien puts it: "by reading every instance of dispossession as a result of the global impulses of capital, Harvey fails to answer why and how impulses of capital translate into dispossession rather than merely commodification" (2018, 16). However, his most interesting criticism is the suggestion that connecting the concept to Harvey's theory of neoliberalism hinders proper understanding of the dispossession that occurred during previous stages of capitalist development. By limiting itself to events that occur in advanced economies, the concept does not allow for an understanding of the importance of geographic variations in these processes (Levien 2018, 16). Seeking to resolve these limitations, Levien proposes interpreting capitalist dispossession through the lenses of specific social and historical regimes. Regimes of dispossession can be defined as "the political apparatus for coercively redistributing land" (2018, 17), which allows us to differentiate between the economic intentions and class interests present during every given stage and within any place.

The concept proposed by Levien is of great theoretical relevance—first because it emphasizes the political nature of the process, and second because it allows us to understand, through the changing role of the state and its multiple alliances with different sectors of society, the history of capitalist development and the historic role of dispossession in different countries. However, the attention given to the role of subaltern groups in this approach is still rather limited. Even when Levien notes that regimes vary depending on their distinctive histories and are the result of political struggles, his analysis still fails to give the memories, perceptions, experiences, and actions of subaltern sectors the attention they deserve. This is partially because he believes that as the aspirations of poor populations fail to be fulfilled by the current course of capitalism, sooner or later resistance to these processes will emerge (Levien 2018, 181). Once again, the (re)actions of subaltern groups are determined a priori by the logic of capital. Nielsen (2018) notes that in Levien's rendering, "land dispossession comes close to functioning as a catalyst that, almost kinetically, sets

in motion a series of processes that literally creates an antidispossession politics with certain given (albeit varied) characteristics" (14).

This assumption about the positions of subaltern groups is possibly linked to Levien's definition of the term "dispossession," which is restricted to evictions from the land carried out by the state—that is, those situations where those who control the means of legitimate coercion transfer a resource from one sector to another (2018, 6). By putting the emphasis almost exclusively on the use of coercion and the change of property ownership, it leaves out analysis of the "quieter register of power" (Frederiksen and Himley 2020, 3). This means that subtler ways in which power is exercised to allow or deny access to land and resources are not examined. The assumption that resistance movements will emerge may also derive from the memories that Levien includes in his analysis. When focusing on the memories of subaltern groups, his analysis seems only to consider those linked to resistance movements, making it difficult to observe the relationships that may have formed in previous stages between different social sectors and the state. In other words, the experiences that inform memories are not limited solely to prior experiences of dispossession but also memories of inclusion.

For example, in Argentina, as we shall see in the next chapter, during what, taking my lead from Levien (2018), I call "the developmentalist regime of dispossession," a strong relationship was formed between Indigenous peoples and the Peronist movement. The years during which this regime was in power are closely linked to the welfare state and are often remembered by some members of Indigenous communities as the moment when "Perón made us people" (Briones 1993, 86). These formulations reflect that in many cases the ties established between Indigenous caciques and leaders and the Peronist government that came to power in 1946 widened the horizons of opportunity for their communities, meaning that these groups began to see national politics as a space where they belonged, a field of negotiation and struggle (Gordillo 2006; Briones 2015; Mathias 2013).

EVERYDAY LIFE AND ACCUMULATION BY DISPOSSESSION

By turning the spotlight on subaltern groups, this book brings together recent contributions made by studies of dispossession that call attention

to the importance of the insidious ways in which these processes come about. Examples of this kind of work include that by Webber (2008), who, when analyzing the socioeconomic transformations that have occurred in rural areas of China in recent decades, notes the possibility of subaltern groups contributing voluntarily to accumulation by dispossession. The author sees these processes as being guided by different logics, economic logic being "only one of the drivers that underline change." According to Webber (2008), the other logics "derive from extra-economic sources, including environmental modernization, ethnic politics, nation building and personal motives" (397).

Hall (2011) has made another important contribution in his analysis of migration politics in Southeast Asia in light of the expansion of commercial crops such as palm oil, cocoa, and coffee. In a context where most studies focus exclusively on the process of deruralization, Hall shows that migration does not necessarily mean a shift away from rural areas. Offering different case studies, Hall shows that in certain contexts migration is a strategy that allows rural workers to continue to practice agriculture. Like Webber, Hall raises the important issue of how the motivations of subaltern groups can turn them into agents of dispossession.

In a similar vein, Smalley and Corbera (2012) analyze the varied positions of peasants toward two large-scale projects—one linked to biodiesel and the other to ethanol. Their analysis is particularly valuable because it addresses not only the participation of subaltern groups in these projects, but also "how local individuals frame their life experience and how evolving land deals fit into their development concerns and expectations" (1044). What this means is that the different expectations among subaltern groups can cause resistance in some cases and complicity in others.

Cramb and Sujang (2013) also analyze the participation of subaltern groups in the production of cash crops such as palm oil. They note the importance of the perceptions of the peasants of Sarawak regarding traditional crops, which are closely linked to relations of dependence. In their analysis, Cramb and Sujang observe that the peasants switch to this kind of production not just to support themselves but because they believe that it will grant them greater autonomy. Moving beyond agricultural studies, Strümpell (2014) has written about the importance of perceptions of subaltern groups in his work on urban dispossession in the state of Odisha in eastern India. Strümpell examines the key issues linked to historic relationships between the state and subaltern groups and within said groups,

how they influence perceptions, and the positions they take regarding processes of accumulation by dispossession. He concludes that some sectors who had benefited from government reform in previous decades accepted neoliberal restructuring while others who had been marginalized by past administrations resisted it.* Through this text, Strümpell shows that "accumulation by dispossession" can not only generate "resistance or transversal alliances" as Harvey (2003) suggests but can also accentuate divisions and hierarchies within the working class, limiting or preventing resistance.

Returning to the rural context, the role of the aspirations of subaltern groups has reappeared in recent work by Jakobsen and Nielsen (2019). They demonstrate the central importance of the desires and aspirations of subaltern sectors to understanding hegemonic processes of commercialization in rural areas in India. Jakobsen and Nielsen's approach explores the potential of subaltern actors to become agents of dispossession, arguing that aspirations and life experiences are intrinsic to accepting the establishment of neoliberalism.

Similarly, Lyall, Colloredo-Mansfeld, and Quick (2020) analyze the aspirations of subaltern groups in order to explain the lack of resistance in areas of agrarian neglect. Through research into a Kichwa Indigenous community known as "Playa" in the northern Amazon and the Kichwa community of Quilotao in the central Andes, these authors argue that the way in which processes of agrarian transformation occur is to a great degree molded by "cognitive imaginaries that orient actions in relation to perceived limitations such as institutional conjunctures, lessons from historical experience and social norms" (2020, 7). Pink-tide governments managed to legitimize processes of dispossession by appealing to the preexisting aspirations of the population that were linked to historical processes of exclusion.

Lapegna (2016) takes a similar approach in his book *Soybeans and Power*, in which he investigates why members of rural movements in the province of Formosa mobilized to stop spraying associated with the spread of soybeans in 2003, but then did not do so in 2009 when similar

* Strümpell (2014) states, for example, that due to the access to education the Odia people enjoyed during the post-colonial period, many of them believe that even if they cannot work in the public steel sector due to the reduction of the number of jobs, their children will be able to enter other sectors that arise through economic liberalization at public or private entities.

events took place. Lapegna argues that the differing reactions of members of MOCAFOR (Movimiento Campesino de Formosa—Rural Movement of Formosa) can be explained by dual pressures arising from the alliances that had been established with other social movements at a national level, the change in attitude of the governmental authorities, and the expectations that the new political context had generated among members of the movement during these years. Lapegna develops two concepts to analyze the highs and lows of dynamics of mobilization and demobilization: the notion of "institutional recognition," which refers to "the agrarian social policies of the national government and their impact on rural social movements," and the idea of "dual pressure," referring to "the relationships between leader, constituents and allies" (2016, 23). Lapegna suggests that institutional recognition granted by successive Kirchner administrations and the process of dual pressure generated new perceptions and emotions that functioned as subtle but powerful barriers to confrontational collective action.*

As can be seen, each of these studies casts new light on different dimensions that are essential to understanding actual contemporary processes of dispossession such as experiences, aspirations, expectations, the previous relationships of subaltern groups, historic relations between these groups and the state, as well as political opportunities. A focus on "local rationalities" allows us to integrate these dimensions, emphasizing not just expectations for the future but also memories of exclusion, struggle, and incorporation during previous periods; political opportunities; and the sensation of belonging forged throughout history.

ACCUMULATION BY DISPOSSESSION THROUGH THE LENS OF LOCAL RATIONALITIES

Nilsen and Cox have described "local rationalities" as "a particular way of making sense of and relating to the social world" (2013, 3; see also Cox and Nilsen 2014). In the case of subaltern groups, the local rationalities on which their actions are based can be defined as "those oppositional ways of doing, being and thinking that people develop in their situated, everyday effort to cope with, negotiate, and resist such restraints and

* The influence of political alliances on the positions of subaltern groups in a context of accumulation by dispossession was also studied by Adnan (2013).

encroachments" (Nilsen 2010, 15). Local rationalities should be understood not as fixed positions but rather as a set of skills, practices, and perceptions generally forged within a confrontational dialogue with the hegemonic project of dominant sectors (Cox and Nilsen 2014). The local rationalities of subaltern groups are not constructed in a space located outside of relations of dominance. To the contrary, "they are shaped in and through learning processes that unfold as subaltern groups engage with and contest the hegemonic projects of dominant groups and the institutional complexes and discursive formations in which this hegemony is entrenched" (Nilsen 2012, 258). This is why the positions of subaltern groups must be interpreted in the light of their memories of struggle and negotiation, the contextual and historic links that are established between them and the dominant sectors, in addition to their aspirations and the actual forms of dispossession they experience.

Insofar as they are responses to particular situations, local rationalities are not unique and unchanging but multiple and evolving (Cox 2011). This is why, when we use the concept, we are obliged to explore, rather than assume, the local rationalities that explain the positions of different groups at a given time and place (Nilsen 2009; Cox 2011). Furthermore, it is important to remember that local rationalities are molded by emotions. The multiple, ambivalent, and contradictory feelings that inform our memories, perceptions, and desires are fundamental elements that shape our positions. As we shall see in the next few chapters, the emotional bonds, loyalty, and sense of belonging, as well as feelings of exclusion, fear, and indignation, that have formed throughout time and in specific contexts are all a part of local rationalities and shape the political responses of subaltern actors (Jasper 1998; Gould 2009; Lapegna 2016; Nielsen 2018). In summary, the concept of local rationalities is an expansive one that encompasses multiple aspects that are central to understanding the emergence of policies of confrontation and/or acquiescence. The areas we need to examine include a) positions of subalternity, b) memories of past experiences, c) aspirations, and d) concrete experiences of dispossession.

Positions of Subalternity

In this text the adoption of the concept of the "subaltern" seeks to emphasize the complexity of the relations that determine the status of an actor

within a social order.* I interpret subalternity as a status "constituted in and through relations between social groups that are differentially positioned and endowed in terms of the extend of their "control of social relations and … the scope of their transformative power" (Nilsen 2012, 258; see also Moore 1998). It is important that when we refer to the relationships that determine the status of an actor in a given social order, we keep in mind that it is a "complex matrix" and not a single relationship. In this regard, as Green states, "subalternity is not simply reducible to class or confined to the concerns of the proletariat" (2011, 399). To the contrary, the concept of the subaltern refers to the different axes of power (e.g., class, ethnicity, location, gender) and the actual ways in which this articulation works within social, political, and economic relations in a given time and place (Green 2011). The notion of "intersection" is relevant as it situates the subaltern groups not only in their relations with dominant sectors but also within the power relations in the group; it allows us to explore "different degrees of subalternity" and to see how they influence the positions and strategies employed during processes of accumulation by dispossession.

I agree with Mallon that local rationalities are molded by the "position of subalternity": "no subaltern identity can be pure and transparent; most subalterns are both dominated and dominating subjects, depending on

* The concept of the subaltern was popularized by the Subaltern Studies Group (SSG). This group was formed in the 1980s to provide an alternative viewpoint to the reigning Eurocentric historiography (i.e., neonationalist, neocolonial, Marxist economics). The objective was to analyze historical process through the perspective of the dominated groups. The SSG made use of the concept of the "subaltern" developed by Gramsci in *The Prison Notebooks* (Chaturvedi 2007; Green 2011). Initially the SSG defined subalternity as "a general attribute of subordination in South Asia society whether this is expressed in terms of class, caste, age, gender and office or in any other way" (Guha 1988, 35). In its first works, both the awareness of the subaltern groups and their political practices were considered autonomous environments that could not be influenced by hegemonic cultural forms (Sivaramakrishnan 1995, 399; see also Bidaseca 2010; O'Hanlon 1988). However, this assumption was strongly criticized, even by members of the group, because it concealed the fact that "subalterns' resistance did not simply oppose power but was also constituted by it" (Prakash 1994, 1480). The conception of this awareness and the agency of the subaltern groups was modified in subsequent analyses, it being concluded that subalternity could be understood on intersectional terms (O'Hanlon 1988; Sivaramakrishnan 1995; Moore 1998; Chaturvedi 2007; Sinha 2012; Green 2011).

the circumstances or location in which we encounter them. … These ever-shifting lines of alliance or confrontation, then, are not deduced from specific, already existing subaltern identities or subject positions. They are constructed historically and politically, in struggle and in discourse" (Mallon 1994, 1151). In other words, subaltern identity is always plural and diverse as the subaltern groups are always being constructed. This cumulative process of different forms of oppression and adverse incorporation throughout one's life is a key aspect to understanding why certain groups mobilize (or do not) when faced with given events, which aspects they seek to reverse and which they do not, and what means are used (Borras and Franco 2013, 1727; see also O'Hanlon 1988; Ortner 1995; Roseberry 1994; Sivaramakrishnan 1995).

As we shall see in chapters 4 and 5, the Qom and Moqoit have different historic relationships with the state, with people of European descent living in the same territory, and with other actors (for instance, NGOs and political parties), as well as with each other, that partially explain their different positions and strategies with regard to the expansion of agribusiness. For example, Indigenous leaders who hold an institutional role and have ties with international organizations often focus the debate on the need for open resistance to the model and generally adopt an ecological discourse related to general well-being. In contrast, the demands and struggles of many community members who live in rural areas do not necessarily include a complete rejection of activities linked to agribusiness but rather a model that excludes them. Of course, within that group we find a wide range of perspectives, positions, and strategies that in many cases are related to the history of colonization, processes of incorporation during different periods of capitalist development, and links to traditional political parties or other national social organizations.

Memories of Past Experiences

For several years now, various studies have shown that although the past influences the present, it does not do so mechanically or deterministically. It always requires reinterpretation and reallocation of meaning from any given local, positioned present (Briones 1994, 99; Halbwachs [1950] 2011; Alonso 1988). The memories on which local rationalities are based may or may not be autobiographical (Halbwachs [1950] 2011; Harris 2006). Autobiographical memories concern the life story of each inter-

viewee. These memories, even when they refer to individual experiences, are collective in that they are molded by the experiences, aspirations, and needs of the groups to which each individual belongs. In other cases, memories provide accounts of events not directly experienced by the actors, but that are central to the formation and strengthening of a group identity, for which reason they are transmitted down the generations via informal channels such as the family and/or formal ones such as educational entities (Halbwachs [1950] 2011; Alonso 1988; Olick and Robbins 1998, Harris 2006; Russell 2006).

It is important to remember that memories change over time. Our perspectives of our own memories vary depending on our social reality, the particular position we occupy in society, and the groups with which we interact in a determined time and place (Halbwachs [1925] 2011; Friedman 1992). As we shall see in chapters 4 and 5, the memories of the cotton period in Chaco formulated by Indigenous state officials diverge markedly from memories of the same period of the Indigenous peoples who live in the *parajes rurales*, which can be explained partially by their differing positions of subalternity. In summary, collective memories are dynamic constructions, molded by the actual context and by the position occupied by each group in each context, in which individual and group experiences are inexorably interwoven (Olick and Robbins 1998; Friedman 1992).

We also have to acknowledge that the memories of subaltern groups are also affected by the discourse and practices of the dominant sectors. The memories of subaltern groups never occur in a fully autonomous space, but neither are they a simple reproduction of the memories of dominant sectors. They are spaces of confrontation and negotiation (Alonso 1988; Mitchell 1990; Joseph and Nugent 1994; Olick and Robbins 1998). It is important to clarify that although in many instances memories of oppression, submission, resistance, displacement, and impoverishment encourage collective action, this is not always the case. As Harris (2006) argues, in many instances the memories of the subaltern groups can inhibit confrontation depending on the meaning that each group assigns to these memories (see also Nilsen 2018). Similarly, in this work I will argue that the memories of subaltern groups are not limited to situations of oppression and that memories of inclusion are a source of consensus between subaltern groups and the dominant social order (Cleaver 1992; James 1997).

Aspirations and the Context of Opportunity

These distinctive ways of interpreting and relating to society, which have been described as local rationalities, are not just shaped by memories of past experiences; they are also closely linked to views of the future. The aspirations of subaltern groups, including their desire to resist their marginalization, improve their economic well-being, and establish a fairer relationship with society, are key factors that must be considered when examining processes of dispossession.

These desires grow stronger in contexts where the subaltern groups believe that the political situation offers an opportunity for them to be partially or fully realized. Aspirations are partially created and affected by the framework or context of political opportunity (Bennike, Rasmussen, and Nielsen 2020). The relationship between these aspirations and perceptions of the existence or otherwise of spaces of inclusion and negotiation is essential to an understanding of the forms of resistance or negotiation employed. Just as Borras and Franco have suggested, "changing political opportunity structure can partly influence poor people's decision to engage in overt political contention to struggle around their expulsion, either against their expulsion or to demand some kind of compensation or better terms of compensation" (2013, 1733).

In many cases the relationship between aspirations and the political opportunities offered by post-neoliberal governments has been analyzed in terms of co-option (Bull 2013; Zibechi 2010). However, similarly to Briones (2015), I believe that the concept cannot be used to explain political positions as it implicitly contains an essential and unhistorical conception of the political praxis of subaltern groups in general and Indigenous peoples in particular. It is important here to emphasize that aspirations and the perception of political opportunity do not necessarily imply the passive acceptance of the transformative processes underway. In many cases, the desires that subaltern groups have for the future can lead to the acceptance of certain aspects of the processes, but also to the confrontation of many others. This is partially due to what Bennike, Rasmussen, and Nielsen (2020) call "anticipatory aspirations" and "transformative aspirations." The former term refers to ideas that can be transformed into practices through which one seeks to achieve the best possible position under the given circumstances. Meanwhile, transformative aspirations, as the name suggests, refer to those that seek to

take advantage of the circumstances and place pressure from within these spaces of opportunity in order to achieve greater transformation (42).

Finally, it is important to make clear that considering the role of aspirations in local rationalities does not mean to forget that the process of rural transformation occurs invariably within a context of unequal power relationships.

Concrete Experiences of Dispossession

As Marx wrote in *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* and as various authors have argued subsequently, the need to bring the subaltern subject back to the center of the historical stage and to analyze different perceptions and ranges of the possible positions that they might adopt does not at any point mean denying the concrete forms of power and domination to which they are subjected (O'Hanlon 1988). As Briones has put it, paraphrasing Marx's celebrated paragraph, "Subjects interpret their own history (and the history of others) but they do not do so as they please because they interpret it under circumstances that they have not chosen"* (1994, 111). This means that the local rationalities can only be understood in the light of the historical, economic, and political contexts in which they are produced and expressed (Joseph and Nugent 1994, 13; Cox 2009).

Actual experiences of power refer to the main mechanisms by which dispossession in a given area occurs. The processes of accumulation by dispossession analyzed here, although they are intimately related to land issues, are not reduced to phenomena such as land grabbing.** As we shall see in chapters 4 and 5, accumulation by dispossession also refers to 1) changes in the use of and access to resources (such as the diversion of the River Bermejo, deforestation, and pollution from glyphosate spraying), 2) changes in social relations that make it possible to maintain alternative modes of reproduction (such as the practice of *marisca*), and 3) control of knowledge deriving from new technological developments (the intro-

---

* "Men make their own history, but they do not make it under circumstances chosen by themselves, but under circumstances directly encountered, given and transmitted from the past" ([1852] 2000, 7).

** Harvey also uses the phrase "accumulation by dispossession" to discuss a wide range of mechanisms, including "the escalating depletion of the global environmental commons (land, air, water)" (2003, 148).

duction of transgenic seeds, agrichemicals and machinery increased the dependence of Indigenous peoples-peasants on experts) (Hall, Hirsch, and Li 2011). In short, the processes of accumulation by dispossession to be analyzed in this work "are not just about closing off soil and land in a narrow sense but shutting down access to any space or sociality that threatens our ideological or material dependence on capitalist social relations, thus threatening accumulation" (Hodkinson 2012, 509). This is why as part of my more expansive approach to the ways in which dispossession occurs, I also include what Frederiksen and Himley call "quieter registers of dispossession" (2020, 50)—the mechanisms by which continual access to resources is guaranteed for the dominant sectors.

FINAL THOUGHTS

Accumulation by dispossession has become the chosen theory of academics and others to analyze the expansion and intensification of market relationships in urban and rural environments. In this chapter I have explored its many virtues, which include the way in which it allows for an understanding of the connection between global and local phenomena without losing sight of specific aspects of capitalist processes.

However, I have also suggested that the concept presents certain limitations when seeking to achieve a full understanding of actual processes of accumulation by dispossession. The lack of emphasis on the political nature of these processes as well as underlying assumptions about the role of subaltern groups are, I believe, a couple of the main limitations. This is why, following recent literature that emphasizes the relevance of the multiple experiences, aspirations, and expectations of subaltern groups in these processes, I have argued for the need for an approach that interprets these processes as phenomena that are perceived and experienced in multiple ways in accordance with distinct contexts and histories.

I have taken a focus that examines "local rationalities" as a means of interpreting the role of memory and aspirations in positions of subalternity and the actual forms of dispossession as central elements to an understanding of how these processes are produced and developed (Nilsen and Cox 2013). I have suggested that the acts of subaltern groups, be they open resistance or everyday acts that limit, shape, or exacerbate certain aspects of these processes, are key elements to the processes themselves and cannot be taken for granted. An emphasis on the need

to closely analyze the memories, aspirations, and positions of subaltern groups should on no account be understood as denial of the role or responsibility of dominant sectors. Undoubtedly, the dominant groups and states—including large companies, NGOs, and international bodies—"play a crucial role in both backing and promoting these processes" (Harvey 2003, 145; Levien 2013a, 2013c). Having affirmed that local rationalities vary in accordance with the position of subalternity, which has historically been shaped by memories of resistance and negotiation as well as historical and contextual aspirations, it is now necessary to examine previous stages of capitalist development as well as how the confrontational relationship between the subaltern sectors and the state was formed. I present this historical overview in the next chapter.

3

Living on the Edges of the Periphery

"It's a very sad and painful story. My family are survivors, but I'm happy to be in a school that is reclaiming its true history. Because one cannot respect or value what one doesn't know. Maybe some of you here are of Indigenous descent but don't know anything about your language, history, or identity. No one can defend what they don't know. Our ancestors may have suffered from repression, but now we're raising our voices."

Ambrosio Francia, coordinator of the Municipal Department for Indigenous Peoples, giving a talk to local school pupils about the historic torture of Qom people at a now-defunct prison in the town of Presidencia Roca.

Argentina was formed not just on the back of the occupation and exploitation of Indigenous territory but also by erasing Indigenous agency from the official narrative as part of a sustained effort to present itself as white and European (Wright 2008; Gordillo 2014). It is thus difficult to see dispossession as something new or exclusive to the neoliberal and post-neoliberal periods: it was a fundamental part of the formation of the Argentine state.

This chapter examines some of the historical processes that resulted in establishing the subaltern status of Indigenous communities, the means by which they were pushed to the periphery of national life, as well as how said communities sought to resist and negotiate these roles. This overview is structured around what Levien (2018) describes as regimes of dispossession, allowing us to analyze and understand the historical foundations that inform the memories, positions, and aspirations of contemporary Indigenous communities in Chaco.*

* The historical analysis will be split into three major periods, each of which presents clear differences. The first period runs up until 1930, the second to

As Ambrosio Francia so rightly says in the epigraph to this chapter, it is only when we have a full understanding of history that we can effectively plot courses that begin to repair the damage done by historic wrongs, establish more effective patterns of support and resistance in the present, and envisage a more equitable future.

LIFE IN THE BUSH

Before the conquest and colonization of the Mbayá Guaycurú communities, to which both the Qom and Moqoit belong, they were organized in bilateral *bandas* of two or more extended families. These units were nomadic and dedicated to hunter-gathering within a defined territory. The different Qom groups moved in circles around the regions now known as Formosa and Chaco (Miller 1979, 12). The Moqoit were active in the south of Chaco Province, and their territory stretched down to the provinces of Santa Fe and Corrientes. After adopting an equestrian culture, the migratory movements ended up expanding to the current provinces of Santiago del Estero, Córdoba, and Tucumán (Giménez Benítez, López, and Granada 2003; López 2009; Altman 2011). At certain times of the year, when the fruits of the forest had ripened, the different bandas would meet to consolidate leaderships, exchange products, hold marriages, seal agreements, or carry out certain rituals (Miller 1979; Ceriani Cernadas and Citro 2005; Salamanca 2006; Wright 2008; López 2009).

In these communities, everyday work was divided by gender. While the men took care of hunting, fishing, and collecting honey, the women dedicated themselves to taking care of the family and making shorter journeys to gather fruit and collect water (Cordeu and Siffredi 1971; Wright 2008; López 2009).

Both the Qom and the Moqoit practiced hereditary leadership, but to preserve their post, leaders had to have certain attributes such as shamanic powers or exceptional skill at hunting (Cordeu and Siffredi 1971; Wright 2008). Except during moments of crisis, leadership powers

---

around 1960, and the third to the present day. These dates should be taken as encompassing the full development and subsequent stagnation or decline of certain economic, social, and political practices that characterized each period. The latter period also includes the post-neoliberal shift that occurred in Argentina between 2003 and 2015.

were limited to the extended family and their reputation depended on the use of knowledge, oratory, powers, and skill at taking care of the family group. This period also featured a Consejo de Ancianos (Council of Elders) whose main function was to provide advice and monitor the performance of the leaders (Miller 1979).

It is often claimed that the region where these Indigenous peoples lived was kept free of Spanish control for longer because the Gran Chaco Argentino was only of interest as an area to be passed through (Fuscaldo 1982; Vitar 1991; Tamagno 2001). Although it is true that it was regarded as peripheral by the colonial authorities because it had no gold or silver, it is important to note that it had a large number of inhabitants and thus was a potential source of labor. In 1585 Spanish troops founded an outpost, Concepción del Bermejo, for just this reason. Within a few years, the settlement, which was less than a hundred miles away from Pampa del Indio, had become a profitable center of cotton production. Spanish dominion over the region lasted for several decades, but exploitative labor practices resulted in an increasing number of disturbances culminating in 1632 in a general rebellion that drove Spanish troops out. The elimination of the governmental presence in Chaco was so total that after the fall of Concepción, no one was sure exactly where it had been (Gordillo 2014, 56).

Midway through the eighteenth century, colonial authorities attempted once again to establish a chain of forts and Jesuit missions in order to control the local population and subject it to colonial rule (López 2009; Gordillo 2014). Following successive failed attempts, in addition to the forts and missions, colonial authorities also sought to sign pacts with Indigenous leaders. One of the most well-known was a treaty between Matorras, the governor of Tucumán, and Paikín, a Moqoit leader. The treaty governed different aspects of the relationship between Moqoit, Qom, and colonial groups, but its main purpose was to allow colonial passage along the trade routes that went through Chaco (Nesis 2008, 104–105).

However, all the missions and forts that were founded between the middle of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth century were abandoned shortly afterward. The fort garrisons were incorporated into the liberating army of 1810 during the struggle for independence against the Spanish crown. Indigenous resistance thus managed to keep the Gran Chaco Argentino outside of governmental

control, a situation that remained right through to the end of the wars of independence.

The Advance of the Argentine Army

Only after 1860 did military forces start to systematically make incursions into the region to establish national borders. This process would lead to the creation of the National Territory of Great Chaco in 1872, which included the current provinces of Chaco and Formosa (Fuscaldo 1982).* As a result of the military advance in Chaco and increasing state control, the organization of bandas started to decline in importance among Indigenous groups. The advance of the line of forts created different inter-ethnic alliances between the groups, giving rise to the so-called great leaders. In contrast with their ancestors, the groups gathered together by these new leaders, or caciques, were made up of different tribes, and their prestige was increasingly determined by the courage they demonstrated during clashes as well as how generously they redistributed wealth among their group (Trinchero 2007, 209). These "great leaders" also needed to know how to mediate between the different Indigenous groups over whom they had influence. This type of interethnic leadership was made clear in the census of 1869, which stated that "they [the main tribes] war among themselves; but not with great zeal, as they understand that they cannot destroy one another, but should unite against the Christians to defend and claim their lands" (National Census 1869, 602). The most important leaders from this period included Cacique Inglés, Cacique Cambá, and Metzgoshé of the Qom people, which may have repelled several army incursions into the region (Cordeu and Siffredi 1971; Miller 1979; Sánchez 2007).

After the formation of these alliances between different Indigenous groups, the lines of forts became increasingly inadequate for guaranteeing state control. In general terms, the forts, which were often poorly equipped and regularly had their lines of communication severed, were

* The geopolitical borders between Brazil, Paraguay and Argentina were established only after the War of the Triple Alliance (1864–1870). In 1876 Paraguay and Argentina signed a treaty establishing their geographical borders that allocated the region between the Verde River and the town of Bahía Negra to Paraguay while the area between the Pilcomayo River and the Bermejo River would stay under Argentinian sovereignty (Hirsch, Canova, and Biocca 2021).

unable to repel Indigenous assaults. Furthermore, the supplies to these forts depended to some extent on the pacts that officials made with the Indigenous peoples themselves, and very often the attacks on the forts "seemed to have more to do with broken commercial agreements or non-incursion pacts than elaborate Indigenous strategies to attack established positions" (Trinchero 2007, 195). However, this situation came to an end in 1883 when the national government decided to replace conquest by fort construction with a more offensive military strategy. In addition to the actual conquest of these territories, one of the objectives of these new military campaigns was the elimination of the "great leaders" and the incorporation of these groups as salaried labor (Trinchero 2000, 209; Sánchez 2007, 30).

In 1884, after the military campaign led by General Victorica,* the National Territory of Greater Chaco was divided into two Federal Territories: the National Territory of Formosa and the National Territory of Chaco. The process that started at that time was clearly not just limited to the drawing of borders but also included the imposition of a new kind of territoriality (Miller 1979; Fuscaldo 1982; Trinchero 2007; Wright 2008).

CHACO UNDER THE AGRO-EXPORT REGIME OF DISPOSSESSION (1880–1930)

The state land in the National Territory of the Chaco was divided into extensive sections where large establishments of foreign and mixed capital were set up, dedicated to the exploitation of red quebracho and sugarcane plantations (Zarrilli 2000; Valenzuela and Geraldi 2004).

Legally, private appropriation of national territory was sanctioned by different laws on immigration and colonization. Law 817 of 1876, known as the Avellaneda Law, and Law 2875 of 1891 established two mechanisms for settlement. The former started with a large appropriation by the state of 40,000 hectares sections of land that were then subdivided into lots of 100 hectares and given to individual immigrants or as a location in which to found settlements. The second mechanism was colonization via private companies (Slutzky 1975).

In Chaco the eastern sector was attractive to productive enterprises for two reasons: first, it was rich in *quebracho colorado* lumber, which was the

* Victorica was minister of war during the presidency of Julio A. Roca.

area's main economic activity of the time; second, because the soils were naturally fertile, they were suited to agricultural settlements where the first sugarcane plantations appeared. In spite of the benefits and powers granted to immigrants by Law 817, within the period 1876–1903 only two agricultural settlements were founded (Resistencia and Puerto Bermejo). In part this was because the government did not allocate enough funds to cover farmers' initial needs, or the starter loan mentioned in the law, thus favoring settlement by private companies onto large tracts of land. This trend was reinforced in 1891 when Law 2875, known as the "Law of Liquidation," was passed, granting more powers to former concessionaries, encouraging large estates and speculation (Slutzky 1975).

Some of the most important establishments at this time were the Forestal Land, Timber and Railways Company Ltd. and the sugar refinery Las Palmas del Chaco Austral. Forestal Land, Timber and Railways Company Ltd. was a company set up with French, German, and British capital that established itself in the region in 1906. This establishment grew to occupy a surface area of 2.3 million hectares between the north of Santa Fe Province and Chaco Province. Forestal also owned vast stretches of railway and four ports on the Paraná River (Stunnenberg and Kleinpenning 1993). In this period the establishment and its associated companies accounted for over half the national output of tannins (Slutzky 1975).

Las Palmas refinery, meanwhile, was founded in 1909 by brothers Charles and Richard Hardy, who were from Ireland. In those years, the Hardys requested the concession of 100,000 hectares for the cultivation of sugarcane.* However, some years later the owners of the company also expanded into livestock and tannin production (Fuscaldo 1982; Bisio et al. 2010; Picconi 2011).** Most of the tannin produced at this kind of establishment was exported to Europe; after World War I the United States became the main destination for these exports (Miranda 1955; Brodersohn and Slutzky 1978; Valenzuela and Geraldi 2004; Schaller 2010).

---

* At first Richard Hardy requested the concession of 20,000 hectares for ten years, but after the modification of the law on Immigration and Colonization, he requested the allocation of 80,000 more hectares. He then formed Hardy and Company, which was sold in 1909 to the firm Las Palmas del Chaco Austral S. A. Charles Hardy was president of the latter company (Bisio et al. 2010). The Hardys also owned a large estate close to Pampa del Indio, known as La Leonor.

** For the case of central-western Chaco, see Gordillo (1995).

Both the Las Palmas refinery and Forestal recruited Indigenous peoples as woodcutters and harvesters. Usually the work was piecemeal and paid for with merchandise. Rarely was a cash salary offered, and when it was, the currency was issued by the refinery or timber company. The small amount that they were paid could only be used to purchase the merchandise provided by the company, which increased the company's earnings even more (Fuscaldo 1982; Silva 1994). These conditions of semi-slavery were endorsed by the national authorities given the great influence these companies had over political and military power in the region (Cordeu and Siffredi 1971S).* Thus, although the report "The State of the Working Classes in Argentina," written by Bialet Masse at the request of the national government in 1904, describes the role and power of these establishments as a "small despotic, monarchic state that exists within a democratic republic," their functioning was unaffected.

As we shall see in chapters 4 and 5, the relationships of oppression and exploitation to which many Indigenous families were subjected during this period contributed to perceptions of the next period, which we describe here as the national development dispossession regime, as being one of prosperity, greater justice, and equality.

The Role of the Caciques

Among the Guaycurús, during this period there was a transition from "great leaders" of a military nature to leadership of a more politico-religious bent. After the colonization of Chaco, courage demonstrated in battle became less relevant as a source of legitimacy. In the new political context, the increased importance of salaried labor, skill at speaking Spanish, and the ability to mediate with national authorities and

---

* Many saw this exploitation as the only solution to the "Indigenous problem." For example, the *Colono* newspaper of Resistencia, Chaco, stated in January 1918 that "nothing good can be expected from this savage race, especially if one tries to direct the colonization from the offices of Buenos Aires. … The Indian of the Chaco knows nothing of agriculture and cannot harvest cereals they don't know. These Indians are only good for menial jobs and not because they do them better than other peasants but because they do it for less money. … We cannot make mistakes that endanger the progress of the territory for humanitarian reasons. The Indian of the Chaco in his current state is a hindrance to agricultural and livestock settlements" (cited in Giordano 2003).

criollo patrons became central elements in establishing one's authority. Thus, after this period, white people's processes of legitimization started to function within the community as well (Cordeu and Siffredi 1971; Gordillo 2006; Salamanca 2006).

The prestige of these leaders in the eyes of the authorities and criollo landowners was linked to the number of Indigenous peoples they could recruit and their ability to maintain discipline. In many cases, the national authorities sought to reinforce the power of these leaders by granting them a rank in the security forces (Sánchez 2007).* Within their group, however, prestige was earned through an ability to demonstrate skill at negotiating working conditions, protecting workers from abuse, and success at obtaining goods and distributing them among the community (López 2009).

Some of the most famous caciques from this period were Taigoyic and Pedro José Nolasco. Taigoyic belonged to the Qom ethnicity, was *pi'ox-onaq* (a traditional doctor), and was in charge of recruiting Indigenous workers in Chaco and Formosa for the sugar establishments. He earned the nickname of "butler" from the heads of the refineries and was the man who obtained a temporary occupation permit for forty square leagues** in Pampa del Indio after speaking to President Yrigoyen (Courdeau and Siffredi 1971; Silva 1994; Sánchez 2007). Taigoyic was such an important figure that, as we shall see in the next chapter, one of the main Indigenous organizations in Pampa del Indio bears his name.

Pedro José Nolasco, meanwhile, was an important mediator and led the mobilization of the Mocoví from Vera, Santa Fe, to the Tolderías Paraje, as we will see in chapter 5. It is important to note that these leaders are not remembered negatively but instead are usually praised for their bravery and power, for "speaking forcefully to the whites" (Salamanca 2006, 8). Although this mediating role became established as a source of power and authority, the fact that those who possessed these qualities did not necessarily belong to "traditional" families had created a certain crisis of legitimacy within the communities. This is why, as we shall see later on,

---

* Generally, the caciques received official uniforms, weapons, and travel permits.

** Forty square leagues is approximately 100,000 hectares; however, some of my informants stated that the area granted by Yrigoyen was 220,000 hectares rather than 100,000. The decree granting this land has never been located, so it is impossible to determine the exact figure.

in the decade 1920–30, shamanic powers became more relevant as an extra source of legitimacy within these groups (Cordeu and Siffredi 1971; Gordillo 2006).

The Decline of the Agro-export Regime of Dispossession in Chaco

The 1920s saw the decline of the agro-export model linked to tannin and sugar production. The end of this period can be partly explained by the reduction in global demand for tannin, as well as the appearance of other curing agents. Between 1917 and 1918 the National Ministry of Agriculture, run by Tomás Le Breton, who had previously been an ambassador to the United States, started a vociferous campaign to expand cotton production in Chaco. The measures implemented to achieve this included, notably, the free delivery of seeds imported from the United States and the hiring of foreign technicians to provide training courses in cultivation methods (Fuscaldo 1982; Guy 2000; Mari 2008; Girbal-Blacha 2010; Moglia 2008). In addition to production supplies and training, this period saw major infrastructure works that contributed significantly to the establishment of agriculture and settlements in the region. Here it is important to mention Law 5559 on the Support of National Territories passed in 1908 in which the state reserved large sections of land, protecting these areas from being annexed by companies. It mandated that the state retain control of the land around railway works (Slutzky 1975). In 1914 the railway joined Resistencia to Avia Terai, crossing the central area of Chaco, and in 1931 it linked the entire territory to reach Taco Pozo (Beck 1992; Valenzuela and Geraldi 2004; Schaller 2010).

The efforts of the national government to encourage cotton cultivation were helped by the significant rise in the international price of cotton in 1923 due to a fall in production in North America. During this period some of the larger establishments, such as Las Palmas, switched to cotton production while others, such as La Forestal, started to sell parcels of land to contractors and administrators, giving rise to a new strata of family establishments (Guy 2000; Zarrilli 2000; Valenzuela and Gerarldi 2004).*

* While state land was sold for prices of between 33 and 61 pesos per hectare, private land of similar or lesser quality was sold at between 150 and 250 pesos per hectare. Settlers buying land from these large establishments had to pay 20 percent in cash followed by payments over the next ten years at an annual interest

In a short period of time, the growing number of agricultural colonies created increased demand for labor. In 1924 this led a group of colonists to present a request to the government asking that the migration of Indigenous peoples be prohibited definitively (Trinchero 2007). Similarly, the Asociación de Fomento y Defensa del Chaco (Association for the Encouragement and Defense of Chaco) sent a request to the ministry of agriculture in 1926 in which it called for "taking all appropriate measures to adapt the indigenous to civilized life, making him a useful element in cotton harvests, stabilizing him, i.e. allocating him reserves in such a way that they can give up the nomadic life and providing those who are so trained with land for crops" (*Gaceta Algodonera*, February 28, 1926, in Girbal-Blacha 2010, 44).

In response to these petitions, the authorities of the National Territory of the Chaco issued a decree that prohibited the hiring of Indigenous labor outside of the territory. As these new regulations sought to ensure that they would carry out agricultural work, Indigenous peoples were not only obliged to remain within the province; they were also prevented from selling unmarked animal hides. After this, in accordance with the rural code, Indigenous peoples started to be persecuted for cattle rustling. Thus, harvest work and cotton picking became the only alternative (Cordeu and Siffredi 1971; Miller 1979).

The Millenarist Movements

All these transformations in the region plus the inability to migrate, which not only prevented Indigenous peoples from seeking better wages but also reduced the caciques' ability to negotiate and thus reduced their legitimacy, led to the rise of millenarist movements (Cordeu and Siffredi 1971; Miller 1979; Gordillo 2006; Wright 2008). One of the most important millenarist movements in the territory of Chaco was the Napalpí Rebellion.* Napalpí was the name of a reserve founded by the national state in 1911, where around seven hundred Indigenous people of the

rate of 6 percent. State lands, in contrast, required an initial cash payment of 5 percent and the rest in ten interest-free annual payments (Slutzky 1975, 44).

* Napalpí means "the place of the dead." The origin of the name comes from a traditional Qom folktale. The account tells of a Qom woman who marries a Moqoit man, but when the rest of the Moqoit family refuses to accept her, the woman violates an important rule, arousing the anger of *araxanaq late'e* (mother

Qom, Moqoit, and Vilela ethnicities were forced to settle. Until 1915 the activities of the reservation were focused on lumber, but later it became an important center for cotton production. Napalpí functioned in the following way: the administration provided the Indigenous peoples with a temporary title to the land where they settled and obliged them to hand over 15 percent of their production to the administration to pay for their tools and maintenance of roads inside the reservation (Cordeu and Siffredi 1971; Martínez Sarasola 1992; Chico and Fernández 2011).

In 1923 the administration decided to reduce the wages of Indigenous peoples still further, retaining 10 percent more of the price of a ton of cotton for transportation costs (Cordeu and Siffredi 1971; Chico and Fernández 2011). This was the year that the Indigenous peoples started to meet in an area known as the Island of Ahuará (Miller 1979).* The Indigenous leaders of this movement were José Machado and Dionisio Gómez, who were Qom, and the Caciques Pedro Maidana, Mercedes Dominga, and Miguel Duran, who were Moqoit. These leaders claimed that they could communicate with dead shamans from the past. According to their accounts, these "voices" said that they must stop working and announced that a time of plenty was coming when dead Indigenous peoples would rise again (Miller 1979; Martínez Sarasola 1992; Gordillo 2006).

In May 1924, guided by these voices, the leaders started to organize attacks and robberies in the surrounding white colonies.** The leader-shamans convinced their followers that the moment had come for confrontation with white people, that bullets would not hurt Indigenous peoples and that they had nothing to fear. The increase of these attacks and the murder of two colonists resulted in an increased police presence and culminated in the massacre of over two hundred Indigenous peoples on July 24, 1924 (Cordeu and Siffredi 1971; Martínez Sarasola 1992; Gordillo 2006).

---

of serpents) who brought up a storm so large that the earth opened up, killing many members of the community (Chico and Fernández 2011).

* Elmer Miller (1979) in his research into the events of Napalpí states that the experience of resistance of the Indigenous workers at the Las Palmas refinery, through which they achieved an eight-hour workday, may have influenced the decision of Indigenous peoples to resist the unequal pay they were receiving (the administration paid them $194 per ton of cotton, while it paid criollos $250 per ton) and other exploitative conditions.

** Cordeau and Siffredi (1971) note that differences and disputes occurred between the Moqoit and Qom leaders.

Many of the Indigenous peoples who managed to survive escaped into the bush, where they hid for several weeks, forbidden from returning to their land. Some of them migrated to other areas. This was true of Pedro Valquinta, the last survivor of the massacre who settled in Paraje Las Tolderías. Pedro was over a hundred years old when I met him in 2012. He spoke very little Spanish, but his grandson helped us communicate. Regarding Napalpí, a massacre Pedro witnessed when he was thirteen, he remembered: "They killed a lot of people, shot them, and buried them in a pit, a big pit. We hid in the bush, we went hungry, ate algarrobo, but here I am."

In the years after the massacre of Napalpí, there were two more uprisings with similar characteristics. The first of these occurred in the area of Pampa del Indio in 1933 and was led by Tapanaik. This Qom leader, although he was not considered a shaman, claimed that he could see the future. In these visions, Tapanaik said that he foresaw the arrival of planes filled with goods. This would not only put an end to the scarcity of supplies they were currently experiencing but would also mark the start of an era of abundance. Meanwhile his followers, to prepare for this new era, were to avoid the consumption of all foods that came from the land, thus prohibiting agriculture (Cordeu and Siffredi 1971; Martínez Sarasola 1992).

The next movement, known as the Zapallar movement, occurred between 1935 and 1937 in the area currently known as General San Martín. This uprising, led by the shaman Natochí, included both Qom and Moqoit groups. It championed the resurgence of ancient practices, urged people to leave their work in the farms, and prohibited contact with the criollo population. Natochí claimed to have power over storms because he was the son of thunder and lightning; he also said that he could transmit power to his followers though the use of sticks (Martínez Sarasola 1992; Tamagno 2008; López 2009). Like the Napalpí uprising, both movements gathered large numbers of people attracted by the leaders, aggravating the lack of food in the settlements, which in turn led to attacks on nearby farms. These events then created fear and anger among the criollo population, who subsequently campaigned for an intensification of security efforts by the state. The Zapallar and Pampa del Indio movements were quickly ended through the imprisonment and subsequent murder of their leader, as was the case with Tapanaik, or when the leader fled, as was true of Natochí (Cordeu and Siffredi 1971; Miller 1979).

The millenarist movements in the Chaco region were significant moments of Indigenous resistance to the demands and conditions imposed upon them by the capitalist model that obliged them to abandon the nomadic life and reduced them to semi-slavery in the works, colonies, and refineries (Tamagno 2008). Their defeats have had lasting consequences on the internal politics of these communities.* As a Qom I interviewed in 2012 in Pampa del Indio remembered: "One doesn't forget that the caciques began this story [of struggle], they were the great leaders, but you can't overlook their weakness at the end, negotiating and losing their power. That's over now. Today the leaders are different."

COTTON CHACO AND THE DEVELOPMENTALIST REGIME OF DISPOSSESSION (1930–1960)

After the economic crisis of 1929 and the collapse of the agro-export regime, agricultural activity grew more dynamic in the National Territory of Chaco. Nationally, the surface area of land planted with cotton rose from 2,349 hectares in 1914 to 375,640 hectares in 1937, of which 78.5 percent were located in Chaco (Censo Nacional Agropecuario 1937). This increase in cotton production after 1930 was due to the increasing demand of the textile industry, which expanded rapidly as part of the import-substitution model of industrialization implemented during the governments of Juan Domingo Perón (1946–1955) (Guy 2000). Not only was there an increase in cotton production, but there was also a major change in where that production went. In the period between 1925 and 1930, 20 percent of cotton was sold in the domestic market and the rest was exported; between 1935 and 1940, domestic consumption accounted for half of output (53 percent), and from 1944 onward it accounted for almost all output (93 percent on average between 1944 and 1960) (Slutzky 1975, 7).

* The Napalpí and Zapallar massacres were denied for many years. The Napalpí massacre was recognized by Law 6.171 in 2008, which established July 19 as the Day of the Rights of the Indigenous Peoples of Chaco. The massacre of Zapallar was recognized by the provincial state, which established, through the passing of Law 7.403, September 9 as a Day of Provincial Mourning in commemoration of the event (Sistema Argentino de Seguridad Jurídica, 2008). The law also ordered the placement of a memorial plaque on a tree where the massacre occurred.

The conversion of Chaco into the "cotton capital" of Argentina represented a new form of territorial occupation (Fuscaldo 1982; Mari 2008; Girbal-Blacha 2010; Moglia 2008). As we saw in previous sections, governmental policy started to encourage the formation of agricultural colonies on state land (Guy 2000). It is important to note that foreign immigrants had much easier access to the land than the local population.* Generally, these colonies were made up of small farms with lots between 25 and 50 hectares in size, characterized by "a relatively low level of investment in machinery, the direct work of the settler (and) the use of paid labor for planting and harvest work" (Iñigo Carrera 2010, 151–53).

Between 1920 and 1937 the number of enterprises increased almost sixfold and almost all were founded on state land. As the number of settlers was greater than expected and the state was slow to measure the lands, precarious tenancy became common practice in the region (Slutzky 1975; Mari 2008; Gómez 2009). Usually, the delay by the Department of Land in delivering titles was attributed to the combination of a lack of staff and centralized decision-making in Buenos Aires (Schaller 2010). This disorganized occupation of state land would lead to speculation, conflict, and, eventually, evictions.

In addition to the immigrants and criollos, certain Indigenous groups also joined the category of "small farmers." As small farmers, they produced from small parcels of land and also continued to be hired as seasonal workers to carry out planting and harvest work (Moglia 2008). These Indigenous farmers could be sorted into three categories: the "settler," who was Indigenous, was trained in agriculture, and received a temporary title to the land; the *agregados*, who were Indigenous groups who arrived subsequently, received a temporary title to the land, and were relocated to lots already allocated to other Indigenous families; and the *tanteros*, who carried out seasonal work on these farms (Fuscaldo 1982, 62; Beck 1994).

Access to parcels of land as well as tools and benefits, in addition to the significant demand for salaried labor, explains in part why the cotton period is remembered as a happy one when work and production made it possible for Indigenous peoples to achieve a quality of life similar to that

* As Slutzky notes, while in 1920 the native population made up 82 percent of the total population, only 42 percent of the owners of agricultural enterprises were Argentine and those were mostly of European heritage (1975, 26).

of the criollo population. "The periods of weeding and harvesting were my life because we could only eat spaghetti and meat when the cotton harvest was over" (2016). Similar accounts to this from Rogelio, a Qom from Campo Medina, are repeated in different regions. However, the inclusion of certain Indigenous sectors did not mark an end to the discrimination or the abuse often meted out by criollo employers. It should not be forgotten that provincial identity was also built on the idea that the settlers legitimately won their right to the land through a combination of intrepid character and hard work while Indigenous peoples were supposedly given it by the state.

Although cotton production was in the hands of small producers, its stockpile and sale were carried out by large companies that had moved there in the second half of the 1920s. These included Bunge & Born Ltda., Louis Dreyfus y Cia Ltda. and Anderson Clayton S.A., among others (Moglia 2008; Girbal-Blacha 2010). The monopoly power these companies had was the cause of several conflicts in the period. The producers' chief protests focused on the high transport costs they had to pay to take the cotton to be picked, the low price they got for their produce, as well as the lack of titles to the land (Mari 2008; Barri 2009).

However, from 1944 onward, the Cotton Department started to implement measures that tended to limit the power of these large companies to the benefit of smaller producers. The department bought cotton to resell to local industry and export, contributing to the rise in prices, which helped small producers especially. The state's policy of purchasing the fiber at lucrative prices, combined with credit facilities and almost immediate payment, led to the rapid development of cooperatives. Between 1950 and 1955 around 50 percent of the fiber was spun by cooperatives (Slutzky 1975; Moglia 2008; Girbal-Blacha 2010).

Between 1945 and 1960, state intervention in the cotton industry intensified. Policies implemented included the distribution of new seed varieties better suited to different soils, training in new agricultural practices and pest control methods, and the encouragement of individual spinning so that producers could sell both the fiber and the seeds in order to obtain an improved negotiating position in the market (Slutzky 1975, 60). With these policies the government tried to reduce the cost of mediation and increase production to benefit incipient national industry and enhance popular support. These policies regularly appear in the accounts

of community members as "support" or "help" they received from the government and other organizations such as evangelical churches.

From National Territory to Province

In addition to the changes caused by the consolidation of the cotton model, in 1951 another important change occurred. In that year, after Law 14.037 was passed, the National Territory of Chaco was granted the status of a province under the name Presidente Perón Province. This institutional change meant, among other points, that the population could start to elect local authorities, and it thus attracted political parties. The transformation of Chaco into a province also resulted in the rise of a provincial bureaucracy. The most important body in the new local bureaucracy related to the Indigenous population would be the Dirección Provincial de Acción Agraria y Colonización para la Readaptación del Indígena (Provincial Department for Agricultural and Colonization Activity for the Readaption of Indigenous Peoples). According to the decree that established its creation, the goal of this body was to "foster the support of the aborigine and ensure their incorporation into the Argentine citizenry" (Decree No. 460, 1954, cited in Giordano 2003).

Throughout the cotton period, Indigenous peoples started to participate in political parties; these ties in many cases allowed them to get state jobs. This was true, for example, of Francisco Nolasco Mendoza, popularly known as Cacique Catán in the town of Las Tolderías (see chapter 5), who was a justice of the peace and head of the Civil Registry from 1944 to his death in 1971. Indigenous communities thus began to channel their demands through the different institutions that were created in that time. It is interesting, for example, to observe that while in the previous period requests for help filed with the national authorities were initiated by people from outside the communities, it subsequently became common practice for Indigenous peoples to file requests for seeds and other tools from provincial authorities themselves. I will transcribe two of these as examples. The first was filed by Cacique Martínez under the first Peronist regime:

> Pampa Del Indio, September 1946. The undersigned, Cacique and spokesman for the Toba tribe of this territory, addresses his Excellency the Governor of the Territory and any relevant intermediary, request-

> ing the necessary cotton seeds and insecticide for planting and defense of the lands duly granted to us by the Upper Government of the Nation. We attach the list of colonists. With nothing further to add, we salute his Excellency the Governor very sincerely. (Monseñor José Alumni Historical Provincial Archive, 2012)

The document ends with the signature of Cacique Martínez and his fingerprint. The second was filed by another Qom group from Pampa del Indio in September 1957. By this time the Perón government had been overthrown by a military coup. In this request, the Indigenous peoples state the following:

> The undersigned Argentine citizens of Toba origin settled on state land in the jurisdiction of 10 de Mayo, Pampa Chica and Pampa Grande respectfully address the Inspector in order to request the free delivery of 5 or 6 tons of cotton seeds as we are entirely lacking in resources to pay for them. We wish to make clear to your Excellency that we are entirely lacking in official support, which is to say that we do not belong to any group supported by the Government with land, work equipment, seeds, etc. We wish to make clear to the Inspector that the help that we hope will be successfully granted, and we have no doubt that it will be, would serve to alleviate our struggle, and make us eternally grateful to the government for what it means to our humble economies. (Monseñor José Alumni Historical Provincial Archive, 2012)

Although these new ties to political parties, increased political participation, and closer relationships with institutions provided Indigenous peoples with access to goods and services that were key to improving their quality of life, the "help" from the state also exacerbated and deepened divisions within communities. As can be seen in the last case, with the intention of requesting "help," the Qom decided to differentiate themselves from the group that had been supporters of the previous government and emphasized their status as Argentine citizens, promising their support to the new authorities in exchange for the assistance.

The bureaucratization process would also continue after the fall of the Peronist government, when the military regime decided to decentralize policy related to the Indigenous populations (Bray 1989). In 1956 the department was replaced by the Dirección del Aborigen (Aborig-

ine Department), whose main policy was to assist Indigenous peoples in cotton production. Thus, subsidies, tools and seeds were distributed and the organization also started to encourage greater mechanization of Indigenous production, distributing tractors and providing technical training programs that were continuously monitored by state agencies (Bray 1989; Miller 2002). Thus, during the regime of dispossession of national development, a new relationship was established between the state and the Indigenous communities, which would give rise to memories of inclusion and dependence, as we shall see in the following chapters.

Encouraging more Indigenous settlements was one of the main objectives of public policy at the time. During his opening speech for the legislative sessions of 1961, the provincial governor Duca Anselmo said, "We're making the Indian into more than a rural worker, we're turning them into true settlers with a comprehensive grasp of their interests and the advantages of agricultural expertise" (quoted in Almirón 2018, 6). The emergence of a provincial bureaucracy also introduced and expanded spaces of power. It is worth noting that the conversion of Chaco to a province also meant that state lands, which up until then had been administered by the national state, became part of the patrimony of the province. During this time, the provincial government implemented a series of expropriations seeking to bring continuity to the agricultural settlement policy.

With the overthrow of the Peronist government in 1955 and the intervention of the provincial government, economic support for settlers was considerably reduced and cotton cooperatives were thrust into crisis. It was against this background that the Primera Asamblea Indigenista Chaqueña (First Indigenous Assembly of Chaco) was held in the city of Resistencia in August 1958. It was attended by leaders and members of different Indigenous groups calling for legal ownership of the land, new territories to farm, agricultural tools, and schools at which to educate their children. However, in spite of these demands, the state continued to reduce its involvement. Between 1962 and 1963 the budget allocated to the Indigenous Department, which was in charge of implementing policy in the territory, was considerably reduced (Almirón 2018).

Once provincial intervention came to an end in 1963 and with the assumption of governor Deolindo Bittel, a member of the Partido Justicialista (the Peronist Party), policies toward the Indigenous population of Chaco would once again focus on economic support and the encour-

agement of cotton production. Upon taking his post, Bittel said, "The People of the Republic owe a debt to the primitive owners of the land. We are all partly to blame and we have an obligation to contribute to efforts to build a community activity that both dignifies the aborigine and integrates him culturally, socially and economically into our community of citizens" (Almirón 2018, 10).

Between 1963 and 1966, government support increased for Indigenous agriculture through the delivery of tools and machines. Some Indigenous settlers also received land. Bittel's government adopted the concept of the economic unit, which meant that the land was subdivided and delivered according to its quality, location, improvements, and suitability for strengthening family architecture. However, the problem of land ownership had yet to be resolved as the majority of families only had an occupation permit given out freely by the Dirección del Aborigen. Precarious tenancy began to solidify itself over time, becoming a central issue for land occupation during the regime of neoliberal dispossession.

Syncretic Movements

After the defeat of the millenarian movements, it was not just party-political relations that became more important within Indigenous communities; evangelical cults also took on more significance (Gordillo 1995; Miller 2008).* The evangelical missions fulfilled an important role in these groups—in religious but also political terms.** In addition to religious instruction, these centers gave classes in Spanish and agricultural training. They also provided clinical nursing care and legal advice for the obtainment of titles to property (Miller 2002; Ceriani Cernadas

* Important works of research into the impact of evangelical churches in the Chaco region include Cordeau and Ciffredi (1971); Wright (1992, 2007, 2008); Miller (1979, 2002); Tamagno (2008); Altman (2011); López and Altman (2012). The research of Ceriani Cernadas (2005) into the influence of Mormons and evangelicals should also be mentioned.

** Authors such as Miller (1979) and Ceriani Cernadas and Citro (2005) also state that the success of the Pentecostal Church among the Qom can be explained by the familiarity of certain characteristics of Pentecostal doctrine that could be easily assimilated by the Qom. In particular, they refer to the charismatic aspects and direct contact with the supernatural. According to these authors, Pentecostalism allowed these groups to adapt the symbols of the new religion to their traditional vision of the world.

and Citro 2005). To a certain extent, evangelist preaching encouraged the assimilation of Indigenous leaders with *doqshi* society rejecting past and traditional practices (Salamanca 2006).* This in turn perfectly expressed the national policy of the time, which strove for the "integration"** of these groups. In addition, Indigenous peoples took on different roles in the evangelical churches (e.g., pastor, secretary, porter) that gave them experience with bureaucratic-administrative tasks (Salamanca 2006).

The increasing influence of "evangelism"*** and the increased presence of political parties resulted in another reconfiguration of leaderships. Now, power depended on belonging to a church and a political party (Gordillo 2006; Altman 2011). One of the most important examples of this kind of leadership is perhaps that of the Cacique Pedro Martínez from Pampa del Indio, whom I have mentioned before. His leadership was based on his relationship with Perón and his link to the Pentecostal Church of God. It was on a journey to Buenos Aires, organized to ask the national president for titles to land in Pampa del Indio, that Martínez met Marcos Mazzuco, the head of the Pentecostal Church of God (Miller 1979; Ceriani Cernadas and Citro 2005; Ceriani 2005). In addition to obtaining property titles and a military uniform from Perón, Martínez obtained a permit to hold religious public assemblies. It was the obtainment of these documents that conferred authority to Martínez, and he was allowed to travel throughout the province establishing new churches. Accounts say that many people believed that it was Perón himself who had given Martínez the task of setting up these local congregations (Miller 1979; Ceriani Cernadas and Citro; 2005). Ambrosio Francia recalled, in an interview conducted in 2016:

---

* However, it should also be remembered that evangelism is not the largest religion in Argentina. It could, in fact, be described as a "peripheral" religion emerging principally from contacts with North American and European missionaries rather than criollo colonists in the region (Ceriani Cernadas and Citro 2005; López and Altman 2011).

** As Giordano (2003) says, the concept of "integration" was a "reformulation" of the concept of "incorporation" that had governed the official discourse in the 1920s and 1930s, which referred to the Indigenous peoples solely in terms of labor. "Integration" was a more wide-ranging concept that, although the concept of work was at its center, also included these groups' land rights, education, and access to other social benefits.

*** "Evangelism" has become a word used to describe religious affiliation, regardless of the specific church in question (Ceriani Cernadas 2005).

> When Perón had recently come to power, there were plenty of crops, plenty of food, plenty of help. But when the cacique died, we went needy again because it was the cacique who made people go to work, Pedro Martínez. I remember what my mother said, what she always said. Pedro Martínez was a General Cacique. He had a uniform, gun, boots, and a sword. He had four Indigenous police officers and four criollo ones. When an Indigenous person committed a crime, he sent the criollos. When there were problems with the land, Pedro Martínez went with the secretary, put on a military jacket, and when the Gendarmería [federal police] asked him who his chief was, he said "Perón." Pedro Martínez also had a cult, he taught that one had to follow the path of the Lord and work the land, grow crops and all that. Not to be lazy, you had to work and work. (Interview with Ambrosio, 2016)

By 1954 more than twenty-two Pentecostal Churches of God had been founded in Chaco. However, sometime later, due to the lack of help from the central headquarters in Buenos Aires and the growing differences between Indigenous leaders, many decided to leave this church and form their own congregations. Faced with this breakup, the Mennonite Board of Missions decided to change its strategy and support the Indigenous peoples' own interpretation of evangelism.* From that moment on, more traditional missions began to disappear and United Evangelical Church bases were set up, which would have a vast influence in Chaco from the 1960s onward (Ceriani Cernadas and Citro 2005; Altman 2011; Altman and López 2011). It is important to note that in southwest Chaco, where the Moqoit groups settled, evangelical churches only arrived in 1970, brought by the Qom (López 2009).

THE NEOLIBERAL REGIME OF DISPOSSESSION (1970–PRESENT)

The military dictatorship that governed Argentina between 1966 and 1973 not only abandoned state intervention in the agricultural sector

* The transcription of religious texts into vernacular language caused a transformation of languages such as Moqoit and Qom into written languages, representing a fundamental tool for contemporary resistance movements and producing a space for an increasingly bureaucratic-legal struggle.

that favored rural families; it did not implement any policies related to Indigenous communities whatsoever. The lack of state incentives and appearance of synthetic fibers resulted in a drop in cotton prices, which had a severe impact on cotton production in Chaco.

Expectations of new policies supporting family agriculture and Indigenous communities rose in 1973 with the return of Perón from exile following free elections after an eighteen-year ban on the most popular political party. The Peronist candidate for governor was Bittel once more and he won by a wide margin, earning 58 percent of the votes. The policies he tried to implement focused on public works and regional development based on incentivizing cotton and tannin production. During these years, the Department of the Chaqueñan Aborigine (D.Ch.A.), run by René Sotelo, sought to arrange the delivery of 50 hectares parcels with individual titles and to encourage production through loans, making the formation of community associations a requirement to receive them. In 1972 the Settlement Institute was founded with the objective of starting to resolve and regularize the issue of Indigenous and rural land ownership in the province. The total amount of Indigenous land regularized in that period was 291,523 hectares, approximately 2.8 percent of the land in Chaco (Almirón 2018, 14).

However, in 1976 another military overthrow of the central government saw a drastic shift in these policies. Within a short time the structure of the cotton industry changed decisively and, like many other industries, it was completely deregulated. The de facto government also ended the distribution of land to Indigenous communities and the delivery of titles for land that was already occupied. Although the military dictatorship tried to transfer Indigenous policy to the municipalities and dismantle the D.Ch.A., the political nous of Sotelo and Indigenous leaders such as Nieves Ramírez ensured its survival.* The continuity of the department was very important as it allowed Indigenous communities to maintain state support for cotton production and other projects, such as rearing livestock in spite of the cotton crisis (interview with Carlos Benedetto, 2012).

The return of democracy in 1983 and the 8th Inter-American Indigenous Congress held in Mexico, where harsh criticisms were levied against

* Nieves Ramírez was the first Qom to take a seat in the Provincial Chamber of Deputies representing the Partido Justicialista.

integrationist policies implemented by Latin American states, generated a climate that favored the strengthening of Indigenous organizations and the return of demands for land recognition. In 1985 the national government passed a law on Indigenous politics and created the Instituto Nacional de Asuntos Indígenas (INAI, National Institute of Indigenous Affairs) with the involvement of the Indigenous community. The INAI was run directly by the Ministry of Health and Social Action, and from then on, although support for Indigenous communities increased, it began to focus more on social policy rather than economic activity.

In 1986 the First Assembly of Indigenous Communities was held in Presidencia Roque Sáenz Peña, Chaco. It involved leaders of the Qom, Moqoit, and Wichí ethnicities, who came together to debate the main issues and courses of action that should be taken in the new political context. The event was extremely important because it laid the groundwork for the Ley N° 3258 del Aborigen Chaqueño (Law of the Chaco Aborigine No. 3258), which is still in force. The assembly received support from various nongovernmental organizations, including the Instituto de Cultura Popular (Institute of Popular Culture, INCUPO), Instituto de Desarrollo del Chaco (INDES, Chaco Development Institute), Junta Unida de Misiones (JUM, United Council of Misiones), and Asociación Amigos del Aborigen de Quitilipí, Asociación Promotores Chaco y Equipo Nacional de Pastoral Aborigen (the Association of Friends of the Quitilipí Aborigine, Promotional Association of Chaco and the National Team of Pastoral Aborigines, ENDEPA). The director of the D.Ch.A., Carlos Benedetto, also played a significant role in this event, hence some of the accounts seen in chapter 5 in which Indigenous peoples remember him as the "father of the Aborigines." When I interviewed Carlos in 2012, he remembered the moment as follows:

> That process was discussed a lot. There was a lot of confrontation and disagreement between the different Indigenous groups. Some were very resistant to modifying the law because it was going to undermine their power, their leadership. Naturally, the Wichís, like the Toba and the Mocoví sometimes, started to speak in their own language. Others were left out and we had to harmonize the internal discussions, but a lot of things were agreed upon.

After reaching an agreement, the D.Ch.A. community leaders held the first large demonstration in the provincial capital in May 1987 (Bray 1989). Eventually, that year saw the passing of the Law of the Chaqueñan Aborigine. This new law dissolved the D.Ch.A. and created the Institute of the Chaqueñan Aborigine (IDACH) as an autonomous entity. The main differences included the fact that at the IDACH all the posts had to be occupied by members of Indigenous communities, with people from outside able to play only temporary roles. According to the law, the IDACH had to be run by a board and an advisory council. The directors were to be made up of a president, two spokespeople, and two replacements from each ethnic group. The president is chosen by a simple majority in an election involving the three ethnic groups. The spokespeople and substitutes are chosen the same way, but only the members of each ethnic group participate in these votes. Meanwhile, the advisory council is appointed by the board (see Law 3258, chapter VIII, Art. 26–31). As we shall see in chapter 5, the way these authorities are elected is a controversial point of discussion within these communities.

As the representative of the Indigenous communities before the state, the IDACH is in charge, among other things, of a) processing the granting of legal status to communities; b) developing and applying policies, plans, and programs aimed at fostering the comprehensive development of Indigenous communities; c) encouraging the provision of land; d) providing scientific, technical, legal administrative, and economic help; e) providing low-interest loans to improve levels of production and sale; and f) monitoring the enforcement of applicable labor laws and assisting Indigenous peoples in labor disputes. To carry out these functions, the IDACH allocates annual segments from the budget allocated to it by the provincial administration as well as funds from special laws, subsidies, and contributions made by the national government and international sources. Regardless of its original objectives, the IDACH, like other Indigenous institutions, would end up becoming an electoral resource for some Indigenous groups for which it has come under severe criticism. As Carrasco and Briones put it: "the indiscriminate use of resources combined with the confrontational approach within indigenous communities and outside of them made the Instituto a realm of inter-ethnic conflict and reaffirmed the idea that indigenous people were incapable of doing anything for themselves" (1996, 97–98).

The passing of the Law of the Chaqueñan Aborigine also established an agreement with the Settlement Institute regarding the provision and regularization of land ownership. The law states that a requirement for the provision of land is the formation of civil associations, cooperatives, and mutual partnerships with legal personhood. The regulation also states that the land must be situated in a location inhabited by the community, but land in nearby areas can also be allocated if necessary. Finally, the law states that the allocation should be understood as "historic reparation" and cannot be "embargoed, transferred or rented to third parties or form part of any guarantee" (Law 3258, chapter II, Art. 11). However, in spite of the new legislation and the commitments made by successive provincial governments, the legal situation of much Indigenous land did not change. Even when the law forbids that land be rented or sold, with the expansion of soybeans and lack of employment, some members of the community have rented out their parcels.

Another important policy landmark related to Indigenous populations occurred in 1994 with the reform of the national constitution to recognize the preexistence of Indigenous peoples. The new constitutional text also established that the state was obligated to guarantee a range of rights to these populations.* This recognition drove still further the preparation and presentation of political, economic, and social demands along "ethnic" lines (Escolar 2018). Under neoliberalism, policies deregulating the cotton industry and the lack of legal foundation with regard to land ownership were mitigated by social support policies. However, these policies only reached Indigenous communities intermittently, and these populations were clearly hit harder than other demographic segments by the lack of work, poverty, malnutrition, and diseases such as Chagas and tuberculosis. In 2001, 73.7 percent of the population of the Department

* The newly reformed constitution stated, in Article 75, Section 17, that it was the duty of Congress "to recognize the ethnic and cultural existence of indigenous Argentine people. To ensure respect for identity and the right to a bilingual and intercultural education; to recognize the legal personhood of their communities and the communal possession and ownership of the land they traditionally occupy as well as to regulate the delivery of other suitable and sufficient land for human development; none of these can be transferred, passed on or subject to liens or debts. To ensure the participation in administration of their natural resources and other interests that affect them. The provinces may exercise these powers concurrently."

of General San Martín, where Pampa del Indio is located, did not receive social security payments or health insurance (Regatky 2017).

In an interview conducted in 2016, Juana, a fifty-four-year-old Qom woman living in Pampa Grande, remembered this period as follows: "It was from about that time that they [criollo people] started to privatize the places where there were some fruits and roots. We weren't allowed into the scrubland anymore, although sometimes we went secretly to gather algarrobo beans. At the time there was nothing, not even social security. Sometimes the children got lunch, but often we had nothing."

THE POST-NEOLIBERAL SHIFT (2003–2015)

As I mentioned in chapter 1, in the first decade of the twenty-first century, soybean production started to expand from what is known as the core zone, the pampas region, into the north of the country. The surface area planted with soybeans had increased substantially from 50,000 hectares in 1990/91 to 729,100 in 2002/2003 (estimates from the Ministry of Agriculture).* In Chaco the expansion began to the south of the province in the region where the Moqoit community of Colonia Cacique Catán is located. The growth of the surface area planted with the cash crop did not necessarily represent a total departure from cotton, but it did introduce production systems that required greater surface area and more machinery to maintain profit margins (Bageneta 2015). Between 1988 and 2002 the number of agricultural enterprises in Chaco fell by 20 percent while the average surface area of each increased by 35.7 percent. The reduction in the number of establishments was more notable among those with no fixed borders, which fell from 3,689 in 1988 to just 1,204 in 2002 (CNA 1988, 2002). This is significant as "farms without defined limits are made up of parcels not precisely defined. Generally, these lands form part of a larger unit which might be communal fields, an Indigenous community, a park, national reserve or other kind of state or private land" (INDEC 2002). Information provided by the Settlement Institute shows that of the 3.5 million hectares of state land the province owned in 1994, only 650,000 were left in December 2007 (Domínguez 2009). These acquisitions were denounced by several social actors, who claimed that state

* Ministerio de Agricultura, Ganadería y Pesca, n.d. http://datosestimaciones.magyp.gob.ar/reportes.php?reporte=Estimaciones

land had not just been sold in an irregular manner, violating the social provisions of the law, but that it had also been done at derisory prices as low as $1.14 per hectare (Zarrilli 2010; Slutzky 2011).

The expansion of soybean farming was driven by large companies but also medium-sized landowners generally from provinces such as Santa Fe and Córdoba. As we shall see later on, the nature of the expansion affected how these transformations are perceived and the positions taken with regard to them. The post-neoliberal period also saw the expansion of focused social support for both poor criollo and Indigenous communities. To a significant degree the process was accelerated following a claim filed by the Public Defender of the Nation against the national and provincial government following the publication of media reports decrying the poverty and vulnerability in which Indigenous populations lived in Chaco.* In the suit presented to the Supreme Court of the Nation, defender Eduardo Mondino demanded that the government take

> all necessary measures to modify the current living conditions of the inhabitants of the southeast region of the Department of General Güemes and the northwest of the Department of Libertador General San Martín of that province, who in their great majority are of the Toba (Qom) ethnicity and are suffering from an extreme emergency regarding very basic, elemental needs which are not being fulfilled as a result of the failure of the National and Provincial state to fulfill the obligations set out in the relevant laws. (Defensoría del Pueblo de la Nación Argentina, 2007)

This suit resulted, in December 2007, in the provincial government declaring a Health, Nutritional, Educational and Housing Emergency among Indigenous Populations. This in turn saw the implementation of a range of different measures focused on these communities along with policies being implemented at a national level involving distribution of food in addition to the formation of community organizations and institutions to provide health care and bilingual education. Much of this

* The Public Defender of the Nation was established in the National Constitution of 1994. It is an independent body designated by the National Congress whose purpose is to defend and protect the rights, guarantees, and interests mentioned in said constitution and ensure that laws are enforced in the case of negligence or omission by the Public Administration.

work was financed by the Soybean Solidarity Fund, which was funded by income from fiscal retentions imposed by the national government on soybean exports.

In addition to policies specifically geared toward Indigenous populations, this period also saw the implementation of a series of other social support programs, perhaps most significantly the Asignación Universal por Hijo (AUH, Universal Allocation per Child), which was first implemented in 2009 and went to families with children whose parents were unemployed or worked in the informal sector. Two years later, the allocation was expanded to all women pregnant for three months or more. The AUH not only served to increase the income of Indigenous households; it also helped raise expectations regarding diet and the future of young people (Isla and Vezza 2013, 10). As several community members told me, "Nowadays they want milanesas, they won't eat anything else." "Our children today have their cellphones, internet, and cable TV, which they watch all day. If things go on like this, they won't want to stay in the country." Such opinions about how these policies have changed life in these communities are, as we shall see later on, widespread throughout the settlements.

It is important to note that although the AUH was conceived as a universal policy, Indigenous communities were often unaware of the requirements and paperwork required to receive these allocated funds. Another difficulty faced by many families in receiving the allocation was the fact that several of them received a disability pension because a large portion of the population suffered from Chagas disease, which prevented them from receiving the AUH. Another law that helped to increase the monetary income of Indigenous communities was the Law of Agrarian Labor (26.727, 2011), which established a retirement pension for rural workers. This policy was crucial for elderly people in these communities who had worked all their lives as harvesters or rural hands but who had never been registered as workers by their criollo employers so did not receive a state pension.

Although some policies were also implemented to support production, they were harder to access and only reached these communities intermittently. Perhaps one of the most often mentioned on my travels around rural towns was the Agreement on Technical Cooperation, signed in 2007 by the Instituto Nacional de Asuntos Indígenas (INAI, National Institute of Indigenous Affairs), the Instituto Nacional de Tecnología

Agropecuaria (INTA, National Institute of Agricultural Technology), and the IDACH. The stated goal of the agreement was to "support indigenous communities with the formulation and implementation of projects whose goal is comprehensive development through the identification and transfer of resources."* In my conversations in 2012 with the Qom in Pampa del Indio, although some expressed that they were happy with the program because it had allowed them to fence off and protect their land, others explained that the time it took to get projects approved had caused mistrust and rifts in the community. Marisa, who lives in the Cuarta Legua area in Pampa del Indio, said, with regard to the program, "Women call me a liar because nothing ever happens and the authorities never come here." Other Qom thought that the agreement was a good starting point but that it should be more expansive and not focus so much on advice. "The Qom have many needs: water, housing, food. We don't just need advice. The INTA won't give us seeds. A family with a hectare of corn and some animals gets by, but for that they need to give us seeds," reported Máximo from Campo Alemany. Among the Moqoit of Colonia Cacique Catán, the agreement was almost unknown. As we shall see later on, it was implemented in a very unequal manner, depending to a great degree on the goodwill of the technicians in each area.

Both the cultural policies and those related to education and health care, as well as the proliferation of evangelical churches, multiplied spaces of power. Within these new spaces, different perspectives on state policies and ideas regarding inclusion or exclusion of Indigenous groups in the post-neoliberal state and in the hegemonic production model arose.

FINAL THOUGHTS

The goal of this chapter has been to present a clearer vision of how soybean production, as it expanded into Indigenous territory in the province of Chaco, met and became intertwined with existing histories of resistance, negotiation, and exclusion in the memories of the communities. It is these tales and experiences with the state, criollo settlers, and the tensions that were generated within different Indigenous groups in differ-

* The INTA would contribute $216,000 (US$62,247), the INAI US$160,778 and IDACH US$112,046. https://www.hcdn.gob.ar/proyectos/proyectoTP.jsp?exp=4991-D-2008.

ent periods that molded the varying perspectives of the hegemonic model of agriculture and help us understand the different positions and aspirations of these communities in a post-neoliberal context.

I have chosen to structure the different periods using the concept of regimes of dispossession in order to convey the political nature of dispossession and the implications that power relationships within the state have for how subaltern groups experience these processes (Levien 2018). Under the agro-export regime of dispossession, Indigenous communities were subject to oppression and exploitation at the hands of large tannin and sugar establishments. The lack of any semblance of formal rights and abuse gave rise to memories of poverty and suffering but also of resistance, as seen with the millenarian movements. The developmentalist regime of dispossession established new relationships, negotiations, and struggles between the state and Indigenous communities. To a great degree, Indigenous communities were incorporated into popular sectors as rural workers and in many cases also assimilated into the criollo way of life. This incorporation into the popular sectors, as Salamanca (2006) argues, generated an ontological rupture that took the form of a distinction between "the old" and "the new" that recurs in community accounts. Although "the new" maintain the memories of the oppression of their ancestors, as Ambrosio suggests at the beginning of this chapter, they are also often critical of how their ancestors lived. Of course, within this shift, the state was not the only actor of importance; evangelical churches also played a crucial role.

The neoliberal period was one of harsh reinforcement of the dispossession experienced during earlier eras: the expectations of social support and economic development present throughout the previous period were dashed, exacerbating the subaltern status of these populations. The subsequent post-neoliberal years saw, through different programs, the return of social and economic support in which ethnic identities were reinforced. However, the simultaneous support given to agro-industrial production appears deeply contradictory, and grave doubts about the viability of these attempts at inclusion remain.

4

Resistance on the Edge: The Case of the Qom People in Pampa del Indio

The arrival of the agribusiness Don Panos in Pampa del Indio represented a definitive enclosure of spaces, resources, and ancestral customs (Li 2007). While one might expect the Indigenous communities affected to organize vigorous resistance, the reality was a little more complex. Rather than homogenous, consistent protest, the Qom responded in multiple ways with varying degrees of intensity and differing objectives. This chapter returns to the concept of local rationalities in order to understand the diverse and occasionally contradictory positions of Indigenous communities with regard to the expansion of soybean cultivation into their communities in northern Chaco (Nilsen and Cox 2013).

The tendency in studies of dispossession is to homogenize contemporary Indigenous struggle in such a way that they are seen as working with absolute coherence, but the truth is that this resistance encompasses a wide spectrum including both material demands and calls for greater integration, cultural recognition, and support for alternative ways of life. The shifting currents of Indigenous resistance can be explained via in-depth analysis of the actual perceptions and experiences of dispossession, which are inseparable from memories of the historic regimes of dispossession analyzed in the previous chapter (Levien 2018). The following pages thus seek to bring a more empathetic and sensitive dimension to structural interpretations of agrarian reform and Indigenous resistance so as not to lose sight of the importance of local rationalities, which are in fact the key forces that empower and/or limit postures regarding drastic transformation.

To address these issues, the following section will present a brief account of the conflict between the agribusiness Don Panos and the Qom

communities. We shall see that during these processes different positions emerged among the Indigenous communities of Campo Nuevo and Campo Medina. While some groups called for the opportunity to produce on equal terms, others fought to halt the expansion of the new agribusiness model and for support to be given to alternative forms of production. Then, to understand why these different positions arose in greater depth, I shall take a step back and focus on memories of previous regimes of dispossession. This will allow for a fuller understanding of how the new agrarian dynamics are perceived and how these perceptions are influenced by historic ties with other actors such as the state, criollo settlers, and evangelical churches.

The chapter continues with an analysis of the memories and perceptions of the Indigenous peoples who work at the IDACH, an autonomous body that acts as the communities' representative to the state. This section seeks to show how a position of subalternity that is distinct from those of the inhabitants of rural towns generates different kinds of local rationality and thus separate demands and struggles. Finally, we shall analyze the importance of the aspirations created under the post-neoliberal administrations. Here we shall see how institutional recognition under the Kirchner administrations, along with memories of the first Peronist government in the middle of the twentieth century, while not preventing its emergence, ameliorated the urgency of resistance to agribusiness (Lapegna 2016).

BATTLES AGAINST AGRO-INDUSTRY

In the mid-1990s the economic and social situation of the Qom who lived in the rural paraje towns of Campo Medina and Campo Nuevo, in Pampa del Indio, was extremely precarious. The severe poverty suffered by the Indigenous communities may explain why initially the arrival of Don Panos, a pioneer in soybean farming in the north of Argentina, was not seen as a problem; to the contrary, it was associated with hope for improvement. Luis, who lives in Campo Medina with his family, remembers those early years as follows: "It was good, we had work, and they were going to pay us every fifteen days." He was employed as part of the initial clearance project. Of course, although Don Panos's installations generated community members' expectations of employment in the middle of a recession, conflicts soon arose.

"Just after Don Panos arrived, they needed people, but they didn't pay well. I worked there, I cleared everything, I broke my back. At the time, there was no money, no odd jobs, nothing," remembered Javier, who lives in Campo Nuevo, in an interview in 2018. It was these terrible working conditions that led to the first confrontations with the establishment. In 1996 a group of Indigenous peoples who had been hired by Don Panos decided to present a complaint to the Commission of Human Rights at the Chaco Chamber of Deputies. The complaint alleged that the company had breached labor legislation on many counts. These breaches included failure to make pension and social security payments, unpaid salaries, and mass layoffs without following due process. Faced with this complaint, the company decided to hire workers from other regions and even other countries to continue with the construction of their installations (La Prensa 1996).

Shortly afterward, the first complaint of illegal deforestation on the land was filed. According to the case files, in 1995, Don Panos had applied for permission to deforest 1,000 hectares. In February the following year, the Forestry Department issued the permit but following inspections determined that almost 400 hectares had been cleared outside the permitted area, some of the trees having been uprooted and others burned. Hence, in 1997 the Forestry Department fined the company $97,379, but in spite of this, a few months later it was found that another 2,388 hectares had been cleared and burned and 1,119 were under preparation for uprooting without any permit ever having been applied for (Greenpeace 2006). Within just a few years, it is estimated that 28,000 tons of forest species and 2,800 tons of firewood had been cleared (La Nación 1998). According to the accounts of some Qom families, the company never paid the fines levied against it.

In 2006, a decade later and the same year in which several complaints against the province for the illegal sale of state land came to light, residents of Campo Medina and Campo Nuevo filed their first complaints against the company for the reckless use of agrochemicals in the soybean fields. Mariano, who lived with his wife and children in a lot right next to the company's land in 2012, told me,

> A lot of things were grown here before the spraying, but with the spraying we can't even grow sweet potato or mandioca. We lost the sweet potato and mandioca seeds. Mandioca suffered the most because

> the whole thing dried up, from the stalk to the root. And we're struggling with the animals now. We started to have problems because the cows and goats were having trouble reproducing. I lost twenty-six mother goats when they [Don Panos] started spraying from the planes. The goats eat the grass, and they die when it's sprayed. The bees one of my sons kept died, and in the end [my son] got tired and left for the city, living off odd jobs. (Interview with Mariano, 2012)

In spite of local Qom families' multiple formal and informal complaints, the company's behavior did not change. Only two years later did the conflict start to attract wider attention. This increased visibility wasn't so much related to the damage being done to Indigenous families as the political context. In March 2008 a dispute arose between large farming organizations and the national government over a rise in taxation of soybeans.* At the time, Mártires López, the leader of the Unión Campesina (UC), one of the most important Indigenous organizations in Pampa del Indio, stated:

> The major stretches of land of over two hundred thousand hectares that surround us were occupied by Bunge and Born in the early 1900s. At one time they sold the northern part to the Roseos from La Fidelidad, and then another to Eurnekian [the main shareholder of Don Panos]. This was land that was taken through blood and fire from our Aboriginal ancestors with laws of extermination implemented by General Victorica.**

After holding several marches and roadblocks, the UC, together with two other Indigenous organizations, the Comisión Zonal de Tierra (CZT, Zonal Land Commission) and the Asociación Cacique Taigoyic (ACT, Cacique Taigoyic Association), signed an agreement with the governor that granted a large part of the organizations' demands. These included the delivery of seeds, fuel, and tools; repairs of pumps; and the delivery

---

* The "countryside conflict" occurred in March 2008, after Resolution 125/08 was announced by the Ministry of the Economy, increasing the percentage of retentions (taxes on exports) on certain commodities (Petras and Veltmeyer 2016).

** Benjamín Victorica was the general who led the Conquest of the Chaco between 1881 and 1884 (see chapter 3).

of titles to the land owned. However, a year later the agreement had not yet been implemented. As a result, in July 2009 the three organizations held a march from Pampa del Indio to Resistencia where members set up a camp in front of the house of government. There an event was held and Mártires López was the lead speaker once more. On this occasion he said: "The governor has a friend here in Chaco, Eduardo Eurnekian. Eduardito has 45,000 hectares of land and receives subsidies from the province. So the governor must have some money and we're asking him to resolve our problems, the problems of the rural poor … the blood of Taigoyic is here" (Marcha Multisectorial 2009).

In spite of the complaints and marches, the company continued with its activities, resulting in increased tensions in the area. In October 2010 a group of legislators on the Human Rights Committee in the Provincial Chamber of Deputies traveled to Pampa del Indio to meet with leaders of the communities in Campo Medina and Campo Nuevo. The meeting resulted in the filing of new complaints, one with the legislature and the other the Undersecretary of Human Rights in the Province, both of which contained a request from Indigenous communities to urgently intervene to stop the spraying.

However, just two weeks after formalizing these complaints, Indigenous families in Campo Medina and Campo Nuevo once again suffered from wayward aerial spraying intended for the Don Panos fields, as well as its derivations. On this occasion the toxins carried on the wind hit homes as well as School EGB Nº 552 located three hundred meters away. The general indignation caused by this spraying led to another complaint filed with Public Prosecutor No. 1 in General San Martín. The Qom collectively filed a report complaining about the spraying, which was now not only damaging their natural resources and vegetable crops but also endangering the health of their children. Given the lack of response from the state, in January 2011 Indigenous communities in the area held a national press conference. The attention brought to the company's violation of the law as well as the lack of regulation and protection from the state, as reported in *Página 12*, a national newspaper, led to a temporary cessation of spraying and a commitment from the national authorities to get involved in the conflict. In May of that same year, the UC, Comisión Zonal de Tierras, and Asociación Cacique Taigoyic organized another large march that culminated in a camp held outside the town of Castelli, a hundred kilometers from Pampa del Indio. Members of these

organizations called for more assistance from provincial and national governments.

As a result of this mobilization, Indigenous organizations were able to reach an agreement with the provincial government under which they would receive transgenic cotton seeds that required the use of agrochemicals and larger scales of production. Although leaders of the UC regarded the accord as a success, it caused divisions and mistrust within the community; some members of the organizations who lived in Campo Medina and Campo Nuevo started to retract the complaints they had filed against Don Panos, who had recommenced spraying. A few days after reaching an agreement with the government, on June 14, 2011, Mártires López, the principal leader of the UC, died in a traffic accident.

A few months later, the Qom living on land adjacent to the company's fields continued to suffer from the effects of spraying. They thus sent a letter to the Ministry of Planning and the Environment requesting information regarding Don Panos's fulfillment of environmental regulations. On June 6, 2012, after a visit by officials, an agreement was reached with the company under the framework set out in the Alternative Program for Conflict Resolution run by the public prosecutor of Chaco Province and the national government, overseen by the Instituto del Aborigen Chaqueño. Even though the agreement was formally certified, at the end of 2012 Don Panos returned to ground spraying in areas that violated the agreed-upon buffer distances without providing residents with forty-eight hours' notice before each spraying, as had been stipulated (Observatorios Conflictos Sociales NEA 2019). That same year, the Universidad de Buenos Aires took samples of water sources from the area and the results showed that 56 percent of the water analyzed contained residue of glyphosate and its metabolite aminomethylphosphonic acid.

When I visited Pampa del Indio for the final time in November 2018, spraying was less frequent, but issues with unemployment and the inability to practice marisca continued to grow more acute. However, in contrast to previous instances, collective protests did not reoccur and neither were major protests seen. Whereas between 2006 and 2012 twenty instances of complaints and protests had been recorded, between 2012 and 2018 that number fell to three (Observatorios Conflictos Sociales NEA 2019).

As Turton (1986) has argued, resistance arises as a result of the effects that are perceived and experienced in a relationship. To understand "what is being resisted (and what combination of things), and what is

not being resisted and why" (1986, 38), we should begin by analyzing the interpretations, memories, or, as Hart (2006) would say, "the meaning of dispossession." These memories and perceptions are "as important as the material facts" (984) as they are used by subaltern groups to justify their struggles to themselves and others. Following these viewpoints, in the next section I propose reflecting on the different memories that the Qom have of the previous regimes of dispossession, as well as their perceptions of the changes and problems that the community has had to face in recent years. I believe that these aspects are key to understanding the local rationalities in which their actions are founded (Nilsen and Cox 2013).

THE MEANINGS OF DISPOSSESSION

The range of contrasting views of the time of ancients was one of the aspects that most surprised me about the Qom people's accounts of their history. On some occasions it was remembered as the time "when we were free," the period when "Aborigine families helped each other," "when the caciques were powerful," and when the Indigenous peoples were "owners of the land." For example, in an interview in 2012, Mario, who is an Indigenous healthcare worker, remembered the caciques as follows:

> Caciques defend their tribe. If it hadn't been for them, we wouldn't exist today. Now there are leaders but they don't fight man-to-man. Now they study the law. The ones who know the law are the ones who more or less lead. Before, my grandfather, who was a Toba (Qom) cacique, told me that bullets didn't hurt them even though they didn't wear armor or anything. (Interview with Mario, 2012)

The usual emphasis was that in contrast to the present day, which is beset by individualism, said period was characterized by unity and ties of solidarity between Indigenous peoples. As can be seen also in the following response from María, an assistant teacher at the bilingual intercultural complex, the figure of the cacique takes on a central role in these memories as a guarantor of the unity of the people, while marisca practices are seen as symbols of that brotherhood. In an interview in 2012, María told me:

> At that time there were caciques, now there are presidents, now no one depends on anyone. Before, the cacique told everyone to come together. Then we were all united. Now we're not. Democracy came to the Aborigines, as did Evangelical Christianity, and that's why it happened. When the Evangelicals arrived, everyone split in every direction. Everyone separated and had their own ideas. I mean, suppose you're an Aborigine and I am too; before, we fought together, but now we don't. If you fight with a brother, it's "You take care of yourself, I'm going to work." Before, in that period, with the cacique, we were united. We went to mariscar a lot … it was a lovely community because they didn't need anything. (Interview with María, 2012)

The "grandfathers," as the ancestors are often referred to, were also remembered in some conversations for their ability to anticipate events. One afternoon in 2012, speaking to Milcíades, a member of the CZT, about the droughts the region has suffered in recent years, he said:

> It's not like the scientists say, "It's not the deforestation, not that." This has been coming historically. I remember my grandfather. My grandfather didn't know how to write or how to read, he didn't know anything, but he did say that tomorrow the drought was going to come and we needed to prepare. That's why we never panic or get scared—because they already predicted everything. (Interview with Milcíades, 2012)

However, on many other occasions, sometimes even during the same conversation, as can be seen in Milcíades's account, the remote past was associated with different forms of "lack." At times this "lack" was linked to limited education or knowledge, especially with regard to the practice of commercial agriculture. In those cases, the Qom usually referred to their ancestors as people who "didn't know anything," "didn't know how to work the land, or harvest it, they just survived." As other authors, such as Gordillo (2002, 2004, 2006) and Wright (2008), have noted, in these memories the marisca practice is not being recognized as a form of work. It can even be defined as simple *rebusque* or scavenging, thus devaluing it in comparison with agriculture. As Mariano said one afternoon in 2012 as we spoke on the veranda at his home, which borders the Don Panos estate, "only in '46 did people start to work as they should do." The expression that Mariano used to describe the moment that the Qom started to

farm commercially, makes it clear that their memories are also permeated with hegemonic values (Gordillo 2006). The date used to mark the rupture between the ancients and the new Qom reveals the strong influence of party politics and historical relationships as 1946 was the year that Perón first came to power as president of the nation.

On other occasions the lack could also refer to the lack of goods or absence of rights. The period of the ancients then became the time when the Indigenous peoples "had no resources, they had nothing." In those cases, in contrast to the earlier references to something lacking—in which the "lacks" were the responsibility of the members of the community themselves, because of their "ignorance"—the lack here was due to the fact that they were the victims of discrimination. Generally, these memories include graphic descriptions of the sacrifices and struggles of their ancestors, and sometimes the people in question themselves, in contrast to the situation of the new generations. In this regard, Mariano told me:

> I'll tell you how we struggled in our lives first. I started with nothing. I spent the first part of my life with my grandparents. But they didn't have anything. They were the owners, but they didn't even have an ID card. They said that the land was theirs but in the end it couldn't be. There weren't any documents or anything. It's not like when we started and realized, at least, how to work things out, how to fight for our lives, for daily sustenance. Because I experienced the ancient Indigenous life and it wasn't good. We didn't have any rights. I know because I lived it. If we wanted to open our mouths, they set the police on us to silence us. And we, where we lived, were always afraid of the police. Because an Aborigine opening their mouth was beaten, and no one stood up for them. But today all the young people, those my age, know what we experienced. Now, at least we know what the law is and that it can protect us. We know that we have rights. (Interview with Mariano, 2012)

Words similar to Mariano's were used by Yolanda ("Yoli"), a forty-year-old Qom woman who works in the courthouse in Pampa del Indio. I met Yolanda on my first trip in 2010 but it was only when we met in 2018 that she started to tell me about her childhood and shared stories about her family. She recounted: "My father would tell me … preserving this in your memory is a sad thing to do. … The police, the soldiers, the state

troopers, they crushed everyone and people had to run, to hide, they had to find somewhere to go, the women and children first. … Behind our lot is a Qom cemetery, even today you can feel their presence. I believe that souls who suffered don't leave the earth."

Mariano and Yolanda, like the majority of the Qom who I met in the parajes, see poverty and Indigenous identity as being closely linked. But in those memories the experience of poverty is also associated with their exclusion from the rule of law. These memories of the remote past reflect the "everyday tyranny of the state" (Nilsen 2013) to which these communities were exposed and from which they were only able to liberate themselves if they adopted a "new image," linked to jobs growing cotton, evangelical churches, and political parties.

Life during the Cotton Period

In contrast to the different images of the ancients brought up of the period in our conversations, the Qom who live in the parajes usually remembered the cotton period as a prosperous time. To a large extent, the start of the cotton period was described as a key moment in the community's history. In the words of Sebastián, one of the members of the UC:

> When the cotton harvesting started, work started to become available. People were working all over the place. The big producers planted quite a lot of cotton, then the people looked after it. We used to plant too. You could say that we were small producers. At the time, people formed cooperatives and delivered their produce to market together. There were associations with presidents and delegates. … We didn't mariscar then. There was more activity. (Interview with Sebastián, 2012)

Sebastián's memories of the cotton period, like those of most of the interviewees, describe a period of abundant employment and greater equality with the criollo community, as shown by improved access to certain goods that had been difficult to get previously. These memories also usually mention the appearance of a sector of Qom producers. On this point it is important to mention that the proliferation of agricultural producers among the Qom, and especially cotton producers, far from being self-managed, was inextricably linked to *seguimiento*. The idea of "following up" encompasses the training and supervision carried out by experts

from state programs as well as by the representatives of political parties and religious institutions.* In the words of Aristóbulo, a sixty-five-year-old Qom man, "there was a lot of seguimiento, and we saw the results. For example, all the different crops that were planted gave something at the harvest. Sunflowers, sorghum, and also the vegetables. There were a lot. And after that the production issue got a little more democratic and more people could be helped" (interview with Aristóbulo, 2012).

Darío, a Qom language teacher from Pampa del Indio who decided to move to Resistencia fifteen years ago, referred to that period and the influence of other actors as follows:

> The cotton period was great. I was a harvester. It was great because it was a very important source of income when cotton was worth something. In the cotton period there weren't many large farms in Pampa del Indio, so many of us went to Villa Berthe during the harvest where there were thousands and thousands of hectares of cotton. And it was good because it was a good source of income, it was valuable, it was the only tool. I remember in '82, '84, and '86, cotton was worth quite a lot. … We organized ourselves with the evangelical mission and it subsidized us. I don't know where the subsidies came from. I suppose that they also had a political mechanism with the state, the government maybe. At that time my grandfather didn't have a title to the land, which was a large farm. He only had the political word, he had 50 hectares, which were then divided up. (Interview with Darío, 2012)

In addition to the seguimiento, the cotton period is also closely associated with tales of "help" received from the state and the church. This help, in contrast to the monetary transfers seen in the neoliberal and post-neoliberal periods, consisted of donations of machines, tools, and supplies for production. In 2016 Francisco, a seventy-four-year-old resident of Campo Medina, told me:

---

* An interesting analysis of the transformations that occurred in the Qom communities at that time can be found in the report that William Reyburn prepared for the Mennonite Board of Missions and Charities. In that report, Reyburn states that "Toba society may presently be described as extremely dependent. This dependency stems from the avowed desire of the Toba to be helped to achieve *criollo* identification" (1954, 77).

> In ’58, when we left Misión Laishí and came to Pampa del Indio, the Department of the Aborigine gave us aid. Fencing, plows, hammers, anvils, tongs, all the tools we needed to work. … And when there wasn’t enough to eat, we could mariscar. At the time, the forests were untouched, the trees were bigger, we got honey. It wasn’t like today, when there’s almost no help. In ’97 and ’98, aid from the government ended. Then we couldn’t do any production work because there wasn’t any. You can’t work without help, you can’t do the work, and you have to go out and look for it. We need to get projects, now people have the legal personhood number, but there’s no one to help us. (Interview with Francisco, 2016)

In addition to supplies and machines, help often also meant the provision of titles or permits to occupy the land in both towns. As Mártires López remembered:

> My father said that they were young when Perón came. My father was there and said that Perón said: “We want to speak to the Cacique General, let him through.” But they wouldn’t let the cacique through, there was pushing with the police. … Then the cacique used the sabre to get through to talk to Perón. And they say that Perón asked, “What are you most interested in?” and he said, “I want land for my tribe.” … So Perón said, “We’ll send a surveyor. Tell Mr. Medina, Pablo Medina who owned all that land, that he had to divide the land up into lots.” Only two or three lots were left to him and the rest of the land had to be handed over to the cacique.*

Similarly to Campo Medina, where land expropriated by the state was granted to Indigenous families, the town of Campo Nuevo was formed a few decades later following a donation by the Evangelical Baptist Church. Avelino remembered the origins of the town as follows:

> Our story is quite sad because we didn’t have anywhere to go, we were agregados [additions] to Campo Medina. … In ’79 I’d only just converted, and that year a German missionary came and a big meeting was held… and he said to give him the responsibility of being our

* Interview carried out by Gómez (2008).

> delegate. He went to Germany and in three, four, five months he came back and got the money to buy the land. … The people at the Evangelical Baptist Church called it "Promise Kept," but we called it "Campo Nuevo." "New Land," because it was a new community. Then we built the church in thanks and we celebrate that every year in November. (Interview with Avelino, 2012)

To a great extent, the developmentalist regime of dispossession in this periphery depended on the paternalist relationship between the Indigenous peoples and the state or other civil organizations. As can be seen in the memories of Darío, Mártires, and Avelino, the body giving them the land was also the body on which they depended for the tools and seeds with which the families sustained themselves. This also implies that Indigenous groups had to satisfy the expectations of those actors, which they did via the adoption of certain habits and abandonment of others. Thus, in Mártires's memory, Cacique Pedro Martínez had to use the symbol that had been given to him by white people, the saber, to open a path to the president. In Avelino's story, the delivery of merchandise and land were somehow conditional on the prior abandonment of marisca practices in favor of religious conversion. This dependence produced "both spaces of control and spaces of resistance and accommodation in which the aborigine actors channeled their demands" (Gordillo 2009). As Ferguson says, "to be dependent on someone is to be able to make at least some limited claims on him or her" (2013, 231). The paternalist relationships were central to the formation of the "Indigenous peasant" as a political actor and shaped the way in which they perceived and reacted to dispossession. In this regard, just as the "progress" achieved since the 1940s was related to the "amount of following up" and "help," current problems are associated with a lack of them.

Soybeans and Dispossession

In November 2010 Juan saw the crop duster turn and, without turning off the spray, fly over his farm meters from his home in Campo Medina. The "toxic rain," as he called it, also hit his children, who had to be taken to the municipal hospital due to stomach aches, nausea, and dizziness.

Juan and Mariano, who live in homes on the edge of the company's land, were some of the few who, when talking about the problems faced

by the communities, mentioned Don Panos first. In most other cases the narratives were focused primarily on the absence of the state as well as the lack of support and help for working in the fields. "Why did they leave?" Milcíades asked me one afternoon, amazed at my questions about Indigenous peoples' urban migration. "Because how can they make a living from the land without help?" The absence of the state, which everyone agreed occurred during the 1990s, was the reason that the Qom were forced to leave the countryside to "scavenge in the towns" or "mariscar in the city."

According to most of Qom who live in Campo Nuevo and Campo Medina, it was their status as Indigenous peoples that explained the "lack of support." Generally, they argued that the government did not want to recognize their role as producers. The problem, ultimately, was that they continued to be victims of the reproduction of a certain imaginative perspective of what it means to be Indigenous.* In an interview in 2010, Sebastián explained it in the following way:

> People are renting because they don't have the resources, because they don't have tools. And because of the increase in the price of seeds. So you work to pay your bills and nothing is left. Why don't they bring us a tractor? Aborigines can drive too. But no, they don't give them a loan facility, because they see you're an Aborigine and they get stingy. But if a gringo comes along, it's "Oh yes! How much do you want? Take it, here's a loan for some machinery too." They give them everything, and us? They say no because you're an Aborigine, you don't get anything. And Aborigines also defended the motherland when there was a conflict, too, do you remember '82? Well, a lot of Aborigines gave up their lives, and now the gringos don't help. I don't mean all the gringos, because there are gringos who give support like brothers supporting and lifting each other up and giving you something, but most don't help. (Interview with Sebastián, 2010)

---

* As we shall see in the next section, the disagreements about "what it means to be Indigenous" are not just a dispute between the Qom and the state but were also one of the main problems of the community. In great measure the distinctions depended on which demands were considered legitimate and which were not.

Sebastián was not only criticizing what he perceives as reproduction by the state of the "indigenous slot" (Li 2000, 8); he was also providing a raw account of the limitations and contradictions of Indigenous access to Argentine citizenship. This is made obvious by his reference to Indigenous participation during the war over the Malvinas islands and the marginalization that these groups suffer in daily life.

Now, the focus on the "lack of support" and the "lack of help" in perceptions of dispossession does not mean that the Qom do not mention the arrival of Don Panos and the subsequent lack of water, increased pollution, and barriers to marisca as threats to their being able to remain in the country. However, those who had direct contact with the company, such as Mariano, Juan, or the Indigenous health agents and the Indigenous teachers in Campo Medina, placed special emphasis on the responsibility of the company rather than the state. Mariano repeated on several occasions that the arrival of Don Panos was preventing him from staying on his land. In 2016 he told me: "The thing is that we knew a river, the River Guaycurú, where we went to fish. But when it went to Eurnekian, they started to issue prohibitions and sent out rural workers dressed as policemen. … They arrest you for gathering firewood. And now, because they're growing soybeans, they spray poison from a plane. The poison is carried on the wind over our farms and burns our plants."

Ángel, another Qom whose land borders that of Don Panos, also stated on several occasions that the arrival of the company had altered practices in the community. In this case, Ángel emphasized that after the company arrived, in addition to an end to honey production, certain cultural practices disappeared:

> Here we're three hundred meters from his [Eurnekian's] farm. And when the plane sprays with a southerly wind… we don't have any [bee]hives anymore. Not one is left, the bees go. We're just left with the boxes. I don't know when we're going to recover. … Before, when we had open land, there were a lot of plants and roots. … In the open country, people knew where to go and they made medicine. But not anymore. (Interview with Ángel, 2012)

It is important to observe that in the context of the new rural dynamics characterized by the lack of employment, marisca became a central practice for the community once more, while in the context of memories

of the cotton period it was described as an unfamiliar or ancient practice, "something that they didn't do anymore." In an interview in 2012, María said the following in this regard:

> Before, there was forest everywhere and the communities weren't forbidden from going in, because they were just looking for food, for wood, whatever there was. At that time there wasn't that law forbidding entry. Then, when Don Panos moved in, everything got fenced off, entry was forbidden, and the communities couldn't look for wood. … Then the Indigenous peoples had to give up their own medicines because the species died out, because something that had always existed in nature was broken. The change was very obvious. The communities went to see and mourned the loss of the forest. Then they [Don Panos] planted soybeans. But I don't know if they were aware, they must have thought before they planted whether it was a good or bad thing. Because there were families just fifty meters away from the fence and a school a hundred meters away, and they [Don Panos] had to have known that they were going to use herbicides, that they were going to spray from planes, and that made the people sick, and people who study the earth say that it makes the land infertile too. (Interview with María, 2012)

As I mentioned before, the concrete experiences of dispossession and the position of subalternity are central factors that shape the struggle of the subaltern groups. This can be seen among the inhabitants of the paraje, for example between the members of the UC and those who live close to Don Panos. Similarly, as we shall see next, the struggle from within the ethnic-bureaucratic space adopted a different position to that of the organizations analyzed, presenting different potentials and limits.

THE PERCEPTION OF A REPRESENTATIVE: HISTORY AND DISPOSSESSION ACCORDING TO THE IDACH

Indigenous policy does not just involve grassroots Indigenous organizations in Pampa del Indio; institutional structures such as the IDACH also play a central role in the definition of strategies for resistance and negotiation. In the parajes a major distinction is usually made between the community "leaders" such as Mártires, Milcíades, and Aristóbulo and

the "representatives." Generally, the Qom in rural areas call members of their community who have built a career within the institutional structure representatives. Furthermore, the same concept of "politics" is used to describe criollo politics and the Indigenous peoples who are part of the institution. Politics and the institutions where they are practiced do not, according to this perspective, have the same rules, and their discourse does not necessarily reflect that of the parajes (Wright 2008).

Certainly, when one arrives at the IDACH offices, one can perceive the difference. Waiting times there are usually long, and the uncertainty over whether you are going to be attended to is always present, as in any other public office in Argentina (Auyero 2012). But these formal concerns are not the only distinctions. The historical stories and perceptions of the current situation also reveal clear differences. To the state representatives of the Indigenous peoples, the remote past evokes homogeneous idyllic images that make no mention of the problems related to poverty and exclusion. In an interview in 2012, Mónica, a young Qom woman in charge of the Indigenous Communications Department, described the era of the ancients thus:

> There was a fruit similar to an apple that we called l'huaxaic, which is a delicious fruit, but sadly because of the expansion or because the natural resources were used up, we don't have it now. Or for example we had what the white world calls "noodles." Ours were brown and called n-texac, and they were very healthy. So we were very healthy and happy in our community, in contact with nature. Now we are facing a very different situation. Now we have to wait to see if a businessman comes along.*

But even more striking are the different memories of the cotton period. In this regard, Mónica said:

> For the communities, cotton is important, but it shouldn't be the symbol of Chaco. Chaco's symbol should be something like the algarrobo. The algarrobo is what provides us with food. There are a lot of forests, a lot of algarrobo trees. Cotton might be important, but it has

* The words written in Qom are reproduced here just as the interviewees wrote them in my notebook.

> no value for us. Obviously, in the peak period of cotton, we planted and harvested, but that doesn't mean that we should accept that it represents us. When cotton was planted, many families were evicted. In fact, one of the biggest struggles in the province was the massacre of Napalpí. A lot of brothers were killed there, and as a symbol of triumph they cut off the men's testicles and the women's breasts. So the history of cotton in itself does not hold good memories for us. We were enslaved because of cotton. They wanted to impose their customs on our culture and vision of the world. Instead of paying us properly, because growing cotton is very hard work (it hurts your waist, your fingers, there's all the insects), they shot at us. … Thousands of brothers were killed, they gave poisoned sweets to the children, and raped and murdered our women. So cotton isn't a [positive] symbol for us. In fact, it's a pretty dark memory. (Interview with Mónica, 2012)

For these Indigenous representatives, even agriculture practiced by the Aborigines themselves was and continues to be something alien to them. Their memories of the cotton period differed markedly to the testimony gathered in the towns. These differences, which can be explained by varying positions of subalternity, are significant in that they shape not only past experiences but present and future ones as well. So, the different memories and perceptions that mobilize the various groups generate different strategies and legitimize different claims that are often found to be mutually exclusive.

For the main representatives of the IDACH, the worst of the effects of soybean dispossession is not the inability to continue with agricultural activity, but the environmental damage that these new productive practices have caused. In this vision, as Indigenous peoples are an integral part of the environment, accumulation by dispossession has become a "silent genocide." "Why do they attack us so much, try to destroy us? They'll end up destroying our habitat, the forests, and the rivers. The objective of the state and the system is to destroy us as an Indigenous peoples because we are the people who have always been warriors who protected the forests, the environment itself, because it is our mother land" (Interview with Mónica, 2010).

Responsibility for this process lies with the state, and thus it is the state against which the claim is made. But in this case the absence of the state does not refer to the lack of support but refers to the lack of

control. Orlando Charole, who was the president of the IDACH in 2010, declared that

> the state is responsible for authorizing the actions of these companies. If the state doesn't control their activities, if inspection agencies don't act on these issues, the population is left stuck, shouting their complaints. We're in a no man's land where the state washes its hands of the opportunity. Then we are [held] hostage to the ambition of those businessmen at the cost of polluting everything, the population and the environment, the whole area where we don't want these things to happen. It's a paradox, a contradiction that the state doesn't exercise control. (Interview with Orlando, 2010)

For these representatives, the lack of control is due to corruption and the ties the business groups have with the provincial government. In their view, provincial government's main concern is to attract investments and increase revenues. Consequently, when large companies establish themselves in this territory, the government does not enforce environmental regulations.

> The areas where these communities live are the biggest focus of the soybean-planting plans. These businessmen don't go there because although they have authorization from the state, the province, they play dumb. We're alone in our struggle to protect the environment because the provincial government is involved. Today we're suffering from spraying in Pampa del Indio and the crop-dusting, and there's no control. Although there have been public suits filed, the judiciary mostly doesn't act or ignores them. So then we get into this situation where rights are being violated. The laws are there but they need to be enforced. That is our lack. We have clear concerns about the expansion of soybeans. (Interview with Orlando Charole, 2010)

However, as we shall see in the next section, IDACH members' objectives do not necessarily coincide with the posture of Qom families who live in rural communities. There are several visions on how to live Indigeneity in contemporary Argentina. For some Indigenous people, struggle should be about strengthening traditional practices and promoting cultural policies. For others the fight is for Indigenous peoples' inclusion in the productive model, without excluding the recognition of their diversity.

WHY DO WE STRUGGLE? ASPIRATIONS AND THE CONTEXT OF OPPORTUNITY IN PAMPA DEL INDIO

In an important contribution to the study of processes of accumulation by dispossession, Levien affirms that the experience of dispossession has given rise to a particular form of politics that is distinct from labor politics and previous rural politics (2013a, 351). Returning to Harvey's analysis (2003), Levien states that movements against dispossession demonstrate a different political orientation and organization to previous movements of subaltern groups. In general terms, the new movements do not fight against exploitation but fight against "forced commodification," and are characterized by being difficult to institutionalize so their resistance can become potentially more disruptive.

However, as we have seen in previous sections, and as Levien (2013a) also briefly alludes to, the experience of dispossession in a single group is not a homogeneous, univocal, or unchanging experience. In some cases, for example, the experience can be focused on the lack of support or the loss of seasonal work, while others focus on the impossibility of reproducing cultural practices (such as marisca) or of practicing agriculture. In this regard, the struggle of the Qom can be seen at times as being focused on what has commonly been labeled "the politics of agrarian populism" but can also, at other moments, focus on the struggle against "forced mercantalization" (Levien 2013a, 359).

It is important to consider the fact that positions depend not just on the "experience of dispossession" but also on the opportunities and aspirations that govern the specific political context in which the subaltern groups find themselves. As I will show next, the institutional recognition granted by successive post-neoliberal governments also generated new expectations and aspirations that on occasions could become barriers to resistance of the agribusiness model but also encourage demands for greater inclusiveness.

"We Are the Last, the Poorest of the Poor": Resistance from the Paraje Towns

When I returned to Pampa del Indio in 2012, Mártires had died. Nora, his widow, had assumed leadership of the UC. When we met to talk for the first time, we did so on the patio of her house next to the large machines

that had been received from the national government. On this occasion Nora recounted something Mártires had said:

> He said that we had to try to turn back the wind, first that we should be reorganized as peasants. Although we are Indigenous, we needed to be recognized as peasants. Because we always had the idea that a peasant is a gringo who works the land, but if you go into the interior, you'll find it full of Wichís and Qom who want to work the land, who don't want to leave the countryside. And he struggled for that a lot. (Interview with Nora, 2012)

Mártires's statement made it clear that to her, like the Qom who accompanied her, the struggle is first to achieve equality of opportunity with criollo peasants. Their aspiration is not just about being recognized as Indigenous peoples but also having the state recognize their role in the agricultural sector. On positioning themselves as Indigenous "peasants," they seek to have the state reintroduce a guarantee of certain relationships and conditions so that they can also take advantage of the opportunities provided by the market.

Nora's words quickly reminded me of what Mártires had said in an interview some years ago. On that occasion he spoke about the need to overcome the association usually made between Indigenous peoples and subsistence production:

> When I moved here, I saw that that [subsistence production] wasn't the solution, that we were wasting time on oxen. We started to struggle. Because I think, I always say, that we should have a little tractor. To work more fields, we need to have the right equipment. Because it's true that if you have a set of oxen in the field and a drought, like we're having now happen, you can't work. The problem isn't new, it happened before. Our parents suffered terribly from tiredness. They were exploited. In addition to the fact that they weren't well fed, they had to sacrifice their lives. And I was thinking that we can't repeat the path of our ancestors. We need to change. And thanks to that, we are achieving it. We never thought that we'd have this equipment, and yet the equipment isn't used anymore in the south because they're already using another kind of technology. But we are only just learning. If we

> had been a part of the nation of Argentina, we could have made use of the equipment before, when our parents were around.*

As can be seen from this fragment, it is precisely the fact that Indigenous peoples do not have access to the technology and the opportunities available at a given time that defines their sense of injustice. Their exclusion from the nation of Argentina is associated with the delay in gaining access to technological advances, and thus their struggle is focused on obtaining those benefits (Li 2000, 2010). In this regard the case of the UC shows that the objectives of the struggle that emerges in the context of accumulation by dispossession can, however, be placed within what has been called "agrarian populism." This is defined as "movements organized around remunerative agricultural prices and subsidies" (Levien 2013a, 359). As Nora stated with regard to the productive practices of the members of the UC:

> We chose cotton because it is the only product that we can sell. We can sell it and the cotton is used to make many things, clothes and such. That's what the government has to understand, that there must be a price for cotton. If we plant a lot of squash and watermelons, who's going to buy them? There are Aboriginal people who have a lot to sell, but they don't have any way to transport it to the market. The government helps the soybean producers more than the cotton producers. So we feel that the cotton price is low because the price of soybeans is high. We are asking the government to guarantee a price for cotton. (Interview with Nora, 2012)

Furthermore, these experiences and tales also demonstrate that the ethnicization of the struggle can in certain cases be a position from which to negotiate a more successful inclusion into the model rather than constituting a rejection of it. The aim is to achieve a socially just developmental model, to fight against the "indigenous slot," rather than maintaining a traditional way of life (Li 2000, 2010). This is also demonstrated, for example, by the position the UC has adopted with regard to the use of transgenic seeds and the spraying required. On this subject, one of its members stated:

---

* Interview carried out by Cesar Gómez (2008).

> The weedkiller [agrotoxin] is messed up because it messes with the farms, but we as a community are trained in using the transgenic seeds. That's why we have an expert, and we are always in contact with them and they tell us how to plant. The problem is that the experts need to agree on how best to continue the work. And, well, that's how it always happens. We are in agreement sometimes, and sometimes not. The experts have their own ideas about technologies, but we'll find a way.

It is important to note the influence that the experts from the state rural programs have over these decisions. To this group, they are the ones who must decide on the "possibility" or "impossibility" of using transgenic seeds. Thus, to many members of the UC the more "ecological" postures in the community can only be explained by the ignorance of some representatives (in particular, the Indigenous representatives of the IDACH) with regard to agricultural production and the peasants' problems. On this subject Sebastián declared, in an interview in 2012, "They want to lead but they don't care about the needs of the communities. They don't fight for the Indigenous cause. They earn their wages but they never come here, they don't know what work in the fields is like."

In contrast to the perspective of the UC, many other Qom in Pampa del Indio believe that the struggle of the Indigenous "peasants" should not be focused on ensuring access to the same technology that other producers in the region have. For example, some community members do not believe that it would be beneficial to use transgenic seeds for economic reasons and because they endanger the health of the inhabitants. According to Mariano,

> transgenic seeds aren't worth it, because they need a lot of treatment and are also bad for your health. We have to cultivate organic, non-transgenic seeds because otherwise we'll be needing more and more chemicals to maintain production. How much do we have to spend? Instead of cultivating healthy crops like before, we're going to end up in town. (Interview with Mariano, 2012)

In these cases, the struggle seeks to ensure that the people stay in the countryside, but through ecological agricultural production aimed at both self-consumption and sale on the market. Those who live closer to Don Panos are not interested in obtaining tools and prices for their

output but wish to create their own seed bank to ensure that they will not have to use transgenic seeds in the future.

The differences in criteria compared to the UC with regard to the form of agriculture that should be practiced presents a serious challenge, especially because of the UC's political weight. To Mariano, the decision of the UC to plant transgenic seeds has caused great damage to the community. The second time I interviewed him, at the health post where he works, he told me, "Now some brothers plant transgenic cotton, which sunk us. Before the maize starts to flower, the transgenics screw us. When your seeds flower, you're still screwed because of the bugs that come, one after another" (interview with Mariano, 2012). This assessment has led in great part to the efforts of the Qom being directed toward confronting Don Panos as well as achieving a new agreement among the organizations as to the objectives of the struggle. Mariano was very worried by the situation, and in an interview he gave in 2012 to a provincial radio station, he expressed his discontent: "Now what I'm asking the organizations is for them to support us, who have always lived at a disadvantage." This public call on a criollo radio station was a very important gesture given that disagreements between the organizations are not usually made public.

Although the UC believes that the struggle is against adverse incorporation into the model and ceasing to be "the bottom, the poorest of the poor" (2012), for the Qom who live closer to Don Panos, adverse incorporation can only be reverted if another kind of agriculture is practiced. In both cases, however, these positions represent a struggle aimed not at "avoiding the state" (Scott 2009) but at renegotiating more effectively and thus finding a way "to contest their very exclusion" (Walsh-Dilley 2013). Although to a great extent the post-neoliberal government had generated spaces of recognition, for the members of Campo Medina and Campo Nuevo this was insufficient to say the least. In the Parajes, the debate regarding the limits and challenges of institutional recognition was often focused on their content. In 2011, shortly after the Indigenous organizations had reached a partial agreement with the provincial government, they began to suffer the effects of the spraying again. In this context, Sebastián maintained that institutional recognition was a formal strategy that only served politicians and powerful businessmen. In his words:

> Before, the Indigenous communities, the Aboriginal peoples, were killed by weapons, but today the moment has come when they are

> dying from laws. Why? Because they're poor. Don Panos owns 40,000 hectares plus 20,000 hectares that it is exploiting. There's no forest left. The land is private. You go looking for firewood and they put you in prison, they shoot at you. The law was that we preexisted, that we are the Indigenous peoples. The state recognizes you but doesn't give you your rights. Your rights as a producer, to plant cotton, to have livestock. To be the owner of your land, that is our right. The Indigenous communities don't have any water. They suffer greatly. They don't have drinking water; they're drinking water from puddles. And what does Don Panos do? It makes channels on its 20,000 hectares. It rains every day on their farms. And what does the judiciary do? Nothing. The judiciary works in reverse. The poor complain and they're put in prison. (Interview with Sebastián, 2011)

In an interview in 2012, León, a Qom man in his early forties, told me, "We, the natives have no chance, they don't give us the right to work. Why don't they give us that possibility? They tell us that we're the owners. They call us autochthonous but don't give us a chance to work. It's painful but that's how it is. The Aboriginal people don't get a chance. To the contrary, they've reduced and reduced us until we're where we are today." The arguments presented by Sebastián and León, which are shared by many other members of the community, emphasize that it is not enough to simply recognize Indigenous peoples' cultural rights. The challenges of institutional recognition arise because enforcement of the law ultimately depends on the will of the authorities, but also because recognition authorizes a specific type of Indigenous life, which does not necessarily coincide with the desires of every group.

Because post-neoliberal policies of inclusion represent the Indigenous peoples as ahistorical actors, which creates a gap between the demands for resources and cultural demands and justifies the maintenance of economic and social differences. In Darío's words: "They want to calm things down with the historic reparation,* but the state shouldn't just pay salaries. That would only make us employees of the state. Ours is a society that cherishes natural resources and they refuse to hand over the land. Without land or resources, we have no future" (interview with

* Here, Darío is referring to policies recognizing the ethnic and cultural preexistence of Indigenous communities.

Darío, 2016). This new breach between recognition and maintenance of economic and social differences compared to other groups was also reflected in the words of Sergio and Esteban, both members of the Asociación Cacique Taigoyic. In an interview in 2016, Sergio said:

> What we're studying now is the social aid; we're not against it, but the government also has an obligation to do something at home so we can at least plant manioc, sweet potatoes, something else. Also, it's not enough: the electricity bill takes up at least half the social aid, that's the reality. (Interview with Sergio, 2016)

Similarly, Esteban claimed that

> the only help received by families is the Universal Allocation. We want to keep working but sometimes it's hard because we don't have tools. Many families from the countryside don't get seeds or animals. We know that the policy is different. We'd like to have more tools so that people can form their own seed pool. We're country people, we like to work. What we're seeing is that things keep getting more expensive and you never have enough money. (Interview with Esteban, 2016)

The Guardians of Nature: Resistance in the Ethno-Bureaucratic Space

To the members of the IDACH, in contrast, the struggle that began at the end of the 1990s was to "stop the businessmen's advance and protect the forests," as Mónica said in one of our conversations in 2010. She told me:

> We don't want them to keep planting transgenic soybeans because they do not just damage human beings but also the environment, so we want to stop it. We still have time to stop it, and we invite every social movement to support the idea of Indigenous peoples protecting the environment, not polluting, and preserving the water supply. Because difficult times are coming with regard to the water, the lack of water is beginning to be felt. This has been happening for years and we are experiencing that today. (Interview with Mónica, 2010)

To the IDACH representatives, the Qom struggle is a resistance to capitalist development and any form of mercantilization of nature. In this

narrative, which could be classified by paraphrasing Chandra (2013) as "subaltern simplification,"* the essence of the culture is transformed, the "hunter-gatherer" and "ecological" essence defines the group outside of history. This is why their statements usually refer to community life, vernacular language, and other images that satisfy the official standards of Indigenous life in Argentina, as well as the eco-Indigenous paradigm that exists internationally (Gordillo 1993; Albert 2004; Lazzari 2007; Steur 2011). Thus the resistance in this case "takes the form of offering one fully constituted, separate and distinct identity in place of another" (Grossberg 1996, 89), such as that of a criollo producer. On this issue, Orlando says:

> The Indigenous peoples are not expansive producers, we can't even talk in terms of being a producer. The Indigenous person has always been a part of nature, a guardian of nature. This is what Indigenous peoples have been historically. … So, the state cannot be above the historical ecological criteria of the Indigenous peoples, dictating norms that do away with all the ecosystem that we want to preserve for future generations, because today the environment is a fairly big issue internationally. We are really alarmed in some cases by what is happening in the world. (Interview with Orlando, 2010)

It is important to consider that these positions are shaped by the same "ethno-bureacratic" space in which they operate (Boccara and Bolados 2010) and that they thus reproduce an image of the Indigenous peoples that is politically functional for the state but is opposed to that of the parajes. Although, as we shall see, even in these cases Albert's affirmation applies: "the ethnicity emphasized can never be reduced to the ethnicity imposed" (2004, 229). In this regard, although the IDACH narrative reflects the rhetoric of official Indigeneity, it is also used to increase the margins for maneuver of these representatives. When the members of the IDACH state that they, as Indigenous peoples, are better trained

* The concept of "activist simplification" was coined by Chandra (2013) and refers to the creation of utopian collectives that serve to justify determined processes. Although the author developed this idea to explain situations in which activists who do not belong to the communities take up an essentialist discourse on Indigenous politics, I think it is applicable to situations such as those analyzed here, in which the stereotypical image is constructed by a sector of the same subaltern group.

to administer natural resources, what they are seeking is to divert and expand the Indigenous influence within the state, acting as a "consultancy" for Indigenous peoples, but they are not in favor of relinquishing power over them (Doane 2007).

The problem is that expanding the margins of power of state apparatus does not necessarily mean an advance for the struggles in the parajes. To most people in Campo Medina and Campo Nuevo, for example, the objective of the struggle is to gain access to the same benefits as criollo producers, but the IDACH would regard this as a significant risk. Specifically, speaking about the use of transgenic cotton seeds by the community, Mónica said, "I believe that the concept of wishing to include the Indigenous peoples in production, in economic progress at the same pace as society, will create large imbalances that cannot be allowed" (interview with Mónica, 2010).

From the position of an IDACH representative, in contrast to the prevailing view in the towns themselves, the challenges of post-neoliberal recognition are related almost exclusively to the gap between recognition and effective implementation of the law. In Mónica's words: "In a system like that, the issue of law doesn't matter to them. The law is there for us, but the letters are dead, meaningless, because sadly it's not applied, and we have to hold marches, draw up petitions, and do a lot of things when the law is already written. So we ask ourselves, what do we need to do to make them listen? I don't know" (2010).

FINAL THOUGHTS

It should now be clear that far from having a single perspective regarding processes of accumulation by dispossession, subaltern groups take a range of different positions, and each must be understood and analyzed on its own terms. The expansion of soybeans and enclosure carried out by the Don Panos company are perceived, experienced, and confronted in different ways by the Indigenous communities of Pampa del Indio. In addition, I have argued that these distinct positions are closely related to the varied readings of different groups of their past, the different ways in which they have experienced dispossession, the multiple positions of subalternity, and the different aspirations that arise in the specific context. All these elements shape, using the term coined by Nilsen and Cox (2013; see also Cox and Nilsen 2014), local rationalities.

In general terms I have suggested that in the case of the Qom there are two new political actors with different positions regarding accumulation by dispossession. On the one hand there is the "Indigenous peasant," and on the other there is the "Indigenous representative." Each of these positions, in legitimizing certain approaches, facilitates and constrains their related experiences (Grossberg 1996, 89).

In the towns of Pampa del Indio, the resistance of "Indigenous peasants" is carried out by Indigenous organizations whose demands center around the lack of state support for production, scarcity of water, unemployment, increasing pollution, and scarcity of land. The state's unresponsiveness over six consecutive years to the conflict with Don Panos, in a place where the state's presence had been very strong in the past, may explain why the complaints were lodged with the government rather than the company. For those who remembered the energetic state intervention under the "regime of developmental dispossession," the lack of state investment in small farmers while resources were assigned to strengthen large companies was seen as a major injustice and, most of all, as clear discrimination.

Of course, that position is also an area of dispute among the different sectors that live in the parajes. Not all those who see themselves and campaign as "Indigenous peasants" agree upon the right strategies to take, what the objectives of their campaign should be, or what kind of "development" they wish to achieve. In that regard, as the concept of positioning suggests, the shared interests by which a collective identity is developed should always be seen as provisional and subject to ongoing negotiation (Li 2000). Meanwhile, the "Indigenous representatives" who work within the remit of the state have focused their claims on obtaining greater autonomy principally through an ethno-ecological discourse. In this case, the struggle seeks to increase the margins for maneuver established by the state for "official Indigenous peoples." The position of the IDACH also serves to analyze how the simplifications, or the "indigenous slot," far from being a simple imposition by actors external to the communities, such as activists or experts from state programs, have also become a strategy for resistance reproduced by the subaltern groups (Li 2000).

Finally, by examining the distinct local rationalities of different Qom groups, I have not tried to establish which is the most "legitimate" or which posture is more "Indigenous." It is important to understand that although the communities are trying to resist a long history of dispos-

session, these struggles do not, or do not necessarily, challenge those relationships, approaches, or the dispossession itself.

This is why it is so crucial to analyze local rationalities and the meanings of dispossession in greater depth. We need to first ask how these processes are experienced and interpreted, why some communities resist, and why in others there does not appear to be any resistance at all.

5

Acquiescence on the Edge: The Case of the Moqoit People in Las Tolderías

In the previous chapter, I focused on the experiences of the Qom people in Pampa del Indio, trying to show that processes of accumulation by dispossession are perceived and resisted in different ways. This chapter, dedicated to the experience of the Moqoit* who live in Paraje Las Tolderías, turns from the analysis of resistance to a close examination of situations in which dispossession has not created contentious politics. The main objective here will be to investigate in greater detail how the lack of resistance of subaltern groups in these processes can be explained (Adnan 2013; Levien 2013a). Taking a similar focus to the previous chapter, I will argue that the acquiescence of the subaltern groups cannot be understood simply in terms of the nature of the process of dispossession—that is, due to their economic or extra-economic character—but that it is the result of historical, economic, political, and cultural processes that have molded the "local rationalities" (Nilsen 2010; Nilsen and Cox 2013). More specifically, I will argue that the acquiescence of the Mocoví to these processes is fundamentally related to patterns of historical settlement, the central role of salaried work as a mechanism of reproduction and intra-ethnic tensions.

This chapter starts by reconstructing the history of Paraje Las Tolderías and the main transformations generated by the advance of soybean production. The second section will focus on an analysis of the memories that the Moqoit interviewed chose to emphasize about previous regimes of dispossession. Like the previous chapter, the third section will analyze

* Throughout these pages I will use the terms *Moqoit*, *Mocoví*, and *Mocovíes* indistinctly to refer to the Indigenous population of Las Tolderías; as I noted in chapter 1, they are used interchangeably by the inhabitants themselves.

the link between these collective memories and perceptions of contemporary processes of dispossession. I am particularly interested in exploring how the "tactics of concealment" employed by the Mocoví and the role this group played as salaried workers in the socioeconomic structure of the cotton period have contributed to shaping their perceptions and positions with regard to soybean expansion (Citro 2006, 2010). The fourth and final section will explore the influence of intra-ethnic tensions in the positions adopted by this group. Here I return to analyses that argue that to understand the actions of subaltern groups, we must consider not only their relationships with the dominant groups but also the power relationships that exist within the dominated groups themselves (Ortner 1995; Gal 1995). Considering this new political dimension taken by the subaltern groups will allow for a better understanding of the various links that exist between new rural dynamics and different kinds of agency (Brosius 1997).

A LONG JOURNEY

The history of this paraje began in 1911, when a group of Mocovíes led by Cacique Pedro José Nolasco Mendoza was forced to migrate from the province of Santa Fe as a consequence of the expansion of the state's line of forts (see chapter 3). In 1913 Coronel Rostagno, who was in charge of this military campaign, reported that he had achieved the pacification of "the 1000 Mocoví from Pedro José" who "asked for schools in addition to land" (Beck 1994, 71). From then until the start of the 1920s, the group led by Pedro José attempted to settle in several different locations, including Quimilí, in the province of Santiago de Estero, and Quitilipí and Villa Angela in the province of Chaco.

Around 1922 the community reportedly split into two, one group settling in Colonia El Pastoril and the other in Pampa el Cielo (López 2009). This latter group founded Paraje Las Tolderías, currently the oldest Moqoit settlement in the province.

As the families interviewed recalled, shortly after settling in Pampa del Cielo, ninety kilometers from their current settlement, they were forced to relocate. In an interview in 2012, Miguel, a man around seventy-five years old, told me:

> They [our ancestors] say: because nothing has been written down, this is what one hears or what they say at meetings. They say that, before, they walked from Santa Fe because it was all ours, all desert. And later they turned around. The journey took months. They hunted and explored, surveying the territory. When they found a big lake, they rested and then came back. But then, when the south started to get populated, there was no return. They came running back. They started to move like that, seeking out a path where they would be left alone, but there was nowhere that was true, and they had to move everywhere because they were persecuted a lot. Our grandparents came from Santa Fe. Fifteen hundred came in a single group to where the meteorite* is and they stayed there. Their land was ten thousand hectares. That was where the Aborigines settled and rested. Then an officer came to see Cacique Pedro José, the father of Cacique Catán, and said, "This place isn't good for you. People from the south are coming to look for land. They'll use this land for firewood and you'll die of cold." Of course, because they wanted to give that land to people from overseas. Pampa del Cielo all belonged to Aborigines, but the Aborigines had to be sent into the bush. There were Aborigines everywhere, in Charata, las Breñas, but wherever they were, they were driven out and their land was farmed. (Interview with Miguel, 2012)**

In 1924, after being evicted from Pampa del Cielo, the Moqoit settled in their present paraje. Las Tolderías was located inside the General

---

* Campo del Cielo is a region situated between two provinces, Santiago de Estero and Chaco. It contains twenty craters formed by the break-up of a meteorite that hit the area approximately four thousand years ago (Cassidy and Renard 1996). According to several studies, in the Mocoví culture, the place is regarded as an important source of power, luck, and wealth (Giménez et al. 2003; López 2009; Zugasti 2014).

** Miguel's account serves as an introduction to this new case study in which, as we shall see over the following pages, the differences between "them" and "us" are often diluted and hegemonic narratives are constantly mixed with alternative accounts. It is interesting to observe how in this description the idea of the "desert" appears associated with the time when Indigenous peoples ruled the territory, while the "settlement" is associated with the increasing presence of foreigners and criollos, as in the national hegemonic discourse. By the same token, it is worth noting that "the bush" does not appear as a place where Indigenous peoples belonged, but as a place that the dominant society wished to impose upon them.

Necochea Agricultural Settlement, which was created by a decree of President Yrigoyen signed in June 1921. The accounts I gathered in my fieldwork state that many families had no fixed place to live or lived as agregados (additions) to other people's land. As José, about sixty years old, described it, the Moqoit "had no communities like our brothers the Qom and the Wichís, who got large swathes of land. We were spread out across the colony, in the places left unoccupied" (interview with José, 2012). Currently, Paraje Las Tolderías is also known as Colonia Cacique Catán, in homage to the man who is considered the last of the great Mocoví caciques.

The state's recognition of this cacique, the son of Pedro Nolasco, is commemorated by a sign located at the entrance to the paraje, which states his place of origin (Santa Fe Province) and the date he arrived at the colony. In some ways the sign functions as a reminder that "they came to a territory that was already occupied," thus constituting a material expression of the power relations governing the space (Roseberry 1994). The region where the community was located was one of the main cotton-producing centers of Chaco and, in contrast to the Pampa del Indio area, which was dominated by large estates, the Moqoit settling there found themselves surrounded by small and midsized producers. This early experience of living in the same area as immigrants and criollos and the kinds of interethnic relations that became established is exemplified by a family tale told by Antonio Mocoví, an IDACH representative of the Moqoit ethnicity who was born in Las Tolderías:

> I'll tell you something: my grandfather told me that when we came with the group of fifteen hundred Indians from Santa Fe to Chaco, we came as a group and then the carts of the gringos arrived. A caravan of gringos came after the Indigenous peoples, accompanying the caravan. So they came to Chaco and settled in Pampa del Cielo, throughout the Charata area. If a war arose during that period, the gringos were there, behind the Indigenous peoples, to fight against the army. It was the army that trapped people, that sought out Indigenous peoples to kill them.* (Interview with Antonio, 2012)

* As can be seen, this account of the colonization differs markedly from the memories presented in the previous chapter in which the Qom remembered

Given that the Indigenous peoples' access to free land was very much reduced, work as day laborers and harvesters in the fields of the colonists became, until the late 1970s, the main source of livelihood for Mocoví families. These activities were complemented by farming for personal consumption (mainly squash, manioc, sweet potato) and the marisca they were allowed to carry out on the colonists' land.

The 1980s would bring major changes for the Mocoví in Las Tolderías.* First, although the paraje had been founded in the 1920s, the Mocoví only received provisional deeds to their land in 1984. Ownership of the parcels of land, which varied between twenty and twenty-five hectares,** was obtained from the D.Ch.A., which was run by criollo officials. Among them was Carlos Benedetto, whom many of the people interviewed referred to as "the father of the Aborigines," the person "who helped us to exist as Indigenous peoples" (see chapter 3). According to these accounts, immediately after obtaining the titles to the land, the Mocoví started to receive tools and funds for production. In the words of Narciso, a Moqoit man who was around sixty years old at the time we met: "Help came because they now knew the people had fixed places and so help began to flow. Everyone now had their own little parcel, so the next step was to help them. After a while the house came, too, because they knew that we were the owners" (2012).

The "help" referred to by Narciso was a rural development project run jointly by the Inter-American Foundation (IAF)*** and the Department of the Chaqueñan Aborigine. The work of the IAF in Chaco had begun in 1981 when, together with the D.Ch.A., they started the process of selection of the Indigenous communities. After the selection process, which lasted several years, five communities were chosen, including Las Tolderías. The agreement established a five-year period in which the IAF

---

that after the death of Cacique Taigoyic, "strange people came from everywhere looking for land. Nobody knew where they came from."

* In addition to the changes summarized here, it should be noted that Francisco Nolasco Mendoza, known as "Cacique Catán," died on December 7, 1974.

** Currently the Moqoit occupy an area of approximately 2,300 hectares (*Dirección de Bosques de la Provincia de Chaco* 2013).

*** "The Inter-American Foundation is an independent US government agency created in 1969 to channel aid for development directly to the poorest organized groups in Latin America and the Caribbean." For further information, see http://www.iaf.gov/index.aspx.

would grant the necessary funds to clear land and help expand existing crops (Bray 1989). According to the requirements of the agreement, in order for the funds to be transferred, the Moqoit created the *Asociación Comunitaria Colonia Las Tolderías*, which was one of the first Indigenous organizations in Chaco with legal personhood. The association was directed by different members of the community and included some members of mixed families, such as Ángel, a man who is about sixty-five, the son of a Spanish father and Moqoit mother, who is married to a criollo woman; and Roberto, a criollo man of approximately the same age who is married to a Moqoit woman. The association had to coordinate the use of machinery and jointly organize the sale of the produce. However, shortly after the project began, various conflicts started to arise that eventually led to the division of the community and the formation of two neighborhoods: Santa Rosa and San Lorenzo.

No One Lives in the Fields Anymore?: Soybean Dispossession and Labor Migration in Las Tolderías

Between the late 1990s and early 2000s, soybeans rapidly expanded across the southwest of Chaco. The Department of Chacabuco and 9 de Julio, where Las Tolderías is located, soon came third on the provincial list of departments planted with the most soybeans because of the suitability of its soils.

In contrast with Pampa del Indio, where soybeans were cultivated by a large agricultural establishment (Don Panos), here the crop was planted by midsized producers from other provinces who initially rented and then progressively purchased fields belonging to criollo families. The average size of these plots is between a hundred and fifty and three hundred hectares, with only one as large as five hundred hectares. The new producers are unfamiliar to people in the area. While the previous settlers, as we shall see in the accounts, were known by their surnames, the new producers are described as "rich men," "capitalists," and "millionaires," and have essentially anonymous identities. The only contact between Moqoit families and the soybean producers occurs through the "managers" or employees who occasionally come to spray, plant, and harvest in each field.

The departure of the criollo settlers and introduction of soybeans, similarly to Pampa del Indio, has generated major changes in the rural dynamics of the area. As I mentioned previously, the expansion of

soybean cultivation represents a "profound rupture between the land and work" due to the highly technological production methods (Li 2010b; Hall 2011). In this case, as well, the scarce demand for labor has forced the Mocoví to go further afield in search of work. Due to the increased distances involved, waged labor and farming for personal consumption have ceased to be complementary activities. Faced with the choice between producing or migrating in search of a salary, the vast majority of community members have chosen the latter option. On only one occasion, in 2009, has the Asociación Comunitaria Colonia Las Tolderías tried to encourage production through an agreement with El Tejar S.A.,* a sowing pool located in the Charata area. This agreement, which lasted a year, involved the company giving the members of the association cotton seeds and diesel, helping them prepare their fields for sowing and giving twice-monthly training talks on the supposed advantages of the direct-sowing method compared to traditional methods. According to those interviewed, although the sale of the cotton crop was run by the association, the small size of the fields and thus their production made the project unprofitable, and it was abandoned the following year.

After this experience, in addition to migrating temporarily in search of work, some Moqoit have decided to rent out their lots or just "give them to someone who can work them." Generally, they receive a percentage of the sales of production in payment for the use of the land. Although the percentage they receive is usually minuscule, they said they rent it out because "if we leave it unworked, the roots will take again, and it'll be twice the work because we'll have to clear the trees out again. So we give it to someone else to work it. Sometimes they give us something. When they sell, half a hectare is for us. That's our payment" (interview with Narciso, 2012).

Not only are the conditions under which they rent their plot disadvantageous, because they currently constitute "a surplus labor population"; the terms they are forced to accept to obtain work are similarly adverse (Araghi 2009; Li 2010b; Hall 2011). Almost all those interviewed said that when they migrate, they are often scammed by the contractors through

* This agreement was arranged by El Tejar's Community Outreach unit as part of the Sembrando Raíces project. The contact between the company and the Association was facilitated by the president of the Association's cousin, who was a company employee at the time (interview with a representative of El Tejar S.A. 2011).

whom they get their jobs. However, as we will see in Ángel's account, even though they are regularly deceived, they go on accepting the deals offered because they believe it is the only option.

> There have been cases of people coming back because they've been promised one thing and told another when they got there. But it's not the boss, it's the contractor in the middle. The guy will arrange five hundred dollars per hectare, for example, but when you get there it turns out to be two hundred dollars rather than five hundred, so. … Some have walked almost a hundred kilometers, hitchhiking. Also, they [contractors] give them sheets of black plastic and say: "Make yourself a shelter, get in it," or otherwise it's warehouses because Aborigines can adapt to anything. What can we do? There's no other option, at least they get some money. (Interview with Ángel, 2010)

Furthermore, as in the case of the Qom, the advance of soybean cultivation in the region made it increasingly difficult to practice marisca. This is fundamentally due to the fact that the new owners in the fields have forbidden entry onto the land, and increased deforestation and spraying. On this subject, Fernando, who lives in San Lorenzo, said:

> There used to be a lot more bush, and the producers, who we knew, let us come onto their land to look for animals. We're talking about brocket deer, iguanas, armadillos, that kind of thing, just animals. We liked them a lot. And algarrobo trees because they were much healthier, more natural. But then came the superpower from outside, buying land, planting soybeans, and spraying. Now the bush is gone. We make do to a degree [by] keeping bees and selling honey, but when a hundred to five hundred hectares of bush is cleared by a bulldozer, the bees get lost and the honey goes. Before, we took honey from the natural bush and we sold it. (Interview with Fernando, 2012)

Like Pampa del Indio, the expansion of soybean cultivation in this region has resulted in growing unemployment and increasing difficulties for home farming and the marisca practice. However, as of the time of this writing, Las Tolderías has not seen any mass mobilizations, nor has any other kind of protest been organized. We must then ask ourselves:

what factors explain the different positions of ostensibly similar communities toward similar processes?

SOYBEAN DISPOSSESSION SEEN THROUGH THE PRISM OF LOCAL RATIONALITIES

As I suggested in chapter 2, there is a general tendency in studies of accumulation by dispossession to assume a unanimous reaction from Indigenous communities to the expansion of agribusiness both in terms of their stance regarding it and the action taken. It is not just assumed that different communities will resist the same aspects of processes of dispossession but also that said resistance is the only possible response. Some authors see the inevitability of confrontation as being founded in the extra-economic nature of contemporary processes of dispossession. Parting from this premise, they have stated that, since for subaltern and dominant groups dispossession occurs just once, class compromise and subsequent conformity of subaltern groups is not very likely or necessary. Levien, for example, writes: "as the common minimum denominator of dispossession, (non) compliance is a better starting point. At the rock bottom, regimes of dispossession need not produce consent, enduring political allegiance, or transformations in the subjectivities of the dispossessed" (2013c, 23). And although these viewpoints do not ignore momentary acts of compliance, they explain them almost exclusively as being the result of policies implemented by the state or other dominant actors when the dispossession occurred (Lapegna 2016).

The problem with this approach to processes of accumulation by dispossession is "somewhat ironic" as Hall would say, because "one of the great strengths of the primitive accumulation framework is its analysis of the centuries-long process by which capitalism has become truly global, but the framework can simultaneously encourage us to ignore the effects of that history of capitalist expansion on the places where land grabs are now taking place" (2013, 1597). In other words, these processes do not occur in a vacuum, so to understand them one must analyze how the places and also the actors have changed over the course of history. And that is why it is necessary to analyze the alliances or configurations of forces that have formed prior to and during those processes, because this allows us to consider the ways in which collective memories and perceptions have been molded and subaltern positions have been constructed

(Roseberry 1994; Gordillo 2006; Sikor 2012). Considering that these latter factors are central to the positions taken by subaltern groups in relation to these processes of accumulation by dispossession, I will return once more to the analysis of "local rationalities," but this time to try to understand why dispossession also on occasion meets little resistance (Nilsen 2010; Nilsen and Cox 2013; Hart 2006). We shall begin by considering the memories of the Mocoví of previous regimes of dispossession and then move on to analysis of their perceptions of the expansion of soybeans and their aspirations in the post-neoliberal context.

Between Oblivion and Memory: Family Accounts of the Era of the Ancients

In contrast to the Qom in Pampa del Indio, in my encounters with the Mocoví, accounts of their history prior to the settlement in the colony were very short and generalized. On many occasions, interviewees stated that they had little interest in or curiosity about the history of their ancestors. For example, during a conversation with Marcelo, who lives in the Santa Rosa community, he said:

> When we were younger, we didn't pay attention to our grandparents. They came from Santa Fe. When my grandmother died, I was fifteen, but I never asked how they got here, where they stopped first, what they ate, how they lived, how difficult it was for them to walk here from Santa Fe, from San Javier. We were very negligent about the subject; we didn't pay attention. I listened to what my grandmother said but I didn't realize how valuable it would be today. The culture got lost, not many people speak the language. They speak it a little more over there in San Lorenzo, but not here. Only the old people speak it, and there aren't many of them left. (Interview with Marcelo, 2012)

Marcelo's words, as he recalls without remembering (he remembers that the group walked from San Javier, that they had to stop on their first journey, and that he listened to what his grandmother said), allow us an initial glimpse of the process of silencing that occurred within the community due to the "lack of value" they assigned Indigenous culture at the time.

Notably, in spite of the differences that often arise between inhabitants of both neighborhoods, accounts similar to that of Marcelo also appear in the San Lorenzo community. For example, when I asked Mariana about the history of her grandparents, she answered: "I don't know, because I'm younger and never asked about their history. So I have no idea. My dad didn't tell me anything about them because he says he feels pity when he thinks about it. Because we were poorer before. We didn't have any food or clothes. He tells us about the times when he was working, but he doesn't say much about poverty" (interview with Mariana, 2012).

Mariana's account is interesting because once more it is her supposed disinterest that is presented as the main cause of her lack of knowledge about the past but then it immediately gives way to another reason: her father's refusal to tell the story. Now it is the sadness of these memories linked to an image of poverty and lack of possessions that becomes the principal cause of the silence. In this and other cases, the image of poverty was expressed through phrases describing the lack of certain goods, which seem to function as "symbols of civilization" (Gordillo 2006). It is common to hear that, before, "there weren't any shirts," "there were no clothes," "there were no coffins in which to bury the dead," "there was nothing, we were poor, poor" (interview with Mariana, 2012).

This emphasis on poverty and the scarcity of goods was associated in many cases with the lack of work. Narciso said during one of our meetings: "We didn't know work. All the wealth we have now, land, plows, horses, we didn't have before. We went hungry. Before, we couldn't get things, because what Indigenous person has money? There wasn't any work. Only when there was work did people start farming" (2012). As can be seen, just as was the case with the Qom, marisca is not conceived of in terms of "work" here, either, the latter generally being more valued (Gordillo 2002, 2006; Wright 2008). However, in the case of the Mocoví, "work" refers mainly to their status as rural laborers rather than producers.

The fact that the majority of those interviewed recalled the lack of possessions owned by their ancestors does not mean that they do not also emphasize positive aspects of their past. Of these, the longevity of their ancestors was one of the most often repeated comments. As other scholars have noted (Gordillo 2006; López 2007), the longevity and strength of "the ancients" is usually associated with the food they obtained from the bush and the purity of the environment. For example, Francisco, Miguel's

brother, an inhabitant of the Santa Rosa neighborhood, remembered: "I could eat thistles in the bush. We took the white part on the bottom and roasted it on the fire. We ate healthy foods, which is why the grandfathers lived one hundred, one hundred and five years" (interview with Francisco, 2012).

However, during our conversations, these positive aspects were quickly made relative. For example, on that occasion, immediately after Francisco's comment, Miguel said:

> Before, there was more honey, camachui, chiguana, we kept the skins, our syrup was made from bee honey and herbs. … But the thing is that the bush was inside [the criollo land] and the bees died after the spraying. The birds and species died from the poison. For example, you don't see carquejas anymore, and so things that were medicines for the community disappeared. But before, it was more difficult because Indians were Indians. (Interview with Miguel, 2012)

Miguel's words show once more the tension between the memories of the past and the perception of the present. It is interesting to note that his description, in contrast to the memories of poverty mentioned earlier, offers a picture of abundance. This shows again that the collective memories of scarcity in the past are linked to certain goods that in the current context are particularly valued. And this point is relevant because it reveals that, like the contrast between marisca and work, hegemonic values partially mold the collective memories and perceptions of the subaltern groups (Gordillo 2006; Wright 2008).

"They Decided to Change": Moqoit Memories of the Cotton Period

In the majority of accounts, the period that began with the migration from Santa Fe before the foundation of the settlement functions as a watershed between the "Ancient Mocoví" and the "New Mocoví." Rodolfo, in one of our conversations, described the foundation of the paraje in the following way: "When they were in Santa Fe, our grandparents didn't work, they were very poor. They didn't have anything to plow the land or any of that. And then when they came here, they decided to change" (2012). The "change" mentioned by Rodolfo does not just refer to the start of waged labor as a means of reproduction; it also refers to the assimilation of a

wider range of criollo cultural practices. The persecution they suffered, their status as "forced migrants" for over twenty years, the scarcity of free land, and the subsequent need to take paid work resulted in the repression of their cultural traits (López 2009). However, the assimilation to the criollo way of life, far from being seen as an imposition by a dominant society, is usually interpreted as something undertaken willingly by members of the community. As Rodolfo said, "they decided to change." In accordance with this vision, some authors have seen this process as "tactics of concealment," or "ways in which the Mocovíes tried to redirect the situation of domination, taking advantage of the opportunities available in the circumstances" (Citro 2006, 159; see also Citro 2010; López 2009). In fact, these tactics constituted a central element in the policies of the caciques. This can be seen both in the request for "land and schools" issued by Pedro José Nolasco Mendoza and the policy of his successor Cacique Catán. As Antonio remembered:

> The ideology of Cacique Catán showed us that we had to learn Spanish well, without losing our own language, because learning Spanish would help us in the future as a tool with which to fight. I go around Chaco Province as an Indigenous leader and I see some communities that aren't able to speak Spanish, to express themselves, and make their own claims. They don't have it. I've seen that a lot. So it's true what Cacique Catán said, that we had to learn Spanish to be able to fight as equals. For me, for example, knowing Spanish well helps me to express myself, to present my claims. I think that the Mocoví community was inserted deeper into white society, and in some ways, it allowed us to make advances in many aspects. Because of the Mocoví cohabitation with the whites, I think that the community is closer to the criollos. … In contrast, there are other communities who are frustrated because they don't want to be a part of the white world. I still say that we shouldn't abandon our identity. To the contrary, I feel much happier thanks to the knowledge that we have. But one learns a lot from the relationship with society. So I feel happy because the Mocoví people are very willing to work, to progress, in spite of the differences with other communities, we're struggling hard. (Interview with Antonio, 2012)

The "new Mocoví" are characterized by the early adoption of Spanish and the incorporation of many other criollo cultural practices, such as

a taste for certain kinds of music and dances (Citro 2006, 2010; López 2009).* It is important to note that although the adoption of these practices can be seen as a resistance tactic, this does not mean that it is a mere "dramatization of power relationships" that leaves the actors and their culture unaltered (Scott 1992). To the contrary, what I am trying to make clear is that over time these tactics also molded the communities themselves, which appropriated new values and practices, often giving them new meanings (Citro 2006; Domínguez et al. 2006). As Antonio said, "converting" was not "abandoning their identity" but it was precisely this "movement of tension, this oscillation that incorporates what it negates" that came to define the contemporary Mocoví community (Gordillo 2014, 35).** By the same token, as we discussed the origins of the paraje, Rodolfo commented:

> Mostly the Indigenous communities at Las Tolderías; the people, the brothers, worked on farms, they were rural laborers. We grew up there, we grew up in this environment of farmers. And today, for example, our young people run the modern machinery that the *gringos*—we call them that with all due respect—have. And we are in that environment, we know and live with the farmers, because our people were born like that. (Interview with Rodolfo, 2012)

The settlement in the colony and the "start of the new era" coincides with the prelude to the cotton cycle. This period, in the majority of the interviews, was remembered as an era of happiness and abundance when there "was more life and activity." The collective memories of happiness are closely associated with the family unit. Almost all the Mocoví I interviewed stated that in that era the family stayed together, in clear contrast to the present situation in which the men migrate to other provinces in search of work while the women stay at the paraje.*** For example,

---

* In my interviews, many people remembered that their parents and grandparents liked to dance *chamamé* and *tango*.

** Although, as we saw in the previous chapter, the Qom also adopted certain criollo practices and values, the process only occurred in the mid-1940s. It is just as important to remember that the Qom community in question maintained their language and control of a much larger territory (see Citro 2010, chapter 5).

*** It is notable that almost all the women interviewed missed the harvest because they said that they worked on it as "equals with the men." In addition,

Sebastián, a member of Santa Rosa's community, remembered the era as follows: "Cotton meant something special before today. Cotton motivated the family. It's what kept the family happy. During harvest time, the father, the son, and the grandson and everyone would join in the harvest, and it was money that came in every weekend. It was a *sueldito* [small salary]. At its best, it was a party" (2012).

The exuberance that typifies memories of the cotton period provides a marked contrast to the prior austerity. In almost all accounts the wages that were obtained from working on the cotton harvest were a central factor contributing to the sense of well-being during this period. That money made it possible to survive during periods of crisis, but it also allowed Moqoit people access to certain goods and environments such as dances and bars, where they came into closer contact with the criollo community (López 2009). However, some aspects of these changes were also heavily criticized mainly by residents of San Lorenzo. This is the case with Juana, for example, who remembered: "Before, people started the harvest in February and the cotton harvest lasted until July. We had a period in which money could be made, to save for the times when we didn't have anything. That money was enough for goods. Then people who took care of themselves had enough. Some, however, were a lost cause. They went to the bar and stayed there for three nights" (interview with Juana, 2012).

In addition to the salary, the prosperity of these years is often associated with the "help" that the patrons, the criollo colonists, gave them. For example, when I was talking about those years with Fernando, he said:

> At first you don't have anything. To get what you want, you have to work. I was raised like my mother, as a harvester. Labor for cotton. Before, it was easier for us to live, because with a proper little job, you could survive and earn what our work was due in a dignified manner. And it was also a little because we never gave up on the food from the bush. I mean the fruits and what we got from the algarrobo, the menthol and other things, the animals for meat. That helped us a lot because there was a lot of bush, and the producers, who knew us,

almost all of them noted with pride that they were "pretty lovely picking cotton" and mentioned how many kilos they could gather in a single day (interviews 2010–2012).

> allowed us to go onto their lots to hunt the animals. (Interview with Fernando, 2012)

This "help" was not limited to the opportunity to mariscar on the property of the colonists; they also received loans or donations of different objects and supplies. This can be seen in the following account of Pedro, who is more than a hundred years old and survived the massacre of Napalpí (see chapter 3):

> I got here in the 1920s or 1930s. Other people were here. They're not anymore, we're new. I think I came in 1925. Before, people were naked. I went around in rags. I didn't have anything. When they saw me, some of the settlers gave me shirts and old jackets. I had a lot of gringo friends. I worked with them a lot. I worked a lot on a monthly basis. There used to be a lot of work, a lot. But there isn't anymore. People bought [hired] me to plow the fields in the settlement. I had a lot of friends. Then Fernández, a settler from Santiago, helped me in the large field close to the school. He helped me with a hectare, it was pure bush. He came and asked me and I said that I didn't have anything, not a plow, or horses, nothing. "Then we'll help you with the tractor," he said. He helped me. I had a few hectares of cotton. And when the cotton came, I sold it in Mesón and earned money. A lot of money! And I asked how much they charged for the tractor and they said, "No, no, no, we won't charge. We just wanted to help." They told me that I should buy horses with the money. And I bought two mules. I bought them from someone on the other side of the road, over there. They were settlers too. He sold me two mules with muzzles, reins and bits. I finished the harvest and they helped me again. (Interview with Pedro, 2012)*

As Pedro's account shows, in Las Tolderías wage labor was not just a complement to production; on the contrary, it was this work that allowed the Mocoví to get the "help" they needed to practice agriculture on their own lots. Production for home consumption was a "reward," a consequence of

---

* Pedro shared his memories in the Moqoit language and one of his grandchildren translated them into Spanish simultaneously. He passed away in 2013 at the age of 106.

paid work rather than an alternative to it. This relationship between work and production was also noted by Richard Reed, an American anthropologist hired by the IAF to evaluate the communities who would participate in the development program mentioned at the beginning of this chapter. In his report, Reed (1984, in Bray 1989) states that Indigenous peoples "accept [the help] as a natural aspect of the economy, instead of a hiatus in the oppression they suffer. … They accept the assistance and feel grateful. However, instead of seeing it as an opportunity to get out of the cycle of salaried work, they get accustomed to waiting for more help to come" (19).

Without succumbing to Reed's patronizing perspective, what I am interested in emphasizing here is that, in contrast to Pampa del Indio, in Las Tolderías commercial production has not become an alternative to paid labor, and the "help" comes mainly from the personal relationships the Mocoví establish with the colonists, rather than ties to the state apparatus. These differences are important in understanding why dispossession is perceived differently and why it has led to different positions and actions.

Before moving on to the next section, which focuses on perceptions of soybean expansion, I would like to emphasize that even when descriptions of the cotton period often emphasize its prosperity, the toil and suffering the Mocoví went through at that time is also acknowledged. It is important to make clear that both young people and adults also remember the long working days. Mariana, for example, says the following:

> Cotton was important, but when it was hot the harvesters suffered. I know because I harvested. The boss picked us up at four in the morning and we started at five, quarter past five. We put up with thirst and hunger. We brought a piece of torta [fried bread] with us. And we started again in the afternoon. We ate, rested a while, and continued all afternoon. We came back about seven in the evening, weighed the harvest on the scale, and then the boss paid you. I didn't like to harvest, but it was important. (Interview with Mariana, 2012)

"PROGRESS ATE US UP": NATURALIZING SOYBEAN DISPOSSESSION

During my visits to Las Tolderías, discussing the changes that have occurred due to the expansion of soybean production in the region, the

"depeasantization" (Araghi 1995) caused by the debt that the settlers incurred and the subsequent crisis of cotton cooperatives was usually the main topic of conversation. One afternoon, I talked to José, who lives in the area known as Santa Rosa, about these issues. He explained:

> There's a problem. What's happening is that the small settlers who harvested with the help of extra labor sold everything to the large settlers. The small settlers who were our employers have now left because they got into debt or something and because bigger ones came and bought everything. Today the owners of the fields aren't in the fields either. No one lives in the fields anymore. The only person in the field is the manager, and the owners are the big settlers. (Interview with José, 2012)

Narciso and Fernando used very similar terms in describing the changes that have taken place over the last decade. "Before, we had neighbors. There was one called Mansilla, he was criollo, a poor santiagueño* like us. He had to sell, and then the cordobés** man came and bought everything and left the countryside. Many had to sell their lots. Now the cordobés has bought everything and made his own fields" (interview with Narciso, 2012). "People sold their fields, they left. The ones planting now are cordobeses, and when they plant, they use their cure [agrochemicals]. How can we defend ourselves if they're the owners?" (interview with Fernando, 2012).

Fernando's question expresses the sense of inevitability that characterizes almost all the accounts of this period, which constitutes a key element in understanding the lack of mobilization in the community. As Scott has argued, "resignation to what seems inevitable is not the same as according it legitimacy, although it may serve just as efficiently to produce daily compliance. A certain tone of resignation is entirely likely in the face of a situation that cannot, in the short run, be materially altered" (1985, 324). In this regard, although on certain occasions the process was criticized, it was not challenged. Although the majority of those interviewed criticized the current poor working conditions, none saw a real alternative. Narciso, for example, said: "The difference is that now the colonists seem to have

---

* Someone born in Santiago del Estero Province.

** Someone born in Córdoba Province.

a 'free-rider mentality,' maybe trying to get people to work in return for goods. The times have changed. It's not like before, when the workers arrived, came to an agreement, and got paid. Now it's something else. Not like before. Before, when Saturday came, they used to make arrangements and people would get paid" (interview with Narciso, 2012).

In general terms the neoliberal restructuring and new agricultural model for the Mocovíes meant above all the loss of their previous employers and the whole set of relationships associated with them. To some degree the fact that criollo colonists were the first to be affected means that the process and its consequences are perceived by the Mocovíes as being beyond their power to change. As Ángel said: "You saw that today you can't farm like before. Today it's more to do with agrochemicals. Progress ate us up as it went along" (2012).

Just as important is the fact that the consequences are seen as something that does not just affect them. For example, with regard to the unemployment, the majority said that criollos are suffering just as much. José made the following observation: "The other sad thing for us is that every fortnight, trucks arrive full of people and other groups leave. Poor Indigenous peoples and criollos have to travel for ten hours to Santiago. Around Santiago, they're clearing forest to an incredible extent" (interview ith José, 2012).

For the Moqoit, the unemployment and poverty that exist nowadays do not seem to make a distinction between criollos and Indigenous people. In this sense, Colonia Cacique Catán is seen as a zone in which everyone has been sacrificed for progress. Given that the latter is perceived as something impossible to stop, for the Moqoit dialogue is the main, if not the only, tool they have to try to reduce its most harmful effects.

"Things Get Sorted Out by Talking": Soybean Expansion and Agrochemical Exposure

In addition to unemployment, the expansion of soybeans has caused major changes in the environment. As in other cases the increased crop-spraying and deforestation that come with this form of production created new problems and challenges for the community. Marcelo was the first to note that the spraying had affected his animals on several occasions:

> The poisons hurt you because now everyone is spraying by plane and it comes with the water. Two months ago, they killed two or three plants with the poison. Last year they killed six plants. The animals eat the plants and they die. Because it's all poisoned. But now when they "cure" [spray] the crops, they let us know, and then people take precautions, tie up the animals. They all come with respect. (Interview with Marcelo, 2010)

Similarly, one day when I was talking to Rodolfo about the spraying, he said: "Now there are soybeans and sunflowers in the fields. Sometimes when the wind comes from the south, we have problems. It affects the garden and my health. But, well, I protect what's mine so it won't be affected, because this is what I live on. The manager always comes by to ask how we are. Things get sorted out by talking" (2012). Other members of San Lorenzo said that the spraying had contaminated the well they use for drinking water, but like the other accounts, they emphasized that "the manager always warns the families before spraying that they need to get enough water to last the month. So we do" (interview with Fernando, 2010).

What all these accounts seem to have in common is the fact that, in contrast to Pampa del Indio where the Qom stated that the company and state had ignored their complaints, the Moqoit appear to continue to see the producers as "good neighbors." So, the consequences of the fumigations were seen as "accidents caused by working people" and thus weren't a motive for confrontation. As Mariana said: "You can't say 'Hey! I'm going to report you because you're using planes.' That's their job. They do their job and also take care of the paisanos.* Because we're very small and depend on them" (2010).

In spite of the differences that I have thus far highlighted with the previous case study, it is interesting to observe that in both places many people believed that they did not have the necessary knowledge to judge the problems related to environmental degradation. Ángel, for example, said the following:

---

* The use of the generic term *paisano* to describe Indigenous populations, instead of more precise ethnic markers, is closely related to the state's policies of assimilation and also, as we have seen in this chapter, with tactics of invisibilization used by the Indigenous peoples themselves (Wright 2001; Lazzari 2003; Citro 2006, 2010).

> The planes flew and flew, above our house, spraying. They're close by and around and we never noticed. The elder paisanos said, "They're poisoning us from the air," but people didn't understand because it was a paisano saying it. Also, you heard technicians on the TV saying that they didn't cause deformations or anything like that, that it was a lie. … Over the years, maybe, you become more aware that it was a bad thing. As Las Tolderías is surrounded by people who do a lot of farming, it might be that we started to see poor results, the consequences. (Interview with Ángel, 2010)

Antonio had a similar opinion:

> We all know all about agrochemical products and what happens or gets ruined in the fields, and it upsets us a lot. Because sometimes it rains, for example, and the water runs and our children go out to play, like we did when we were children, and [then] they get sick. But until now we hadn't noticed the pollution. I know that a lot has been said about the damage to the environment, by glyphosate, for example, RoundUp, other agrochemicals. Charata, for example, is a very productive community, with a very strong agricultural industry, and we still live in that environment. But I don't know for sure whether it affected the environment or our people's health. (Interview with Antonio, 2012)

This technocratization of knowledge reinforced the naturalization of the situation, making protests even more unlikely. As Li says, "questions that are rendered technical are simultaneously rendered non-political" (2007, 7). This was made clear one afternoon when, in discussion with Fernando about whether it was possible for Moqoit people to join other groups in the province to denounce the spraying, he said: "Yes, we could, but until now we haven't because the results aren't clear yet. They aren't clear because the children are sick, but this hasn't yet come to light. As soon as we know, we'll be able to rise up and shout about it to every corner of the land" (2012).

THE POST-NEOLIBERAL CONTEXT FROM THE MOQOIT POINT OF VIEW

So far, my analysis has tried to show that collective memories of previous regimes of dispossession and actual experiences of dispossession consti-

tute significant variables in understanding how processes of accumulation by dispossession develop. In this section I will focus on positions of subalternity and aspirations, the other elements that influence "local rationalities" (Nilsen and Cox 2013). In general terms, I shall argue that the construction of memories and the evaluation of possibilities are not only influenced by the relationship between the subaltern groups and the dominant groups but are also molded by relationships between different subaltern groups and the political vagaries of the period.

In Las Tolderías, in contrast to Pampa del Indio, many said that although there is less work at the moment, "there isn't as much poverty as before because now they receive state help." This "help" mainly arrives in the forms of social support programs and pensions given to rural laborers on retirement by post-neoliberal administrations. As has been argued by Wilkis and Hornes (2017), under post-neoliberal administrations, monetary transfers shifted from being a "policy of containment" to prevent even greater deterioration of quality of life to becoming a means of "political rehabilitation" that sought to bring the wider working classes back into the market system. However, although that rehabilitation policy provided access to monetary income and increased consumption of goods, it did not necessarily reincorporate families into the agricultural system. The comments of Sebastián and Graciela from Santa Rosa seem to reflect this dynamic.

> Sebastián: There's less poverty because there's more help from the state. Now there are pensions and social plans. There's no work, it's just temporary. Otherwise, you have to go to Santiago, and they get taken and then don't get paid or get paid less. Today it's not easy. You come back with nothing.
> Mercedes: Is it possible to farm?
> Graciela: No, we couldn't farm because there's none of the right help. We all have land, but no one farms. (Interview with Sebastián and Graciela, 2012)

As reflected in this account, different state policies mitigate the effects of the new agricultural model such as the loss of salaries, but they are not accompanied by policies to encourage rural production. This favors the proliferation of what Araghi calls the "semi-dispossessed," that is, "those who have lost their non-market access to their means of subsistence but

still hold formal and/or legal ownership of their means of production" (2009, 134). It is important to note that although state intervention is an element to be taken into account, it does not determine the positions of the subaltern groups. In this regard the greater or lesser persuasive effect these policies have on the subaltern groups depends in great measure on the way in which they perceive their role in the production system (Williams et al. 2011). For instance, the same policies that in Las Tolderías seemed to contribute to a certain acceptance of the processes have not placated social protest in other places such as Pampa del Indio. One of the factors that explains this difference is the various roles played by the state in these two areas under the prior regime of dispossession. For example, while in Pampa del Indio during the developmentalist regime of dispossession, the state was a central actor in the delivery of lands and tools; in Las Tolderías the state was not very visible. Remember, the "help" came primarily from criollo settlers.

In addition, the different positions of subalternity within Las Tolderías also influence the way that these policies are perceived. Although in the Moqoit community most people perceived the greater presence of the state, this perception was not homogeneous, which has created certain tensions. In general, the interviewees observed that the Santa Rosa neighborhood received more help from the state.

In the area known as Santa Rosa, the Asociación Comunitaria Colonia Las Tolderías* continues to function. It has kept its legal person status and runs facilities such as a community center and warehouse. This is also where the primary health clinic, the school (No. 193), and the civil registry are located. In the neighborhood known as San Lorenzo, in contrast, access to services is more restricted. The houses are spread more remotely, located in what is left of bush. Electricity was only installed in 2012, and there is only one pump for the water supply. To reach the health clinic, inhabitants of San Lorenzo have to walk between five and seven kilometers. Although a commission was formed in this neighborhood, it did not receive legal person status, making it difficult to access the economic benefits it sought.

---

* It is important to note that inclusion in the "active member" category of the association is not related to agricultural activity per se but to their belonging to the Moqoit community. This is why they can remain members even if they are not necessarily producing currently.

Members of the Santa Rosa community say that the San Lorenzo community receives less "help" because it is known to be "a little bit more rebellious," which means that the authorities consider it "more difficult." The inhabitants of San Lorenzo, meanwhile, also report that they receive less support and that their differences with the Santa Rosa community arose because they have better preserved Indigenous culture and practices. Daniela, from San Lorenzo, said: "They [in Santa Rosa] don't speak the language like our children. Our children only speak Spanish at school. They speak their own language at home. They say San Lorenzo is here, and Santa Rosa is there. The community has two names. Here, we maintain the customs more; here, we never changed our minds about how to bring up our children" (interview with Daniela, 2011). The differences between the two neighborhoods seem to have contributed to the idea that those who are better assimilated into criollo culture will get more support and that confrontation or differentiation is not a beneficial tactic.

Tensions between the Qom and the Mocoví

The tensions and differences that appear to contribute to acquiescence to the new agrarian dynamics are not just limited to those within the community. Differences with the Qom also seem to encourage an absence of confrontational strategies. On many occasions the conversations that started with a criticism of the IDACH, which is seen as a political tool of the Qom, went on to question whether roadblocks were a suitable method for the Moqoit to use in the struggle. The relative position of power of the Qom over the Moqoit was indicated by the former's capacity to put pressure on governments. As Francisco said when he spoke about the Mocoví's lack of access to the IDACH resources: "There are differences with the Toba because they're in the majority. It's always like that. For example, when there's help of, I don't know, however many million pesos, they [Qom] get more than us. We don't have anything in this area, that's why we have to rent. They win by simple majority, they set up a roadblock, everything. Not here."

In this regard, many interviewees placed an emphasis on the difference between the "work culture" of the Mocovíes and the "political culture" of the Qom, generally accompanied by heavy criticism of the forms of struggle that the political culture represented. Ángel, for example, said:

> There has never been a roadblock here, and there won't be, because from when they're five years old, Aborigines go to work with their father in the fields, to harvest. They have a work culture. The Toba are more political. The Toba have another way. I don't know whether you heard that trucks go through here, to the north, with clothes, goods, it's always the same, because they're always complaining. Here we have a work culture because the people want to work. (Interview with Ángel, 2010)

As Ramos says, "the manner selected to present claims or demands is the result of the diagnosis of the economic and political condition in which they find themselves" (2005, 129). In this case, the "inevitability" of the process and the inter-ethnic tensions seem to have contributed to the fact that the Mocoví believe it necessary to negotiate instead of opting for outright confrontation. In contrast to the case study in Pampa del Indio, where some Qom stated that "in a system like this, one has to hold marches, block roads, and present petitions to be heard," here the interviewees say that this is not necessary. As one of the leaders of Las Tolderías put it:

> I know communities that don't do anything but block roads. If I go to Las Tolderías and call for a roadblock, they'll reject it. As an Indigenous leader, I don't agree with roadblocks, but I understand that they're often an option. But my point of view today is that my work is to knock on the doors of all the government offices. And if I can opt for dialogue, I'll choose dialogue; and if I have to come back, I'll come back, so the minister will meet me. That's my objective as a leader, not going to the road with my brothers and saying "No, the minister refuses to hear from me." I never liked confrontation. I like this: going to bang on doors, to speak to the minister and set up a dialogue. So, things are achieved without exposing ourselves to repression. If God really is everywhere, he'll listen in Resistencia and in Buenos Aires. We have to go there to make a fuss. That's why they put us at the front, to present projects and use the techniques. And that's what I do, put myself on the white man's level, use the same strategies so that my people can have something without having to block roads. We don't need people to die to listen to us, we just need strategy, to find the right way. (Interview with Sixto, 2012)

Sixto's words show that Indigenous peoples are keenly aware of the multiple power relationships that shape negotiation and protest strategies. His words also reveal what the members of this community expect from their leaders: that they avoid confrontation and are persistent through dialogue as a means of presenting as many projects as possible.

FINAL THOUGHTS

To achieve a full understanding of Moqoit acquiescence, we must question the idea that acceptance of these processes can be explained only by the use of force or the provision of material incentives (Levien 2013). Although these variables are important elements to bear in mind, the positions of the subaltern groups are the result of long-term historical processes. I believe that historical forms of socialization are key variables that we should consider in order to understand how these processes are produced and reproduced. Full development of the theory of accumulation by dispossession requires that we place the subjects within the context of past and present relationships, and also consider the different tactics of opposition and negotiation that each group has developed historically (Roseberry 1994; Hall 2013; Citro 2006).

In the case of the Moqoit living in Las Tolderías, the ancient loss of traditional territory and their incorporation as rural hands, which encouraged early adoption of certain hegemonic values and practices, help explain the lack of conflict. Because salaried labor on the lands of settlers, rather than production from their own land, became the community's primary means of subsistence, the difficulties presented to family agriculture by the expansion of soybean production were not perceived as a decisive factor. In fact, the resulting transformations are seen as processes that mainly affected the previous employers with the consequences only impacting the community indirectly. Additionally, those responsible for spraying in neighboring fields were perceived with a degree of camaraderie as "rural workers," and the pollution caused has not yet provoked the open resistance seen elsewhere in the country.

But the centrality of historic forms of socialization does not mean that the role of the state is not also a significant factor in determining the positions of subaltern groups with regard to these processes. In this case study we have seen that greater state intervention in the post-neoliberal period, by mitigating some of the effects of the new agrarian model, encouraged

acceptance of these processes. However, it is obvious that state intervention is not the sole factor: positions of acquiescence or resistance are also very much determined by memories of prior intervention.

Finally, it should now be clear that the acquiescence and negotiation of subaltern groups cannot be explained as a mere reaction to the activity of dominant groups. We should not lose sight of the fact that the positions of the subaltern groups are also the result of tensions and differences within the groups themselves (Ortner 1995; Gal 1995; Cervone 1998).

6

The Actually Existing Agency of Subaltern Groups

Throughout this book we have seen how the concept of accumulation by dispossession provides us with a clear means of understanding contemporary agrarian dynamics and transformations in the context of capital accumulation. However, it is a very abstract approach, and its assumption that all subaltern groups will oppose the dynamics of capital cannot explain why we do not find resistance everywhere these processes occur (Hart 2002, 2004; Hall 2013). More specifically, I have shown that the failure to properly analyze the perceptions, feelings, and actions of these groups within the context of accumulation by dispossession has resulted in studies that lose sight of the complexities and dilemmas produced by these processes. The range of different responses we have seen in the case studies of the Qom of Pampa del Indio and the Moqoit of Colonia Cacique Catán, which do indeed include resistance but also acquiescence and negotiation, present studies of dispossession with a theoretical quandary. They invite us to reexamine the relationships that occur under accumulation by dispossession, post-neoliberal governments, and the political responses of subaltern groups.

Seeking to develop an approach that transcends deterministic readings of political responses, I started this text by asking the following questions: What kind of experiences have shaped how subaltern groups perceived the expansion of soybean cultivation in the post-neoliberal period? What different positionings and responses were taken by these groups? To answer these questions, I have complemented the theory of accumulation by dispossession developed by David Harvey with Nilsen and Cox's concept of "local rationalities" (Nilsen 2010; Nilsen and Cox 2013; Cox and Nilsen 2014). This concept helps establish a much clearer view of the real agency of subaltern actors, which is often blurred in previous studies of dispossession. This theory reminds us that the different ways in which

these groups "practically engage with their world and make sense of their actions" reflect specific forms of exploitation, domination, loyalty, complicity, and resistance, forged throughout a long historical process (Nilsen and Cox 2005, 8).

My intention with this study of the varying and diverging political responses of these two Indigenous groups is neither to adopt a relativistic stand on the terrible ecological and social consequences of the expansion of agribusiness, nor to deny the responsibility of the dominant groups and the state. Instead, through my analysis of the communities of the Qom and the Moqoit communities, I have tried to emphasize that the varying responses reflect genuine differences in terms of how people experience specific situations and their multiple opinions on the courses of action that they believe to be most to their benefit.

Recognizing these varied positions is essential for an understanding that acquiescence, negotiation, and resistance are not mutually exclusive positions within a community. In some cases, acquiescence—for example, on environmental issues or with regard to the expansion of agribusiness—can be accompanied by attempts to recalibrate other aspects of the existing power relationships within which accumulation by dispossession takes place. It is crucially important to remember that the political responses of communities are never determined solely by a single process or just one of its dimensions. This is why positions cannot be interpreted in isolation from memories of previous periods, experiences of dispossession, positions of subalternity, or their aspirations for the future, which in this case are linked to an ongoing reevaluation of what it means to be Indigenous in Argentina today. Next, I will briefly recap how these aspects of local rationalities molded the different responses of the Qom and the Moqoit to the expansion of the agricultural frontier in Chaco.

DIGGING INTO SUBALTERN RESPONSES TO DISPOSSESSION

The memories of the Moqoit and the Qom of the cotton period provided a basis for understanding these communities' perceptions and positionings with regard to the transformations during the post-neoliberal period. As I showed in chapter 4, many Qom who live in Pampa del Indio see the cotton period as a time when there was significant state intervention implemented through policies promoting farms and family agriculture.

From that moment on, cotton production became the community's principal means of subsistence and a symbol of the greater equality they had achieved with the criollo population. In this community the new rural dynamics that occurred from the mid-1990s onward is seen as the consequence of the change in the role of the state, or its simple absence. Thus the "lack of state help" and the "lack of support" for the continuity of cotton production became the main foci of their demands and claims. In this community the absence of the state is perceived as the reestablishment of modes of exclusion aimed particularly at Indigenous peoples: the state had ceased to recognize them as producers.

The Moqoit community's memories of the cotton period demonstrate a different process of incorporation. As I showed in chapter 5, in this case, inclusion during the cotton period occurred mainly through the "help" given by criollo settlers before state intervention. In addition, given that the Moqoit community had very limited access to land, and given that until the 1980s there were no programs encouraging production in that area, salaried labor in the farmers' fields was the main means of subsistence. Since subsistence farming was never the main source of support, the inability to continue with that mode of production is not seen as a new phenomenon. In contrast to Pampa del Indio, the transformations that occurred with the soybean expansion are seen as processes that primarily affected their former employers, with the Indigenous community only being affected indirectly. These are some of the reasons why the process and its consequences are perceived by the Moqoit as inevitable.

Experiences of Dispossession

In addition to memories of previous periods, these communities' actual experiences of dispossession relate to the ways in which subaltern groups perceive the new rural dynamics. So, to explain why resistance has arisen in one community while another has acquiesced to the changes, it is also necessary to consider how the transformations started to occur in these rural spaces.

For the cases analyzed here, it is important to consider that in Pampa del Indio the transformations occurred and became apparent after the establishment of a large company with the backing of the state. In spite of numerous complaints and reports of violations of different regulations, not only did Don Panos continue its operations; it also received

state loans to expand its production at the same time as the state was reducing help allocated for small producers. In addition, the new rural dynamics have made it difficult for community members to continue with cotton production. As I mentioned earlier, this activity was not just the primary basis for reproduction of labor; it also provided part of the basis for the construction of the Qom identity that emerged from the intersection between state policies aimed at assimilating Indigenous populations and integration policies that originated within the community with the encouragement of the caciques. The transformations that have taken place in recent decades could be seen as a return to the agro-export regime, when the communities lived under the tyranny of a few large establishments that, with the complicity of the state, reduced these groups to a state of quasi-slavery (see chapter 3). All these elements—the visibility of the company, the complicity of the state, and the exclusion of domestic production—have contributed to the emergence of different resistance movements in the community.

In the case of Colonia Cacique Catán/Las Tolderías, in contrast, the new rural dynamics appeared slowly through the gradual arrival of various different midsized producers who rented or bought land from the existing farmers. In this case, insofar as salaried labor has been the main form of subsistence for members of this community since the 1920s, the new rural dynamics, although they caused significant changes, did not alter their practices entirely or greatly affect their identity. Even though they now needed to migrate to other provinces, they were still seasonal workers. In addition, in this case, the absence of the state in the cotton period has been partially reverted through the implementation of some social plans and benefits that serve to complement monetary income. It is also important to note that in Las Tolderías the relationship with the new producers, in contrast to Pampa del Indio, is not characterized by ongoing confrontation. This is shown, for example, in the comments about crop-dusting in which the interviewees showed that although the relationship is distant, the field managers usually let them know when they are going to be spraying. All these specific characteristics of the way in which the process of agrarian reform takes place make it possible to explain to a great degree why the Mocoví have been more acquiescent.

Regardless of the differences, it is important to consider an aspect that both communities share, which is related to the "technocratization" of knowledge, the deterioration of the environment, and the use of certain

production technologies. In both cases, technocratization of knowledge would seem to play an important role in the consent (be it partial or total) of these populations (Li 2007). So, for example, the Moqoit interviewed felt that they did not know enough to judge the effects of the spraying, while in Pampa del Indio some members of the UC did not believe that they could adequately judge whether or not the use of transgenic seeds was appropriate for the community.

Positions of Subalternity

Another dimension that I have considered in my analysis of local rationalities is the position of subalternity. As I have argued throughout the book, subalternity is not solely determined by the relationships of these groups with the dominant groups, or with the state: it is also molded by the multiple power relationships that exist within the subaltern groups themselves (Mallon 1994; Ortner 1995; Sivaramakrishnan 1995).

Power relationships within subaltern groups take place on different scales—that is, they can occur between different members of the same community or between different groups at the provincial and national levels. In the cases analyzed here, for example, the acquiescence observed by the Moqoit would seem to be influenced both by the local divisions between different political and religious affiliations and the differences between the group and the Qom at provincial level. In chapter 5 we saw that the Moqoit who live in the Santa Rosa neighborhood receive more benefits than those in the San Lorenzo neighborhood. The same chapter also showed that the power differential between the Qom and Moqoit groups has reinforced institutionalized practices as a mechanism for channeling demands.

In contrast, the greater degree of mobilization observed in Pampa del Indio also needs to be seen in the context of the greater influence of the Revolutionary Communist Party (PCR) and, during the early years of the struggle, the presence of a charismatic leader, Mártires López, the first president of the UC. It is also important to remember that the weakening of resistance in the area occurred after a change in the UC's position. So, for other members, especially those who live in the immediate surroundings of the Don Panos estate, reverting the UC's position on the right type of production is of vital importance.

Aspirations

As shown in chapter 2, in its original formulation, the focus of accumulation by dispossession assumes the emergence of a specific type of politics on the part of subaltern actors. More specifically, the theory argues that subaltern groups will tend to resist these processes and that their demands will be disruptive, making it difficult for the dominant classes to channel them through institutions. However, as we have seen in the cases of the Qom and the Moqoit, the nature of the response of subaltern groups is not determined solely by the dominant mode of accumulation of capital.

Stating that resistance emerges at a given time and place following the perceived or experienced effects of a relationship means recognizing that even when accumulation by dispossession has become dominant, the struggles of subaltern groups will not necessarily be of the same nature (Turton 1986). But in addition to how the consequences are perceived and experienced, throughout these pages I have argued that the multiple positions and different objectives of the political responses are linked to the aspirations that subaltern groups hold for the future in addition to the role they believe should be played by the state.

As I mentioned earlier, in the case of the Pampa del Indio the new rural dynamics are perceived in terms of a "lack of state help," so the inhabitants of the parajes have formed movements that are usually classified as "agrarian populism" (Levien 2013). This means that the Qom's list of objectives included more subsidies for small producers, better prices for their products, and higher wages. One of the overall goals of their protest can perhaps be summarized as the struggle to escape poverty—the kind of poverty that in the memories of many is almost synonymous with being Indigenous in Argentina. These material demands are thus accompanied by a determination to bring an end to the discrimination suffered by these communities through state recognition on more than symbolic or cultural terms but also as productive actors. As Nora put it: "Although we are Indigenous, we needed to be recognized as peasants. Because they always had the idea that a peasant is a criollo who works the land, but if you go into the interior, you'll find it full of Qom who want to work the land, who don't want to leave the countryside. And he struggled for that a lot" (2012). Although, as we have seen, many Qom from Pampa del Indio are against the use of certain technologies, those campaigning for the implementation of ecological agriculture also aspire to be recog-

nized by the state as producers, in this case from family farms. These struggles and their different objectives revealed the limitations on the ground of the integration policies implemented by successive Kirchner administrations.

As we also saw in chapter 4, the same process has led to other actors with contrasting perceptions and aspirations, such as the IDACH representatives, adopting different discourses and strategies that are nonetheless also considered to be examples of "movements against accumulation by dispossession" (Harvey 2005, 203). In these cases, one of the main objectives was to expand their influence and room to maneuver within the state. They also present criticisms of the so-called pink-tide governments as the incorporation of institutions was in many cases merely symbolic. Although those who form part of the IDACH believe that the institutional path is important, they know that incorporation does not necessarily mean that the state is genuinely taking Indigenous perspectives into account, and so they campaign for genuine participation in decision-making processes. However, these demands are often framed in ways that contradict those of the Indigenous population of the rural communities.

It is important to make clear that just as the forms that political responses take do not derive exclusively from the mechanism of capital accumulation, their greater or lesser power to cause disruption cannot be explained without taking the actors into account. The disruptive power of these resistance movements is linked to the political weight of the subaltern groups, the scale of their presence in the state apparatus, and their role in the political and economic system. But more importantly, the revolutionary capacity of the struggles will depend on how the subaltern groups experience these processes—that is, whether they "experience the crisis as object or as subject of decision" (Lebowitz 2003, 184).

THE LIMITATIONS OF POST-NEOLIBERAL GOVERNMENTS AND THE RETURN OF THE RIGHT

As I mentioned in the previous section, understanding the positions and scope of the political responses of subaltern groups requires an analysis of both the role of the state and the relationship the subaltern groups maintain with it. In this book I have argued that although the state in Argentina has had an important role in backing processes of accumula-

tion by dispossession (Harvey 2003; Levien 2013), its participation has not been limited to the promotion of these processes. As I outlined in chapter 1, the Kirchner administrations included demands for greater inclusion of ethnic identities as part of their anti-neoliberal agenda. Indigenous communities received greater visibility and recognition as members of the working classes at whom most of the new social policies were aimed. This integration of Indigenous communities within the popular sectors did not just result in material benefits, as shown by falls in the rates of poverty and extreme poverty,* but were also essential to encouraging cultural reevaluation within a historically racist society. As Gordillo says, part of the "shift to the left" consisted in popularizing more expansive conceptions of what it meant to be Argentinian, acknowledging the country's diverse ancestry with multiple legacies (2020, 23).

The empowerment of Indigenous peoples and partial modification of hegemonic visions of national identity was transferred over the years not just to the majority of national narratives but also to the aesthetics of the Indigenous communities. When I went to Pampa del Indio toward the end of 2018, I met with Yoli, a forty-year-old Qom woman who works as an auxiliar justice officer. I saw her at the entrance to the town and we then walked for a while before sitting in the entrance to School No. 28. As we drank mate there, Yoli said to me:

> My memories of school aren't great. They used to check me for lice because I was Indian. They undid all the braids my mother had made and wouldn't let me go to the bathroom. The teachers sent me back home at one in the afternoon when the sun was at its hottest, just because. Sometimes I considered saying something to the teacher, but I was too embarrassed. I was ashamed, always ashamed. Discrimination is always there, there's still discrimination today, but it's different now. Indigenous peoples aren't ashamed anymore. Now there's recognition, some things don't happen anymore because they'll be reported.

* The notions of poverty and indigence, used by the National Institute of Statistics and Censuses to calculate incidence, correspond to the indirect measurement method called "line." The concept of the "indigence line" seeks to establish whether households have the necessary income to cover a food basket that allows them to satisfy a minimum threshold of energy and protein needs. The "poverty line" extends the threshold to include not only minimum food consumption but also other basic nonfood consumption (INDEC 2016).

> Before, they could say and do what they liked with us. (Interview with Yoli, 2018)

Behind us, I noticed for the first time that a Wiphala flag was flying alongside the Argentinian one in the school entrance. These cultural and social policies as well as the recognition of Indigenous communities as political actors with their own rights encouraged greater hope and expectation. But I do not mean to suggest that this empowerment was solely the result of the actions of these governments. To the contrary, the cultural, social, and political policies that facilitated the integration of these sectors emerge from negotiations that the state establishes with subaltern groups. The type of policy and number of people who benefit from these programs and policies depend to a great extent on the demands and negotiating power of each of the subaltern groups. This can be seen, for example, in the difference in the degree of access to support programs enjoyed by certain groups such as the UC and those obtained by the Moqoit in the San Lorenzo neighborhood in Las Tolderías.

By the same token, throughout these pages I have tried to show that whether or not these policies constitute a barrier to the mobilization of the subaltern groups also depends on multiple factors, which include but also range beyond state activity. It is important to remember that in the cases studied here, the policies implemented by post-neoliberal governments have not, in general terms, served to reduce mobilizations among the Qom community but have done so in the case of the Moqoit in Las Tolderías. In these cases, I have argued that to understand the different effects one must consider the perception of the role of the community in the production system. In the case of the Moqoit, where salaried labor has historically been of greater importance than farming, monetary help has had a greater influence, contributing to the lack of resistance. In contrast, in the case of the Qom, who are campaigning to continue in the role of cotton producers, state help that is not aimed at production seems to have less influence.

Even though policies of integration and intercultural exchange challenged the hegemonic vision of national identity and the exclusive neoliberal model, they were not strong enough to guarantee the autonomy of these groups. The increased dependence on the exploitation of natural resources of post-neoliberal governments inevitably resulted in the long term in the appearance of "sacrifice zones" where Indigenous repre-

sentation in determining the use and/or type of exploitation of natural resources was non-existent and their demands for greater involvement were only met so long as they did not interfere with the extractivist model (Lerner 2012; Hedges and Sacco 2014).

The arrival to the presidency of Mauricio Macri in December 2015 aggravated the situation to a great extent. The new administration represented not just a return to neoliberal policies of structural austerity and the expansion of the extractivist model into new territories but also what in the cultural sphere Gordillo calls "White Argentina" (2020, 7). This new perception of national territory and class relegated Indigenous communities to the role of outsiders and potential threats. In this reversion to what in chapter 3 I described as the "agro-export regime of dispossession" meant a severe cut in funding to the National Institute of Indigenous Affairs and social welfare payments to the sector. In addition, demands for land, subsidies, and policies to promote output by small Indigenous producers were not only increasingly ignored but began to be subject to repression or deliberate neglect by the authorities. A clear example was the brutal campaign of repression carried out by the Gendarmería Nacional, the federal police force, in the province of Chubut, which resulted in the disappearance and death of Santiago Maldonado, as well as the shooting in the back of Rafael Nahuel by officers from the Prefecture of Río Negro in 2017 (Telam 2021, 2022b).

The strategies implemented by the communities in response to this new context were also varied and encompassed a range of tactics, from open resistance to negotiation. Of special importance was the formation in 2015 of the Movimiento de Mujeres Indígenas por el Buen Vivir (MMIBV, Indigenous Women's Movement for Wellbeing), a national movement of Indigenous women from different ethnic groups. In their struggle for better livelihoods and the end of the extractivist model, the MMIBV has organized different acts of open resistance, such as the occupation of the Ministry of the Interior in 2019, while also making use of existing institutional channels to demand effective state intervention in the conflicts that rack their territories.

The emergence of Indigenous women onto the national scene helped to change the terms of the debate about extractivist industries, introducing phrases such as "body/territory" and "terricide." This latter notion was explained by Evis Millán, one of the leaders of the MMIBV, as follows:

> It's when natural resources are seen in terms of power. Exploitation, cutting down trees and entire forests for economic gain, or blocking a river because you need it for an enterprise like a mine. The only thing these kinds of acts do is change the natural order of the place. We see this as leading to terricide. We use the term "terricide" when death has been caused by the acts of the government and companies in a given territory. They're not just killing the forest. As indigenous peoples, we believe that there are energies and forces being assassinated as well. We see everything that is happening as having serious consequences for people, too, causing serious physical and spiritual diseases that result in death. (Biocca 2020)

Their position of subalternity as Indigenous women enabled a new space for discourse as a gender- and ethnic-based movement that had thus far lacked representation in both traditional political parties and social movements (Indigenous and nonindigenous). It is important to note that said position allowed them to establish ties with other collectives and leaders involved in the struggle for gender equality. So much so that in 2018 MMIBV took an active role in preparatory meetings for the National Women's Summit as well as the summit itself, an annual event that gathers together activists, feminist organizations, and other groups interested in women's issues.* This was a significant step as Indigenous women's participation in these spaces, generally occupied by *criolla* women from urban areas, brought greater visibility to issues linked to the extractivist model seen in different territories across the interior of the country.

Although analysis of these new circumstances and the response of Indigenous peoples is beyond the scope of this book, I hope that the concepts and ideas presented here will be of use in its study. It is my desire that the focus on local rationalities will help illuminate the reasons why, for instance, Indigenous women have taken on more prominent roles during this new stage of expansion of the extractivist model. Understanding how they perceive these processes and how their memories, aspirations, and positions of subalternity as Indigenous women lead to

---

* The sustained participation of Indigenous women's movements led the Organizing Committee to decide to rename it as the Pluri-National Summit of Women, Trans, Travestis, Lesbians and Bisexuals.

new collective action will help us to identify the achievements and challenges that lie ahead in the struggle against extractivism and to create a genuinely pluricultural society.

I also hope that this book will help uproot long-held essentialist points of view that have often reinforced the invisibilization and marginalization of the Indigenous communities of Argentina. A focus on local rationalities allows us to see more clearly that there is no single Indigenous position regarding neo-extractivism, nor one opinion of the pink-tide governments, or a singular model for struggles against dispossession. Analyzing the different political positions of Indigenous communities through the lens of local rationalities allows us to reveal their variegated experiences, perceptions, and aspirations with regard to contemporary issues. Recognizing all these different positions is essential not only because they are all necessary, valid, and significant, but because it is, I believe, in this variety of response that the strength of the Indigenous movement currently resides. This plurality, rather than acting to slow down or deter momentum, can help expand the political power of subaltern groups. The fact that Indigenous communities and movements take more than one stance in their opposition to extractivism and other phenomena enables mechanisms that allow them to build ties with other movements and struggles. In other words, a pluralist Indigenous movement is only contradictory if we try to limit it to a single category. In contrast, the analysis I have proposed in this book sees Indigenous politics as a movement that allows for the understanding and adoption of different social demands—Indigenous and nonindigenous alike—empowering collective action against different forms of systemic exclusion.

Bibliography

Adnan, Shapan. 2013. "Land Grabs and Primitive Accumulation in Deltaic Bangladesh: Interactions between Neoliberal Globalization, State Interventions, Power Relations and Peasant Resistance." *Journal of Peasant Studies* 40 (1): 87–128.

Albert, Bruce. 2004. "Territorialidad, Etnopolítica y Desarrollo: A propósito del Movimiento Indígena en la Amazonia Brasileña." In *Tierra Adentro. Territorio Indígena y Percepción del Entorno*, edited by Alexandre Surrallés and Pedro Gracía Hierro, 221–58. Lima: Grupo Internacional de Trabajo sobre Asuntos Indígenas (IWGIA).

Almirón, Adrian Alejandro. 2018. "Política de Tierra y Colonización para las Comunidades Indígenas de la Provincia del Chaco: Proyectos, Reclamos y Regularización de la Ocupación (1951–1987)." *Res Gesta* 54: 127–50.

Alonso, Anam. 1988. "The Effects of Truth: Re-presentations of the Past and the Imagining of Community." *Journal of Historical Sociology* 1 (1): 33–57.

Altman, Agustina. 2011. "Historia y Conversión: El Evangelio entre los Mocoví del Chaco Austral." *Runa* 32 (2): 127–43.

Altman, Agustina, and Alejandro López. 2011. "Círculos Bíblicos entre los Aborígenes Chaqueños: De la Utopía Cristiana a la Necesidad de Legitimación." *Sociedad y Religión* 21: 34–35.

Araghi, Farshad. 1995. "Global Depeasantization, 1945–1990." *The Sociological Quarterly* 36 (2): 337–68.

Araghi, Farshad. 2009. "Accumulation by Displacement: Global Enclosures, Food Crisis, and the Ecological Contradictions of Capitalism." *Review* of Fernand Braudel Center 32 (1): 113–46.

Auyero, Javier. 2012. *Patients of the State*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Bageneta, José Martín. 2015. *Del Algodón a la Soja: Territorio, Actores y Cooperativas en el Gran Chaco argentino, 1960–2010*. Buenos Aires: Intercoop Editora Cooperativa Limitada.

Bailey, Geoff. 2014. "Accumulation by Dispossession: A Critical Assessment. International." *Socialist Review* 95 (1): 19.

Banerjee-Guha, Swapna. 2013. "Accumulation and Dispossession: Contradictions of Growth and Development in Contemporary India." *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies* 36 (2): 165–79.

Barri, Juan Manuel. 2009. "Historia y Desafíos de las Luchas Campesinas en Chaco (Argentina)." *Revista Debates* 3 (1): 77.

Beck, Hugo Humberto. 1992. "La Ocupación del Espacio en el Oeste Chaqueño y Formoseño desde la Provincialización de los Territorios (1950–1983)." *Cuadernos de Geohistoria Regional* 25: 5–122.

Beck, Hugo Humberto. 1994. "Relaciones entre Blancos e Indios en los Territorios Nacionales de Chaco y Formosa. 1885–1950." *Cuadernos de Geohistoria Regional* 29: 5–206.

Bennike, Rune Bolding, Mattias Borg Rasmussen, and Kenneth Bo Nielsen. 2020. "Agrarian Crossroads: Rural Aspirations and Capitalist Transformation." *Canadian Journal of Development Studies / Revue canadienne d'études du développement* 41(1): 40–56.

Bidaseca, Karina. 2010. *Perturbando el Texto Colonial: Los Estudios (Pos) Coloniales en América Latina*. Buenos Aires: Editorial SB.

Biocca, Mercedes. 2020. "Mujeres Indígenas en Pie de Lucha. Una Charla con Evis Millán." *Revista Juventudes Iberoamericanas*. https://juventudesiberoamericanas.com/mujeres-indigenas-en-pie-de-lucha-una-charla-con-evis-millan/.

Bin, Daniel. 2018. "So-called Accumulation by Dispossession." *Critical Sociology* 44 (1): 75–88.

Bisio, Raul, Lucía Famín, and Inés Quilici. 2010. "Propiedad Comunitaria de la Tierra: Problemática y Significación a partir de un Proceso de Desarticulación Social y Territorial." In *La Propiedad del Trabajo Asociativo*, edited by Matías Berger and Cecilia Cross. Buenos Aires: Fundación Centro Integral Comunicación, Cultura y Sociedad (CICCUS).

Boccara, Guillaume, and Paola Bolados. 2010. "¿Qué es el Multiculturalismo? La Nueva Cuestión Étnica en el Chile Neoliberal." *Revista de Indias* 70 (250): 651–69.

Bonefeld, Werner. 2001. "The Permanence of Primitive Accumulation: Commodity Fetishism and Social Constitution." *The Commoner* 2 (September).

Borras Jr., Saturnino M., and Jennifer C. Franco. 2013. "Global Land Grabbing and Political Reactions 'From Below.'" *Third World Quarterly* 34 (9): 1723–47.

Bray, David B. 1989. *El Estado, los Donantes Extranjeros y los Pueblos Indígenas de la Provincia del Chaco, Argentina: De la Subyugación al Comienzo de la Autodeterminación, 1884–1988*, 6. Grupo de Análisis y Desarrollo Institucional y Social.

Brenner, Robert. 2006. "What Is, and What Is Not, Imperialism?" *Historical Materialism* 14 (4): 79–105.

Brewer, Tony. 1990. *Marxist Theories of Imperialism: A Critical Survey*. London: Routledge.

Briones, Claudia. 1993. "'Qué Importa Quién Gane Si Nosotros Perdemos Siempre': Los Partidos Políticos desde la Minoría Mapuche." *Cuadernos de Antropología Social* 7: 79–119.

Briones, Claudia. 1994. "Con la Tradición de Todas las Generaciones Pasadas Gravitando sobre la Mente de los Vivos. Usos del Pasado e Invención de la Tradición." *Runa XXI*: 99–129.

Briones, Claudia. 2015. "Políticas Indigenistas en Argentina: Entre la Hegemonía Neoliberal de los Años Noventa y la 'Nacional y Popular' de la Última Década." *Antípoda. Revista de Antropología y Arqueología* 21: 21–48.

Brodersohn, Víctor, and Daniel Slutzky. 1978. "Dependencia Interna y Desarrollo: El Caso del Chaco." *Desarrollo Económico* 70: 217–29.

Brosius, J. Peter. 1997. "Endangered Forest, Endangered People: Environmentalist Representations of Indigenous Knowledge." *Human Ecology* 25 (1): 47–69.

Bull, Benedicte. 2013. "Social Movements and the 'Pink Tide' Governments in Latin America: Transformation, Inclusion and Rejection." In *Democratization in the Global South*, edited by Stokke Kristian and Olle Törquinst, 75–99. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Burawoy, Michael. 1998. "The Extended Case Method." *Sociological Theory* 16 (1): 4–33.

Burawoy, Michael. 2001. "Manufacturing the Global." *Ethnography* 2 (2): 147–59.

Burawoy, Michael. 2009. *The Extended Case Method: Four Countries, Four Decades, Four Great Transformations, and One Theoretical Tradition*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Büscher, Bram. 2009. "Letters of Gold: Enabling Primitive Accumulation through Neoliberal Conservation." *Human Geography* 2 (3): 91–94.

Cabrera Pacheco, Ana Julia. 2017. "Primitive Accumulation in Indigenous Mexico: The Contested Transformations of the Maya Solar of Yucatán." *City* 21 (3–4): 503–19.

Cáceres, Daniel M. 2015. "Accumulation by Dispossession and Socio-Environmental Conflicts Caused by the Expansion of Agribusiness in Argentina." *Journal of Agrarian Change* 15 (1): 116–47.

Carrasco, Morita, and Claudia Briones. 1996. *La Tierra que Nos Quitaron: Reclamos Indígenas en Argentin*a. Copenhague: IWGIA.

Casa Rosada Archive. 2003. "Acto celebrado por la Declaración de la Quebrada de Humahuaca como Patrimonio de la Humanidad." https://www.casarosada.gob.ar/informacion/archivo/24447-blank-21134694.

Casa Rosada Archive. 2010. "La Jefa de Estado recibió a Representantes de los Pueblos Originarios en Casa Rosada." https://www.casarosada.gob.ar/informacion/archivo/22218-blank-12962793.

Cassidy, William, and Marc Renard. 1996. "Discovering Research Value in the Campo del Cielo, Argentina, Meteorite Craters." *Meteoritics & Planetary Science* 31 (4): 743–60.

Castellanos-Navarrete, Antonio, and Kees Jansen. 2015. "Oil Palm Expansion without Enclosure: Smallholders and Environmental Narratives." *Journal of Peasant Studies* 42 (3–4): 791–816.

Censo Nacional Agropecuario (CNA). 1937. https://deie.mendoza.gov.ar/#!/censos-productivos/1937-censo-nacional-agropecuario-41 (last accessed April 2022).

Censo Nacional Agropecuario (CNA). 1988. https://datos.gob.ar/dataset/agroindustria-censo---datos-cna-88-02 (last accessed March 2022).

Censo Nacional Agropecuario (CNA). 2002. https://datos.gob.ar/dataset?tags=cna+02 (last accessed March 2022).

Ceriani Cernadas, César. 2005. *Nuestros Hermanos Lamanitas: Experiencia Social e Imaginación Cultural del Mormonismo en Argentina*. Buenos Aires: Ed. Biblios.

Ceriani Cernadas, César, and Silvia Citro. 2005. "El Movimiento del Evangelio entre Los Toba del Chaco Argentino. Una Revisión Histórica y Etnográfica." In *De Indio a Hermano. Pentecostalismo indígena en América Latina*, compiled by Bernardo Guerrero Jiménez, 111–70. Iquique: Ediciones El Jote Errante-Campus Universidad Arturo Prat.

Cervone, Emma. 1998. "Los Desafíos de la Etnicidad: Las Luchas del Movimiento Indígena en la Modernidad." *Journal of Latin American Anthropology* 4 (1): 46–73.

Chandra, Uday. 2013. "Going Primitive: The Ethics of Indigenous Rights Activism in Contemporary Jharkhand." *South Asia Multidisciplinary Academic Journal*. http://journals.openedition.org/samaj/3600.

Chatterjee, Partha. 2017. "Land and the Political Management of Primitive Accumulation." In *The Land Question in India: State, Dispossession, and Capitalist Transition*, edited by Anthony D'Costa and Achin Chakraborty, 1–15. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Chaturvedi, Vinayak. 2007. "A Critical Theory of Subalternity: Rethinking Class in Indian Historiography." *Left History* 12 (1): 9–28.

Chico, Juan, and Mario Fernández. 2011. *Napalpí, la Voz de la Sangre*. Resistencia: Subsecretaría de Cultura.

Citro, Silvia. 2006. "Tácticas de Invisibilización y Estrategias de Resistencia de los Mocoví Santafesinos en el contexto postcolonial." *Indiana* 23: 139–70.

Citro, Silvia. 2010. "Memories of the 'Old Aboriginal Dances': The Toba and Mocoví Performances in the Argentine Chaco." *The Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Anthropology* 15 (2): 363–86.

Cleaver, Harry. 1992. "The Inversion of Class Perspective in Marxian Theory: From Valorisation to Self-Valorisation." *Open Marxism* 2: 1106–44.

Collective, Midnight Notes. 1990. "Introduction to the New Enclosures." *Midnight Notes* 10: 1–9.

Córdoba, Diana, Marta Chiappe, Jesse Abrams, and Theresa Selfa. 2018. "Fuelling Social Inclusion? Neo-extractivism, State–Society Relations and Biofuel Policies in Latin America's Southern Cone." *Development and Change* 49 (1): 63–88.

Cox, Laurence. 2009. "Hearts with One Purpose Alone? Thinking Personal Sustainability in Social Movements." *Emotion, Space and Society* 2 (1): 52–61.

Cox, Laurence. 2011. *Building Counter Culture: The Radical Praxis of Social Movement Milieux*. Helsinki: Into-ebooks.

Cox, Laurence, and Alf G. Nilsen. 2014. *We Make Our Own History: Marxism and Social Movements in the Twilight of Neoliberalism*. London: Pluto Press.

Cordeu, Edgardo J., and Alejandra Siffredi. 1971. *De la Algarroba al Algodón*. Buenos Aires: Juárez Editor S.A.

Cramb, R., and P. S. Sujang. 2013. "The Mouse Deer and the Crocodile: Oil Palm Smallholders and Livelihood Strategies in Sarawak, Malaysia." *The Journal of Peasant Studies* 40 (1): 129–54.

De Angelis, M. 2001. "Marx and primitive accumulation: the continuous character of capital's enclosures." *The Commoner* 2 (1).

Defensoría del Pueblo Argentino. 2007. Medidas Cautelares. https://www.dpn.gob.ar/documentos/area6351501.pdf

Delvenne, Pierre, Federico Vasen, and Ana María Vara. 2013. "The 'Soy-ization' of Argentina: The Dynamics of the 'Globalized' Privatization Regime in a Peripheral Context." *Technology in Society* 35 (2): 153–62.

Department of Agricultural Statistics. 2019. *Serie de Tiempo. Soja* http://datos.agroindustria.gob.ar/dataset/9e1e77ba-267e-4eaa-a59f-3296e86b5f36/resource/f8732c7c-33d2-4503-8181-396cd348d380/download/serie-de-tiempo-soja.csv.

Dirección de Bosques de la Provincia de Chaco. 2013. *Otra Mirada sobre la Realidad Aborigen*. http://direcciondebosques.blogspot.com/2013/01/otra-mirada-sobre-la-realidad-aborigen.html.

Doane, Molly. 2007. "The Political Economy of the Ecological Native." *American Anthropologist* 109 (3): 452–62.

Domínguez, Diego. 2009. "La Lucha por la Tierra en Argentina en los Albores del Siglo XXI." PhD thesis. Universidad de Buenos Aires. http://repositorio.sociales.uba.ar/items/show/2208.

Domínguez, Marcelo, Lucía Golluscio, and Analía Gutiérrez. 2006. "Los Vilelas del Chaco: Desestructuración Cultural, Invisibilización y Estrategias Identitarias." *Indiana* 23: 199–226.

Escolar, Diego. 2018. *Los Dones* Étnicos *de la Nación: Identidades Huarpe y Modos de Producción de Soberanía en Argentina*. Buenos Aires: Prometeo Libros editorial.

Frederiksen, Tomas, and Matthew Himley. 2020. "Tactics of Dispossession: Access, Power, and Subjectivity at the Extractive Frontier." *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 45 (1): 50–64.

Friedman, Jonathan. 1992. "Myth, History, and Political Identity." *Cultural Anthropology* 7 (2): 194–210.

Fuscaldo, Liliana. 1982. *La Relación de Propiedad en el Proceso de Enfrentamiento Social: De Propiedad Comunal Directa a Propiedad Privada Burguesa*. Buenos Aires: CICSO.

Gal, Susan. 1995. "Language and the Arts of Resistance [Review of Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts, by J. Scott]." *Cultural Anthropology* 10 (3): 407–24.

Giménez Benítez, Sixto, Alejandro López, and Anahí Granada. 2003. *Suerte, Riqueza y Poder. Fragmentos Meteóricos y la Presencia de lo Celeste entre los Mocovíes del Chaco*. Buenos Aires: Facultad de Ciencias Astronómicas y Geofísicas, Universidad Nacional de La Plata.

Giordano, Mariana. 2003. "Convenciones Iconográficas en la Construcción de la Alteridad. Fotografías del indígena del Gran Chaco." In *II Congreso Internacional de Teoría e Historia de las Artes-X Jornadas del CAIA: Discutir el canon. Tradiciones y valores en crisis*. Buenos Aires: CAIA.

Girbal-Blacha, Noemí María. 2010. "El Cooperativismo Agrario en Regiones Marginales. Aciertos y Fracasos en el Nordeste Argentino (NEA), 1920–1960." *Investigaciones de Historia Económica* 6 (17): 39–64.

Glassman, Jim. 2006. "Primitive Accumulation, Accumulation by Dispossession, Accumulation by 'Extra-economic Means.'" *Progress in Human Geography* 30 (5): 608–25.

Gómez, César. 2008. "Interview with Mártires López." Unpublished work.

Gómez, César. 2009. "Conflictos de Tierras en la Provincia de Chaco, Argentina. Una Aproximación a las Organizaciones Indígenas y sus Estrategias Territoriales." *Revista Geográfica*: 171–203.

Gordillo, Gastón. 1993. "La Actual Dinámica Económica de los Cazadores-Recolectores del Gran Chaco y los Deseos Imaginarios del Esencialismo." *Publicar en Antropología y Ciencias Sociales* 3: 73–96.

Gordillo, Gastón. 1995. "Después de los Ingenios: La Mecanización de la Zafra Saltojujeña y sus Efectos sobre los Indígenas del Chaco Centro-Occidental." *Desarrollo Económico* 35 (137): 105–26.

Gordillo, Gastón. 2002. "Locations of Hegemony: The Making of Places in the Toba's Struggle for La Comuna, 1989-99." *American Anthropologist* 104 (1): 262–77.

Gordillo, Gastón. 2004. *Landscapes of Devils*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Gordillo, Gastón. 2006. *En el Gran Chaco: Antropologías e Historias*. Buenos Aires: Prometeo Libros.

Gordillo, Gastón. 2009. "La Clientelización de la Etnicidad: Hegemonía Partidaria y Subjetividades Políticas Indígenas." *Revista Española de Antropología Americana* 39 (2): 247–62.

Gordillo, Gastón. 2014. *Rubble*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Gordillo, Gastón. 2020. "Se Viene el Malón. Las Geografías Afectivas del Racismo Argentino." *Cuadernos de Antropología Social* 52: 7–35.

Gould, Deborah B. 2009. *Moving Politics: Emotion and ACT UP's Fight Against AIDS*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Gras, Carla, and Valeria Hernández. 2008. "Modelo Productivo y Actores Sociales en el Agro Argentino." *Revista Mexicana de Sociología* 70 (2): 227–59.

Green, Marcus E. 2011. "Rethinking the Subaltern and the Question of Censorship in Gramsci's Prison Notebooks." *Postcolonial Studies* 14 (4): 387–404.

Greenpeace. 2006. *Desmontes S.A. Parte I* https://www.yumpu.com/es/document/view/9961824/desmontes-s-a.

Grossberg, Lawrence. 1996. "Identity and Cultural Studies: Is That All There Is." *Questions of Cultural Identity*: 87–107.

Gudynas, Eduardo. 2009. "Diez Tesis Urgentes sobre el Nuevo Extractivismo." *Extractivismo, Política y Sociedad* 187.

Guha, Ranajit. 1988. "On Some Aspects of the Historiography of Colonial India." In *Selected Subaltern Studies*, edited by Ranajit Guha and Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, 37–44. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Guy, Donna. J. 2000. "El Rey Algodón: los Estados Unidos, la Argentina y el Desarrollo de la Industria Algodonera Argentina." *Mundo Agrario* 1 (1): 1–22.

Halbwachs, Maurice. [1950] 2011. *La Memoria Colectiva*. Buenos Aires: Miño y Dávila Editores.

Hale, Charles. 2004. "Rethinking Indigenous Politics in the Era of the Indio Permitido." *NACLA Report on the Americas* 38 (2): 16–21.

Hall, Derek. 2011. "Where the Streets are Paved with Prawns: Crop Booms and Migration in Southeast Asia." *Critical Asian Studies* 43 (4): 507–30.

Hall, Derek. 2012. "Rethinking Primitive Accumulation: Theoretical Tensions and Rural Southeast Asian Complexities." *Antipode* 44 (4): 1188–1208.

Hall, Derek. 2013. "Primitive Accumulation, Accumulation by Dispossession and the Global Land Grab." *Third World Quarterly* 34 (9): 1582–1604.

Hall, Derek, Philip Hirsch, and Tania Murray Li. 2011. *Powers of Exclusion: Land Dilemmas in Southeast Asia*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

Harris, Fredrick C. 2006. "It Takes a Tragedy to Arouse Them: Collective Memory and Collective Action During the Civil Rights Movement." *Social Movement Studies* 5 (1): 19–43.

Hart, Gillian. 2002. "Geography and Development: Development/s Beyond Neoliberalism? Power, Culture, Political Economy." *Progress in Human Geography* 26 (6): 812–22.

Hart, Gillian. 2004. "Geography and Development: Critical Ethnographies." *Progress in Human Geography* 28 (1): 91–100.

Hart, Gillian. 2006. "Denaturalizing Dispossession: Critical Ethnography in the Age of Resurgent Imperialism." *Antipode* 38 (5): 977–1004.

Harvey, David. 2003. *The New Imperialism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Harvey, David. 2005. *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Harvey, David. 2006. "Neo-Liberalism as Creative Destruction." *Geografiska Annaler: Series B. Human Geography* 88 (2): 145–58.

Hedges, Chris, and Joe Sacco. 2014. *Days of Destruction, Days of Revolt*. London: Hachette UK.

Hirsch, Silvia M., Paola Canova, and Mercedes Biocca, eds. 2021. *Reimagining the Gran Chaco: Identities, Politics, and the Environment in South America*. Florida: University of Florida Press.

Hodkinson, Stuart. 2012. "The New Urban Enclosures." *City: Analysis of Urban Trends, Culture, Theory, Policy, Action* 16 (5): 500–18.

Howlett, Catherine, and Rebecca Lawrence. 2019. "Accumulating Minerals and Dispossessing Indigenous Australians: Native Title Recognition as Settler-Colonialism." *Antipode* 51 (3): 818–37.

INDEC (Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas y Censos). 2002. *Glosario de Términos Utilizados en el CNA 2002.*

INDEC (Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas y Censos). 2016. "La medición de la pobreza y la indigencia en la Argentina." *Metodología INDEC 22* https://www.indec.gob.ar/ftp/cuadros/sociedad/EPH_metodologia_22_pobreza.pdf.

Iñigo Carrera, Valeria. 2010. "Sujetos Productivos, Sujetos Políticos, Sujetos Indígenas: Las Formas de su Objetivación Mercantil entre los Tobas del Este de Formosa." *Cuadernos de Antropología Social* 32: 229–31.

Isla, Alejandro, and Evelyn Vezza. 2013. *El Acceso a la Asignación Universal por Hijo en los Pueblos Indígenas del Norte Argentino*. Buenos Aires: OIT-FLACSO-UNICEF.

Jakobsen, Jostein, and Kenneth B. Nielsen. 2019. "Compounding Aspirations: Grounding Hegemonic Processes in India's Rural Transformations." *Canadian Journal of Development Studies/Revue canadienne d'études du développement* 41 (1): 144–60.

James, Daniel. 1997. "Meatpackers, Peronists, and Collective Memory: A View from the South." *The American Historical Review*: 1404–12.

Jasper, James M. 1998. "The Emotions of Protest: Affective and Reactive Emotions In and Around Social Movements." *Sociological forum* 13 (3): 397–424.

Joseph, Gilbert M., and Daniel Nugent. 1994. *Everyday Forms of State Formation: Revolution and the Negotiation of Rule in Modern Mexico*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Kenney-Lazar, Miles. 2018. "Governing Dispossession: Relational Land Grabbing in Laos." *Annals of the American Association of Geographers* 108 (3): 679–94.

La Nación. 1988. "Acusan a Eurnekian por la Tala Ilegal de un Bosque Chaqueño." https://www.lanacion.com.ar/sociedad/acusan-a-eurnekian-por-la-tala-ilegal-de-un-bosque-chaqueno-nid91314/.

La Política Online. 2008. "La Vergüenza de los Kirchner y Capitanich, Muertes por Desnutrición en el Chaco." https://www.lapoliticaonline.com/nota/nota-52390/.

La Prensa. 1996. El Árbol y el Bosque. Chaco, Argentina (9–12).

Lapegna, Pablo. 2016. *Soybeans and Power: Genetically Modified Crops, Environmental Politics, and Social Movements in Argentina*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Lazzari, Axel. 2003. "Aboriginal Recognition, Freedom, and Phantoms: The Vanishing of the Ranquel and the Return of the Rankülche in La Pampa." *Journal of Latin American Anthropology* 8 (3): 59–83.

Lazzari, Axel. 2007. "Identidad y Fantasma: Situando las Nuevas Prácticas de Libertad del Movimiento Indígena en La Pampa." *Quinto sol* 11: 91–122.

Lebowitz, Michael. A. 2003. *Beyond Capital.* London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Lerner, Steve. 2012. *Sacrifice Zones: The Front Lines of Toxic Chemical Exposure in the United State*s. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Levien, Michael. 2013a. "The Politics of Dispossession: Theorizing India's 'Land Wars.'" *Politics & Society* 41 (3): 351–94.

Levien, Michael. 2013b. "Regimes of Dispossession: From Steel Towns to Special Economic Zones." *Development and Change* 44 (2): 381–407.

Levien, Michael. 2013c. *Regimes of Dispossession: Special Economic Zones and the Political Economy of Land in India*. University of California, Berkeley, 2013.

Levien, Michael. 2015. "From Primitive Accumulation to Regimes of Dispossession." *Economic and Political Weekly* 50 (22): 351–94.

Levien, Michael. 2017. "From Primitive Accumulation to Regimes of Dispossession." In *The Land Question in India: State, Dispossession, and Capitalist Transition*, edited by Anthony P. D'Costa and Achin Chakraborty. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Levien, Michael. 2018. *Dispossession without Development: Land Grabs in Neoliberal India*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Ley N° 3.258 De Las Comunidades Indígenas de la Provincia del Chaco. Chaco, 13 de mayo de 1987.

Ley N° 26.727 Del Trabajo Agrario. Buenos Aires, 28 de diciembre de 2011.

Li, Tania Murray. 2000. "Articulating Indigenous Identity in Indonesia: Resource Politics and the Tribal Slot." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 42 (1): 149–79.

Li, Tania Murray. 2007. *The Will to Improve*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Li, Tania Murray. 2010a. "Indigeneity, Capitalism, and the Management of Dispossession." *Current Anthropology* 51 (3): 385–414.

Li, Tania Murray. 2010b. "To Make Live or Let Die? Rural Dispossession and the Protection of Surplus Populations." *Antipode* 41: 66–93.

Li, Tania Murray. 2014. *Land's End: Capitalist Relations on an Indigenous Frontier*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Loftus, Alex. 2018. "Planetary Concerns." *City* 22 (1): 88–95.

López, Alejandro. M. 2007. "Alimentos, Naturaleza e Identidad en Comunidades Mocovíes del Chaco." *Itinerarios: Revista de Estudios Lingüísticos, Literarios, Históricos y Antropológicos* 5: 153–66.

López, Alejandro M. 2009. *La Virgen, el* Árbol *y la Serpiente Cielos e Identidades en Comunidades Mocovíes del Chaco*. PhD thesis. Universidad de Buenos Aires. http://repositorio.filo.uba.ar/handle/filodigital/1292.

López, Alejandro M., and Agustina Altman. 2012. "El Centro de Capacitación Misionera Transcultural: Lo Local, lo Regional y lo Global en las Nuevas Misiones Evangélicas del Chaco Argentino." *Ciencias Sociales y Religión / Ciências Sociais e Religião* 14 (16): 13–38.

Luxemburg, Rosa. [1913] 1951. *The Accumulation of Capital*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Limited.

Lyall, Angus, Rudi Colloredo-Mansfeld, and Joe Quick. 2020. "Post-Agrarian Aspirations: Tourism and Rural Politics in Ecuador." *Canadian Journal of Development Studies/Revue canadienne d'études du développement* 41 (1): 92–109.

Mallon, Florencia E. 1994. "The Promise and Dilemma of Subaltern Studies: Perspectives from Latin American History." *The American Historical Review* 99 (5): 1491–1515.

Mamonova, Natalia. 2015. "Resistance or Adaptation? Ukrainian Peasants' Responses to Large-Scale Land Acquisitions." *Journal of Peasant Studies* 42 (3–4): 607–34.

Marcha Multisectorial. 2009. "La Lucha Sigue, Verdad y Justicia para Mártires López." https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pHXGViG8Iqo&t=227s. La Rastrojera y Pehuén Producciones.

Mari, Oscar E. 2008. "La Colonización del Chaco Austral Argentino y el Tránsito hacia el Ciclo Algodonero. Afluencia Humana y Problemas de Coexistencia en una Sociedad en Formación." *Anuario de Estudios Americanos* 65 (2) (julio–diciembre): 177–204.

Marx, Karl. [1867] 1990. *Capital.* Volume I. London: Penguin.

Marx, Karl. [1852] 2001. *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*. London: GBR. ElecBook.

Mathias, Christine. 2013. "¿Peronismo Indígena? La Construcción de un Nuevo Sujeto Político en el Chaco Argentino (1943–1955)." *Estudios del ISHiR* 3 (7): 26–44.

Miller, Elmer S. 1979. *Los Tobas Argentinos: Armonía y Disonancia en una Sociedad*. Buenos Aires: Siglo XXI Ediciones.

Miller, Elmer S. 2002. "Mennonite Chaco Mission, Iglesia Evangélica Unida (IEU), and Argentina's Nation-State." *Missiology* 30 (3): 347–60.

Miller, Elmer S. 2008. "Debilitamiento del Consenso en el Liderazgo: El Caso de los Tobas del Chaco Oriental." In *Liderazgo, representatividad y control social en el Gran Chaco*, edited by José Braustein and Norma Meichtry, 157–67. Corrientes: Universidad Nacional del Nordeste.

Miranda, Guido. 1955. *Tres Ciclos Chaqueños*. Santa Fe: Editorial Norte Argentina.

Ministry of Agriculture. 2022. Estimaciones. http://datosestimaciones.magyp.gob.ar/reportes.php?reporte=Estimaciones.

Mitchell, Timothy. 1990. "Everyday Metaphors of Power." *Theory and Society* 19 (5): 545–77.

Moglia, Leandro. 2008. "El Movimiento Cooperativo Agrícola del Chaco entre los Gobierno de Regulación y Planificación (1930–1955)." *Jornadas de Historia Económicas*. http://xxijhe.fahce.unlp.edu.ar/programa/descargables/moglia.pdf.

Mollett, Sharlene. 2016. "The Power to Plunder: Rethinking Land Grabbing in Latin America." *Antipode* 48 (2): 412–32.

Monseñor José Alumni Historical Provincial Archive. 2012. Indigenous Peoples Files. Chaco, Argentina.

Moore, Donald S. 1998. "Subaltern Struggles and the Politics of Place: Remapping Resistance in Zimbabwe's Eastern Highlands." *Cultural Anthropology* 13 (3): 344–81.

Moreno, Louis, and Hyun Bang Shin. 2018. "Introduction: The Urban Process Under Planetary Accumulation by Dispossession." *City* 22 (1): 78–87.

National Census. 1869. https://deie.mendoza.gov.ar/#!/censos-nacionales-de-poblacion/1869-primer-censo-de-la-nacion-argentina-17.

Negi, Rohit, and Marc Auerbach. 2009. "The Contemporary Significance of Primitive Accumulation." *Human Geography* 2 (3): 100–104.

Nesis, Florencia. 2008. "El Camino de Paikín: Un Acercamiento a los Grupos Mocoví del Chaco a través del Tratado de 1774." *Avá* 13: 1.

Nielsen, Kenneth Bo. 2018. *Land Dispossession and Everyday Politics in Rural Eastern India*. London: Anthem Press.

Nilsen, Alf G. 2009. "'The Authors and the Actors of their Own Drama': Towards a Marxist Theory of Social Movements." *Capital & Class* 33 (3): 109–39.

Nilsen, Alf G. 2010. *Dispossession and Resistance in India: The River and the Rage*. New York: Taylor & Francis.

Nilsen, Alf G. 2012. "Adivasis in and against the State: Subaltern Politics and State Power in Contemporary India." *Critical Asian Studies* 44 (2): 251–82.

Nilsen, Alf G. 2013. "Adivasi Mobilization in Contemporary India: Democratizing the Local State?" *Critical Sociology* 39 (4): 615–33.

Nilsen, Alf G. 2018. *Adivasis and the State: Subalternity and Citizenship in India's Bhil Heartland*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Nilsen, Alf G., and Laurence Cox. 2005. "At the Heart of Society Burns the Fire of Social Movements": What Would a Marxist Theory of Social Movements Look Like?" Paper presented at the *Tenth International Conference on Alternative Futures and Popular Protest* 30.

Nilsen, Alf G., and Laurence Cox. 2013. "What Would a Marxist Theory of Social Movements Look Like?" In *Marxism and Social Movements*, edited by Barker Colin, Laurence Cox, John. Krinsky, and Alf Nilsen, 63–81. Leiden: Brill.

Observatorio Conflictos Sociales NEA. 2019. *Cómo Enfrentar los Agrotóxicos? Informe sobre Acciones de Denuncia y Reclamo Relacionadas al Uso de Agrotóxicos en Pampa del Indio (Chaco) en el Período 2006 a 2018*." Chaco: Universidad Nacional del Nordeste.

O'Hanlon, Rosalind. 1988. "Recovering the Subject Subaltern Studies and Histories of Resistance in Colonial South Asia." *Modern Asian Studies* 22 (1): 189–224.

Ojeda, Diana. 2018. "Landgrabbing in Latin America: Sedimented Landscapes of Dispossession." In *The Routledge Handbook of Latin American Development*, edited by Cupples Julie, Marcela Palomino-Schalscha, and Manuel Prieto, 400–408. London: Routledge.

Olick, Jeffrey K., and Joyce Robbins. 1998. "Social Memory Studies: From 'Collective Memory' to the Historical Sociology of Mnemonic Practices." *Annual Review of Sociology* 24 (1): 105–40.

Ortner, Sherry. 1995. "Resistance and the Problem of Ethnographic Refusal." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 37 (1): 173–93.

Página 12. "Chaco, Donde la Pobreza es Más Pobre." https://www.pagina12.com.ar/imprimir/diario/economia/subnotas/104617-32932-2008-05-22.html (last accessed May 2022).

Perelman, Michael. 2000. *Invention of Capitalism: Classical Political Economy and the Secret History of Primitive Accumulation*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Perelman, Michael. 2001. "The Secret History of Primitive Accumulation and Classical Political Economy." *The Commoner* 2 (September).

Patnaik, Utsa, and Sam Moyo. 2011. *The Agrarian Question in the Neoliberal Era: Primitive Accumulation and the Peasantry*. Cape Town: Fahamu/Pambazuka.

Petras, James, and Henry Veltmeyer. 2014. *The New Extractivism: A Post-Neoliberal Development Model or Imperialism of the Twenty-First Century?* London: Zed Books.

Petras, James, and Henry Veltmeyer. 2016. *What's Left in Latin America? Regime Change in New Times*. London: Routledge.

Picconi, María L. 2011. "Ingenio Azucarero Las Palmas del Chaco Austral: Escenario de Modificaciones en la Estructura Económica Regional del Sector Azucarero." *Investigaciones Sociales* 15 (26): 275–86.

Prakash, Gyan. 1994. "Subaltern Studies as Postcolonial Criticism." *The American Historical Review* 99 (5): 1475–90.

Ramos, Ana. 2005. "Narrativas de Origen y Sentidos de Pertenencia." *Runa, Archivo para las Ciencias del Hombre* 25 (1): 123–42.

Regatky, Denise. 2017. "La Judicialización de los Derechos de los Pueblos Indígenas ante la Corte Suprema Argentina (1994–2016)." Thesis. Political Science and International Studies Department, Universidad Torcuato Di Tella. http://repositorio.utdt.edu/bitstream/handle/20.500.13098/6528/LCP_2017_Regatky.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y

Reyburn, William D. 1954. *The Toba Indians of the Argentine Chaco: An Interpretive Report*. Elkhart, IN: Mennonite Board of Missions & Charities.

Roseberry, W. 1994. "Hegemony and the Language of Contention." In *Everyday Forms of State Formation: Revolution and the Negotiation of Rule in Modern Mexico*, edited by G. M. Joseph and D. Nugent, 355–67. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Russell, N. 2006. "Collective Memory before and after Halbwachs." *The French Review*: 792–804.

Salamanca, Carlos. 2006. Los Nuevos Qom: La Constitución de una Identidad Relacional en Devenir. In *VIII Congreso Argentino de Antropología*. Salta, Argentina.

Sánchez, Orlando. 2007. *Historias de los Aborígenes Tobas del Gran Chaco Contadas por sus Ancianos*. Roque Sáenz Peña: Acción Apostólica Común Instituto Universitario ISEDET Sociedad Bíblica Argentina.

Sarasola, Carlos M. 1992. *Nuestros Paisanos los Indios*. Buenos Aires: Emecé.

Sassen, Saskia. 2010. "A Savage Sorting of Winners and Losers: Contemporary Versions of Primitive Accumulation." *Globalizations* 7 (1–2): 23–50.

Schaller, Enrique C. 2010. "Políticas de tierra en la Provincia de Chaco (1954–1971)." In *Territorio, Poder e Identidad en el Agro Argentino*, compiled by Mari,

Oscar; Mateo Graciela y Valenzuela, Cristina, 41–66. Buenos Aires: Ediciones Imago Mundi.

Scott, James C. 1985 [2008]. *Weapons of the Weak*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Scott, James C. 1992. *Domination and the Arts of Resistance*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Scott, James C. 2009. *The Art of Not Being Governed*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Sikor, Thomas. 2012. "Tree Plantations, Politics of Possession and the Absence of Land Grabs in Vietnam." *The Journal of Peasant Studies* 39 (3–4): 1077–1101.

Silva, M. 1994. *Aportes a la Historia de Pampa del Indio. Pampa del Indio Chaco* (Unpublished).

Sinha, Subir. 2012. "The Long March from the Margins: Subaltern Politics, Justice, and Nature in Postcolonial India." In *The Borders of Justice*, edited by E. Balibar, Sandro Mezzadra, and Ranabir Samaddar, 79–98. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Sistema Argentino de Seguridad Jurídica. 2008. Instituye el 19 de Julio. "Día de los Pueblos Originarios del Chaco." http://www.saij.gob.ar/LPH0006171.

Sivaramakrishnan, K. 1995. "Situating the Subaltern: History and Anthropology in the Subaltern Studies Project." *Journal of Historical Sociology* 8 (4): 395–429.

Slutzky, Daniel. 1975. *Tenencia y Distribución de la Tierra en la Región NEA*. Buenos Aires: Consejo Federal de Inversiones.

Slutzky, Daniel. 2011. *Los Cambios Recientes en la Distribución y Tenencia de la Tierra en el País con Especial Referencia a la Región Pampeana: Nuevos y Viejos Actores Sociales.* Fundación Patagonia Tercer Milenio https://www.patagonia-3mil.com.ar/wp-content/uploads/documentos2/region_pampeana.pdf.

Smalley, Rebecca, and Esteve Corbera. 2012. "Large-Scale Land Deals from the Inside Out: Findings from Kenya's Tana Delta." *Journal of Peasant Studies* 39 (3–4): 1039–75.

Spronk, Susan, and Jeffery R. Webber. 2007. "Struggles against Accumulation by Dispossession in Bolivia: The Political Economy of Natural Resource Contention." *Latin American Perspectives* 34 (2): 31–47.

Steur, Luisa. 2011. "Adivasis, Communists, and the Rise of Indigenism in Kerala." *Dialectical Anthropology* 35 (1): 59–76.

Strümpell, Christian. 2014. "The Politics of Dispossession in an Odishan Steel Town." *Contributions to Indian Sociology* 48 (1): 45–72.

Stunnenberg, Peter, and Johan Kleinpenning. 1993. "The Role of Extractive Industries in the Process of Colonization: The Case of Quebracho Exploitation in the Gran Chaco." *Tijdschrift voor economische en sociale geografie* 84 (3): 220–29.

Svampa, Maristella. 2013. "Consenso de los Commodities y Lenguajes de Valoración en América Latina." *Nueva Sociedad* 244: 30–46.

Tamagno, Liliana. 2001. *Los Tobas en la Casa del Hombre Blanco. Identidad, Memoria y Utopía*. La Plata: Editorial Al Margen.

Tamagno, Liliana. 2008. "Diversidad/Desigualdad en el Espacio Nacional. Negación-Ocultamiento-Racismo-Violencia." In *Nación y Diversidad. Territorios Identidades y Federalismo*, compiled by J. Nun and A. Grimson, 61–71. *Nación y Diversidad. Territorios Identidades y Federalismo*. Buenos Aires: Edhasa.

Telam. 2022. "La Secretaría de Derechos Humanos conmemoró a Rafael Nahuel, el joven mapuche asesinado en 2017." https://www.telam.com.ar/notas/202111/575946-la-secretaria-de-derechos-humanos-conmemoro-a-rafael-nahuel-el-joven-mapuche-asesinado-en-2017.html.

Telam. 2022b. "Santiago Maldonado, una causa paralizada que arroja más preguntas que respuestas." https://www.telam.com.ar/notas/202208/600237-santiago-maldonado-causa-paralizada.html.

Teubal, Miguel. 2008. "Genetically Modified Soybeans and the Crisis of Argentina's Agriculture Model." In *Food for the Few: Neoliberal Globalism and Biotechnology in Latin America*, edited by Gerardo Otero, 189–216. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Tilley, Lisa, Ashok Kumar, and Thomas Cowan. 2017. "Introduction: Enclosures and Discontents." *City* 21: 3–4, 420–27.

Tola, Florencia. 2010. "Una Revisión de los Etnónimos Toba (Qom) del Chaco Argentino en Función de la Categoría de Persona y de la Vida Social." *Publicar* 9.

Trinchero, Héctor H. 2000. *'Los Dominios del Demonio': Civilización y Barbarie en las Fronteras de la Nación, el Chaco Central*. Buenos Aires: Ed. Universitaria de Buenos Aires.

Trinchero, Héctor H. 2007. *Aromas de lo Exótico (Retornos del Objeto): Para una Crítica del Objeto Antropológico y sus Modos de Reproducción*. Buenos Aires: Editorial Sb.

Turton, Andrew. 1986. "Patrolling the Middle-Ground: Methodological Perspectives on 'Everyday Peasant Resistance.'" *The Journal of Peasant Studies* 13 (2): 36–48.

Valenzuela, Cristina, and Alejandra Geraldi. 2004. "Problemática de la Articulación entre Distribución, Tenencia y Usos del Espacio Agrario en dos Provincias del Norte Argentino a fines del Siglo XX." *Revista Geográfica*: 5–47.

Vitar, Beatriz. 1991. "Las Relaciones entre los Indígenas y el Mundo Colonial en un Espacio Conflictivo: La Frontera Tucumano-Chaqueña en el Siglo XVIII." *Revista Española de Antropología Americana* 21: 243–78.

Walsh-Dilley, Marygold. 2013. "Negotiating Hybridity in Highland Bolivia: Indigenous Moral Economy and the Expanding Market for Quinoa." *Journal of Peasant Studies* 40 (4): 659–82.

Webber, Michael. 2008. "The Places of Primitive Accumulation in Rural China." *Economic Geography* 84 (4): 395–421.

Wilkis, Ariel, and Martín Hornes. 2017. "Dinero, Moral y Poder: el Enraizamiento de los Programas de Transferencias Monetarias en la Vida Familiar." In *La Trama de las Políticas sociales. Estado, saberes y territorio*, edited by Carla Zibecchi and Pilar Arcidiacomo, 169–91. Buenos Aires: Editorial Biblos.

Williams, Philippa, Bhaskar Vira, and Deepta Chopra. 2011. "Marginality, Agency and Power: Experiencing the State in Contemporary India." *Pacific Affairs* 84 (1): 7–23.

Wolford, Wendy. 2010. *This Land Is Ours Now: Social Mobilization and the Meanings of Land in Brazil.* Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Wood, Ellen M. 2007. "Logics of Power: A conversation with David Harvey." *Historical Materialism* 14 (4): 9.

Wright, Pablo. 1992. "Dream, Shamanism, and Power among the Toba of Formosa Province." In *Portals of Power: Shamanism in South America*, edited by Jean Langdon and Gerhard Baer, 149–72. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

Wright, Pablo. 2001. "El Chaco en Buenos Aires." *Revista Relaciones de la Sociedad Argentina de Antropología* 26.

Wright, Pablo. 2007. "Diálogos Laterales Qom: Antropología y Filosofía en la Perspectiva Postcolonial." *Revista Cultura & Religión* 1 (1): 25–34.

Wright, Pablo. 2008. *Ser-en-el-Sueño: Crónicas de Historia y Vida Toba*. Buenos Aires: Editorial Biblos.

Yates, Julian S., and Karen Bakker. 2013. "Debating the 'Post-Neoliberal Turn' in Latin America." *Progress in Human Geography* 38 (1): 62–90.

Zarembka, Paul. 2002. "Primitive Accumulation in Marxism: Historical or Trans-historical Separation from Means of Production." *The Commoner* 1: 1–9.

Zarrilli, Adrián. 2000. "Transformación Ecológica y Precariedad Económica en una Economía Marginal. El Gran Chaco Argentino, 1890–1950." *Theomai* (1).

Zarrilli, Adrián. 2010. "El Proceso de Agriculturización en las Regiones Extrapampeanas Argentinas: Insostenibilidad y Límites de un Modelo de Transformación. La Provincia del Chaco (1980–2006)." *Historia Agraria* 51: 143–76.

Zibechi, Raúl. 2010. "Políticas Sociales, Gobiernos Progresistas y Movimientos Antisistémicos." *Revista Internacional de Filosofía Política* 35: 5–20.

Zugasti, Esteban. 2014. "Procesos de Resistencia Étnica entre los Moqoit del Sudoeste de la Provincia del Chaco: Los Últimos Cuarenta Años y Los Desafíos Actuales." *Theomai* 30: 55–64.

Index

n refers to a note

Thanks to our Patreon subscriber:

Ciaran Kane

Who has shown generosity and comradeship in support of our publishing.

Check out the other perks you get by subscribing to our Patreon – visit patreon.com/plutopress.

Subscriptions start from £3 a month.

The Pluto Press Newsletter

Hello friend of Pluto!

Want to stay on top of the best radical books we publish?

Then sign up to be the first to hear about our new books, as well as special events, podcasts and videos.

You'll also get 50% off your first order with us when you sign up.

Come and join us!

Go to bit.ly/PlutoNewsletter