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The Coloniality of *Knowledge* and Power in the Discourse on *Modern* Agriculture in Argentina, and its Social Consequences

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Anna Katharina Kubizek

Wien, 22.02.2016

Acknowledgement

At this point I want to thank everyone who accompanied and supported me during my studies, especially in the last period when I wrote this master's thesis.

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Attempted Positioning

An author's social positioning (his/her educational background, economic situation, gender, personal experiences, and other aspects of socialization) undoubtedly influences his/her way of thinking and writing. Therefore, I would like to start with some introductive words about myself.

I am a *white*, West European, economically more or less well-situated, and educationally quite privileged woman. Years of studying at university, where I had the chance to become familiar with different theoretical approaches, undoubtedly left an impression and opened me up to new ways of thinking and interpreting our social world. During my studies, my focus was mainly on theoretical approaches critical of capitalism, many of them belonging to the de-/post-colonial school of thought in the spheres of human rights, migration, and development studies. This theoretical and political location has been valuably enriched by my periods of study in Spain and Argentina and my travels, particularly those to Latin America. In these locations I not only had the opportunity to expand my personal scope of experience but also was able to get to know some *non-Western* authors.

I am well aware of the problems that go along with Europeans doing research in the so-called *Third World* and the danger of reproducing (intentionally or not) Eurocentric values. It is precisely my socio-economic and socio-geographic preconditions that made it necessary for me to have local people (especially the farmers) participate in the investigative process more so than is usually done in *scientific* research. Concretely, this means that we worked together not just in the moment of data collection but also during longer periods of time in which I attempted to get an idea of their reality. Moreover, they were included in the whole *scientific* process and the interpretation of the collected data.

My interest in agriculture and systems of food production arose during my first year-long stay in Argentina where the social consequences of the current agricultural model can no longer be overlooked. Because of my social positioning described above and since I have never had much opportunity to gain practical experience in agriculture, I have to admit that my daily concerns clearly differ from those of an Argentine farmer fighting for survival against big transnational corporations. Hence I want to make clear that I do not intend to be someone's mouthpiece with the present work. Instead I would like to contribute to the debate on the methods and consequences of the present agribusiness model and show that there are

alternatives. In this sense, I explicitly express my solidarity with all those who are affected by the consequences of this model and enforce their claims with this thesis.

A Few Introducing Remarks on *Scientific* Writing and Personal Writing Style

Before immersing in the actual topic, I would like to make some remarks on *scientific* writing in general as well as my writing particularities.

First, since starting this work, I noticed a certain tension between my academic writing and my social position (see above). Although I tried to reduce this gap by having local people participate as much as possible in the *scientific* process, a certain divergence assuredly remained, making it impossible for me to completely understand their social realities.

Second, I want to make clear that there is neither a claim of completeness, nor of producing absolute, *objective truths*. Social science can only try to find a way to understand subjective realities (in plural). Hence, the present work is an attempt to view such a social *reality* with a certain theoretical approach in the background. This may (in the best case) add some valuable interpretations to better understand the course of events and certain circumstances. However, the readers should always have in mind that there are alternative perspectives.

Third, I exert myself to be as transparent as possible with regard to the literature used to develop my ideas and arguments. Nonetheless, I want to make clear at this point that the authors cited in this (and any other) work are just a selection from a big pool.

Fourth, the italicized words refer either to proper names or, more frequently, to terms which I consider problematic or ambiguous in meaning. With this I do not want to deprive people of their right to make their own decisions, nor do I claim that they have to share my opinion. Rather I would like to point out that there is more than one way of understanding certain terms. Using italics therefore means that I question the dominant definition.

Fifth, I employed gender-adequate terms throughout this work. Where I refer only to one sex, I explicitly say so.

Sixth, I decided to use personal pronouns such as “I” “my” or “me” wherever I considered it necessary. Even though this is rather uncommon in *scientific* writing, for me it does not make much sense to avoid them where it is clear that the author is saying/doing something. I do not use them to express personal opinions but to point to some decisions I took regarding the structure of the present work or the selection of methodical and theoretical approaches. Not

to use personal pronouns in such cases is in my opinion just an attempt to increase the level of *objectivity* that blurs the underlying decisions and approaches, and leads to unnecessarily complex (mostly passive) sentence structures.

I INTRODUCTION AND RESEARCH INTEREST

Argentina can look back on a long history of agricultural production despite agricultural practices having changed considerably over time. This is certainly linked to the emergence of new technologies but also to changes in Argentina's political direction throughout history.

As such, the current agricultural model, which emerged in the 1970s, is tightly associated with a neoliberal logic and has provoked a series of radical changes. In particular, this refers to the implementation of the direct sowing technique together with a technological package consisting of new seed varieties (hybrid seeds and later GMOs), agrochemicals, and a general increase in the level of technification in the agricultural field (Domínguez&Sabatino 2005, pp. 22-24; Giarracca&Teubal 2006, pp. 141-156). This goes hand in hand with further integration into the global market and the commodification, privatization, and monopolization of *knowledge* in the form of patents that gives enormous power to a handful of transnational agri-food corporations (Taddei 2013, p. 160; Gras 2012, n.pag.; Hernández 2009, p. 46). In this sense, the current agricultural model can be held responsible for the concentration not only of capital but also of the control over land (as the most important means of production) and thus natural resources. The social and environmental costs of these processes are staggering, especially for rural and indigenous populations.

This raises the question of how this agricultural model has been able to assert itself without any major obstacles. Apparently, its breakthrough is closely linked to certain intersubjective assumptions, which have been (re)produced by a hegemonic discourse. This master's thesis therefore aims to examine this discourse which operates as an essential *condition of possibility* for the establishment and consolidation of the agribusiness model.

Over time, numerous private associations have been established with the purpose of promoting the agribusiness model. Their discursive contributions have gained massive support in society. The *Argentine Association of No Till Producers (AAPRESID, Asociación Argentina de Productores en Siembra Directa)* is certainly one of the main associations promoting the necessity of a *modernization* of agriculture and a general "change of mentality" in Argentina (Hernández 2009, p 62). The question this master's thesis aims to answer is therefore how the associative discourse on *modern* agriculture, as it is supported and considerably fueled by associations such as AAPRESID, is composed so that the agribusiness model can assert itself without any major difficulty.

In order to answer this question, I start in Chapter II with the description of the historic transitions in Argentina's agriculture and their social consequences from the 19th century until today. In Chapter III, I present my theoretical approach which is mainly based on the discourse-analytical works of Michel Foucault and Reiner Keller as well as post- and decolonial considerations on discourse. In Chapter IV, I outline my concrete methodical approach, followed by Chapter V where I present the results of my empirical research. Finally, Chapter VI offers a brief outlook and dedicates to the question of how resistance can look like in this context.

Concededly, there already exists a high number of descriptive studies on the agribusiness model and its social consequences. However, hardly any work on this theme offers an analytic and theorizing analysis. With this master's thesis I therefore want to contribute to a debate on the methods and consequences of this model and show that these changes in agriculture are not the inevitable result of *modernity* as often assumed but just one out of many possible developments.

II DESCRIPTION OF DYNAMICS: Transitions in Argentina's agriculture and global food regimes: From the *granary of the world* to a *soy republic*

This Chapter intends to describe the most significant changes Argentine agriculture has undergone over the last hundred years. After a brief introductory assessment of agricultural production in the 19th century, I will mainly focus on the period of agro-exportation, which began around 1880 and exists to this day. This is the epoch when Argentina turned from the *granary of the world* into a *soy republic* (Domínguez&Sabatino 2006, n.pag.).

Due to heterogeneous geographic and climatic conditions, agriculture has been developing differently in the various regions of the country. The following Chapter will primarily concentrate on the special situation in the Pampean region[1], since its agricultural production has been of particular significance for both Argentina's economic and historical development. Moreover, according to the Agricultural Census of 2002, 63% of all farms are located in this region (Scheinkerman de Obschatko et al. 2007, p. 68). We should bear in mind, however, that we speak here about general tendencies that may vary widely between different regions.

Adapting the temporal division proposed by Giarracca and Teubal (2006, p. 142), we can speak of four distinct periods in Argentine agriculture: First, the time prior to 1880, when agricultural production was mostly oriented on the internal market. Second, the period of the consolidation of the agro-exportation model between 1880 and 1930. Third, the period from 1930 to 1970, the beginning of *agro-industrialization* and the time in which the *Import Substitution Industrialization (ISI)* occurred. Fourth, the period from the 1970s until today when *agro-business began to evolve.*

2.1 Argentine Agriculture Before 1880

Colonial farming in the Pampean region consisted primarily of livestock breeding, which expanded significantly in the early 19th century. Between 1850 and 1880, a boom in wool production took place, introducing significant changes with regard to the production conditions

[1] The Pampean region includes the province of Buenos Aires and parts of Santa Fe, La Pampa, Entre Rios and Cordoba (Giarracca&Teubal 2006, p. 141).

and social relations. This can be considered a first step towards a more capitalist mode of production (Sábato 1989, pp. 33-49).

Since the 1850s, tens of thousands of European (especially Spanish and Italian) immigrants, who had been expulsed by the poor economic situation and limited access to land in their countries of origin, came to Argentina. In Argentina, access to land was relatively easy until 1880 (Barskey&Gelman, pp. 139-146). This was mainly due to the so-called *conquest of the desert*, that is to say, the numerous military campaigns of this era (especially those taking place in the years between 1879 and 1885), which aimed at the incorporation of huge amounts of arable land through the elimination (and enslavement) of indigenous peoples (Gordillo&Hirsch 2010, pp. 15-23).[2] Both the *conquest of the desert* and efforts to populate certain regions with European settlers can be considered part of the same political intention of expulsing indigenous peoples who were perceived as an obstacle for Argentina´s economic upturn.

2.2 The Beginnings of the Agro-Exportation Model: The Colonial-Diasporic Food Regime (1880-1930)

In the years between 1880 and 1930, Argentina became one of the *granaries of the world.* This phrase refers to the increase in grain production for the export market, which resulted in rapid economic growth (Barskey&Gelman, p. 140; Giarracca&Teubal 2006, p. 141)[3], and is closely related to the rising demand for food in industrializing European countries.

In this sense, Argentina can be considered a typical settler state within the *colonial-diasporic food regime* as was described by Friedmann and McMichael.[4] During this period, Europe imported raw materials and tropical products from former colonies in Asia, Africa and Latin America, whereas basic livestock and grain imports came from settler states such as

[2] Starting in the 1850s, Argentina tried to attract European immigrants by offering them land and paying for their transport. In the following years, large amounts of arable land were transferred to these new settlers (Barskey&Gelman, pp. 166-168).

[3] Between 1870 and 1913, Argentina held the world's highest rate of per capita GDP growth, which was to a large extent due to increasing agricultural production (Barskey&Gelman, p. 140).

[4] The term *food regime* refers to an international food order consisting of implicit rules which structure everything related to the production and distribution of agricultural commodities, such as price relations, consumption patterns, the global division of labor, etc. In other words, a specific form of capital accumulation can be identified, linked to particular collocations of geopolitical power, production and consumption models, and (economic, social, and environmental) policies (McMichael 2009b, p. 139).

Argentina but also the USA, Australia, Canada, Uruguay, and South Africa (Friedmann 2005, pp. 231f; McMichael 2005, pp. 274f).[5]

Despite the ever-growing numbers of grain exportation at this time, the total of the internal demand for basic food supplies could still be satisfied by domestic production. While food destined for export was produced mainly in the Pampean region, the national demand for food was covered to a large extent by extra-Pampean regions.[6] Only a few tropical foods were imported. Contrary to most other Latin American countries at this time, Argentina produced a large variety of grains (wheat, maize, sunflower, etc.), which rendered it less dependent on global food prices (Teubal 2009, p. 2; Barskey&Gelman 2001, p. 140; Giarracca&Teubal 2006, pp. 141f).

Against this background of *agrification*, a new figure emerged in the field of agricultural production: the *chacarero*. *Chacareros* were persons (most of them European settlers), who leased (and later bought) small or medium pieces of land for family farming (Barskey&Gelman 2001, pp. 172f; Gras&Hernández 2009, p. 90).[7] There is disagreement over to what extent they had already incorporated capitalist thought and action patterns.[8] However, it is undoubted that this figure, the *chacarero,* has radically changed in the following decades.

[5] Economic liberalization was the necessary condition for the industrialization of the hegemonic European countries of that time. It allowed them to reduce their agricultural activities despite their growing populations. According to Friedmann and McMichael, the formation of an international system of labor division within late 19th century imperialism served primarily Britain to consolidate its hegemonic position since it permitted the conquest of colonial empires of rival European states (McMichael 2005, pp. 274f; Friedmann&McMichael 1989, pp. 94-103).

[6] According to the particular environmental and climatic conditions, the individual geographic regions had specialized in different agricultural products. Whereas in Cuyo (West Andean region) the main focus was on wine production, the farmers in Patagonia specialized in wool production and fruit cultivation. Meat was produced mainly in the northwest while the northeast specialized on products such as mate herb, tea, and cotton (Giarracca&Teubal 2006, p. 141).

[7] In 1914, 96% of the agricultural surface existed in farms having less than 500 hectares (50% of all farms had less than 100 hectares). Of the national livestock farms, 73% of the farms had less than 500 hectares (32% with less than 100 hectares) (Barskey&Gelman, pp. 196f).

[8] Even though family work still predominated at this time, *chacareros* made use of hired labor and accumulated capital, which distinguishes them from *traditional* subsistence farmers. However, according to Archetti&Stolen (1975, pp. 147-156), the *chacareros* of this time were generally not interested in the maximization of profit but in producing a surplus which allowed them to extend their production units (by incorporating new technologies or lands) and guarantee their preservation for the next generation. According to them, the *chacarero* was neither a subsistence farmer nor a typical capitalist but something in between. For a more detailed discussion on the characterization of *chacareros*, see also Domínguez 2010.

2.3 The Era of Import Substitution Industrialization (ISI): The Mercantile-Industrial Food Regime (1930-1970)

In 1930, Argentina implemented a new economic model, the so-called *Import Substitution Industrialization (ISI)*, which continued until the mid 1970s. During this time, Argentina developed its industrial sector (including agro-industry), which was highly subsidized by the government and accompanied by welfare policies and a certain economic protectionism (Kosacoff 1994, pp. 13-18; Aparicio et al. 1992, p. 123).[9]

These political changes, which deeply affected agricultural production, are the reason why McMichael and Friedmann speak of a second food regime for which they find different names such as *Postwar Food Regime* (McMichael 2009b), *Surplus Regime* (Friedmann 1982), or *Mercantile-Industrial Food Regime* (Friedmann 2005). During this era, characterized by US hegemony, the settler states maintained (and reinforced) their export-orientation, with the significant difference of having simultaneously adopted protectionist policies.[10]

The era of *ISI* can be divided into two periods. The first, starting in 1930, focused primarily on the so-called light industry (textiles, food, etc.). During this stage, there was a growth in agricultural production oriented towards national consumption. It was a period of economic protectionism. *The Argentine Institute of the Promotion of Exchanges* (*IAPI, Instituto Argentino de Promoción del Intercambio*) was installed in 1946 to centralize foreign trade and regulate the internal market. Thus, it was also an important tool of income distribution within the agricultural sector.

[9] The implementation of *ISI* can be considered a response to the difficulties of importing industrial goods at this time, which was primarily due to the economic crisis of 1929 and the conflictive relations between Argentina, Great Britain, and the United States. The industrialization efforts during this time were accompanied by a series of policy measures aimed at protecting and controlling the national economy, such as tariff arrangements or the implementation of a regime of exchange control. Against this background, various regulating and controlling institutions were established, such as the Central Bank or the *Argentine Institute for Trade Promotion (IAPI, Instituto Argentino de Promoción del Intercambio)*. Furthermore, the most significant sectors for domestic economy (such as the carbon and petrol industry, or the transportation system) became State-controlled. This goes hand in hand with certain welfare policies such as free/affordable access to education and medical treatment, social housing policies, and others (Giarracca&Teubal 2006, pp. 145-149).

[10] This food regime was codified by numerous international agreements such as the *General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade* (*GATT*, 1947) or the *Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act* (1954) (McMichael 2009a, p. 285; Friedmann and McMichael 1989, pp. 103-110). According to McMichael, this was the moment when the developmentalist postulate of *modernization* became accepted as the universal goal, encouraging a particular industrialization process. In other words, the *development project* was used as political legitimization for the reconstruction of a capitalist world order and the formation of an informal imperial US-American empire (McMichael 2005, p. 275 and 2009b, p. 141).

However, those sectors oriented on the export market (notably, livestock-farming and grain production) did not develop as desired. For this reason, the *National Institute of Agricultural Technology (INTA, Instituto Nacional de Tecnología Agropecuaria*) was established in 1957 with the objective of promoting the technologization of this sector (Kosacoff 1994, pp. 13-18; Giarracca&Teubal 2006, pp. 147-151).

The latter period, starting in the 1960s, focused on heavy (especially the metal mechanic and petrochemical) industry. This was accompanied by so-called *development politics* which strengthened the exploitation of natural resources and the installation of foreign trade policies. This period of *ISI* was characterized by sectorial disputes, especially between the industrial and the agricultural sector. Moreover, it was the moment when the *International Monetary Fund (IMF)* launched its first stabilization plans (Giarracca&Teubal 2006, pp. 148-151).

At this stage, previous tendencies reverted. Since Pampean agriculture focused on export markets, high-income consumption (oilseeds, dairy products, etc.) started to grow and the sectors producing for national and low-income consumption (mate herb, wine, cattle breeding, etc.) came to a halt or shrank (Aparicio et al. 1992, pp. 123-125).

Throughout this entire time, *chacareros* coexisted with the powerful class of landowners and the upcoming agro-industry. As Giarracca&Teubal convincingly argue, this was enabled by far-reaching state interventions. Even though property and capital were distributed quite unequally at that time, actual wages increased and large-scale farmers as well as small and medium farmers benefited from these policies and the redistribution of incomes. Especially during *Peron*'s first mandate (1946-1952), the situation of the *chacareros* improved significantly (Giarracca&Teubal 2005, pp. 140-149).

2.4 The Agribusiness Model: The Corporate Food Regime (1970-today)

In the 1970s, the agro-industrial model was replaced by agribusiness, which brought with it a reinforcement and modification of previous tendencies. In this sense, agribusiness can be understood as a new stage of agro-industrial production. Whereas the implementation of the agro-exportation model at the end of the 19th century can be considered the moment when farmers adapted a more capitalist mode of production (consolidating during the *ISI* period), the agribusiness model is tightly linked to neoliberal logic (Giarracca&Teubal 2006, pp. 141-156).

One of the main characteristics of the agribusiness model is the subordination of agricultural production not only to the industrial sector but also to global financial capital, which increasingly determines the economic policies of individual states (Taddei 2013, pp. 159f). This is what prompts McMichael to identify a third food regime, which starts in the 1970s and still continues today: the *corporate food regime.* According to McMichael, this regime is characterized by the globalization of agricultural production and its increasing submission to financial capital, accompanied by a shift from public to private (corporate) initiatives (McMichael 2005, p. 284 and 2009b, p. 150):

> "The corporate food regime is, arguably, a relatively stable set of relationships privileging corporate agriculture, in the service of capital accumulation on a world scale and at the expense of smallholder agriculture, local ecologies and 'redundant' urban fringe-dwellers." (McMichael 2009a, p. 289)[11]

For Argentina, this carried a series of radical changes in agricultural production during the so-called G*reen Revolution* in the 1970s and the subsequent *Gene Revolution*, which started in the 1990s and continues today. The expression *Green Revolution* refers to the transformation of agricultural production which took place in various *peripheral* countries in the second half of the 20th century. This implies the implementation of a *technological package* consisting of new seed varieties (mainly hybrid seeds[12]), agrochemicals, and specific machinery. Undoubtedly,

[11] McMichael identifies three major changes which characterize the *corporate food regime*: First, the consolidation of developmental ideas in the form of structural adjustment programs. These are programs elaborated and promoted by so-called *development agencies*, such as the *International Monetary Fund (IMF)* or the *World Bank,* with the objective of consolidating neoliberal policies. From that moment on, trade relations have been increasingly determined by institutional guidelines rather than implicit rules, as was previously the case. This goes hand in hand with the retraction of welfare policies in many countries of the *global South* (McMichael 2012, pp. 695f). Second, neoliberalism reinforced the financialization of capital at a global scale resulting in its concentration rather than productive investments. As McMichael convincingly argues, this is equivalent to the privatization of food security and whole states (McMichael 2005, pp. 295f). This "conversion of the global South into a 'world farm'" (McMichael 2009a, p. 287) allows transnational corporations to make immense profits by subcontracting with *Third World* farmers. Third, international power relations were restructured. The subsidization of food production in the *North,* "deployed as weapon of dispossession" (ibid.), permitted purchases below the production costs and resulted in subsequent price dumping. At the same time, *Southern* countries were forced to roll back their subsidies and to further deregulate their agricultural sectors and their general economies (McMichael 2005, p. 293).

[12] Hybrid seeds are produced by cross-pollination, which is used to improve their characteristics (vigor, uniformity, disease resistance, etc.). In this way, the production level is considerably increased (Tay 2002, p. 128). These seeds are usually repurchased for each planting season which makes farmers more and more dependent on the companies selling them (Teubal 2001, p. 53).

Argentina's oilseed production as well as the agricultural GDP increased significantly during those years.[13]

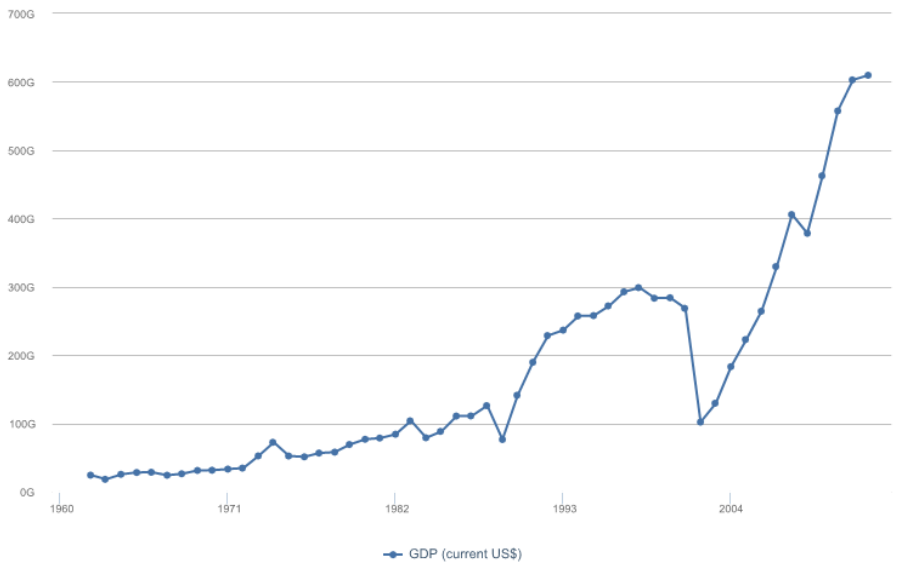

Figure 1: Argentina's GDP 1960-2014 (World Bank 2015: n.pag.)

With the *Gene Revolution*, the technification of agricultural production progressed further. This means that it gave way to the implementation of a new *technological package* consisting of genetically modified seeds and associated agrochemicals as well as new machinery and electronic technology (e.g., GPS). As can be clearly seen, both the *Green Revolution* and the *Gene Revolution* are imbued with the same rationale that aims for an increase of productivity through technological innovations (Domínguez&Sabatino 2005, pp. 22-24).

The genetically modified organism (GMO) most frequently used in Argentina today is the *RR soybean*[14], which was introduced in 1996. Since then, the area planted with genetically modified soybeans has expanded rapidly and at the expense of other (non-genetically modified)

[13] The agricultural GDP increased almost constantly in the 1970s and 1980s. However, this was primarily due to the increased production of a few crops (especially soybeans), whereas other productions stagnated or diminished (such as maize, cattle breeding, and the agricultural activities in the extra-Pampean region). Moreover, the industrial and also the total GDP decreased during this period (Aparicio et al. 1992, p. 125; Teubal 2009, p. 3).

[14] "*RR*" stands for "*Roundup Ready*" and means that the plant was immunized to this broad-spectrum herbicide, which includes mostly glyphosate and kills all plants except the genetically modified one. However, in the course of time *RR* crops develop resistances to this herbicide, which is why more and more glyphosate has to be used to achieve the desired effect (Domínguez&Sabatino 2005, pp. 18-27). In 2012, the Argentine government authorized the next generation of genetically modified soybeans, Monsanto's *RR2 Intacta soy* (Taddei 2013, p. 166).

plant varieties and livestock farming (Domínguez&Sabatino 2005, pp. 18-21 and 2006, n.pag.). Today almost the entire soybean production cultivated in Argentine territory is genetically modified (Gras 2012, n.pag.).

As a result of the advance of the agricultural frontier on the one hand and the use of highly productive technology on the other hand, Argentina's productivity level has increased nearly constantly over the last decades. However, a closer look reveals that it is almost exclusively soy production which is expanding. Whereas in the agricultural season 1969/70 about 27,000 tons of soy were produced and cultivated in about 28% of Argentina's arable land, in 2013/14 it was over 53,000,000 tons in more than half of the country's arable land (Ministerio de Agricultura, Ganadería y Pesca, n.d.). The following graph provided by the Argentine Ministry of Agriculture, Livestock, and Fisheries (n.d.) clearly shows the advance of soybean production (the yellow line) at the expense of other, more *traditional* cultivations.

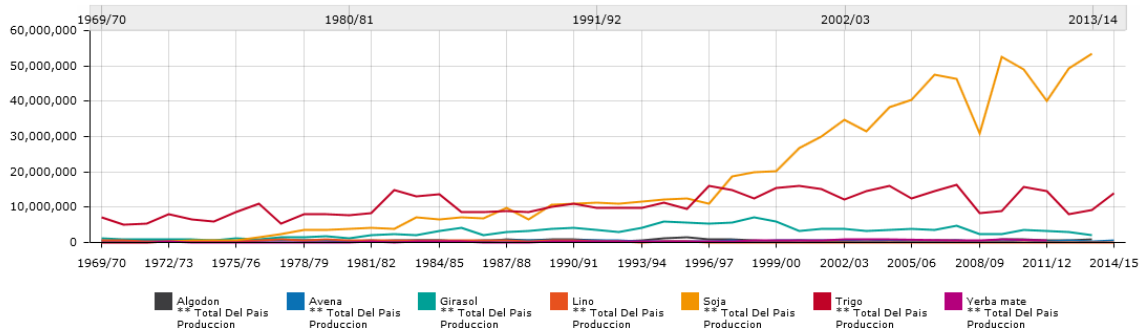

Figure 2: Production figures of the various crop plants 1969/79-2014/15 (Ministerio de Agricultura, Ganadería y Pesca 2015, n.pag.)

In this way, Argentina is gradually converting into a monocultural producer insofar as it centers its production around only very few *commodities.*[15] Crops initially solely cultivated in the Pampean area have been increasingly introduced in extra-Pampean regions, a trend that is

[15] *Commodities* are products with no or little added value and a large life-cycle such as grain or oilseeds. They are generally used in the agro-industry as input for further processing. In order to be competitive in the global market, the attempt is made to increase the productivity of the commodities to a maximum (through technology or the enlargement of the production). *Specialties*, in contrast, dispose over added value, and their life-cycle is generally shorter. This includes, for example, sweets or cheese with proper brands. What counts is the quality of the product rather than the quantity produced, which is why increasing quality and specialization are the key factors for staying competitive (Hernández 2009, pp. 55f).

especially true for genetically modified soybeans (Domínguez&Sabatino 2006, n.pag.).[16] This *pampeanization* (Aparicio 2005, p. 207) not only renders Argentina much more vulnerable to price fluctuations on the global market but also increases its dependency on transnational agro-corporations providing technological inputs (Domínguez&Sabatino 2006, n.pag.).

One of the main reasons for the extraordinarily rapid expansion of the *RR soybean* lies in the method of direct sowing. That is to say, farmers plant their seeds directly into the soil without any kind of pre-seeding tillage. This is possible thanks to their resistance to glyphosate, which eliminates all plants except the genetically modified ones (Domínguez&Sabatino 2005, pp. 18-27). Furthermore, the high price for soybeans, when the RR soybean was launched in the market, convinced farmers to incorporate the new high-yielding seeds. In addition, the seed industry enticed with credit offers. In this regard, it is worth noting that Monsanto initially did not charge royalty fees for patents as is the case now (Domínguez&Sabatino 2006, n.pag.; Taddei 2013, pp. 162f). Today, the business of intellectual property rights is a quite lucrative one, which is largely ascribed to the fact that farmers are obliged to rebuy seeds for each planting season. Whereas in 2005, when the World Bank started to collect data on this, Argentina spent about 650 million US dollars every year on (all the different kinds of) patents, in 2014 it was more than 2 billion US dollars. In the meanwhile, the US and some other countries (or better said, corporations in these countries) make large profits as can be seen in the following graphs:

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[16] In Argentina, soybean cultivation expanded at an extraordinary pace compared to other countries such as Brazil, which experienced similar transformations in agriculture a few years later. Furthermore, Argentina can be considered a pioneer with regard to the adoption of biotechnology. According to Gras, it is the increased circulation of global financial capital that can be held responsible for the intensifying specialization of individual countries. While agricultural production historically developed primarily according to climatic and environmental conditions, it now depends more and more on the global demand (Gras 2012, n.pag.).

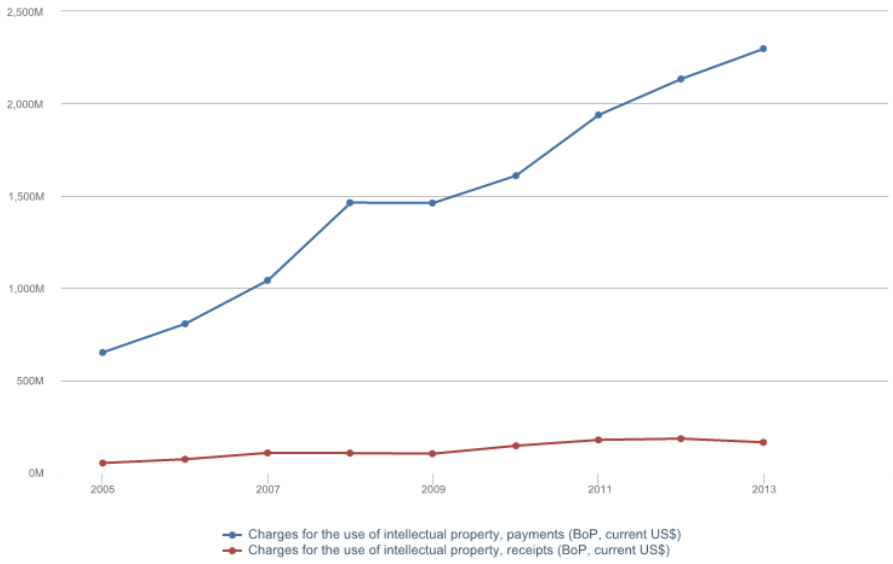

Figure 3: Charges for the use of intellectual property in the US (World Bank 2015: n.pag.)

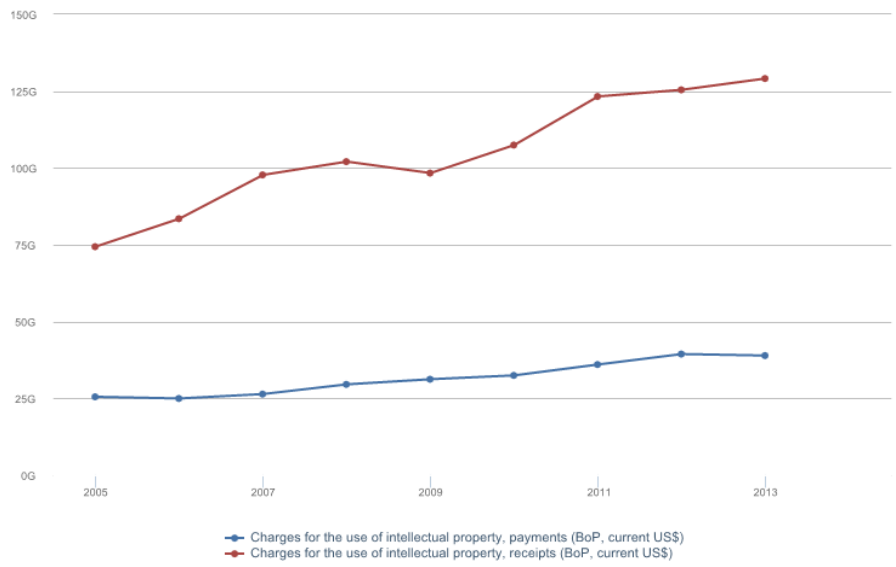

Figure 4: Charges for the use of intellectual property in Argentina (World Bank 2015: n.pag.)

This commodification, privatization and monopolization of *knowledge* gives enormous power to these corporations (Taddei 2013, p. 160).[17] Moreover, their (vertical and horizontal) integration[18] results in the concentration of control over not only the key sectors of food production but also of its distribution in the hands of a few corporations. At the same time, a transnationalization[19] of these sectors and a generally increasing integration into the global market took place (Gras 2012, n.pag.; Hernández 2009, p. 46). The best-known (but by far not the only) example of such a mega-corporation is certainly Monsanto, which introduced both the *RR soybean* and the associated herbicide to the market.[20] Furthermore, not only agro-corporations but also financial speculators recognized food production as a promising investment opportunity (Domínguez&Sabatino 2005, pp. 21-27 and 2006, n.pag.).

To sum it up, the current agricultural model can be held responsible for the concentration not only of capital but also of the control over land (as the most important means of production) and, thus, natural resources.[21] As David Harvey convincingly argues, this concentration of wealth and power in the hands of a minority can be considered characteristic of the *accumulation by dispossession* within a neoliberal world order (Harvey 2003).[22]

[17] At the present moment, the Argentine government is preparing a new law on seeds. Numerous social movements, notably the *National Peasant and Indigenous Movement (MNCI, Movimiento Nacional Campesino Indígena)*, criticize that this legislative proposal benefits once again transnational corporations (especially Monsanto) and stimulates the use of GMOs. According to the *MNCI*, this law deepens the process of expropriation and privatization of biodiversity, outlaws (or radically limits) *traditional* practices of selecting and interchanging remnants from previous crops, promotes the introduction of new GMOs and concedes broad-ranging rights to transnational corporation with regards to the control of the farmer's compliance with this law (Taddei 2013, p. 167).

[18] Horizontal integration refers to intrasectoral fusions (within individual sectors such as agricultural production, input provision, or commercialization). Vertical integration, on the contrary, means intersectoral mergers (between these sectors).

[19] Transnationalization refers not only to the intensified participation of transnational companies in agricultural activities since the 1970s but also to the general transnationalization of the production process (Gras 2012, n.pag.).

[20] For the different market shares of these agro-corporations, see Aranda 2010, pp. 113f.

[21] Usually, agro-corporations do not own but lease (the largest part of) the land they use for agricultural purposes. This is why I speak here about control over and not property of land. Nevertheless, this does not alter the fact of a glaring social inequality with regards to the distribution of and the access to land.

[22] With the concept of *accumulation by dispossession*, Harvey refers to the neoliberal capitalist policies of our days which provoke a centralization of wealth and power in the hands of a minority by dispossessing the public. This includes the continuing privatization of natural resources, often conducted by huge transnational corporations and accompanied by the displacement of peasants and indigenous populations. After having dispossessed the public, capitalists sell or rent what used to be commonly owned (Harvey 2003, pp. 145-148).

2.4.1 The Transformation of the Production Process

The consolidation of the agribusiness model undoubtedly implied a radical reorganization of the whole production process, allowing for the management of ever-larger areas.[23]

The increasing division of labor, including the outsourcing of labor, is probably one of the most evident changes. This refers to the new social players who become involved in agricultural activities due to transsectoral integration (between the agricultural sector and industry, commerce, finance, etc.) (Hernández 2009, pp. 41f). Such a division of labor was caused by the specialization of tasks during that period, giving rise to new professions, such as contractors, (contracted) agricultural workers, service providers (tractor drivers, spray plane pilots, etc.), administrators, transporters, and so on (Gras 2012, n.pag.; Aparicio et al. 1992, pp. 130-138). Moreover, this modification of social relations and roles was accompanied by the formation and consolidation of various associative organizations (Hernández 2009, n.pag).[24]

Another characteristic of the agribusiness model is contract farming. That is to say, the different social players mentioned above are linked by a series of contracts thus forming a network.[25] This becomes especially evident in the case of so-called *sowing pools* which lease land to farmers who cultivate it and pay a fee to the investors (ibid.). The *Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO)* describes them as "speculative investments funds" which "provide financial management, commercial and agronomic, for the large-scale production of cereals" (FAO, n.pag).[26]

This goes hand in hand with the *managerialization* of the production process. It refers not only to the accurate scheduling of the entire production process but also to detailed financial and commercial planning aimed at the maximization of profits and the minimization of risks. Thereby, *scientific knowledge* becomes increasingly important within this sector in the

[23] Agribusiness companies such as El Tejar, Adecoagro, Los Grobo, or MSU incorporate surfaces comprising more than 100,000 hectares (Gras 2012, n.pag.).

[24] This includes associations for different products (e.g., ACSOJA, MAIZAR, ASAGIR) but also cross-product (e.g., *mesa de enlace*) and transsectoral (e.g., BIOINTA, BIOCERES, sowing pools) alliances (Hernández 2009, pp. 49-53).

[25] Usually, there is one main enterprise, which concludes contracts with various small and medium enterprises and thus determines the functioning of the network. The contracts not only include agreements on services but various types of agreements (Gras 2012, n.pag.; Giarracca&Teubal 2006, p. 159).

[26] The largest part of their capital usually comes from banks, finance institutes, or private companies, funds, and investors. Their competitive advantage consists of the reduction of production costs through large-scale farming (Domínguez&Sabatino 2006, n.pag.;Gras 2012).

form of new academic careers related to agribusiness. Thus the typical *agribusinessman* of today is highly (formally) educated and knows about agronomy, information technology, biotechnology, capital management, marketing, and other disciplines, or employs someone who does (Hernández 2009, pp. 40 and 55-64; Gras 2012, n.pag.; Gras&Hernández 2009, pp. 94-96).[27]

2.4.2 Social and Environmental Consequences

With these developments in agriculture, the role of farmers has also significantly changed. As indicated by numerous authors, social exclusion is an inherent element of the agribusiness model (Domínguez&Sabatino 2005, p. 21; Aparicio et al. 1992, pp. 130-139, Neiman 2008, pp. 163-165, Giarracca&Teubal 2006, pp. 140f and 160f; Dominguez 2010, p. 18; Hernández 2009, pp. 39-41; Gras&Hernández 2009, pp. 103-113).[28] The initiated de-peasantization process can be considered a direct result of the declining demand on (formally unqualified) labor force within an "agriculture without farmers" (La Via Campesina 2009, n.pag.). This goes hand in hand with a trend of rural depopulation, namely increasing migration to cities (Aparicio et al. 1992, p. 134).

Many farmers who tried to compete with well-capitalized agro-companies and sowing pools fell into heavy debt after having bought new technologies or lands. Some accepted second jobs in the hope to be able to compensate for their shortfall of revenue (Tadeo 2010, pp. 5-7). However, most had to admit defeat at some point and were forced to sell or lease their land. Some of them continued agricultural production but were now contracted by corporations who guide and control the production process (Gras 2012, n.pag.). Others started to provide services to these corporations such as operating tractors, harvesting machines, or spray planes. In short, those who remained in the agricultural sector were faced with new production conditions and an increasing precarization and flexibilization of labor in this sector (Hernández 2009, p. 48; Tadeo 2010, p. 5).[29] This was aggravated by the simultaneous cutbacks of governmental support for family farmers who were now at the mercy of relentless competition (Domínguez&Sabatino 2006, n.pag.; Giarracca&Teubal 2006, pp. 145-156).

[27] At this point, it is worth noting that Argentina's public universities are highly subsidized by private companies such as Monsanto (Aranda 2010, pp. 114f).

[28] This can be considered one of the main differences compared with the *ISI* period. Even though social inequality was also present at that time, certain policies of social inclusion were pursued (Giarracca&Teubal 2006, pp. 160f).

[29] For more information on the situation of the increasing number of temporary workers, see Aparicio 2005.

That is to say, *modern* agriculture needs less and less work force and small-scale farmers are the first to be expulsed. The *National Peasant and Indigenous Movement* (*MNCI, Movimiento Nacional Campesino Indígena*), for example, reports that the soy model creates only one job for every 500 hectares cultivated whereas *traditional* agriculture provided about 170 jobs for the same size of land (MNCI 2008, n.pag.). Argentina's Agricultural Ministry speaks about a decrease of about 25% of people working permanently in agriculture between 1988 and 2002 disproportionally affecting (non-salaried) family workers. Even the Pampean region recorded a decrease of 34% of people working permanently in agriculture during this period.

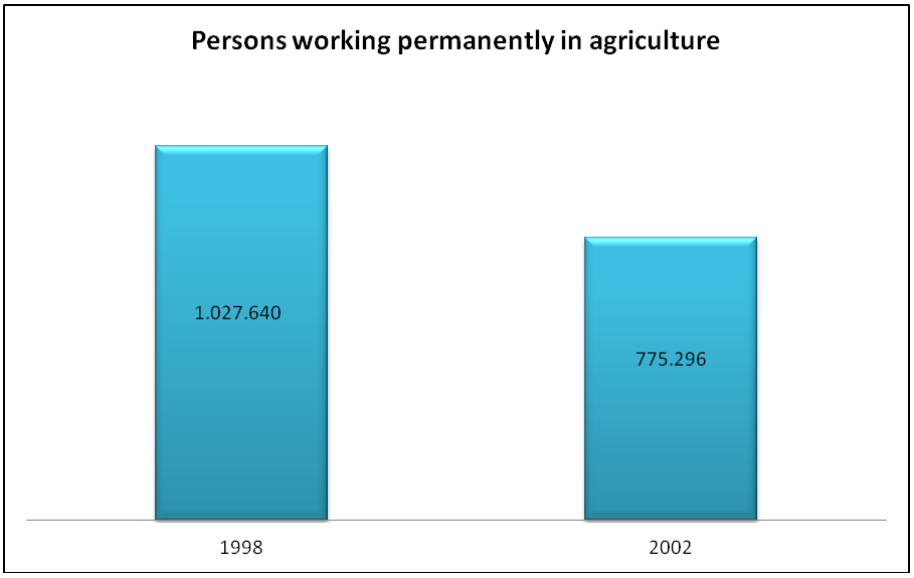

Figure 5: Persons working permanently in agriculture. Own representation according to data of the CNA 1988 and 2002 (Scheinkerman de Obschatko et al. 2007, p. 79).

More than 52,000 farms disappeared between 1960 and 1988, which equals 1,800 per year. From 1988 to 2002, another 87,000 farms vanished, corresponding to 6,263 per year. Nearly all had less than 200 hectares (Giarracca&Teubal 2006, p. 155).[30] These are the official numbers though it is believed they are kept quite low due to statistical procedures. Actual numbers may be even higher.[31]

[30] However, it should be noted that this is not a homogeneous movement. In some regions, cases of re-peasantization have been observed. However, this refers generally to *modernized* production units (Gras&Hernández 2009, pp. 114f; Aparicio et al 1992, p. 136).

[31] A not inconsiderable part of family farms in the Agricultural Census run as "farms without defined limits" (22% in 1988, 25% in 2002) due to precarious land tenures. Including these farms, the decrease of family farms probably would be even more obvious.

Small-scale farmers still make up the biggest part of Argentina's farmers in absolute numbers.[32] However, they cultivate an ever smaller part of national farmlands. In 2002, only about 13% of land was cultivated by small-scale farmers, as can be seen in the following figure.

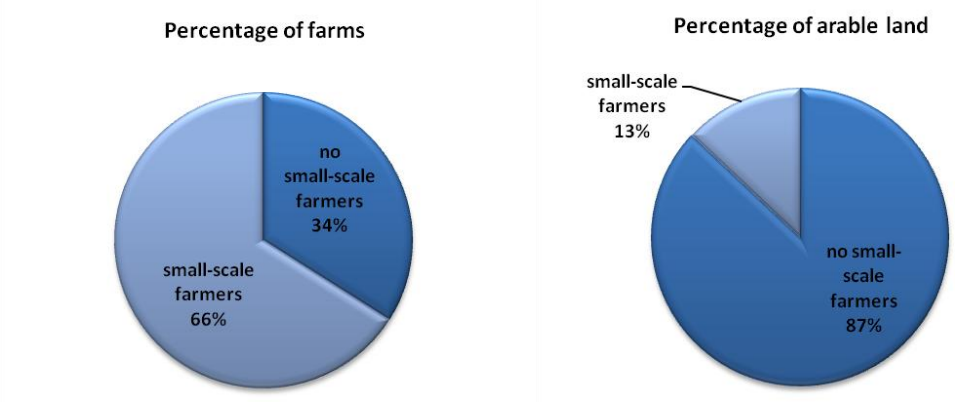

Figure 6: Participation of small-scale farmers according to the Agricultural Census of 2002 (Scheinkerman de Obschatko et al. 2007, pp. 55f). Own figure.

It should be noted, however, that the percentage of small-scale farmers varies widely according to the region and the cultivations. Whereas in 2002 more than 85% of the producers of tobacco, cotton, or mate herb were small-scale farmers, in soybean production it was only about 54%. If we just look at the smallest farmers, this is even more obvious. In 2002, 66% of all tobacco producers but only 14% of all soy producers had farms smaller than 2 ha.

This means that soy production favors large-scale farming. The following table shows this development:

	Year	Country's total (in %)	Pampean region (in %)
Until 5 ha	1988	20	11
	2002	15	7
From 5,1 to 25 ha	1988	24	26
	2002	20	17
From 25,1 to 50 ha	1988	11	17
	2002	10	16
From 50,1 to 100 ha	1988	9	18

[32] Small-scale farmers are defined here as those persons who directly work on the farm and do not permanently possess salaried non-family works, and do not possess more than a certain amount of arable land which differs according to what is cultivated and the region. For more detail on the definition of Obschatko et al., see p. 33.

	2002	9	19
More than 100ha	1988	14	25
	2002	21	38
Without defined limits	1988	22	3
	2002	25	2[33]

Table 1: Changes in the composition of farmers between 1988 and 2002 (Scheinkerman de Obschatko el al. 2007, p. 95).

This expulsion of family farmers and indigenous peoples has occurred in different ways.[34] Some were forced to leave their territories due to the hostile conditions generated by agribusiness. These conditions span from unemployment and heavy competition for low-income jobs to exposure to contaminated water and soil resulting from the chemical substances used in *modern* agriculture which pose a serious health risk for local communities. While the long-term consequences of the consumption of GMOs remain unclear, the negative effects of the use of agrochemicals are more than evident: Nausea, dizziness, breathing problems, increased blood pressure, allergic reactions, skin eruptions and ocular irritations are common symptoms after direct exposure to fumigation. Furthermore, cases of impairments in pregnancy, malformations, cancer, and death have been reported in relation with exposure to agrochemicals (Domínguez&Sabatino 2005, pp. 29-51).[35]

Further displacement of family farmers and indigenous peoples was a result of entrepreneurs who had developed diverse strategies to dispossess people of their lands. Initially, they may offer financial compensation. If this is refused, the judicial system serves as a quite useful instrument for this purpose. According to peasant and indigenous movements, corruption is very common in these proceedings, and judgments are disproportionally delivered in favor of private companies and investors (Via Campesina 2012, n.pag.).[36] In addition, various authors

[33] In total, this is just 99% what may be due to roundings.

[34] For a historic disquisition on the situation of indigenous peoples in Argentina and their violent expulsion, see Gordillo&Hirsch 2010.

[35] There are no trustworthy statistics about cases of contamination through agrochemicals. However, Dominguéz&Sabatino point out that during their extensive field study in Argentina and Paraguay, contamination could be proved in each of the investigated regions (Dominguéz&Sabatino 2005, pp. 5 and 27).

[36] In Argentina, two land rights are distinguished: First, the property title, which can be inherited or sold. Second, the acquisition of ownership via usurpation, which is obtained through 20 years of uninterrupted possession. This means that if land owners abandon their property for more than 20 years and other persons use it uninterruptedly during such time, the property title may be transferred to the latter (usucapion). Many territorial conflicts emerge, therefore, when entrepreneurs dispose of the property title but others have the possession (Barbetta 2010, pp. 123f).

have pointed out the numerous cases of direct violence in the form of evictions, persecutions, threats, torture, and even murders (Domínguez&Sabatino 2005, p. 21; Domínguez 2010, pp. 4-10; Grupo de Estudios sobre Ecología Política 2011; Giarracca 2009).[37]

Territorial conflicts are the logical consequence of *modern* agriculture which implies a reorganization of territories aiming at the exploitation of natural resources on a large scale. In this context, Domínguez&Sabatino (2006, pp. 7-10 and 55) speak of two agricultural models in tension. One is an agricultural model that can be characterized as capitalist, entrepreneurial, and industrial, based on principles such as profit maximization, monoculture, and permanent technological innovation, and the other is an agriculture model where farmers still play an important role. This does not necessarily refer to (pure) subsistence farming but to an agriculture which produces food primarily for the local market and in a socially and ecologically more responsible way.[38] In short, whereas in the first case a territory is considered pure merchandise, in the second case it is not only the place of agricultural production but also of social life. This unavoidably influences the way in which these territories are treated. In this sense, territorial conflicts can be considered a product of the commodification of land, which is accompanied by the violation of human rights and the criminalization of peasant and indigenous movements (Taddei 2013, p. 169).[39]

Moreover, if we understand food security according to Domínguez&Sabatino as the right to have access to food in both sufficient quality and quantity (Domínguez&Sabatino 2005, p. 58), then (local and national) food security is seriously put at risk. As noted by Teubal&Palmisano (2013, p. 51), focus on soy sparks two (closely interlinked) tendencies. First, soy is produced at the cost of other cultivations, especially grain, milk products, and meat. Essentially, commodities have replaced products of daily consumption. Almost all soybean production in Argentina is dedicated to the export market, mostly to European countries in the form of flour or other by-products used for animal feed (Teubal n.d., pp. 77f).[40] Soybeans are the main resource of foreign

[37] For more details on different forms of eviction and the role of the State and its authorities in these cases of violence, see Grupo de Estudios sobre Ecología Política 2011. For more information about cases of death related to practices of agribusiness, see Taddei 2013, p 169.

[38] This type of agriculture may also make use of new technologies and wage laborers but at a much lower extent.

[39] To obtain an overview of the different peasant and indigenous movements in Argentina and the conflicts they have been confronted with, see Domínguez 2006.

[40] In contrast to meat and grain, soybeans are not part of the *traditional* Argentine diet. The largest part of soybean production is not even used for human consumption but as animal feed or biofuel. This is why Giarracca&Teubal (2006, pp. 155-157) argue that the increase in soy production does not aim at combating world hunger as is frequently argued.

currency. This point gains in importance when considering that Argentina does not have access to international credit due to its foreign debts and the suspension of payments in 2001.[41] Second, soy production has provoked a major concentration and centralization of capital in the production, commercialization and industrial processing of products, thus effectively forcing family-based agriculture out of business.

Contrary to all promises made, hunger and poverty have increased dramatically in Argentina since soy has been cultivated on a large scale (Domínguez&Sabatino 2006, n.pag.). Even though greater integration into the global market is certainly not the only unequalizing effect, most studies agree that this was one of the main factors:

> "Inequality strongly increased during the second half of the 70s and the first part of the 80s, coinciding with a period of more international trade openness, suppression of civil liberties, restrictions to the action of the labour unions, and by the end of the period, macroeconomic crisis […]. It was probably induced by a fall in the price of capital and the introduction of new skilled labour intensive technologies, both likely consequences of the greater integration of Argentina into the world markets." (Bebczuk&Gasparini 2001, pp. 23 and 36)

That is to say, even though the national GDP has significantly increased (see above), social inequality has also increased during this time, especially in the 1990s:

> "Never before the Argentine economy enjoyed such a high income level as in the nineties, but at the same time, it has not experimented such high inequality and unemployment levels, either." (Bebczuk&Gasparini 2001, p. 1)

The following graph provided by the World Bank shows the development of Argentina's poverty rate from 1991 to 2011.

[41] In 2012, the soy production brought about 20,000 million dollars (BCR, n.pag.).

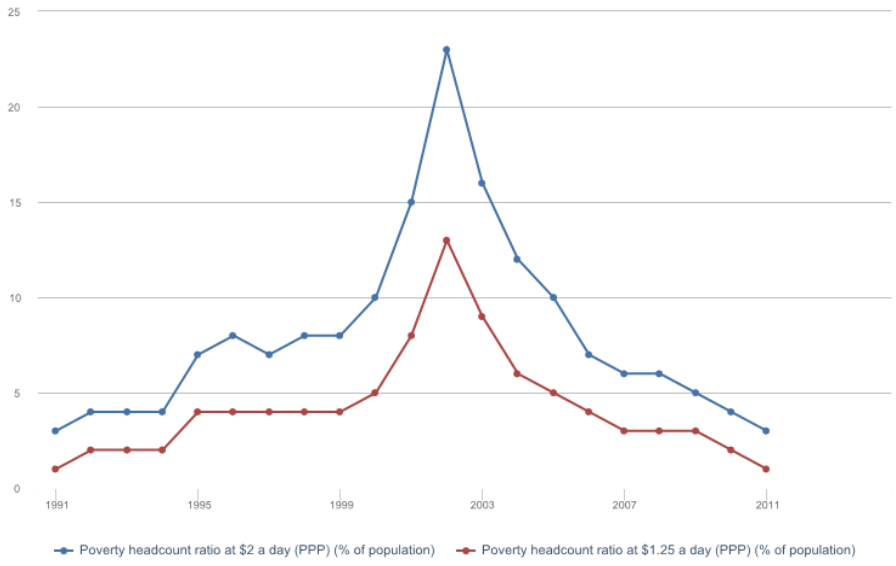

Figure 7: Poverty headcount ratio in Argentina 1991-2011 (World Bank 2015: n.pag.)

The unequal distribution of wealth in this period can be illustrated with the World Bank's Gini index[42] which increased from 42 in 1986 to 51 in 1998 and to 54 in 2002.[43]

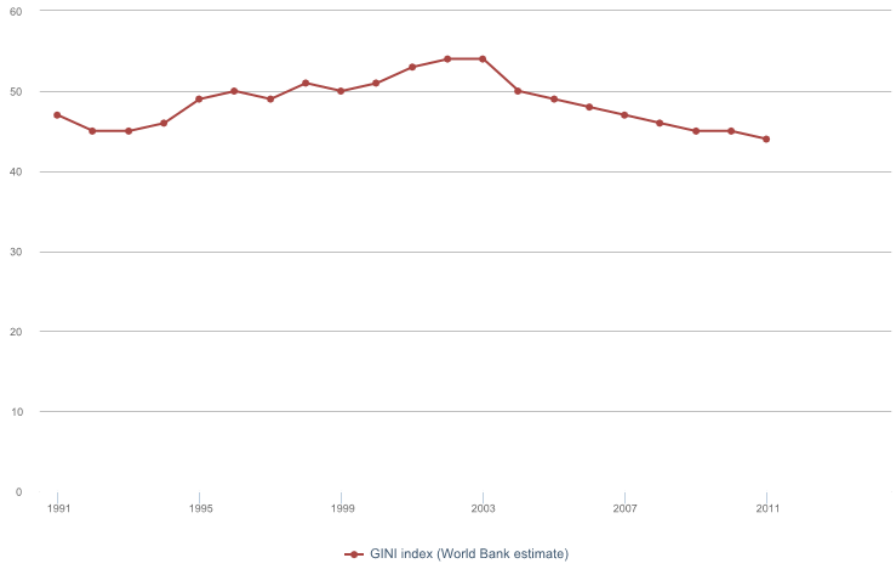

Figure 8: Argentina's Gini Index 1991-2011 (World Bank 2015: n.pag.)

[42] The Gini index measures a country's income distribution. While a Gini coefficient of zero expresses perfect equality (everyone has the same income), a value of one means maximal inequality.

[43] There are no data on former years. Even though inequality and poverty have been consistently measured since 1974 by the Household Permanent Survey (EPH), this survey only includes the urban population.

The decrease in poverty and inequality after the historically high levels in 2001, when Argentina experienced one of its most severe economic crises, is mostly associated with changes in the political course. Indisputably, the following governments established certain social policies. However, they have also clearly supported the further consolidation of the agribusiness model. This is in no way contradictory since the foreign exchange revenue resulting from agribusiness activities has been used to finance these social policies (Giarracca&Teubal 2006, p. 160; Gras 2012, n.pag.).[44] This means that even though poverty may have decreased with so-called *progressive* governments, they still adhere to the agribusiness model accepting all the negative consequences mentioned above.

A further consequence is increased food vulnerability. As McMichael argues, "[n]ational food reserves have been privatized and are now run like transnational companies" (McMichael 2009a, p. 288). This hinders access to food, especially for lower social classes. The "(w)orld hunger amidst global plenty" (Araghi 2010, p. 41) clearly shows that feeding the world does not depend on increasing productivity but on distribution politics (Taddei 2013, pp. 158-161).[45]

Moreover, the advance of the agricultural frontier and (genetic[46] and chemical) contamination also violate food sovereignty when understood as the right of local communities to produce their food in their territories according to their own ways. Hence both the variety and the quality of food diminish, which also affects urban populations (Domínguez 2010, p. 58; Teubal 2009, p. 2; Domínguez&Sabatino 2005, p. 58).

The environmental consequences of the agribusiness model are also dramatic. Soil degradation, contamination, deforestation, desertification, declining biodiversity and the emergence of new diseases and illnesses are only some of the numerous negative impacts resulting from contemporary production methods (Domínguez&Sabatino 2005, pp. 19-28, Giarracca&Teubal 2006, p. 155). Furthermore, an increasing number of *scientific* works point to the contribution of current agricultural practices to ongoing climate change and the disruption of a number of natural cycles with far-reaching consequences. This refers to the continuous destruction of vast tracts of land that represent peasants' most important means of production and at the same

[44] See Chapter 2.4.3.
[45] According to Taddei, the debate on world hunger became depoliticized with the *Green Revolution* since it assumed that insufficient productivity levels were the root of the problem for which technical solutions were proposed. In this way, the underlying (political, social, economic, cultural, etc.) power relations were obscured and the voices calling for agricultural reforms successfully suppressed (Taddei 2013, pp. 158f).
[46] This refers to the contamination of other species by genetically modified plants. Even though farmers decide not to use GMOs, their land may be contaminated if these are used in the surroundings (Domínguez&Sabatino 2005, p. 2).

time the basis of all our livelihoods. As recent *scientific* works show, planetary boundaries are already reached and require rapid action (Kosoy et al. p. 74; Rogers et al 2012, p. 62):

> "Meanwhile, the environment on which individuals and communities are dependent for sustenance is increasingly degraded. Water, air and soil pollution, hazardous wastes, and loss of biodiversity, fertile farmland, clean water supplies, and natural areas all contribute to a reduced quality of life and worsened future prospects. Climate change threatens to reduce water supplies and agricultural production still further, while increasing frequency of severe storms, droughts and floods adds more risk to daily life." (Rogers et al. 2012, p. 62)

This citation, taken from one of the international documents published on the AAPRESID homepage, shows that AAPRESID recognizes the existence of environmental problems resulting from agricultural activities. However, as we will see in Chapter 5.3.2, it states having found the solution for this problem in a more *sustainable* mode of production. This is why it is necessary to blame *conventional* agriculture as being responsible for the ecocide of the last decades, despite their proposals for a *modern* agriculture promising to bring about long overdue changes.[47]

2.4.3 Historical and Political Context

For a better understanding of how the agribusiness model asserts itself despite all the aforementioned negative consequences, we need see this development in its (national and international) historical context.

Since the 1970s, Argentina has increasingly adopted neoliberal policies, which solidified during the government of Menem (1989-1999). This was (partly) related to the worldwide globalization process that was pushed forward by international organisms and corporations and accompanied by a series of international agreements (Giarracca&Teubal 2006, p. 145).[48] Argentina's increasing integration into the global market during this time gave rise to significant (institutional, technological, productive, financial, etc.) changes with far-reaching consequences for local economies (Gras 2012, n.pag.). A series of historical events and political decisions taken

[47] See Chapter V.

[48] The most important international agreement of this time is certainly the *Washington Consensus*. This set of economic policy prescriptions defined rules for basic restructuring of financial practices and production processes under the guidance of international organizations such as the *IMF* and the *World Bank*. It provided an important impetus to the globalization process at the end of the 1980s and had deep and long-lasting impacts on the economic and social development not only of Argentina but also of other Latin American countries (Giarracca&Teubal 2006, p. 146).

by different governments (although under pressure of certain groups of interest) can also be held responsible for the consolidation of the neoliberal model in Argentina.

As Giarracca&Teubal convincingly argue, a profound alteration of both farmer's minds and old solidarities were the preliminary condition to obtain a majority for the neoliberalization of agriculture. The period of military dictatorship (1976-1983) can be considered an important factor for this change of attitude since it caused strong social disciplining with any kind of resistance being immediately suppressed (Giarracca&Teubal 2006, pp. 142-145).

In addition, certain groups of interest unceasingly promoted the *modernization* of agriculture, most notably the *Argentine Association of No Till Producers* **(***AAPRESID, Asociación Argentina de Productores en Siembra Directa)* (Giarracca&Teubal 2006, pp. 142f and 152; Hernández 2009, p. 44).

Argentina's long history of foreign debt is another important factor which helps to understand the introduction of the agribusiness model. Menem's attempts to control the inflation tendencies in the early 1990s (especially the *Convertibility Plan*[49] and the *Decree on Deregulation*, both released in 1991) helped to consolidate neoliberal policies in Argentina. The result was a momentous indebtedness of the agricultural sector. Many farmers had invested in new technology, machinery, or lands due to the easy access to loans in the hope of being able to maintain their production in this way. As a result, millions of hectares of land were mortgaged and thereafter auctioned (Giarracca 2009, pp. 22-24; Giarracca&Teubal 2006, pp. 144f). In this context, the first transgenic seeds were authorized in 1996 in the hope of finding a way out of the recession (Giarracca&Teubal 2006, pp. 144 and 152; Teubal 2009, p.2).

The neoliberal reshaping of these years resulted in a further crisis in 2001. Nevertheless, the following governments have clearly supported the agribusiness model. Despite their creditable social policies (this being the reason why they are often regarded as progressive), they ultimately supported its further consolidation. This is in no way contradictory as the government

[49] The *Convertibility Plan* appointed the equalization of the value of the US dollars and the Argentine peso (Rapoport 2000, pp. 19f).

used the foreign exchange revenue to finance its social policies (Giarracca&Teubal 2006, p. 160; Gras 2012, n.pag.).[50]

In 2008, the present government of Christina Kirchner intended to expand these revenues by establishing a movable system of deduction on the exportation of soybeans and various other crops. However, the agricultural lockout, which was initiated by the sector's main groups of interest and lasted 129 days, forced the government to discard this proposal (Comelli et al. 2010, pp. 13-191).

During this time, the *Agricultural Liaison Committee (Mesa de Enlace*)[51] was founded as the negotiating body of the groups on strike (Giarracca et al. 2011, p. 260). Whereas the members of this Committee worried about lower incomes, the government promoted the deduction system as an important means of distribution. It is obvious, however, that the government also saw the potential for increased tax revenues that would contribute to paying installments deriving from the external debt burden (Teubal&Palmisano, pp. 194f).

That is to say, neither the *Agricultural Liaison Committee* nor the government questioned the agribusiness model or Argentina's tendency to convert more and more into a monocultural producer. On the contrary, both parties considered the soy model as a great possibility of achieving high surpluses. The question was only about the distribution of said surpluses (Teubal&Palmisano, pp. 194f).

It seems important to mention, moreover, that the *Agricultural Liaison Committee* did not represent *the farmers*, as has often been pictured in the media. Actually, this conflict and its medial perception contributed to the invisibilization of some of the main players of the agricultural sector, such as indigenous communities and family farmers, whose needs largely differ from those of the Committee's members. Furthermore, important political and structural

[50] Governmental support for these policies is demonstrated, for example, in the *Federal Strategic Plan on Agri-Food and Agro-Industry* published in 2011. This plan stipulates an increase in grain production in the following years, which implies the further advance of the agricultural frontier and clearly urges the use of GMOs. Another meaningful example is the law on seeds that is currently in the planning stage, which clearly benefits transnational corporations such as Monsanto. It seems no mere coincidence that these plans coincide with Monsanto's announcement of multi-million dollar investments in new production facilities (Taddei 2013, pp. 166f).

[51] The *Agricultural Liaison Committee* is composed of the four main associations of the sector: the *Argentinian Agrarian Federation (FAA, Federación Agraria Argentina),* the *Agricultural Cooperatives Federation of Argentina (CONINAGRO, Confederación Intercooperativa Agropecuaria),* the *Argentinian Rural Confederation (CRA, Confederaciones Rurales Argentinas)* and the *Argentinian Rural Society (SRA, Sociedad Rural Argentina)* (Giarracca et al. 2011, p. 260).

questions such as the sustainability of the present system had been pushed out of focus. In this way, the conflict provoked a further naturalization of the agribusiness model (Teubal&Palmisano, pp. 194-198).[52]

[52] For more detail on the course of events in this conflict and an analysis of the public debates taking place at the time, see Giarracca&Teubal 2010.

2.5 Summary

	Colonial agriculture	Beginnings of the agro-exportation model	Agro-industry	Agribusiness
Period	Before 1880	1880-1930	1930-1970s	1970s-today
Food Regime	-	Colonial-diasporic	Mercantile-industrial	Corporate
Paradigm	Pre-capitalist	Increasingly capitalist	Capitalist	Capitalist-Neoliberal
Main products	Meat, leather, tallow, wool, horticulture	Meat, grains	Meat, milk products, different grains	soybeans, meat
Destination of production	Predominantly local markets	Export and domestic market	Domestic and export market	Predominantly export market
Main social players	Colonial settlers, *gauchos*, rural workers	Landowners, *chacareros*, rural workers	Landowners, (small-, medium-, and large-scale) farmers, private companies	Transnational corporations, *sowing pools*, agribusinessman, contractors, temporary workers, etc.
Production units	Predominantly small and medium	Predominantly small and medium	Small, medium, and large	Gradual disappearance of small farms
Technology	Simple tools	Further *developed* tools	Machinery	Hybrid seeds (1970s), biotechnology (1990s), agrochemicals, new machinery, information technology, etc.
Input costs	Very low	Low	Low-high	High
Land property and availability	Land property. Easy land access	Land property and land leasing. Increasing prices and concentration of land property.	Land property and land leasing. Increasing prices and concentration of land property.	Land leasing gains importance, concentration of control over land
International context	European demand on quality meat	European industrialization increases their demand on food imports	Economic crisis of 1929; international agreements and first stabilization plans	Globalization, *Washington Consensus*
National context and role of the State	Military campaigns against indigenous peoples; European immigration; Emphyteusis; *Vagrancy Act* (1860)	European immigration, final campaigns against indigenous peoples; incorporation of large amounts of arable lands; reestablishment of slavery; *Grito de Alcorta* (1912)	Far-reaching state interventions during the *ISI* period; foundation of the *INTA* (1957)	Military dictatorship (1976-1983): economic opening; social and institutional disciplining, disarticulation and repression of social and political organizations; presidency of Menem (1989-1999): deepening of neoliberalism (*Decree on Deregulation, Convertibility Plan;* first *progressive* governments
Sectoral organizations	*Argentine Rural Society* (SRA, 1866)	*Argentine Agrarian Federatio*n (FAA, 1912)	Agrarian Leagues (1970)	AAPRESID (1989); AACREA (1960)

Table 2: The development of agriculture in Argentina. Own table.

The previous table sums up the most significant changes Argentina's agriculture has undergone over the last two hundred years. As we have seen in this Chapter, these transformations have entailed a series of negative consequences. Considering this, the question arises of how the agribusiness model has been able to assert itself without any major obstacles.

The breakthrough of this model seems to be closely linked to certain intersubjective assumptions which are (re)produced day by day by a hegemonic discourse. It is especially private associations who act as the protagonists here. Their discursive contributions have gained massive support in society and have helped to enable certain practices which thereupon have influence on the discourse. Before we take a closer look at the functioning of this particular discourse, however, we need to address some theoretical issues about how discourses generally operate and how they are related to *power* and *knowledge*. This will be done in the following Chapter.

III THEORETICAL BACKGROUND: Power, Discourse, and Knowledge

In this Chapter, I will present the theoretical approach I chose according to my research interest. The starting point is Michel Foucault's theoretical concept of *power*, discourse, and *knowledge* which is still one of the most influential in this field and forms the basis of numerous theories of power developed at a later point. Consequently, critical research on power relations still tends to resort to his concepts since they still retain relevance. After this, I will introduce one of the later conceptualizations: Reiner Keller's *sociology of knowledge approach to discourse* (SKAD). It is based on Foucault but holds a more sociological focus due to the combination with other theories from social science. This is followed by some brief considerations on media from a discourse-theoretical perspective which permits us to obtain a better understanding of the functioning of media. Finally, some notes on power and discourse from a post- and decolonial point of view will enable us to integrate the question on the colonial heritage of contemporary discourses. For this purpose, I will present primarily the concept of *coloniality of knowledge* and *colononiality of power* introduced by Anibal Quijano and further developed by numerous other social theorists.

3.1 Foucault's Analytics of Power, Discourse and Knowledge

> "[T]here is no power relation without the correlative constitution of a field of knowledge, nor any knowledge that does not presuppose and constitute at the same time power relations."
>
> Foucault 1991, p. 27

> "[K]nowledge is not made for understanding; it is made for cutting."
>
> Foucault 1977, p. 154

Currently, discourse is much talked about. However, this term is used in rather different ways. In the following, I will present some theoretical concepts of Michel Foucault who was undoubtedly one of the most influential theorists in this field and also constitutes the basis for Reiner Keller's *sociology of knowledge approach to discourse (SKAD,)* as we will see in Chapter 3.2.

Power, power strategies, and the subjects

Foucault draws up the idea of a horizontal power, a web of power relations, which is only partially organized and coordinated (Foucault 1978, p. 126). With this, he abandons the common idea of a sovereign, merely repressive power, which assumes a direct causal relation. He also rejects thinking power in terms of a dialectic tension between two opposing sides with one dominating the other, as can be seen, for example, in Friedman and McMichael's food regime theory (Friedmann & McMichael 1989; McMichael 2009a/b). According to Foucault, we are confronted with a much more complex and constantly moving interplay of innumerous social players (Foucault 1990, p. 93):

> "(P)ower must be understood in the first instance as the multiplicity of force relations immanent in the sphere in which they operate and which constitute their own organization; as the process which, through ceaseless struggles and confrontations, transforms, strengthens, or reverses them; as the support which these force relations find in one another, thus forming a chain or a system, or on the contrary, the disjunctions and contradictions which isolate them from one another; and lastly, as the strategies in which they take effect, whose general design or institutional crystallization is embodied in the state apparatus, in the formulation of the law, in the various social hegemonies." (Foucault 1990, pp. 92f)

Foucault does not deny the existence of unequal power relations, social or cultural hegemonies, or even a ruling power class. However, he argues that power is only able to operate and consolidate due to a set of multiple heterogeneous power relations, which are constantly re(produced) by our daily social interactions (Foucault 1978, pp. 133f). "Power is everywhere" and "comes from everywhere", Foucault (1990, p. 93) argues; it literally runs through the social bodies:

> "And 'Power', insofar as it is permanent, repetitious, inert, and self-reproducing, is simply the over-all effect that emerges from all these mobilities, the concatenation that rests on each of them and seeks in turn to arrest their movement. One needs to be nominalistic, no doubt: power is not an institution, and not a structure; neither is it a certain strength we are endowed with; it is the name that one attributes to a complex strategical situation in a particular society." (Foucault 1990, p. 93)

Foucault has been strongly criticized and accused of eradicating the subject due to its high determinacy. However, according to Foucault the *micro powers* (the subjects) are by no means simple representations of the *macro power* (the resulting web of power relations, a particular government holding a certain strategic codification) but relatively autonomous powers that are influenced by the macro-power but at the same time form the macro power (Foucault 1978, p. 110). This point is important especially when we think about possibilities for resistance.

For Foucault, power is not possessed by a single individual or a group, but operates as a web of (heterogeneous, unbalanced, and unstable) power relations. It is the reproduction of these power relations by discourses and social practices what serves as necessary prerequisite for the consolidation of a macro power (Foucault 1990, pp. 92f). With the words of Foucault, "(m)ajor dominations are the hegemonic effects that are sustained by all these confrontations (ibid , p. 94)". Consequently, neither a central nucleus of power, nor a unique source can be identified. Power operates from the bottom to the top and (in a retrograde movement) from the top to the bottom (Foucault 1978, pp. 127f; 1980, p. 94).

The macro-power also pursues a *strategy* through which it is fixed and multiplied. However, nobody invented this *strategy*. Individuals and groups of individuals hold objectives and pursue their own interests. The final *strategy* of the *macro-power*, however, is the result of the interaction of all social players. In other words, that a class becomes a ruling class is the product of a number of effective and reasoned tactics, which together constitute a strategy that ensures their domination. This domination influences the micro-powers since they produce new effects and enter into new spheres of life (Foucault 1978, pp. 119-132; Foucault 1990, pp. 94f). This is why “power relations are both intentional and non-subjective” at the same time (Foucault 1990, p. 94).

In short, the mechanisms of power have been "invested, colonized, utilized, involuted, transformed, displaced, extended, etc., by even more general mechanisms and by forms of global domination” (Foucault 1986, pp. 234f). This *colonization of power* is based on certain social relations between individuals (adults and children, men and women, teachers and pupils, etc.) which allow the *global strategy* to operate and consolidate itself. At the same time, alternative *knowledge* is buried and *hegemonic knowledge* appears as the only (*rationally*) conceivable one. In this way, also a naturalization and invisibilization of *power strategies* take place (ibid.).

Discourses and dispositifs

With the term *power dispositif,* Foucault refers to the web of heterogeneous, discursive and non-discursive elements, which together compose the *macro power*. This includes discourses but also architecture, laws, administrative procedures, *scientific* statements, philosophical and moral doctrines, and so on (Foucault 1978, pp. 119-143). A *power dispositif*

can be considered the response to a social *emergency* in a particular historical moment. It is the product of the manipulation of power forces; a *rational* intervention, which results in constant strategic reconstitution and functional overdetermination. In this sense, a *power dispositif* is a product of power. At the same time, it is an instrument of power, which serves the reproduction and multiplication of power. It is the medium through which power produces speaking subjects and determines what is and is not possible to think and do (Foucault 1978, pp. 29-31). In other words, a *power dispositif* enables the emergence of a specific type of *knowledge*. This *knowledge*, in turn, supports the *dispositif* (ibid., pp. 119-143).

The term discourse, as Foucault uses it, means a culturally constructed representation of reality, which results in certain ways of thinking and acting (Foucault 1978, pp. 29-31). For Foucault, a "discourse is constituted by a group of sequences of signs, in so far as they are statements, that is, in so far as they can be assigned particular modalities of existence" (Foucault 2002, p. 121). This means, a discourse is a group of statements belonging to the same *discursive formation*. A *discursive formation* appears "(w)henever one can describe, between a number of statements, such a system of dispersion, whenever, between objects, types of statement, concepts, or thematic choices, one can define a regularity (an order, correlations, positions and functionings, transformations)" (Foucault 2002, p. 41).

That is to say, it is discourses that provide us a language to talk about a particular topic in a particular historical moment. They govern the way we can (meaningfully) speak about something by including and excluding, producing and inhibiting since "the production of discourse is at once controlled, selected, organised and redistributed according to a certain number of procedures, whose role is to avert its powers and its dangers, to cope with chance events, to evade its ponderous, awesome materiality" (Foucault 1972, p. 216). Consequently, discourses define and produce the objects of our *knowledge*, even though the division between accepted and unaccepted *knowledge* is by no means a stable one. Moreover, the same discursive elements may form part of different *strategies*, and contradictory discourses may form part of the same *strategy* (Foucault 2002, pp. 100-102).

Knowledge and truth

With *knowledge,* Foucault refers to the background of socio-cultural codes that guide our way of thinking, acting and talking, a *historical a priori* (Foucault 2002, p. 142), which exists previously to our individual existence and is adopted unconsciously by the subjects:

> "Knowledge is that of which one can speak in a discursive practice, and which is specified by that fact: the domain constituted by the different objects that will or will not acquire a scientific status […]; knowledge is also the space in which the subject may take up a position and speak of the objects with which he deals in his discourse […]; knowledge is also the field of coordination and subordination of statements in which concepts appear, and are defined, applied and transformed […]; lastly, knowledge is defined by the possibilities of use and appropriation offered by discourse […]." (Foucault 2002, p. 201)

Each *knowledge* has a particular discursive practice. At the same time, each discursive practice is defined by a particular *knowledge* (Foucault 2002, p. 201). What is more, different *knowledges* compete with each other in the *battle for truth*; a battle for "the ensemble of rules according to which the true and the false are separated and specific effects of power attached to the true" (1980, p. 132). *Truth*, therefore, is the result of the battle of different *knowledges* which try to be recognized as *true*. Hence *truth* is inevitably linked to power:

> "'Truth' is to be understood as a system of ordered procedures for the production, regulation, distribution, circulation and operation of statements. 'Truth' is linked in a circular relation with systems of power which produce and sustain it, and to effects of power which it induces and which extend it. A 'regime' of truth." (Foucault 1980, p. 133)

With the term *regime of truth,* Foucault refers to the general politics of *truth* within a society determining "the types of discourse which it accepts and makes function as true; the mechanisms and instances which enable one to distinguish true and false statements, the means by which each is sanctioned; the techniques and procedures accorded value in the acquisition of truth; the status of those who are charged with saying what counts as true" (Foucault 1980, p. 131).

According to Foucault, each society has its own political economy of truth, to be exact, a specific way of how *power* and *truth* are organized. For the political economy in our (occidental, capitalist) society, he identifies five characteristic traits:

> "'Truth' is centred on the form of scientific discourse and the institutions which produce it; it is subject to constant economic and political incitement (the demand for truth, as much for economic production as for political power); it is the object, under diverse forms, of immense diffusion and consumption (circulating through apparatuses of education and information whose extent is

> relatively broad in the social body, not withstanding certain strict limitations); it is produced and transmitted under the control, dominant if not exclusive, of a few great political and economic apparatuses (university, army, writing, media); lastly, it is the issue of a whole political debate and social confrontation ('ideological' struggles)." (Foucault 1980, pp. 131f)

The political economy of truth is what allows power to constantly adapt its effects and let them circulate in the social bodies. A transformation of the economy of power, consequently, would entail a modification of which statements we consider true and false (Foucault 1980, pp. 112-132). This is not to be confused with Kuhn's idea of a paradigmatic shift. Contrary to Kuhn, Foucault does not refer here to a modification of the content or the theoretical form of statements but to the rules by which they are judged.

As the quotation above clearly shows, Foucault assigns the *scientific* institutions a central role in the process of *truth* production. Especially human sciences serve the control of populations (Foucault 1980, pp. 106-108). As a consequence, those who have best access to *scientific* institutions are more likely to have their *knowledge* recognized as *truth*. With this, it becomes clear that Foucault does not refer to an absolute or *objective truth* but to one out of many possible ways of interpretation, namely that one which has succeeded in the *battle for truth* (Ewald 1978, pp. 15-18).

In short, *power* produces *knowledge,* and *knowledge* and *truth* produce *power*. This is what allows for a constant reproduction of *power* (Foucault 1980, p. 119).

3.2 The Sociology of Knowledge Approach to Discourse (SKAD)

The *sociology of knowledge approach to discourse* (*SKAD*) was introduced by Reiner Keller in the late 1990s. In his attempt to find a practicable sociological way of thinking and analyzing discourse, he combined some of Foucault's theoretical assumptions with elements of the *hermeneutic sociology of knowledge,*[53] *grounded theory* and other qualitative research traditions. Concededly, Keller's theoretical contributions are quite modest and the theoretical framework of *SKAD* is very similar to that of Foucault. Unlike Foucault, however, Keller offers a

[53] The *hermeneutic sociology of knowledge* emerged in the context of German qualitative social research in the 1980s. It is primarily based on Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann's book *The Social Construction of Reality* (1966) but is also linked to other traditions of qualitative social science such as *symbolic interactionism* and *social phenomenology*. *Hermeneutic sociology of knowledge* raises the claim of translating a theoretical approach into a methodical (hermeneutic) device for the empirical analysis of knowledge (Keller 2007, n.pag.).

concrete and practicable methodical program which will be described in detail in Chapter 4.2. Before doing so though, I will sum up some of the most important theoretical concepts of *SKAD*.[54]

Subjects and social practices

Same as Foucault, *SKAD* assigns the subjects a very important role for the (re)production of *knowledge*, discourse and social meaning. The subjects not only produce but also receive discourse. That is to say, they incorporate the *knowledge* provided by a discourse which then influences their social practices. In this way, discourse pre-constitutes the subject's scope of thinking and acting. However, they are not completely determined but actively participating in a rather creative way in the power struggles over the definition of symbolic meanings. This is what he holds responsible for the modification of discourses (Keller 2005a, n.pag.; 2007, n.pag.; 2005b, pp. 60- 63).

Social practices include all forms of (inter)actions which aim at handling everyday situations. In other words, social practices are socially conventionalized and habitualized ways of acting, or models of routine, exercised by different social players in similar ways. These action patterns have been distributed via the collective *stocks of knowledge* which contain (more or less explicit) instructions for actions. This *knowledge* emerges and evolves through social practices experimented in particular situations (Keller 2005b, pp. 63f).

Keller (2005b, pp. 63f and 2004, pp. 62f) distinguishes between three different types of practices, whereby each type includes discursive and non-discursive (non-linguistic) practices. First are *discourse producing practices*. These are communication patterns which are bound to discourse and regulate the use of language (who can say what and when) and the social meaning of discursive events, that is, patterns of socially legitimated forms of enunciation and social action in discourse which (re)produce discourse. These patterns are based on social convention, that is, they form a set of (more or less institutionalized) rules of instruction, originating from these practices. *Discourse producing practices* therefore vary according to the discourse and the

[54] For more detail on the question of what are the elements Keller adapts (or rejects) from the Foucaultian approach and what he takes from the *sociology of knowledge*, see Keller 2005b. In this text he also provides a more detailed description of other approaches to discourse and their divergences to *SKAD*.

discursive field and include rules of *scientific* writing, institutionalized genres of written and spoken communication, forms of salutations, dress codes, and so on.

The second type of practices postulated by Keller are *discourse generated model practices*. This refers to patterns of (linguistic and non-linguistic) actions originating from discourse and fixed to subject positions. However, the actions finally realized are more than simple replications of what was imagined in discourse.

Thirdly we have *extra-discursive practices*. With this, Keller means normative/*traditional* ways of doing something (walking, cooking, living, talking, reading, etc.). *Extra-discursive practices* should also be understood as a result of discourse but of an *external* one which presently is not subject to investigation. Keller admits, however, that this category tends to disappear due to the general *de-traditionalization* and expansion of observation by *experts* in all praxis fields (Keller 2007, n.pag.).

Power, knowledge, social meaning and *symbolic order*

Following Berger and Luckmann, Keller defines *knowledge* as comprising "all kind of symbolic orderings and institutionalized symbolic orders (including *common sense knowledge*, religion, theory, ideology and *scientific knowledges*, and so on)" (Keller 2005b, p. 55). Same as Foucault, Keller considers *knowledge* as historical a priori which is produced and transmitted by (discursive and non-discursive) practices and socially objectified and reified in the process of institutionalization. Once incorporated, they guide our social interactions. What is more, a society's *stock of knowledge* is heterogeneous, inconsistent and constantly modifying. It varies in space and time. Essentially, different societies at different times in different places have different *stocks of knowledge,* and even between subjects of one and the same society they may vary widely (Keller 2005b, n.pag.).

Keller, same as Foucault, identifies a mutual relation between *power* and *knowledge* since *power* produces *knowledge* and *knowledge* produces power. This is how power produces power. It reproduces itself. However, as Foucault already said, (a certain pattern of) power is not the result of the strategy of an individual or a group of individuals. Even though the subjects act intentionally, the resulting pattern of power is always unintended since it is the product of the

interplay of a series of heterogeneous (discursive and non-discursive) practices of numerous social players with different intentions (Keller 2005b, p. 60).

Social meanings are the product of the recourse to so-called *interpretation schemes* in the typification process in which sensual experience is transformed into conceptual. They gain certain stability through the repetition of discursive statements. In this way, they are deposited in our consciousness.[55] The temporarily (but never ultimately) fixed set of *social meanings* constitutes the *symbolic order*, which includes both institutionalized and non-institutionalized elements (Keller 2005b, p. 57). According to Keller, in *modern (occidental)* societies, the meaning-making activities are increasingly embedded in *expert* proceedings and organized/institutionalized *symbolic ordering* (2005b, p. 46).

Discourse and dispositif

Following Foucault, Keller defines *discourse* as ensembles of cognitive and normative devices that guide our social practices and makes us perceive the world in certain ways (Keller 2005a, n.pag.). In this sense, *discourse* means a "power struggle or struggle for truth, for symbolic and material ordering of social practices from which historically contingent power-knowledge regimes emerge" (ibid.):

> "I identify discourses, following Foucault, as regulated, structured practices of sign usage in social arenas, which constitute smaller or larger symbolic universes. […] [T]hey become real through the actions of social actors, supply specific knowledge claims, and contribute to the liquefaction and dissolution of the institutionalized interpretations and apparent unavailabilities. [...] Discourses can be understood as attempts to freeze meanings or, more generally speaking, to freeze more or less broad symbolic orders, that is, fix them in time and by so doing, institutionalize a binding context of meaning, values and actions/agency within social collectives." (Keller 2005b, p. 59)

This is why Keller describes discourse as structure since each of our social (discursive and non-discursive) practices draws on structural devices.[56] Same as Foucault, Keller describes discourses as rather productive. They produce objects by offering discursive adscription for realities. In this way, they also produce (and allow for the circulation of) (inter)subjectivities (a s*ymbolic order* or a *symbolic material structure* which guides our interpretation of the social

[55] With this, Keller follows Alfred Schütz and his social phenomenology (Keller 2005b, p. 57).
[56] Foucault always tried to avoid the term structure. Nevertheless, he has often been associated with structuralism, as well as to post-structuralism.

world), and subject positions (collective and individual identities, including certain rules for the participation in discourse, which (dis)allow us to do, think and say certain things in certain ways). This means, discourses also include concrete proposals for (discursive and non-discursive) practices (Keller 2005b, pp. 56-63). With this, it becomes clear that what we receive through discourse is always (discursive) ascriptions.[57]

According to Keller, different discourses compete with each other for the definition of social meanings in the everyday struggles for *truth*. At this point, he distinguishes between discourses and sub-discourses, and also public and specialized (e.g., *scientific*) or counterdiscourses. All these discourses however competitive or complementary they may be, form part of the same discursive field. Discursive fields are "social arenas, constituting themselves around contested issues, controversies, problematizations, and truth claims in which discourses are in reciprocal competition with one another" (Keller 2005b, p. 60).

The term dispositif refers to the institutional structure of a discourse, that is to say, the set of cognitive and normative but also material, practical and personal infrastructure. Hence a *dispositif* includes everything that can be considered constitutive for a specific pattern of power such as the collective *stocks of knowledge*, language, all kinds of disposals (such as laws or administrative regulations), technologies, specific buildings, artifacts, objects, etc. Finally, they are nothing else than a temporary result of the process of social ordering. As discourse itself, they are characterized by their culturality and historicity (Keller 2005a, n.pag.).

SKAD distinguishes between dispositifs *of discursive production* and dispositifs *emerging out of a discourse.* Whereas the former provides the rules for the participation in discourse, the latter refers to the *infrastructure* which emerges in a discursive field and supports the subjects to manage the social problems the *discourse* is addressed to. In this sense, dispositifs can be considered the intermediary instance between discourses and social practices (Keller 2005b, pp. 60-65).

[57] Unlike Foucault, Keller assumes an objectively existing reality (Keller 2005b, p. 56). Both of them, however, consider discourse not as an ontological entity but as a theoretical construction created in the moment when one tries analyze it. In this sense, a researcher's work also forms part of a discourse (Keller 2004, p. 61).

3.3 Media from a Discourse Theoretical View

Media can be considered one of numerous bearers of discourse. They produce discourses but, at the same time, they are highly influenced by them. To be precise, they spread but also produce meaning. Media sociology is concerned about both the functioning of media and the influence they have on their audience. It claims that media always should be seen within their social embedding. They are never a simple or neutral representation of reality but always (intentionally or not) mixed up with values, opinions, emotions, etc. This is reflected not only in how an issue is addressed but already in the preceding selection of those topics which are or are not discussed (Lindgren 2012, p. 4).

In this sense, media (like every discursive document) are highly ideological. By defining the *normal* and *abnormal*, *right* and *wrong,* etc., they (re)produce the meanings and interpretations of certain social groups. Consequently, they are an extremely important surface for the negotiations on hegemony (Lindgren 2012, pp. 13-18). But how do they function? And how do they influence us? In the following, we can see some of the *strategies of symbolic construction* commonly used in media which were elaborated on by John B. Thompson (1990, pp. 59-67), one of the leading sociologists in this field.

General modes	**Sub-modes**	**Description**
Legitimation		Ways of establishing and sustaining certain power relations by representing them as legitimate, normal and/or worthy of support
	Rationalization	Constructing a seemingly logical line of reasoning
	Universalization	Presenting the current social order as a win-win situation (universal benefit)
	Narrativization	*Traditional*ized representation of power relations
Dissimulation		Certain power relations are concealed by using language and visual symbolism in certain ways
	Displacement	Transfer of a meaning from one object to another
	Euphemization	Descriptions which elicit positive ascriptions (i.e., use of symbolic and metaphorical expressions)
	Trope	Use of symbolic and metaphorical expressions
Unification		Discursive construction of a unity of meaning that incorporates individuals in a collective identity without taking into account their dissimilarities
	Standardization	Adapting symbolic forms to a standard framework
	Symbolization of unity	Constructing symbols of collective identity and identification
Fragmentation		Division of individuals into separate categories to sustain certain power relations
	Differentiation	Emphasizing differences and discrepancies
	Expurgation of the other	Symbolic construction of outsiders

Reification		Representation of processes and transitions as permanent or *natural*
	Naturalization	Used to let certain social relations and institutions appear *natural* and thus indisputable
	Eternalization	Used to obscure the development of certain institutions, customs, or traditions so that they appear indisputable
	Nominalization/ passivization	Invisibilization of certain social players

Table 3: Strategies of symbolic construction. Own table based on Thompson (1999, p. 60).

Looking at these strategies, the question arises to what extent various media influence and manipulate us. For a long time, the idea of rather passive and extradited subjects dominated media sociology. However, more recently with Paul Lazarsfeld's studies on voting behavior in the US in the 1930s, the complexity of the relation between media and their audience has been taken into account. Lazarsfeld and his associates developed the *limited-effects model*, arguing that voting decisions depend much more on social relationships in which people are engaged than on media content. However, *opinion leaders* may be highly influenced by media content. That is to say, although a media message is not directly received, it may indirectly influence a person's thinking and acting (*two-step flow of communication)* (Lazarsfeld et al. 1944, pp. 151f).

The Swedish media researcher André Jansson emphasizes that how we interpret a medial message highly depends on aspects of socialization. According to Jansson, the increasing spectrum and variety of media today, obliges the individual more and more to make selections. These selections, he argues, not only depend on ideological reasons but also on a series of personal characteristics such as class, gender, age, ethnicity, sexual identity, etc. (Jansson 2004 quoted from Lindgren 2012, p. 22).

Media undoubtedly have enormous influence on us (directly or indirectly, intentionally or unintentionally). However, a mediated message does not necessarily mean that the receiver responds in a certain way. The idea of a predetermined but active subject has also become widely accepted in media sociology. Media as bearers of discourse always offer just one out of numerous suggestions of how things can be interpreted. The question of to what extent can we escape from (hegemonic) discursive ascriptions of meaning and related suggestions for action is certainly a topic of discussion. Rejecting the idea of a complete subjection, however, is what enables us to think about possibilities of resistance and counterstrategies. In other words, even though media may be used by hegemonic groups to maintain their privileges, they can also be used by others to distribute non-hegemonic ideas.

3.4 De- and Postcolonial Approaches to Discourse and Power: Coloniality of Power and the *Development* Discourse

Post-colonial and post-*development* theories share many of Foucault's assumptions but put their emphasis on the living legacy of European/*occidental* hegemony in post-colonial societies. Their common starting point is the assumption that colonialism, and Eurocentrism as its heritage, still exercise a great influence on the production of *knowledge* and social structure. This is also noticeable in the case of the discourse on *modern* agriculture as we will see in Chapters 5.4 and 5.6.

Post-colonial theory and the coloniality of power

Anibal Quijano, one of the leading Latin American post-colonial thinkers, argues that with the colonization of (Latin) America a new global pattern of power emerged which continues today: *modern/colonial and Eurocentered capitalism* (Quijano 2000, p. 533). According to Quijano, it was colonization that allowed the consolidation and globalization of capitalism:[58]

> "The Americas were not incorporated into an already existing capitalist world-economy. There could not have been a capitalist world-economy without the Americas." (Quijano&Wallerstein 1992, p. 449)

According to Quijano, *modern/colonial and Eurocentered capitalism* emerged in times of Spanish and Portuguese colonialism in the 16th century. Undoubtedly, it was modified by later historical events especially the period of French and Dutch colonial activities in the 18th century, English imperialism of the 19th century, and North-American imperialism starting in the 20th century. According to Quijano and other post-colonial theorists, colonial power relations were not only conserved in this time but actually strengthened (Quijano, 2007b: pp. 93f; Quintero 2010, p. 11). Quijano (2000a/b) uses the term *colonality of power* to refer to the living legacy of European colonialism in today's social order and forms of *knowledges*. It is this *coloniality of power* that allowed *modern/colonial and Eurocentered capitalism* to become global; to convert into a *macro-power* as Foucault would say.

Namely, this pattern of power has been imposed upon all world regions and populations. Moreover, it controls each of the five areas of social life distinguished by Quijano (2000b, pp. 533-545): Labor, sex, subjectivity, intersubjecivity, collective (public) authority, and

[58] Walter Mignolo, another post-colonial theorist, shares this idea of an intimate relationship between colonialism and capitalism as a global phenomenon. However, he criticizes Quijano for asserting an impossibility of the existence of one without the other (Mignolo 1993, pp. 58-80).

nature.[59] In this way, it not only produces particular *knowledges* but also establishes certain institutions in order to control these areas. Whereas the institution for the control of labor is the capitalist enterprise, the bourgeois family guarantees control over sex/sexual reproduction. The control of (inter)subjectivity (social sense, imaginary, historical memory and *knowledge* in general) is taken by *Eurocentrism*. Finally, the *modern* nation state takes control over the collective authority (social organization).[60] All these institutions are interconnected and thus give rise to a structure of systematic relations (Quijano 2000, p. 545, Quintero 2010, pp. 5-10).

The constant dispute over control of the five areas of social life is what entails the (re)production of certain power relations. More precisely, these power relations are the result and expression of the interactivity of this dispute which consists in three elements: domination, social exploitation, and conflict (Quijano 2001, p. 10; 2007, pp. 347f).[61] The power relations emerging as a result of the interplay of these three elements (re)produce both *social knowledge* and conducts (Quintero 2010, pp. 6-11, Quijano 2001, p. 11). That is exactly what Foucault means when he speaks of the reciprocal influence of *micro-* and *macro-powers*. Same as Foucault, Quijano does not consider these power relations as fixed once and for all. Due to the permanence of dispute and conflict, they are in constant flux, which is why power relations (and thus *social knowledge* and behavior) are always historical, heterogeneous, and discontinuous.

In addition, Quijano identifies one element that operates in each of the five areas of social life: *race*. He defines *race* as "a mental construction that expresses the basic experience of colonial domination and pervades the more important dimensions of global power" (Quijano 2000b, p. 533). According to Quijano, the category *race* emerged with the formation of the Americas and was the legitimizing basis not only for social classification but for domination and

[59] The control of labor refers principally to the manipulation of the environment and technologies of survival. The control over sex means the control over sexual reproduction. The control of (inter)subjectivity refers to the influence over the (re)production of social sense, that is to say, imaginary, historic memory and *knowledge* in general. The control over the collective authority means social organization. Finally, the control of nature points to the appropriation of natural resources (Quintero 2010, pp. 5 and 10).

[60] Quijano does not name the institution for nature.

[61] With *domination,* Quijano refers to the control of one or more social groups over others with the aim of influencing their behavior. That is to say, it is based on the inequality of social relations. Domination can be found in each of the five areas of social life but especially in two: the collective authority which it establishes and subjectivity/intersubjectivity which legitimizes collective authority. *Social exploitation* refers to a certain type of domination: the domination of labor. It is based on a persistent unequal relation and the constraint of labor without equivalent retribution. In this way, domination and exploitation (re)produce the relations of property and production. *Conflict*, finally, is the inevitable result of domination and social exploitation. It aims at the transformation or destruction of current forms of domination and exploitation as well as its institutions, and the expansion of the control over the five areas of social life (Quintero 2010, pp. 4-7).

social exploitation.[62] It is a product of *Eurocentrism*, namely a particular *rationality* or *perspective of knowledge* (Quijano 2000, p. 534) and certain forms of how this *knowledge* is produced. In this way, it sustains the actual pattern of power. This *perspective of knowledge*, which emerged in Western Europe in the 17th century, has become hegemonic and is still reflected in common categories such as *progress*, *modernity*, or also *modern* agriculture.

As a consequence, earlier forms of *knowledge* were (violently) repressed since the conquered were denied the right to produce (*useful*) *knowledge*. This also occurred with Argentina's rural and indigenous populations as we have already discussed.[63] With this, certain ways of how *knowledge* and sense were produced (and others suppressed). In other words, with this *perspective of knowledge*, Europe "concentrated all forms of the control of subjectivity, culture, and especially knowledge and the production of knowledge under its hegemony" (Quijano 2000, p. 540):

> "After the colonization of America and the expansion of European colonialism to the rest of the world, the subsequent constitution of Europe as a new identity needed the elaboration of a Eurocentric perspective of knowledge, a theoretical perspective on the idea of race as a naturalization of colonial relations between Europeans and non-Europeans. Historically, this meant a new way of legitimizing the already old ideas and practices of relations of superiority/inferiority between dominant and dominated." (Quijano 2000, pp. 534f)

Quijano (1998a, pp. 44f) does not miss that the term *race* has become more and more replaced by the concept of *culture* after the Second World War. However, he argues that cultural differences are also often biologized and the underlying logic has not changed along with the terminology.

Also intimately related with the *Eurocentric perspective of knowledge* and the category of *race* is the constitution of a new form of controlling labor, and its resources and products. Labor is organized around and upon the basis of capital and the world market, which implies a profound transformation of production conditions and relations (Quijano 2000, pp. 535-537). Moreover, the reorganization of labor was intimately related with the category of *race*. Each type of labor was associated with a particular *race*. Quijano speaks in this context of "race/labor" as a "new technology of domination/exploitation" (Quijano 2000, p. 537). This refers to the

[62] The concept of *race* is based on the idea of differences in the biological structures of social groups. With the popularization of this idea, new geo-cultural identities arose such as *Indians, Blacks,* or *Whites.* Moreover, it created a body of ideas, images, values and social practices: the matrix of racism. This is due to the fact that *races* are not only thought to be (naturally) different but at the same time naturally superior or inferior in comparison with others. In other words, all the differences between populations were interpreted as a product of nature rather than power (Quijano 1993, p. 167).

[63] See Chapter 2.4.2. and 5.3.4.

attribution of certain social roles to certain geo-historical places according to a racial classification.[64] The Eurocentric perspective caused *non-white races* to be considered as simply existing for the profit of *whites*. In this sense, (usually) unpaid work done by *Indians* and *Blacks* largely supported the emergence of a capitalist world order (Quijano 2000, pp. 536-539).[65] If we look at the history of food production, this becomes very obvious. Since colonial times, Argentina has produced food for other parts of the world. The essential difference to earlier times, however, lies in the proportion of food produced for the export market. Whereas in colonial times and even at the beginning of the agro-export model the national food demand could be mainly satisfied by domestic production, this is no longer the case since the agribusiness model dominates.[66]

However, the *Eurocentric* (or *occidental*)[67] *perspective of knowledge,* includes much more than only the concept of *race*. Further social constructs, which make us interpret the world in particular ways, are *modernity*, *rationality*, or *development* to name just a few. All these concepts arose and became popular within certain power relations and serve to legitimize the exploitation of the *Non-Western* world (Quijano 2000, pp. 542-549).

Moreover, Mignolo (2007, p. 48) argues that both *modernity* and *coloniality* are finally two sides of the same coin:

> "'[M]odernity' is a European narrative that hides its darker side, 'coloniality'. Coloniality, in other words, is constitutive of modernity. There is no modernity without coloniality." (Mignolo 2007, p. 39)

Coloniality here means a particular matrix of power (Mignolo 2007, p. 43). Mignolo stresses, however, that the resulting intersubjectivity is not exclusively constituted by the colonial (or later the imperial) discourse, but also by the responses (or the absence of responses) of the colonized (Mignolo 1993, pp. 56f). With this, Mignolo follows Foucault arguing that a pattern of power is always the result of the interplay of all participating individuals, even though it is clear that their participation emanates from very different subject positions.

[64] In colonial times, wage labor was reserved nearly exclusively for the *white* population whereas other *races* were obliged to do unpaid labor in the form of slavery or serfdom. All these different forms of controlling labor (slavery, serfdom, small mercantile production, wage labor, etc.) finally served the same objective: the organization of the production of commodities for the world market and the strengthening of the hegemonic position of the *white* population (Quijano, 2000a: p. 204 and 1998, p. 49).

[65] Over time, however, not only the *white race* but also the *mestizos* have ascended to a higher social position, passing through bloody conflicts and military regimes. With this, the continuing importance of *Eurocentrism* becomes evident (Quijano 2000b, pp. 536f).

[66] See Chapter II.

[67] I prefer the term *occidental* since today it is not Europe alone but the *occidental world* occupying a hegemonic position.

In short, *Eurocentrism* expresses itself in the form of a certain mode of how intersubjectivity is produced and controlled. As such, it includes social imaginary, historical memory, and a particular *perspective of knowledge*. This *perspective of knowledge* is characterized by ideas such as linearity and universality, meaning historical changes are associated with homogeneity and continuity rather than heterogeneity and discontinuity. Everything has a point of departure and arrival. Consequently, historical changes are perceived as processes in which something is transformed continuously and completely into something else. This leads us to another characteristic of this perspective, the idea of evolutionism and dualism, which refers to the vision of a *natural* state of things upon which *civilization* itself develops. As a result, dichotomist distinctions, such as *natural-civilized*, *irrational-rational*, *primitive-modern*, past-future, etc., are imposed upon all social phenomena. This also implies a new temporal-historical perception since everything that is not *modern*, is considered backward and therefore past (Quijano 2000, pp. 543-553).

This *Eurocentric* and discriminatory perspective, which emerged in colonial times and determined the social and economic structure, is still imbedded in the structure of *post-colonial* societies. Moreover, this perspective influences the intersubjectivity and perception not only of the colonizing but also of the colonized in the deepest way (Quijano, 2000, p. 555; 2007, p. 94f, Mignolo 1993, p. 55):

> "Consequently, when we look in our Eurocentric mirror, the image that we see is not just composite, but also necessarily partial and distorted. Here the tragedy is that we have all been led, knowingly or not, wanting it or not, to see and accept that image as our own and as belonging to us alone. In this way, we continue being what we are not. And as a result we can never identify our true problems, much less resolve them, except in a partial and distorted way." (Quijano 2000, p. 556)

Even though decolonization formally took place, our *knowledges* and social practices, our values and norms, and our (inter)subjectivity are still colonized (Quijano 2000, pp. 533-535). Decolonization, finally, only brought a reconfiguration within the same pattern of power but the *global strategy* remained the same. Former colonized countries today are dependent nation states. This means a change of the institution but not of the underlying logic (Quijano 1998, p. 54; Quijano 2007, pp. 93f). As we will see in Chapters 5.4 and 5.6, the discourse on *modern* agriculture can be considered a prime example for the conservation of an *occidental perspective of knowledge* to the present day.[68]

[68] See Chapter V.

Post-development theory and the development discourse

Post-*development* theory, which emerged in the 1980s in response to the uprising of *development* discourse, is intimately linked to post-colonial theory and post-structuralism. This is why most of the post-colonial thinkers also form part of the post-*development* movement and vice versa.

Post-*development* theory identifies "development as a discourse of Western origin that operated as a powerful mechanism for the cultural, social, and economic production of the Third World" (Escobar 2006, p. 447). Hence, the *development* discourse, which identifies the *North* as superior, advanced, and progressive, and the *South* as inferior, degenerate, and primitive, can be considered a reflection of *Western* hegemony over the rest of the world.

The birth of the *development* discourse is usually dated at 1949, when US President Truman announced the "era of development" for "underdeveloped regions" (Sachs 1996, p. 52). What was new in Truman's speech was not so much the term *development* but the contrasting juxtaposition with *underdevelopment* and the (re)definition of *development* as a strategy to overcome it.[69] With this, *underdevelopment* became associated with a country's (*natural* or *cultural*) characteristics rather than with power relations (Sachs 1996, pp. XIIIf and 52-54). According to Wolfgang Sachs (1996, pp. 52-54), a German sociologist who authored various publications on the *development* concept, the creation of the term *underdeveloped* at that time served to secure US hegemony. According to Sachs, Truman's public declaration of the superiority of the United States contributed to the formation of a new identity of both the *developed* and the *underdeveloped*. Whereas the US started to develop a feeling of belonging together, the self-perception of the *underdeveloped* also started to change. This was also the moment when capitalism became universally accepted as the best way to live. As a consequence, many *Non-Western* populations began to seek a way of inducing the same *development*. *Western* lifestyle was not only desired but seemed achievable for everyone, regardless of particular socio-historical and socio-geographic conditions. At the same time, however, former ways of living became more and more depreciated.

According to Quijano (1998a, p. 43), the debate on *development* and *subdevelopment* was one of the expressions of the reconfiguration of the capitalist pattern of power after the Second World War. This reconfiguration resulted from the global fight against colonialism and

[69] Quijano (1998a, pp. 44f) identifies two theoretical approaches as the fundament of the *development* discourse: modernization theory and the theory of imperialist capitalism. For more detail, see Quijano 1998, pp. 44-46).

the formation of new nation-states. It consisted, most notably, in the de-concentration and redistribution of the control of power, especially over labor and public authority. This was also the moment when the first so-called *development agencies* and food aid programs emerged, such as the World Bank and the IMF, which are highly criticized by post-colonial and post-*development* thinkers for pursuing their own economic and political interests and thus helping the US to strengthen their hegemonic position.[70] That this dichotomous confrontation of *developed* and *underdeveloped* world regions is still present today can be seen, for instance, in the discourse on *modern* agriculture, which is the subject of this work.

Post-*development* theory questions the standard definitions of *progress* and *modernity*. It also criticizes the common idea of *Western* lifestyle (including mass consumption, extensive private space, etc.) as the best way of living, emphasizing the dramatic social and environmental consequences. To avoid misunderstandings, that does not mean a rejection of *development* per se but of its *Western* conceptualization that is accused of only serving *Western* interests.

Moreover, Sachs (1996, pp. 54-58) points to the biologization of the *development* concept. Following his line of argumentation, the idea of biological transformations was transferred to the social sphere to be able to assert that there is just one (right and *natural*) way of *development*. This naturalization of a certain kind of *development* (a capitalist one) necessarily results in the devaluation and pathologization of all alternative ways of socio-economic organization. This is how imperialist strategies can easily appear as acts of humanity aiming at supporting *underdeveloped* countries. Consequently, post-*development* thinkers generally call for the recognition and appreciation of local *knowledges*.

A further point of critique made by post-*development* thinkers comes from the definition of *development* in primarily economic terms. The idea of *development* is accused as being closely related with capitalism since a country is usually considered more *developed* the more capitalist its organization becomes. Although *modern* capitalism constitutes a global pattern of power, it is *developed* to varying extents in different geographic places (Quijano 1998, pp. 39f). Consequently, post-*development* thinkers identify capitalism (and neoliberalism) as the pattern of power that the *development discourse* (in all its different facets) legitimizes.

As Sachs (n.d., n.pag.) points out, the concept of *development* has experienced numerous modifications and extensions since its creation. In the 1960s *social development* was discovered, followed by *rural development* in the 1990s when peasant populations could no

[70] See Chapter 3.4.

longer be overlooked. Later, this was replaced by terms like *equitable development*, *human development*, or – most recently – *sustainable development,* a concept, which also appears in the discourse on *modern* agriculture.[71] According to Sachs, however, all these categories finally take recourse to the same basic idea of *development* and the associated dichotomous differentiations (*modern-antiquated, progressive-regressive, rational-irrational*, etc.) that can be considered a result of the *coloniality of power*. In the end, all these terminological modifications aim to conserve the basic concept of *development,* which has been increasingly subjected to fundamental criticism. Essentially, the *development* concept in all its variations is still used for the same purpose: to "extend human-centred utilitarianism to posterity" (ibid.):

> "Sustainable development calls for the conservation of development, not for the conservation of nature." (Sachs, n.d., n.pag.)

In short, according to post-colonial thinkers, the *development discourse* has helped the *West* to pursue its political and economic interests and to continue with the exploitation of *Non-Western* countries in the neoliberal age. As David Harvey (2003, pp. 66-89 and 138-152) argues, this exploitation is a condition for the sustenance of capitalism, which is why capitalism is necessarily imperialist:

> "Access to cheaper inputs is, therefore, just as important as access to widening markets in keeping profitable opportunities open. The implication is that non-capitalist territories should be forced open not only to trade (which could be helpful) but also to permit capital to invest in profitable ventures using cheaper labour power, raw materials, low-cost land, and the like." (Harvey 2003, p. 139)

The difference to former times can be seen in the ways of disappropriation, which tend to be more subtle today, though illegal maneuvers and physically violent attacks still occur. It is the success of ideas such as *development*, *progress*, and *modernity* that can be made responsible for the broad social acceptance of this disappropriation and social inequalities that are perceived now as the normal (and only possible) course of history. The contribution made by the discourse on *modern* agriculture to broaden this social acceptance is the subject of this work.

3.5 From Theoretical Approaches to Discourse to the Analysis of the Discourse on *Modern* Agriculture

The theoretical considerations above offer us definitions and explanations of the most important categories in discourse analysis. However, the question remains of how these categories can help us in regard to the examination of the discourse on *modern* agriculture.

[71] See Chapter 5.4.

In discourse analysis, theory and practice are inseparably linked with each other. This means that the methodical procedure is guided by the theoretical concepts in all its phases. Foucault never offered a detailed description of his methodical procedure but it was his followers who explicitly speak of a new method in social sciences named *discourse analysis*.[72] Nevertheless, Foucault had obviously already adapted his procedure to his theoretical considerations. Hence the theoretical concepts of discourse, *power*, and *knowledge* and the ideas about how they are interrelated should be always present when documents are analyzed within the framework of a discourse analysis.

Consequently, if we want to analyze the discourse on *modern* agriculture and if we define discourse with Keller as "regulated, structured practices of sign usage in social arenas, which constitute smaller or larger symbolic universes" (Keller 2005b, p. 59), we have to take a closer look at how these practices look and how – once socially accepted and institutionalized – they pre-structure what can and cannot be said and done (ibid., p. 58). In other words, we have to look at a discourse's particular line of reasoning, and its interpretative schemes and patterns of classification which over time begin to form part of our stock of knowledge. In other words, relevant documents have to be analyzed according to a particular methodical procedure, which is guided by the theoretical concepts from above but adapted to the particular research question. This methodical procedure is presented in the following Chapter.

[72] See also Chapter 4.2.

IV METHODS

In this Chapter, I present the methodical approach I chose according to my research interest. After presenting the research question, I will introduce the building bricks of the *sociology of knowledge approach to discourse (SKAD).* This is followed by various considerations on decolonial approaches to discourse, and media from a discourse-theoretical perspective. Finally, I will outline the concrete methodical procedure that was designed to answer the research question formulated below.

4.1 Research Question

As we saw in Chapter II, the neoliberalization of agriculture in Argentina has had serious consequences not only on the environment but also on the Argentine population. This raises the question of how this new agricultural model was able to assert itself without any major obstacles. Therefore, in this master's thesis, I take a closer look at the discourse that can be held responsible for the broad acceptance of the agribusiness model in society and thus represents an important *condition of possibility* for its establishment and consolidation.

The *Argentine Association of No Till Producers (AAPRESID, Asociación Argentina de Productores en Siembra Directa)* is certainly one of the main associations promoting the *modernization* of agriculture in Argentina. As Hernández (2009, pp 58-64) states, AAPRESID's importance has increased constantly since the 1990s when Argentina first allowed the cultivation of GMOs. Even though AAPRESID initially had problems convincing farmers to use the direct sawing technique and the associated technological package, this changed radically with the introduction of the RR soybean.[73] Over the course of time, AAPRESID "positioned itself as the voice of soy"[1] and "innovative entrepreneurs"[2] who were said to be the only ones able to survive in a globalized market (ibid., p. 61). As Hernández (2009, p. 61) emphasizes, "in order to achieve this disposition for the outside world, AAPRESID's leaders collaborated actively on the creation of institutional spaces […] (such as ACSOJA, MAIZAR, etc.) but also reoriented already existing institutions and modified their collective dynamics in coherence with the paradigmatic change."[3]

[73] See Chapter 2.4.

In this way, AAPRESID has received considerable support and encouragement from various parts of society including from political factions who also began to adapt the idea of "a change of mentality" (ibid., p. 62) as promoted by AAPRESID:[4]

> "The articulation of the productive and the political area is one of the main characteristics of the militant practices which AAPRESID's dome has developed with full force since 2000. With this spirit, this association not only organizes 'excursions to the countryside' to measure the performance of certain cultivations or fertilizers, arranges training courses in its Training Institute, and regularly publishes a technical magazine, but also promotes activities aimed at expanding its audience outside the agricultural sector by proposing topics to the public debate which go beyond purely productive ones." (Hernández 2009, pp. 61f)[5]

As a result, AAPRESID's discursive contributions can be considered representative of the associative discursive thread on *modern* agriculture. Consequently, AAPRESID's documents (its magazine *Siembra Directa* as well as the information it offers on its homepage and the articles linked there) represent the basis of my research. To be clear, I am not trying to conduct a historical analysis of the *conditions of existence* of this discourse and the thus emerging *dispositif* in a Foucauldian sense. Instead, I want to analyze its composition, social codes, and symbolic orders. For this, the following research question was formulated:

> *How is the associative discourse on modern agriculture* – as *represented by AAPRESID – composed so that the agribusiness model is able to assert itself without major difficulty?*

In order to answer this question, I formulated a few subordinate questions derived from the literature review, concrete experiences on the ground, and the theoretical approach of this work.

Context	- *Historical/social context:* What is the *emergency* this discourse responds to? At what time and under what circumstances did this discourse emerge?[74] - *Institutional/organizational context:* In which institutional/organizational settings were the documents produced? What are their particular rules and structural features? What idiomatic and symbolic means and *strategies* are characteristic of this field? How must a text or speech be formulated in this discourse to be accepted? What can be said and what not? - *Situational context:* What do we know about the authors of the documents? What are their positions and functions?
Composition	- What are the main elements of the discourse? What *interpretive schemes* and *classifications* can be identified? What do the *phenomenal structure* and the

[74] This does not refer to the search for a genuine origin but to a spatial-temporal contextualization.

	narrative structure look like?
Social players	- Who is in a position to speak and who is not? Who can say what in what moments and with what effects? What are the different resources, interests, and *strategies* of the different social players? Who are the (main) addressees of the discourse?
Knowledge/ truth/ power	- What are the *knowledges* (whole of symbolic orders) circulating in this discourse? - What are the *truths* and social meanings the discourse produces and relates to? - What are the (power) effects emanating from this discourse?
Dispositif	- What are the daily discursive and non-discursive practices emerging from this discourse and reproducing it at the same time? - What are the institutions and artifacts forming part of the dispositif?

4.2 Methodical Suggestions of SKAD

"Discourse" is a term used today in a wide variety of ways. The discourse-theoretical works of Michel Foucault which I introduced in Chapter 3.1 are probably the best known in social sciences. However, Foucault never offered a detailed description of his methodical procedure. Although he gave some important hints for the praxis, a Foucauldian discourse analysis in a narrow sense does not exist (Keller 2007, n.pag.). What is more, Foucault was interested mainly in an historical disquisition of social phenomena, this means in locating historical epistemic ruptures. However, for sociological research focusing on the interplay of discourse, *power* and *knowledge*, Foucault's approach is suitable only to a very limited extent.[75]

By contrast, Reiner Keller with his *sociology of knowledge approach to discourse (SKAD)* offers concrete proposals for a sociological discourse analysis. However, Keller emphasizes the importance of adapting the concrete methodical procedure to the particular research interest and of always taking into account the boundaries set by limited resources and the specific circumstances (Keller 2004, pp. 82-86).

The objective of *SKAD* is the "analyses of social relations and politics of knowledge as well as the discursive construction of reality as an empirical ('material') process" (Keller 2005a, n.pag.). That means focus is on the production, circulation, transformation and distribution of

[75] For more details on different approaches to discourse (analysis) and their implications for the empirical praxis, see Keller 2004, pp. 20-60.

knowledge and its symbolic order (ibid.). Keller repeatedly emphasizes that *SKAD* is not a method but a research program (Keller 2005c, p. 263). With this, he refers to the importance of its conceptual and theoretical embedding.[76] For the empirical praxis, this means a combination of methodical devices of Foucault combined with other traditions of qualitative research such as hermeneutics, grounded theory, and sequential analysis. In the following, I will sum up some of the methodical implications this has.

First, like Foucault, *SKAD* pursues the idea of an inductive (bottom-up) method. That is to say, theoretical concepts are always based on concrete empirical data material.

Second, unlike some of Foucault's followers, Keller clearly advocates for a hermeneutic-interpretative approach.[77] Hence, *SKAD* means a reconstructive work very close to the data material in order to "generate interpretations, conceptual schemata, and observations out of the data, and in so doing they generate types of statements that were not in the actual data as such and could not have been" (Keller 2005b, p. 73). It seems important to note, however, that *SKAD* is not used to discover the one and only *true* meaning of statements but to carry out their comprehensible and accountable analysis. In other words, it is neither the intentionality of the social players or their subjective perception, nor the localization of a genuine origin of *interpretative schemes* that is of interest but the *stocks of knowledge* and *social meanings* – that is to say, the process of *knowledge* (re)production and manifestation (Keller 2005b, pp. 73f; 2007, n.pag.).

Third, *SKAD* aims to analyze not only textual documents but also their materialities. This means that all types of discursive and non-discursive (materialized) practices may be of interest for the analysis – those that produce discourse as well as *discourse generated model practices* and "relatively independent practices" (Keller 2004, p. 62), that is to say, *traditional*, habitualized practices.[78]

A discourse analysis according to *SKAD* generally starts with a systematic literature review, which may be accompanied by field studies (observations, interviews, etc.) in order to obtain an overview of the research field. After defining the research interest and formulating a

[76] See Chapter 3.2.

[77] According to Keller (2005), Foucault himself never spoke out against interpretation in general but a certain kind of interpretation that tries to discover an *essence*, an absolute *truth*. This was primarily directed against Marxist reductionism, which was popular in his time. Especially Foucault's later works, such as *I, Pierre Riviere, Having Slaughtered My Mother, My Sister, and My Brother,* seem to underpin Keller's judgment.

[78] See also Chapter 3.2.

research question, a comprehensible way of assembling the corpus of data must be found. The analytic work starts with the contextualization of this data material, followed by an analysis of the formal and idiomatic structure of the documents. For the subsequent interpretative work, Keller proposes four concepts (which are also used in other qualitative research traditions).

a) *Interpretative schemes (Deutungsmuster)*

Interpretative schemes are "typified clusters of disparate elements of meaning production, the core configuration of signs, symbols, sentences and utterances, which create a coherent ensemble of meaning" (Keller 2005a, n.pag.). They help us to interpret our everyday experiences and guide our social interactions (Keller 2005b, p. 67; 2005c, p. 232; 2007, n.pag.). *Interpretative schemes* emerge within social interactions. This refers to their social constructiveness and historicity. They are part of our collective *stock of knowledge*. This *stock of knowledge* is transmitted but also modified through our daily discursive and non-discursive practices (Keller 2005b, p. 67). In this sense, *interpretative schemes* are a product of discourse. Discourse, on the other hand, links different *interpretative schemes* with each other and imposes them upon subjects. Discourses differ with regard to how they combine *interpretative schemes* (Keller 2005b, p. 67; 2007, n.pag.).

A sequential analysis can help to identify *interpretative schemes*. In the empirical practice, this means the constant formulation of interpretative hypotheses for single sentences or passages, which are then tested.

b) Classification

Classifications are (more or less formalized and institutionally stabilized) forms of social typifications based on *interpretative schemes*. Specifically, we qualify our daily experiences and separate them into certain categories. The constant recourse to this socio-historical grid pattern is what makes life manageable since it disburdens us from recurring autonomous typifications in our everyday life. Between discourses there is competition for these *classifications* (Keller 2005b, p. 68). For the empirical practice, this means a deconstruction of discursive units and their rearrangement in the form of tables (Keller 2005a, n.pag.).

c) Phenomenal structure

The term *phenomenal structure* refers to “cognitive devices like the concepts used to name an object, the relations between those concepts, the introduction of causal schemes and normative settings, the dimensions, urgencies and legitimization for action, as well as the kind of practices considered to be suitable to a particular phenomenon" (Keller 2005a, n.pag.).

In empirical practice, identifying the *phenomenal structure* means describing and typifying a phenomenon’s general composition, that is to say, the discursive elements that constitute a phenomenon. More concretely, this means determining the topic of an enunciative unit and its characteristics, causal relations, responsibilities, identities of the involved social players, problem dimensions, values and judgments, moral and aesthetic considerations, discourse generated model practices, and so on. The positioning of the subjects (acting subjects and addressees) is of particular importance (i.e., villains, heroes, victims, aggressors, etc.). It is important to note, however, that we are not attempting to reveal a phenomenon’s inner *nature,* but specific discursive attributions (Keller 2005b, p. 68; 2007, n.pag.).

Methodical tools also used in *grounded theory,* such as codes, comments, and memos, may help to describe the *phenomenal structure*. Codes are analytic interpretative categories based on the empirical data material.[79] In comments, the researcher notes what is ascribed to a particular category. Lastly, memos are notes about observations, ideas, or hypothesis that go beyond a specific text passage or code (Keller 2007, n.pag.).

d) Narrative structure

With *narrative structures* we are referring to the "structuring moments of statements and discourses, through which various interpretation schemes, classifications, and dimensions of the phenomenal structure (for example, social players, problem definitions) are placed in relation to one another in a specific way […]. [They are (author’s note)] not simply techniques used to link linguistic elements together, but [...], as a configurative act, which links disparate signs and statements in the form of narratives, they are rather basic modality of humans’ ordering of the experience of the world" (Keller 2005b, p. 70). A *narrative structure* can be

[79] A distinction can be made between axial and selective coding. Axial coding means linking the different categories with each other in order to build up a *phenomenal structure*. *Selective coding*, on the contrary, points to a hierarchization of these (provisionally) ordered categories. That is to say, to define the central categories and how the narrative structure is constituted (its starting and endpoint, its connections, etc.) (Keller 2007, n.pag.).

considered a kind of story line or plot explaining who is doing what and why. Such structures organize the genealogy of discourse (by giving explanations for historical changes) and its symbolic order. In other words, the *narrative structure* is the way in which a discourse appeals to its audience. It links the heterogeneous elements of a discourse and brings them into a communicable form (Keller 2007, n.pag.).

4.3 De- and Postcolonial Critic on Discourse Analysis

> "The term 'research' is inextricably linked to European imperialism and colonialism […]. Sadly, qualitative research in many, if not all, of its forms (observation, participation, interviewing, ethnography) serves as a metaphor for colonial knowledge, for power, and for truth."
>
> Denzin&Lincoln 2008, p. 4

> "Rejection of research as practice is also most likely not an option; therefore, reconceptualization is of great importance."
>
> Cannella&Manuelito 2008, p. 49

In the framework of the present master's thesis, a detailed presentation of de- and postcolonial approaches to research is infeasible. Nevertheless, I want to mention some aspects that may contribute to an increased sensibility to Eurocentric/*occidental* approaches in research. Even though this may not guarantee a complete absence of such thought patterns, it seems important to me to be conscious of this problematic position of being a privileged *Western* researcher.

The criticism of adopting a Eurocentric perspective has also been raised against Foucault. I would like to point out, however, that Foucault repeatedly emphasized the limited transferability of his statements to Non-European societies (1978, pp. 37 and 96). It was primarily Foucault's followers who assumed his propositions as universally valid.

What is more, I want to seriously contest the argument that it is not possible for *Western* researchers to adopt critical perspectives. Just as *Non-Western* researchers do not always have decolonization in mind, *Western* researchers do not necessarily (re)produce a Eurocentric/*occidental* worldview (or not necessarily to a greater extent than non-*Western*

researchers). Nevertheless, I believe that it is enormously important to develop a certain sensibility to this problem and to reflect on one's own social position. It must not be forgotten that *occidental* research (and especially ethnography) historically has often been used to define and inferiorize *the other* and thus socially legitimized (neo)colonial interventions (Denzin&Lincoln, pp. 4f).

The present work aims to demonstrate that the *modernization/westernization* of agriculture as it currently takes place is neither an inevitable nor a desirable process for the majority of Argentine society. It is just one out of many possible *developments* which are closely linked to certain intersubjective assumptions (re)produced by the hegemonic discourse and which suppress alternative social interpretations. Consequently, the present work has a clear decolonial ambition.

Even though Lorde might be right that "the master's tools will never dismantle the master's house" (Lorde 1984, p. 112), I agree with Cannella&Manuelito (2008, p. 49) that a rejection of research is not the solution. Instead an answer can be found in a fundamental reconceptualization of common research approaches. This is why I tried to incorporate the following considerations of Denzin&Lincoln (2008, pp. 5f) into my research: First, we should abandon the idea of the helping *West* and the idea of the *needy other*. Second, critical research must recognize and be grounded in particular meanings, traditions, habits, community relations, etc. of people; meaning to cooperate with them rather than to work on them. Third, there is a need to decolonize *Western* academy, which implies giving up the idea of the universal validity of *Western knowledge* systems and their epistemologies. Fourth, culturally responsible and responsive research practices, i.e., some kind of ethical frameworks, have to be developed. Fifth, we should reflect on our position as *Western* researchers and give up the idea of objectivity and neutrality, which also means that we need to think about the possible consequences of our work.

Furthermore, I want to mention that the criticism of agribusiness in Argentina primarily comes from indigenous and peasant populations who are affected most by its negative consequences. With the present work, I do not intend to be their mouthpiece but I want to explicitly express my solidarity and support for their claims. In this sense, this work undoubtedly has a political ambition, such as critical research always has:

> "[C]ritical qualitative research represents inquiry done for explicit political, utopian purposes, a politics of liberation, a reflexive discourse constantly in

> search of an open-ended, subversive, multivoiced epistemology. […] [It brings] researchers and their research participants into a shared, critical space, a space where the work of resistance, critique, and empowerment can occur." (Denzin&Lincoln 2008, p. 5)

Without any doubt, it is not the researchers but the local people who are putting their bodies day by day into the fight against agribusiness. However, critical research may offer a (admittedly very modest) contribution to their fight by supporting the deconstruction of hegemonic discourses:

> "[T]he focus of research in such a social science would be to (a) reveal and actively challenge social systems, discourses, and institutions that are oppressive and that perpetuate injustice […] and explore ways of making those systems obviously visible in society; (b) support knowledges that have been discredited by dominant power orientations in ways that are transformative (rather than simply revealing); and (c) construct activist conceptualizations of research that are critical and multiple in ways that are transparent, reflexive, and collaborative." (Cannella&Manuelito 2008, p. 56)

4.4 Concrete Methodical Procedure

In the following, I will sum up the methodical procedure applied in this master's thesis which derives from the methodical approach exposed above but has been adapted to my specific research interest. The whole process can be roughly divided into four steps, even though they cannot be clearly separated and do not strictly follow one after the other.

Step one: Obtaining an overview of the research field

Before I started with the empirical work, I performed an extensive review of the literature already existing in this field in order to make a first heuristic circumscription of the situation. Moreover, I conducted various interviews and took part in numerous (more or less formal) conversations with both researchers who investigate in this field and farmers who joined resistance movements after having been negatively affected by the practices of agribusiness. This helped me to gain further information and concretize the research field and the research question. Furthermore, I participated in various events and activities (encounters with farmers and agricultural workers, workshops, demonstrations, university lectures, speeches, and so on) related to this subject and spent several months with different resistance movements in Argentina's countryside (especially in the provinces of Santiago del Estero, Cordoba, and

Mendoza) so as to gain a deeper insight into the problems emerging with the agribusiness model.

The most notable experience during the course of my research was undoubtedly the tragic murder of Miguel Galván, one of the members of the *Peasant Movement of Santiago del Estero* (*MOCASE-VC, Movimiento Campesino Santiago del Estero - Via Campesina*) during the 12th *Latin American Youth conference* organized by the *Latin American Coordination of Rural Organizations - Via Campesina (CLOC-VC, Coordinadora Latinoamericana de Organizaciones del Campo - Via Campesina)*. This was not the first case of murder but further evidence for the progress of the agribusiness model and certain agricultural companies in this region that see their commercial interests threatened, as described by the MOCASE-VC:[80]

> "Again they succeeded and gave evidence for the seriousness of the situation we live in day by day in our indigenous farming communities and for how police, the judge […], and the government of Santiago resulted in action not being taken despite the innumerable accusations." (MOCASE-VC 2012 n.pag.)[6]

According to these movements, it is hired assassins who eliminate disturbing people in this way (for example when they resist attempts of evictions by entrepreneurs) and the government impedes or even sabotages the investigation of these crimes and refuses to protect farmers who have already received threats.

Step two: Selection of documents

The extensive literature study, the conducted interviews, and especially the time I spent with these movements helped me to gain an idea of who and what are the most important players and associations in the field of agribusiness. As already mentioned in Chapter 4.1, AAPRESID is undoubtedly one of the most influential actors contributing to the (re)production of certain ideas and images over agriculture and its related practices. This is why its documents form the basis of my empirical study.

In addition to the information AAPRESID publishes on its homepage, the magazine *Siembra Directa (Direct Sowing)* is the centerpiece of their (written) conversation with the public. It is a monthly magazine that additionally publishes various special issues each year focusing on technical data and AAPRESID's research activities. The magazine is fee-based but can be accessed for free in some of Argentina's libraries. Up until February 2014, 121 issues have

[80]For a list of people who have been killed by hired assassins or police repression in the last years, see LaVaca 2012.

been published. In the present research work, however, I only considered the (monthly and special) issues from one year (March 2013-February 2014). The period of one year seemed appropriate for two reasons: 1) it offered enough data material for profound analysis, and 2) it covered the range of contents varying according to the season. Moreover, this master's thesis aimed to analyze the associative discourse on agribusiness and was not interested in a historical analysis, which is why earlier issues were disregarded. In addition to the magazines, the general information about AAPRESID, which is offered on their homepage, and some international articles, which are linked there, also entered into the analysis. In total, 34 documents have been analyzed.[81]

Step three: Rough analysis

A rough analysis of the documents served to obtain an overview of the discourse. That means, this step allowed for catching of the main lines of argumentation, the key players, the core elements, the most dominant positions, relevant institutional fields, etc.

Step four: Sequential analysis

Sequential analysis means the reconstruction of a discourse in order to find out how it functions. That is to say, it is not the content we are interested in but the structures underlying a document and permitting the content. In other words, this is the moment when a discourse's *interpretative schemes, classifications, phenomenal structure,* and *narrative structure* are reconstructed.

For the sequential analysis only some selected (sections of) documents are used. The previous rough analysis already enabled a first assessment of the most relevant documents for a more detailed analysis. Furthermore, they were selected according to three procedures commonly used in *grounded theory* and proposed by Keller (2007, n.pag.).

a) *Minimal and maximal contrast:* involves starting with documents that seem to be important to the research question. Further documents are selected either because of their obvious similarity or their complete difference compared to the documents already analyzed. This is to reconstitute the core elements of a discourse on the one side and to take account of its heterogeneity on the other.

[81] For a list of all documents, see annex.

b) *Theoretical sampling:* refers to theoretical considerations that justify the integration of documents into analysis, for example, institutional embedding or authorship.
c) *Theoretical saturation*: the search for new documents is continued until the codes and categories start to recur and no new ones can be found.

Sequential analysis means a circular procedure including numerous working steps such as repeated reading, paraphrasing, encoding, commenting, writing memos, etc. which are conducted at the same time. That is to say, phases of formulating hypotheses and theoretical compression alternate with each other until the discursive construct finally becomes clear.

Due to my outside position (as a *white* European researcher) and for reasons of quality assurance, I closely cooperated with numerous local peasant organizations whose members are directly affected by the practices of agribusiness. This collaboration not only took place in the moment of data collection but also during the interpretation of this data. Concretely, this means a constant exchange of − and discussion on − the interpretation of the results. Furthermore, some of Argentina's leading sociology professors in this field have strongly supported this work with their comments and suggestions. The outcome of this cooperation will be presented in the next Chapter.

V RESULTS: The Discourse on *Modern* Agriculture and the Dispositif

After having described my theoretical and methodical approach and the historic transformations in Argentina's agriculture, including the negative consequences they have had on large parts of society, it is now time to return to the actual question this master's thesis aims to answer:

> *How is the associative discourse on modern agriculture – as represented by AAPRESID – composed so that the agribusiness model was able to assert itself without major difficulty?*

Consequently, this Chapter summarizes the findings of my empirical study and links them with the theoretical concepts introduced in Chapter III. After a short description of the documents and some linguistic idiosyncrasies, we start with a self-portrayal of AAPRESID and its field of activity. After, the narrative structure, interpretative schemes, classifications and the phenomenal structure found in the documents are outlined in coherence with the *Sociology of Knowledge Approach to Discourse* (*SKAD*).[82] This finally allows us to specify the dispositif and the global strategy this discourse supports.

5.1 Description of the Documents and Linguistic Idiosyncrasies

AAPRESID's digital library has more than 15,000 written documents. However, most are exclusively accessible to paying subscribers. It also provides a large number of videos on various events organized by AAPRESID. Moreover, social media, such as *Facebook* or *Twitter, is used by AAPRESID* to distribute content (S, n.pag.).[83]

Starting in the late 1990s, AAPRESID has published the monthly, fee-based magazine *Siembra Directa (Direct Sowing).* This magazine provides the basis for the present empirical study together with the other documents published on AAPRESID's homepage. Each issue focuses on a particular topic generally related to current events, discussions, or developments in the agricultural sector. The most covered topics include direct sowing, biotechnology and genetics, fertilizers and agrochemicals, (the control of) weeds and illnesses, *sustainability*,

[82] See Chapters 3.2, 4.2; and 4.4.
[83] The letter in brackets refers to the cited document. For a list of documents and corresponding letters, see annex.

alternative energy, *(rural) development*, soil nutrition, machinery, and livestock breeding. Moreover, the current political situation and ideas for *alternative development* for Argentina are repeatedly discussed.

Up until February 2014, 121 issues of *Siembra Directa* have been published (S, n.pag.). All issues of the magazine show the same structure and thematic division into the four task areas as we will see in Chapter 5.2. Furthermore, there is an editorial section at the beginning that directly addresses the readers, and an institutional section where AAPRESID talks about organizational matters. The last page of each issue shows a list of agro-industrial companies, media, and other institutions AAPRESID is linked with.[84] In addition to the monthly issues, five special editions are released each year focusing on new technologies.

Like all media documents, *Siembra Directa* should be seen within its institutional embedding since media are never a simple or neutral representation of reality but always (intentionally or not) mixed with values, opinions, emotions, etc. (Lindgren 2012, p. 4). They produce discourses but at the same time are highly influenced by discourses. In its function as a promotional tool, *Siembra Directa* is used to spread certain content and thus create new demand for economic reasons. That is to say, they spread but also produce meaning. This becomes obvious not only in the content and selection of topics but also in the magazine's writing style and media design which is rather eye-catching and colorful. Generally, the articles are short and accompanied by photos of the cited people (mostly men) and advertisements of the agro-industry, which may take up entire pages. It seems that giving the cited people a face or even a name aims to make everything more personal, more authentic, and easier to sell. The language of the articles is easily comprehensible. Moreover, it is striking that some words, such as agricultural *chemicals* (*agroquímicos*) or *agrotoxins* (*agrotóxicos*), which are commonly used by critics of *modern* agriculture, are replaced by terms, such as *phyto-sanitary products* (*fitosanitarios*), which unambiguously hold a different connotation.

Like all media, AAPRESID's writings are highly ideological. By defining the *normal* and *abnormal*, *right* and *wrong,* etc., media documents (re)produce social meanings and interpretations. Hence they are a rather important surface for the negotiations on hegemony (Lindgren 2012, pp. 13-18).[85] Certainly, AAPRESID's documents are just a few of numerous elements contributing to the discourse on *modern* agriculture. In fact, written documents are

[84] See annex.
[85] See Chapter 3.3.

just a few of the numerous bearers of discourse. Nevertheless, analyzing these documents can give us an idea of how this discourse works and how it forms part of a large whole, a dispositif, as we will see in Chapter 5.6.

5.2 AAPRESID: Organization, Activities, Publications

AAPRESID describes itself as a network of agricultural producers aimed at "impulsing the system of direct sowing for (economically, environmentally, and socially) *sustainable* agriculture based on (technological, organizational, and institutional) innovation, assuming the commitment of interacting with public and private organizations in order to foster a comprehensive development of the country"[86] (Q, n.pag.)[7] It wants to "stimulate leadership and innovation" (ibid.)[8] by facilitating the exchange of experiences and *knowledge*. Finally, it presents itself as both a non-governmental and a non-profit organization. Formed in 1989 by just a few farmers, today it totals more than 1,600 private and entrepreneurial members divided into 30 regional groups in eight of Argentina's 23 provinces (Santa Fe, Buenos Aires, Córdoba, La Pampa, Entre Ríos, San Luis, Chaco, and Salta) (S, n.pag.).

AAPRESID divides its activities into four task areas. One of these areas is called *experience* and is concerned with the exchange of (empirical firsthand) *knowledge* about new agricultural techniques. For this purpose, AAPRESID organizes a series of (regional, provincial, and national) conferences, seminars, colloquia, panels, and technical workshops for all people who are interested in agricultural *modernization*, especially farmers, contractors, applicators, technicians, and the AAPRESID staff themselves. The objective is not only to facilitate access to technical information but to capacitate farmers to apply new techniques (SD 116, pp. 10-13).

The second task area is called *systems* and contains two programs for a more *sustainable* agriculture. The first, *Certified Agriculture (AC, Agricultura Certificada), is* a program aimed at making use of the earth's limited resources more efficient in order to satisfy the rising demand on agricultural goods. This program promotes so-called *good practices* and trains *AC* facilitators who technically assist farmers when implementing new practices (SD 121, pp. 16f). The second program, *Sistema Chacras*, performs field experiments to "create knowledge", "adapt this knowledge to specific local situations", and "capacitate people so that they accept this knowledge and apply it in an effective and efficient way" (U, n.pag.).[9]

[86] All translations are the author's except where otherwise noted.

The third task area, *community,* includes both *REM* (*Red de Conocimientos en Malezas Resistentes, web of knowledge about resistant weeds*) and *Aula AAPRESID (AAPRESID's classroom). REM* consists of a group of producers, counselors, investigators, enterprises, and institutions that share information about resistant weeds and organize informational events and workshops (S, n.pag.). *Aula AAPRESID* is an initiative to disseminate AAPRESID's contents in educational and governmental settings. By distributing *true* information about food production and particularly the direct sowing technique and the related technological package, it wants to assume responsibility in the "fight against disinformation" (G, n.pag.).[10] According to AAPRESID, the objectives of *Aula AAPRESID* are to promote awareness of Argentina's central role in global food production, to explain the importance of an efficient and *sustainable* use of all our productive resources, to inform society about the direct sowing technique, to promote the application of good agricultural practices, and to "demystify" the use of new technologies, agrochemicals, direct sowing, and GMOs (G, n.pag.). Events, such as information days in high schools, are supposed to help pupils to "clarify all their doubts regarding the use of phyto-sanitary products, crop management, transgenic seeds, and other topics."[11] The following citation describes one of these events called *"productores por un dia"* (*farmers for a day*):

> "First, the kids found out how agriculture functioned while it was still based on tillage, and how DS [direct sowing (author's note)] evolved in our country thanks to multiple advantages […]. The following thematic station referred to biotechnology. To explain this complex topic in an easy way, different elements from everyday life were provided: food, medicine, etc." (G, n.pag.)[12]

The last task area, *prospective (outlook*), deals with new technological innovations. This task area also includes the organization of the annual AAPRESID Congress, which "unites the main experts and is a key moment for the actualization, debate, and exhibition of the technological progress" (S, n.pag.)[13].

AAPRESID offers both theoretical (technological/*scientific*) information and practical advice. This is communicated through multifaceted channels including print media (the magazine *Siembra Directa*), digital/social media (homepage, Facebook, twitter, etc.) and also events (workshops, congresses, etc.) in order to reach as many people as possible. As we will see in Chapter 5.6, all this forms part of a dispositif, that is to say, the web of discursive and non-discursive elements which together form a macro power that holds a certain global *strategy* (Foucault 1978, pp. 119-143).

5.3 The Narrative Structure

If we want to analyze the discourse on *modern agriculture* and if we define discourse with Keller as "regulated, structured practices of sign usage in social arenas, which constitute smaller or larger symbolic universes" (Keller 2005b, p. 59), we have to take a closer look at how these practices look. As discussed above, Keller distinguishes between *discourse producing practices* and *discourse-generated model practices.*[87] These two types of practices mutually influence each other. What is more, over time they gain certain stability and once socially accepted and institutionalized, they pre-structure what can and cannot be said and done (ibid., p. 58). From this moment on, they form part of our *stock of knowledge,* which is transferred to the next generations, even though it is constantly modified.

In the following, we will concentrate on both *discourse producing practices* and *discourse-generated model practices*. The question is how these practices in a reciprocal movement give rise to the discourse on *modern* agriculture and how this discourse looks and subsequently enables certain social practices while impeding others.

In this sense, I start by tracing the narrative structure of this discourse to identify its seemingly logical line of reasoning, or what media sociology calls *rationalization.*[88] This permits us afterwards to discuss the *interpretative schemes*, *classifications*, and the *phenomenal structure* underlying the narrative structure. The following figure provides an overview of the narrative structure which can be divided into emergency (the problems AAPRESID identifies), solutions (AAPRESID's proposals to solve these problems), and consequences (the overall effects its proposals would have once applied on a large scale). At this point, I want to emphasize again that the categories discussed in the following are taken from the data material and represent AAPRESID's assessments, attitudes, and values and not my personal ones.

[87] See Chapter 3.2. The third form of practices (*extra-discursive practices*) seems to play a negligible role in this discourse.
[88] See Chapter 3.3.

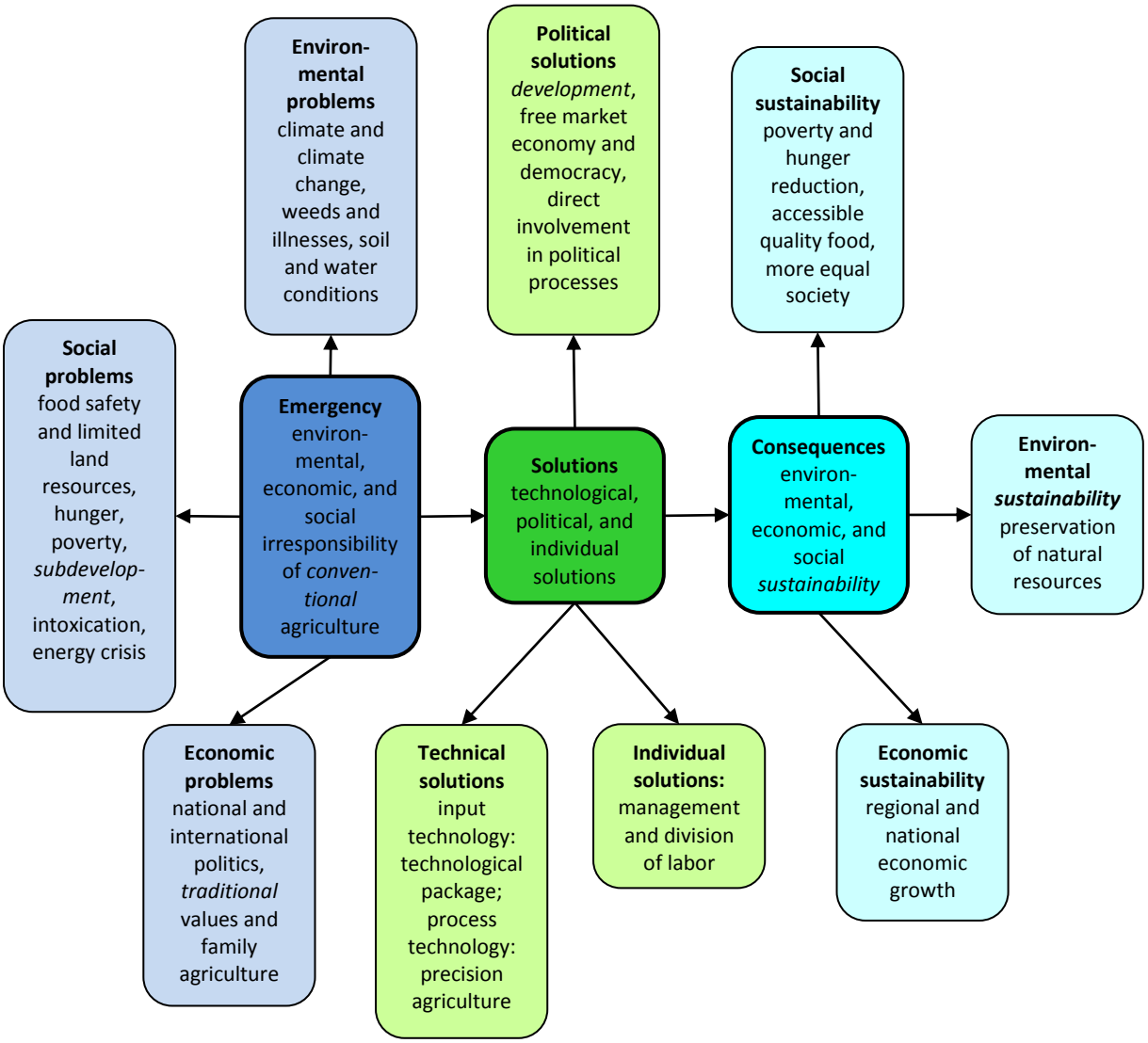

Figure 9: Narrative structure of the associative discourse on *modern* agriculture. Own figure.

5.3.1 Emergency: The Environmental, Social, and Economic Irresponsibility of Conventional Agriculture

In the analyzed documents, a series of environmental, social, and economic/political problems are presented as insolvable or even caused by *conventional* agriculture. This is especially interesting if we take a closer look at what AAPRESID understands *conventional* to mean and not mean. It is neither old agricultural techniques used before colonial times nor colonial agriculture, though agro-industry is referred to.[89] That means, *conventional* from AAPRESID's point of view refers to current cultivation techniques including the extensive use of chemical fertilizers as well as the process of agrification (the use of ever larger parts of lands for

[89] For the differences, see Chapter II.

agricultural purposes) which is said to be responsible for serious environmental and social problems.

Many of the articles begin therefore with a description of a particular problem. The following citation taken from one of the international documents published on the AAPRESID homepage is a good example:

> "The world is experiencing urgent and interconnected problems on many social as well as environmental fronts. Resource shortages, demographic realities, and planetary boundaries prevent us from growing our way out of these problems. The confluence of food, energy, economic, and security crises, compounded by increasing global population, climate change, and natural disasters, spell an impending global breaking point." (Rogers et al. 2012, p. 61)

Undoubtedly, this corresponds to a very subjective judgment of the pestering problems of our time. However, this is exactly what makes it interesting for analysis since these statements are used to legitimize certain actions, a certain social order, and finally certain power relations.

In the following, I explain in more detail the *emergency* outlined in the documents. This emergency can be subsumed under "irresponsibility of conventional agriculture", and can be roughly divided into environmental, social, and economic problems. The following figure gives an overview of this categorization and its subcategories. It should be noted, however, that this is an analytic distinction and that the different problem areas are closely related to each other.

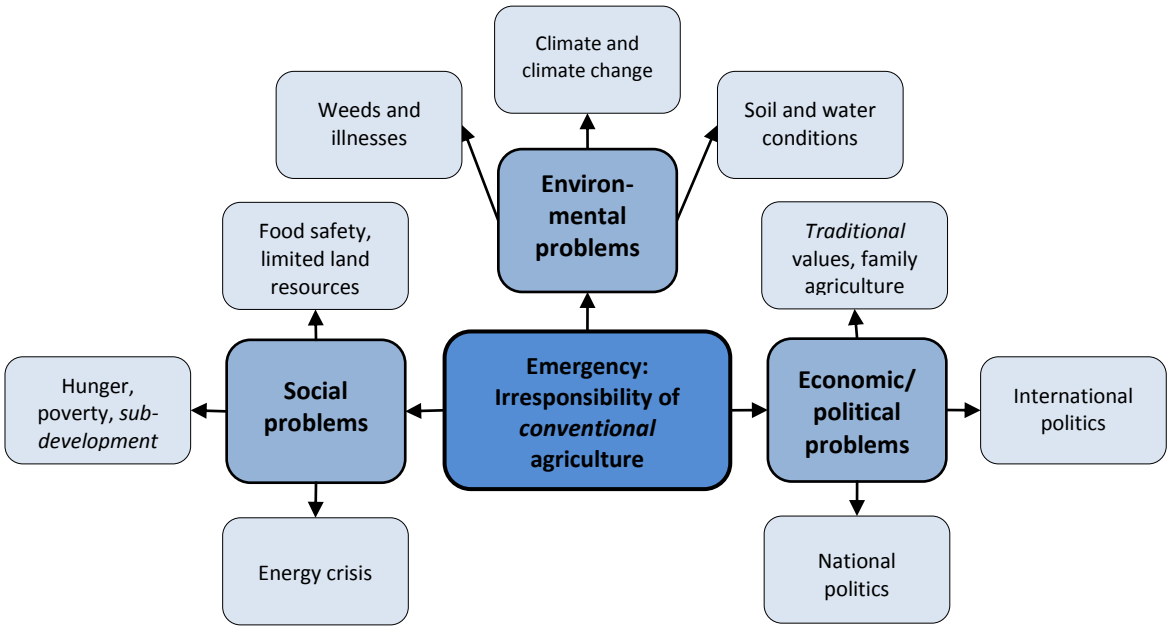

Figure 10: Emergency according to the associative discourse on *modern* agriculture. Own figure.

5.3.1.1 Environmental Problems

AAPRESID explicitly describes the current food production system as ecologically un*sustainable* and takes every occasion to point to the limited resources and the ecological boundaries of our planet. It is current cultivation techniques and especially the extensive use of chemical fertilizers that is said to be responsible for serious environmental damages. It is striking, however, that critics accuse precisely AAPRESID's efforts of contributing to climate change, the loss of biodiversity, and further severe environmental damages.[90] AAPRESID, however, blames former cultivation techniques of being un*sustainable*. In the following, we will see the different aspects of this argument.

Climate and climate change

Undoubtedly, climatic conditions heavily influence agricultural production processes. Problematic climatic phenomena mentioned in the documents are, for example, wind erosions or droughts (SD 119, pp. 34-36). Moreover, climate change is repeatedly discussed:

> "In 2030/2035 we will probably be 9 billion and have enormous shortages.[91] Everyone knows that climatic instability will provoke storms and extreme climatic variations. Our plants are not prepared to survive under these extreme conditions." (N, n.pag.)[14]

Conventional agriculture, defined as agriculture that is not based on the direct sowing technique and the technological package, is described not only as inappropriate to cope with changing climatic conditions but as one of the main originators of this phenomenon. This is primarily attributed to the high level of nitrogen fertilization and mineral fuels (petrol or carbon) in *conventional* agriculture (SD 118, pp. 39-42; 120, p. 12; bioenergía, p. 6; G, n.pag.; N, n.pag.; Gilbert, p. 526).

The intense use of mineral fuels (petrol or carbon) is another factor considered important in this context. According to AAPRESID, biofuels could significantly reduce harmful emissions (SD bioenergía, p. 6). It is striking, however, that livestock breeding, one of the most discussed factors in the *scientific* discourse on global warming, is not at all mentioned. This may be due to the fact that AAPRESID does not have any proposal to solve this problem. Yet it does

[90] See Chapter 2.4.2.
[91] The original citation speaks about 9 million people. Since it refers to the world population, however, it has to be 9 billion people.

have a solution for the reduction of emissions caused by agricultural practices: the direct sowing technique and the associated technological package.

Weeds and illnesses

Weeds and illnesses are another factor considered responsible for severe harvest losses. However, in one of the documents, a *specialist* of the *INTA*[92] points out that weeds are not completely useless. Their radical eradication may even have negative consequences such as the diminution of organic material which can be held responsible for an augmentation of erosions, an increase in harmful insects and pathogens, and a loss of beneficial insects, nutrients and genetic resources (SD 120, p. 26). In general, however, weeds are described as troublesome and as a potential risk for the yield. The biggest problem originates from the so-called *weeds of difficult control*. These are weeds which have developed resistances to one or more herbicides (SD 121, p. 22; R, p. 3).[93] AAPRESID admits that these resistances may be the consequence of "the repeated use of the same herbicide or herbicides with the same mode of action" (R, p. 2)[15] or "the increasing use of composites of insecticides, higher doses, and fungicides" (SD 119, p. 31).[16] Through hybridization these resistances can even be transmitted to other species of the same genus (SD 116, p. 36).

AAPRESID presents itself as seriously concerned with this phenomenon since resistant weeds are spreading and represent a major challenge for the direct sowing technique. As explained in Chapter 5.3.2.1, direct sowing has been promoted as a useful technique especially for weed control. AAPRESID makes every effort to promote this technique as being able to cope with nearly any kind of weed if the appropriated herbicides are only used in the right way. Furthermore, it is trying hard to find new strategies of control.

[92] See list of abbreviations in annex.
[93] *AAPRESID* defines this resistance according to the *WSSA* (*Weed Science Society of America*) as "the hereditary ability that some biotypes within a population adopt in order to survive and reproduce when facing a certain dose of herbicide to which the original population was susceptible"(R, p. 2).

Soil and water conditions

The water supply and the nutrition properties of the soil are further factors considered important for the production process. In one of the international articles on agricultural production in Africa, unproductive soils are said to substantially contribute to the agricultural crisis which is considered a result of the growing population (Gilbert, p. 525). Furthermore, much is spoken about the soil composition in different regions, and ways in which to analyze and enrich it (SD 120, pp. 22-25; 116, p. 16; C, pp. 39-47). What is interesting in this context is that unfertile soils are presented primarily as a result of *conventional* agriculture, which is accused of not caring about the reposition of nutrients. Following this line of argumentation, an increasing extraction of nutrients from the system took place with the intensification of (*conventional*) agriculture, and it is difficult now to replace this loss even with the use of chemical fertilizers (SD cultivos invernales, p. 20; C, p. 17, SD 120, p. 24):

> "The process of agrification, which was initially associated with intense mechanization, resulted in problems with erosion of different intensity and the associated loss of organic material. Twenty years ago, nobody thought about replacing soil nutrients because the natural fertility was supposed to be enough." (C, p. 17)[17]

Soil properties are also said to play an essential role in the maintenance of water. Hence soil nutrition is considered especially important in dryer areas (SD 118, pp. 8 and 10; 121, p. 22). The lack of water in some regions and the different strategies of handling this situation are further issues discussed in the documents (SD maíz, p. 16).

Soil contamination, a pressing concern in many of Argentina's provinces, is only mentioned in one document specifically when talking about agricultural activities in Brazil. The reason for the aluminum contamination mentioned in this article, however, remains unclear (SD 118, p. 33).

5.3.1.2 Social Problems

Food safety and limited land resources

The term *food safety* refers to two arguments appearing in the documents: the first concerns the quantity of the food produced on the global market which is alleged to be insufficient considering the ever-growing population:

> "According to the FAO, 800 million persons go to sleep hungry every day. If this happens with 7 billion of inhabitants, how are we supposed to feed 9 billion mouths in 2050?"[94] (H, n.pag.)[18]

Even though today much more food is produced than in earlier days, it is argued that demographic changes will necessitate far larger production increases (SD 119, p. 19; N, n.pag.). Moreover, increasing life standards and the production of biofuel stimulate the demand (SD maíz, p. 81). As we will see, AAPRESID claims to have found the solution to this problem.[95] This is especially interesting if we consider that critics blame *modern* agriculture for significantly contributing to the problem of food vulnerability since increasing productivity cannot be equated with equal access to food. As McMichael (2009a, p. 288) argues, "[n]ational food reserves have been privatized and are now run like transnational companies" which hinders access to food especially for lower social classes.[96]

The second argument concerns food quality and (mal)nutrition. Upon closer inspection, however, it becomes clear that this is generally linked to considerations of economic viability:

> "[W]e should produce and generate a product with high contents of nutrients, of very high nutritional quality, high availability, and low cost. We must find a way to meet the target of finding a cheap ingredient to produce meat or milk. Quality fibers permit the achievement of high efficiency of food conversion, high levels of inclusion in diets, and the diminution of food costs. It also contributes significantly to animal health." (SD planteos ganaderos, p. 31)[19]

The privatization of (GMO-)seeds through patents is criticized by numerous oppositional movements for increasing the farmer's dependency on multinational companies and putting food security seriously at risk. However, in the analyzed material it is widely ignored. Only one international article addresses this topic but dismisses it forthwith as nonsense. It argues that patents are only valid for twenty years and "developed countries […] give them for free" since "all the multinationals are part of programs there" (N, n.pag.).[20] Hence the problem is not seen in multinational companies or the idea of intellectual property but in political regulations which hinder a free *knowledge* exchange (ibid.). In this way, even imperialist strategies can easily appear as acts of humanity aiming at the support of *underdeveloped* countries and poor people whereas the real profiteers tend to be obscured (Sachs 1996, pp. 54-58).

[94] As already stated above, the original citation speaks about millions of people. Since it refers to the world population, however, it has to be billions of people.
[95] See Chapter 5.3.2.
[96] See Chapter 2.4.2.

Hunger, Poverty, Subdevelopment

AAPRESID also expresses concern about social inequalities. Especially (but not only) in the international documents, poverty and hunger are recurrent topics. As already mentioned, low productivity and limited land resources are primarily held responsible for world hunger rather than distribution matters which critics of the agribusiness model hold responsible.[97] Following this line of reasoning, natural limitations are reached rapidly especially in so-called *developing countries*.

> "Rapid urbanization in many developing countries has put enormous strain on the infrastructure within cities as well as on the supporting ecological systems. […] Demographic trends, including rapid population growth in some countries and aging populations in others, have led many households, communities and countries deeper into poverty. […] On a global scale, population trends pose a huge challenge to sustainable development because there are no longer vast stores of fertile land and accessible natural resources to fuel such development." (Rogers et al. pp. 61f)

The distinction between *developed* and *subdeveloped* countries and the respective ascriptions are perfect examples for what media sociology calls *narrativization*. This means a *traditionalized* representation of power relations.[98] The current social order is not questioned at any time but instead an attempt is made to find a way to become part of the *winners*.

What may surprise is that unequal distribution is also mentioned as playing a role in hunger and poverty. Thus the inventor of the first transgenic plant, who is interviewed in one of the international articles, says the following:

> "It is obvious that it is not well distributed and if we know that, let us try to change that. But this takes much time. […] Now we have the means to accelerate it. And there is no argument against it. I just say that we need new technologies because the older have become obsolete." (N, n.pag.)[21]

However, even though the unequal distribution of food is recognized here, it is associated with a general shortage. Generally, political decisions and interventions as well as imperialist/ (neo)colonialist politics and their responsibility for present social problems and the unequal distribution of the social wealth also remain unmentioned in this interview. Hence hunger is presented as a problem of nature (limited resources) rather than a social problem (distribution). This lays the foundation for the argument that increasing productivity by means of new technologies would resolve the problem of global hunger.

[97] See Chapter 2.4.2.
[98] See Chapter 3.3.

Intoxication

As we saw above, critics of modern agriculture point to the negative effects of the use of agrochemicals including nausea, dizziness, breathing problems, increased blood pressure, allergic reactions, skin eruptions and ocular irritations, cases of impairments in pregnancy, malformations, cancer, and even cases of death (Domínguez&Sabatino 2005, pp. 29-51).[99] Perhaps unexpectedly, the toxicity of agrochemicals and a causal link between these products and severe illnesses, malformation, or even death is also mentioned in the documents. However, cases of intoxication are clearly associated with "inappropriate application" (SD 119, p. 39 and 120, p. 38):

> "We cannot neglect the fact that glyphosate is a product earmarked towards killing weeds, whose toxicity is defined and published, and requires pertinent caution. With respect to the conditions of manipulation, storage, and inappropriate application of phyto-sanitary products, the correspondent denunciations have to be made so that a competent authority resolves that problem." (T, n.pag.)[22]

> "Engineers are like rural doctors, and the chemical products like remedies, which are used and which are not bad per se, but it is their incorrect and unprofessional use that can be hold responsible for their negative effects." (G, n.pag.)[23]

This also becomes obvious in the *guidelines for the use of phyto-sanitary products in periurban areas* created by the *Ministry of Agriculture and Fishing* in collaboration with AAPRESID and other private and public organizations. In these guidelines, published in *Siembra Directa,* the reader is warned of an unprofessional and insouciant use of these products which could lead to possible health risks:

> "The acute toxicity of the formulated product is relevant primarily in cases of direct exposure to the product, whether because of effusions during transport and/or storage matters, splashes during preparation, or leakages of the brewing. In case of urban populations, exposure may originate from leaking drops. However, this risk is tempered thanks to the dilution of the product." (Ministry of Agriculture and Fishing in SD 120, p. 38)[24]

It is the individual who is made responsible here for cases of intoxication and not the product:

> "Fact is that the product comes with a recommendation of the fabricant but the responsibility of the fabricant falls to the application by the farmer in the field. […] In 99 percent of cases the product is not the problem but the way of application. […]. [U]nfortunately, it is logic that this [cases of congenital malformation and severe illnesses of persons who are in contact with agrochemicals (author's note)] happens if the products are not used as they should be. If masks and gloves are not used, if there is wind […]." (G, n.pag.)[25]

[99] See also Chapter 2.4.2.

Moreover, so-called *experts* assert that most cases of intoxication occur with chemical products used to kill insects, rats, or other animals at home (SD 120, p. 16; 121, p. 9). In one of the articles, for example, a doctor states that "75% of the cases of intoxication and death with phyto-sanitary products occur in Latin-America" and that "the majority of these cases do not happen in the agricultural sector but in private households with the phyto-sanitary products used at home" (G, n.pag.).[26]

Even if we suppose that these figures are correct, the question remains of whether cases of intoxication through agrochemicals become less important because more cases of intoxication by domestic products are recorded or *individual guilt* can be asserted. Moreover, it is striking that no further explanations are given for the disproportional rate of intoxications and deaths in Latin-America. That many of the phyto-sanitary products used in Argentina are prohibited in the EU and other countries due to their high toxicity also remains unmentioned. Only in this way can the assertion be maintained that not the product but its incorrect application is the problem.

In addition, the problem of intoxication through agrochemicals is mainly associated with periurban areas defined as "intermediary and spatially delimited areas between what is considered a rural zone and what is defined urban" (SD 120, p. 37):[27]

> "Due to the growth of urban centers towards areas traditionally used for agriculture, the inhabitants are exposed to the habitual practices of how phyto-sanitary products are used, representing a potential risk for their health and the environment." (SD 120, p. 37)[28]

In this citation, two problems are mentioned: First, the farmer's *traditional* practices and their ways of thinking and second, the enlargement of cities and their approximation to rural areas. With this, intoxication is converted into a problem of (limited) space since the toxicity of these products is only considered problematic if applied close to cities as the following citation shows:

> "The climate of uncertainty with regards to the impacts of phyto-sanitary products may provoke conflicts between farmers and the inhabitants of the periurban zones." (SD 120, p. 37)[29]

In this citation, it is assumed that conflicts could be avoided if agrochemicals are to be used properly and farmers and other periurban residents were to be better informed. Moreover, it is striking that not a single word is said about rural communities or indigenous populations who are most affected by the negative consequences of *modern* agriculture. This is actually a

common strategy called *nominalization* or *passivization* in media sociology. It means the invisibilization of certain social players in order to obscure certain problems.[100]

The question of environmental intoxication is also widely omitted, yet quite the contrary is the case. It is repeatedly stressed that the direct sowing technique permits a better conservation of soil, water, and air conditions (SD 120, p. 32). The effect these products impose over the quality of food is another question widely ignored in the documents. Only at one point is it assumed that food quality may be negatively affected (SD 119, p. 27). The problem of residual quantities of glyphosate in food is also mentioned in just one article. However, also in this article, this is once again said to be the result of an exaggerated use since now "[w]e have a healthier agriculture than 50 years ago" (SD 119, p. 14).[30] The same can be said about chemical fertilizers. Hardly anything is spoken about their toxicity. Only one document mentions the possibility of contaminated grounds and reverted effects in cases of exaggerated or unprofessional use (SD 119, p. 22).

Possible risks originating from biotechnology itself remain widely unmentioned. Only one of the documents alludes to this problem. However, it emphasizes that there is no evidence for any kind of harmfulness and that it is ignorance that makes people think GMOs are dangerous (N, n.pag.).

Energy crisis

Argentina's energy situation is another topic recurrently discussed in the documents. This is due to AAPRESID's obvious intention of fostering the use of biofuels. In this respect, two main problems can be identified: the high costs of imported energy, and the general difficulties in satisfying the ever-growing demand for fossil fuel energy (Argentina's main source of energy generation). The latter is associated with population growth but also with a significant increase in energy consumption in private households, which is seen primarily as a consequence of state subsidization:

> "Energy importation is a serious problem given the amount of foreign exchange necessary to realize this purchase. […] The energy subsidies of the last years have exacerbated the demand and stimulated inefficient and irresponsible consumption, especially in the domestic sector." (SD bioenergía, p. 26)[31]

[100] See Chapter 3.3.

Consequently, current energy policies are criticized for being un*sustainable* since they still focus on fossil fuels. According to AAPRESID, this is a clear demonstration of the government's lack of social and environmental responsibility:

> "One of the pillars of the global development of the past 120 years was petroleum, a resource which […] is already more than half depleted and which will have elevated extraction costs for the most part of the remaining reserves. […] However, at the same time, alarm bells start to ring with regards to the high environmental costs." (SD bioenergía, p. 6)[32]

5.3.1.3 Economic and Political Problems: Argentina's Role in a Global Market

AAPRESID recurrently emphasizes Argentina's responsibility for the global food supply. For example, a *specialist in entrepreneurial management* is cited as criticizing declines in livestock breeding activities: "The world demands from us and we deny producing" (SD 119, p. 40).[33] AAPRESID clearly advocates for a global, neoliberal economy with "clear rules, full respect, [and] freedom of trade" (ibid),[34] yet speaks out against any kind of economic protectionism.[101] The problem is not seen in a globalized market but in Argentina's below potential performance within this market.

As we will see, the solution to improve Argentina's bad economic performance is seen in the *modernization* of agriculture, which can convert Argentina into a *developed* country and bring social welfare for all Argentineans.[102] The orientation on the global market is considered a necessary condition for the success of the national agricultural sector (SD bioenergia, p. 31; SD 119, pp. 6, 32, 41). In this context, the "essential paradigmatic changes in the institutional, organizational, technological and commercial area, which strongly affect the food industry" (C, p. 5)[35] is repeatedly pointed to as a result of the proceeding globalization, new international regulations, norms, and quality standards but also increasing competitiveness (ibid.).

In the analyzed data, three factors are made responsible for Argentina's bad economic performance: national politics, international politics, and the Argentine farmers themselves with their *traditional* minds.

[101] to be discussed in Chapter 5.3.2.2.
[102] See Chapter 5.3.2.

National politics

The analyzed documents offer an assessment of both the global and the national economic situation. Talking about the latter, the term "economic crisis" is frequently used and considered to be primarily a result of wrong political decisions. In general, AAPRESID draws a rather worrying picture of Argentina's economic position describing the current political decision-makers as both unable and unwilling to take a different course. Hardly a word is spoken about past economic crises such as that one in 2001. Instead, concentration is on the present "troubled times" (SD 120, p. 14). Statements about former times are only used to emphasize the worsening of Argentina's economic situation. Meanwhile, cross country comparisons serve to demonstrate Argentina's bad economic performance within the global market (ibid.; SD 119, p. 40).

AAPRESID criticizes any attempt of market intervention whether by the national government, the EU, or other political entities. The market is supposed to have no need for outside regulation but instead regulates itself. Consequently, the protectionist policies of the government of Christina Kirchner are assumed to damage Argentina as a business location:

> "In this last period, half of the reserves have been lost, and exchange depreciation was installed with a fiscal deficit and a tariff backlog that provoked the current inflation of 2% per month. In addition, the creation of exchange stocks established by a distorted market resulted in holding back importation in a 'brutal' manner thus helping certain industries to survive but strangling others due to their lack of imported inputs." (SD 120, p. 14)[36]

Different *experts* are cited to legitimize their objections. In one article, for example, an economist raises five main failures of the government: the energetic deficit, the low level of reserves, domestic indebtedness, the loss of a competitive exchange rate, and the fiscal deficit. With regards to the latter, he sees the reason mainly in state subsidization, especially for energy and public transports (SD 120, p. 11). These subsidies are accused of artificially keeping companies alive which have already been condemned to death:

> "The government has promoted the development of small and medium factories of biodiesel in the local market, to which is granted an equivalent quote of the total of the installed capacity and a price much higher than that of the big and more efficient fabrics. This permits that small and medium enterprises of the biodiesel industry operate at full capacity, whereas the big factories operate with low utilization, with some of them even out of work." (SD bioenergía, p. 13)[37]

Furthermore, subsidies in the energy sector are said to "stimulate an inefficient and irresponsible consumption, especially in the residential sector" (SD bioenergía, p. 26).[38] In

addition, a correlation is seen between state subsidies and inflation, which is said to be one of Argentina's major economic problems. The current government is not only considered unable to cope with this situation but to be its main instigator (SD 120, pp. 11-14).

According to AAPRESID, a government's main task consists of fostering the national economy by strengthening its most productive and efficient companies. For the current government, AAPRESID passes a clear judgment: it lacks responsibility and damages the national economy by hindering entrepreneurs to do business and supporting small and medium companies which are said to be inefficient by nature. In this way, it prevents the necessary *modernization* of agriculture and thus national economic growth (SD bionenergía, pp. 31f).

AAPRESID continually points to the government's missed opportunities and inexhaustible potentials. In one of the documents, for instance, an agronomist is cited talking about Latin-America's economic possibilities and the necessity of finding its place in the global economy since "South-America has the technology, the resources and the ideas to position itself in the world" and Argentina is the "region having most potential to grow" (SD 119, p. 51).[39] According to AAPRESID, Argentina should turn back to agricultural production for the sake of the country's *development* since agriculture could be a lucrative business if they would only start taking advantage of the favorable international context (ibid., pp. 51f). The uneconomic thinking of the government is also recurrently emphasized when talking about biodiesel:

> "It seems a paradox but the Ministry of Economy privileges imported gasoil, eliminating the 41% of taxes paid by nationally produced gasoil and biodiesel. Eliminating the taxes of imported mineral gasoil and taxing nationally produced biodiesel is illegitimate, as these are "anti-buy national" politics which are opposed to the adding of value at the place of origin as this seems to be in conflict with the fundamental ideas of national and popular politics." (SD bioenergía, pp. 13f)[40]

Moreover, frequently changing regulations are criticized for making the reinforcement of the national economy more difficult. A general criticism of Argentina's democratic system can also be found. For this purpose, AAPRESID cites a law professor of the University of Córdoba:

> "Argentina is characterized by an extremely weak culture of constitution and legality. Today, after 30 year of democracy, a democratic culture of low quality appears, strongly delegative regarding the incumbents of the executive power at all levels of government." (SD 119, p. 49)[41]

Politicians in this democratic system are accused of thinking short term. Thus the president of the *Central Bank of Argentina* is cited saying that "populism and patronage" are "the tools with which they win votes" (SD 120, p. 14).[42] Another article argues that the contemporary

governmental institutions are rather antiquated and cites an *expert in territorial development* who states that "the public administration we have today is imbued with an industrial spirit belonging to another era" (SD 119, p. 49).[43] A further point of criticism in this context is the relation between the national and provincial governments:

> "We live in a model of a country where the institutional quality is not a very striking attribute. Therefore, it is not surprising that federalism, a link which should exist between the national governments and provincial governments, is so fragile and so far […]. Federalism also means competition and authority." (SD 119, p. 48)[44]

That is to say, not only competition between countries but also between provinces of the same country is considered beneficial for a country's economy. Kirchner's government, however, is accused of leaving the provinces little margin.

Talking about current social problems seems to serve the same purpose of criticizing the government. Typical objections are the high unemployment rate, the low education level, high tax burdens, and income inequalities or reductions (SD 119, p. 6; 121, pp. 13f). Generally following criticism of the government, a call for action was found where AAPRESID presents itself as opposed to the deficient work of the government standing for "conviction, work and management", "reasonable work", and "a different reality" (SD 121, pp. 14f).[45]

All this can be interpreted as a clear declaration for a (neo)liberal market and the application of the rule of the survival of the fittest as presented already with the Washington Consensus in 1989. This refers to the general plea for trade liberalization, privatization of state enterprises, and deregulation, which also includes the cutting of (most) state subsidies (Williamson 1990, n.pag.). As we saw above, in Argentina this ideological turn took place with the government of Menem (1989-1999), which also brought along the neoliberalization of the agricultural field.[103] However, AAPRESID is not opposed to all kinds of state interventions. At some point even more intervention is required. "We need more state" (SD 119, p. 52),[46] a sociologist cited in *Siembra Directa* claims, arguing that the government's most important agricultural institutions, such as the INTA,[104] are suffering severe budget cuts. In the energy sector, AAPRESID also identifies a lack of governmental inversions resulting in an energy deficit and the coercion to import energy (SD planteos ganaderos, p. 10).

[103] See Chapter 2.4.3.
[104] For a list of abbreviations, see annex.

The current government is accused of generally depreciating the agricultural sector and hardly taking care of rural areas, which also puts the consumers at a disadvantage:

> "The countryside has an obvious delay with regards to the electricity system, internet, routes, and railways. All this provokes the high costs beating the net price received by the producer in the moment of handing out the merchandise." (SD planteos ganaderos, p.10)[47]

As a sociologist working for CONICET says, "The appetite of the state is the real problem that prevents this sector from developing" (SD 119, p. 52).[48] That is to say, it is not the claimed general cutting of state subsidies which is the problem but their redirection towards what is considered pro-growth sectors, such as is the case for the agricultural sector. However, as we already saw, this does not refer to financial support for small-scale farmers but for those who are thought to have major possibilities to help increase the national GDP, i.e., large-scale farmers, big companies, and research centers.

AAPRESID's complete lack of speaking out against all kind of state intervention also becomes apparent in its hymns of praise for the former government of Néstor Kirchner for having contributed to economic growth, a diminution of inflation, the reduction of poverty, and the accumulation of large reserves. That is to say, the criticism is not directed at state interventions per se but to the current government of Christina Kirchner which is said to be fatal for Argentina as a business location. According to AAPRESID, the national government has the task of creating best possible conditions for the economic success of the most important national companies and this includes negotiating for the elimination of international trade barriers as well as abandoning the *irrational* attempt being made to keep alive inefficient small productive units. Only in this way can Argentina take advantage of its naturally favorable conditions which have been nullified by bad political decisions. In short, whether or not political regulations are finally criticized depends on whether AAPRESID sees its interests affected.

International politics

As already mentioned above, AAPRESID clearly endorses the idea of free trade and a global economy. Consequently, the protectionist measures of other states or state blocks are a thorn in its side. In this context, especially energy politics are criticized. The European Union is considered the "key actor of the global market of biodiesel" (SD bioenergía, p. 16),[49] especially France and Germany, both of which are trying to reduce their dependency on petrol. Obviously,

Argentina as the world's biggest biodiesel exporter is not very pleased with such protectionist measures (ibid., pp. 16 and 31). The decreases experienced in this sector in the last years are said to be the result of a "period of retraction, characterized by a dragging down of exportations due to the commercial conflicts with the European Union (EU) and the new course taken by the national government with regards to their energy policies" (SD bioenergía, p. 31).[50] According to AAPRESID, it is these protectionist policies that are responsible for the high instability of this sector:

> "It is also a highly regulated market, where there are measures for the assignment of quotas of production and delivery, fixing of selling or minimum prices, public tenders, transactions linked to subsidies of mixtures with fuels, public bonds quoting in slightly transparent markets, high tariffs of importation, and prohibitions or restrictions with regards to the origin of the biofuel to encourage the local production, among other things." (SD bioenergía, p. 16)[51]

In many passages, AAPRESID's criticism of European policies creates the impression that Europe and Argentina are in oppositional positions on the global market:

> "More recently, an attack occurred on the biodiesel of Indonesia and Argentina, instigated by Europe, under the […] establishment of countervailing anti-dumping tariffs which in practice act like non-tariff barriers. The revision of the employed process for its determination makes clear its irrationality and the clear intention of protecting the European industry from other more efficient external industries like ours." (SD bioenergía, p. 7)[52]

AAPRESID clearly feels its rights have been violated. In its opinion, Argentina always asked for reasonable prices for its products and Europe's protectionist measures seriously threaten the national industry (SD bioenergía, pp. 17f). This is why in one of the magazines a whole section is dedicated to "the protectionist measures against Argentina" (ibid., p. 17).[53] In this article, it is emphasized that despite all attempts of Argentina to fight against these unfair policies, which are "absolutely incompatible […] with the rules of the World Trade Organization (WTO)" (ibid.),[54] Europe continues with its economic protectionism which can be traced back to Europe's lack of natural competitive advantages. This is based on the conviction that free trade would clearly benefit Argentina.

> "This European protectionism is destroying a new industry in Argentina, with direct consequences for economic growth, employment, and rural development. The Argentine producers-exporters benefit from natural competitive advantages linked to the availability of abundant raw material close to industrial zones, and access to private deep-water ports. These advantages do not exist in the EU." (SD bioenergía, p. 18)[55]

In this respect, another statement attracts attention. Despite all the economic power adjudged to Europe, its power is seen just as a temporary phenomenon:

> "I do not hesitate to affirm that Europe came to its end, and only will be a memory or a place to visit, because historically Asia always was the main power, and this will not change now." (SD 120, p. 10)[56]

Europe is considered naturally underprivileged and owing its powerful position basically to illegitimate political maneuvers. Consequently, its powerful position is said to be illegitimate, artificial and therefore temporary. It is striking, however, that no reference is made to *Western* (neo)colonial activities. Neither historical nor present forms of the exploitation of the *South* are mentioned in the documents. Transnational corporations are also only mentioned once when AAPRESID criticizes that some big food companies provoked the over-sizing of the debate on food and energy because they were afraid of the negative effects of the progress of biofuel for their businesses when "transferring incomes up-stream in the chain, in favor of the agricultural producers who habitually receive a meager portion of the final food price paid by the consumers" (SD bioenergía, p. 6).[57]

The EU with its protectionism is undoubtedly AAPRESID's main target of attacks. However, other countries are also mentioned as a potential danger for the national agricultural business. Furthermore, petrol exporting countries are said to be interested in destroying the business with biofuel. In this respect, it is interesting to take a look at the connection AAPRESID establishes between environmental movements and petrol exporting countries.

> "It is remarkable that various groups which are against the development of biofuel in the world, identify themselves with the Left opposed to the occident which, accidentally or not, is financed by some of the countries which are oil exporters." (SD bioenergía p. 6)[58]

In summary, AAPRESID sees Argentina's interests endangered on many sides. Unfair protectionist policies of other countries harm Argentina as a business location and give power to those countries. Under free trade conditions, however, natural advantages would clearly favor Argentina. Consequently, the struggle for trade liberalization and deregulation, as proposed in the Washington Consensus and expedited by Menem, must be the ultimate goal.[105]

Traditional values and family agriculture

[105] See Chapter 2.4.3.

A further reason for Argentina's bad economic performance is found in the farmer's antiquated practices and *traditional* minds, which are incompatible with the *modern* world. The following citation shows how a *specialist for entrepreneurial management* explains Argentina's economic difficulties:

> "There is no reason for Argentina to have such a low productivity and one reason, among others we should also analyze, is the farmer's lack of efficiency. […] We have the capital, we have the knowledge, what we have to do is identify the culprits." (SD 119, p. 40)[59]

In another article, the farmer's lack of economic thinking is also made responsible for the destruction of the meat industry for which Argentina has been internationally famous (SD 119, pp. 40f). All this criticism refer to a certain agricultural model, i.e., family agriculture, which is considered antiquated, inefficient, conflictive, and therefore incompatible with an operative, functional and explicit entrepreneurial spirit (SD 119, p. 45).[106] The way in which *traditional* farmers and *modern* businessmen are presented in the documents is a clear example of what media sociology calls *fragmentation*. This refers to the division of individuals into separate categories. More exactly, it is *differentiation* that is used here, a particular form of *fragmentation,* which refers to the symbolic construction of outsiders by highlighting differences and discrepancies and the expurgation of *the other.*[107] In short, fictitious, oppositional social groups are built here: there is the *traditional chacarero* with his antiquated and inefficient practices,[108] and there is the innovative, *modern* businessman. The readers are now encouraged to choose the group which they find worthy of support.

Tradionality and *retrogression*, however, are not only associated with farmers but also with politicians and society as a whole. This becomes clear, for example, in an interview with Marc Van Montagu, the inventor of the first transgenic plant, published on AAPRESID*'s* homepage. To the question of why the success of biotechnology has fallen below expectations, Van Montagu answers that this "is a problem of society. The society is disillusioned because the people do not understand each other, because we do not achieve a democratic society, or because of the banking system" (N, n.pag.).[60] In his opinion, society creates its own problems by rejecting already existing solutions. It is the people's ignorance and their *irrational* fears which can be held responsible for the denial of a technology capable of highly benefiting the whole society:

[106] See also Chapter 2.4.
[107] See Chapter 3.3.
[108] The male form is used here intentionally since the *chacarero* is typically portrayed as male, *traditional*, primitive, poor, etc.

> "People say to me 'prove that there is no danger' but it is impossible to demonstrate the absence of danger. If you say that a car is dangerous, people would agree but they will say that they can control it. If you say GMO technology is dangerous, they will believe it because they do not know what it is and they cannot find any advantage in it." (N, n.pag.)[61]

According to Van Montagu, social and environmental movements have also contributed to the increase in concerns about this technology. Therefore, he refers to these movements as *irrational* and even dangerous since they influence politics and prevent society from using technologies able to resolve crucial social problems:

> "The environmental movement is really […] 'criminal'. If you think about the 12% of the population that is starving to death in this moment, that overpopulation continues and that so many habitats are being destroyed worldwide… and all this could be avoided. Today we have the knowledge and the technology to confront this […]. GMOs have been blocked successfully by the environmental movement." (N, n.pag.)[62]

The contentious issue of privatizing *knowledge* through patents is also mentioned in this interview. According to Van Montagu, the patents are not the problem but the political regulations established because of social and environmental movements (N, n.pag.). In another article, environmental movements are criticized for lacking serious *scientific* evidence for their objections. At the same time, they are said to deny the recognition of *scientific* research, which proves the harmlessness of new technologies (SD 119, p. 52).

That is to say, for the *modernization* of agriculture, a *modernization* of the people's (and especially the farmer's and the politician's) minds is considered a necessary condition. This refers to what Gras and Hernández (2009, pp. 94-96) called the emergence of the *agribusinessman* who shows significantly different ways of acting and thinking than the previous *chacarero.*[109] It is AAPRESID that claims to assume responsibility here and takes on this task of *modernizing* the farmer's minds for the good of the whole country.

[109] See Chapter 2.4.1 and 2.4.2.

5.3.2 Solutions

> "Considering the increasing global demand for food in quantity and quality, and the challenge to satisfy this demand in a sustainable way with regard to natural resources, our answer is a productive system which contemplates an agriculture without tillage, with soil coverage, good agricultural practices, and technological innovation based on science (modern biotechnology)." (SD 119, p. 5)[63]

The emergency outlined above provides the basis for the solutions proposed by AAPRESID, which are presented in this Chapter. In turn, the exertion of these solutions represents a major factor for the rise and consolidation of a dispositif that holds a certain *strategy*.[110]

In order to attain a *modern* but *sustainable* agriculture capable of producing food in sufficient quantity and quality, an increase of the areas under cultivation but especially of productivity is considered crucial (SD 117, p. 10). For good harvest results, AAPRESID considers some natural factors important, such as sunlight, water, and soil quality. Moreover, various cultural practices are alluded to since "for a profitable and sustainable system we should achieve the maximum efficiency in the use of these resources and in this moment the strategic management of the resources becomes important" (SD 121, p. 13).[64] Cultural practices mentioned in the documents include, for example, crop rotation and an informed choice of crops, the use of cover plants and periods of fallowing, the right times for sowing and yielding, and proper irrigation. All this may help to avoid soil damage and reduce plagues of insects, diseases, and weeds (SD 117, p. 18; 119, pp. 14-16 and 30-44; 120, p. 28; 121, p. 26; maíz, p. 16; C, pp. 14f).

However, non-technical solutions alone are considered insufficient to bring about significant production increases (SD 119, p. 30). Therefore, a set of technological solutions is proposed, as we will see in the following. Furthermore, AAPRESID gives recommendations for political changes to solve the economic, political, environmental, and social problems outlined above.[111] Finally, AAPRESID advocates the change of mind of farmers, politicians, and society as a whole since their *traditional* values and their attempts of artificially keeping family agriculture alive are considered one of the main factors impeding the necessary *modernization* of

[110] See Chapter 5.6.
[111] See Chapter 5.3.1.

agriculture.[112] Consequently, the set of solutions AAPRESID proposes can be divided into three categories as the following figure illustrates.

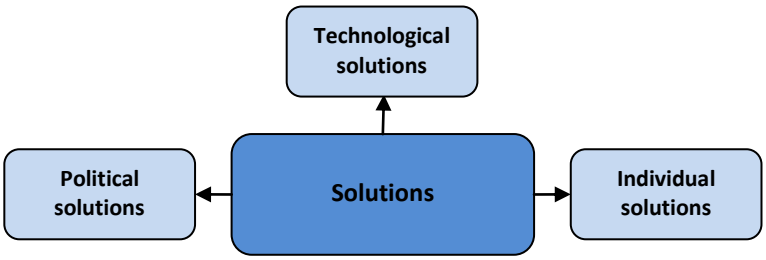

Figure 11: Set of solutions according to the associative discourse on *modern* agriculture. Own figure.

5.3.2.1 Technological Solutions: The Technological Package

As already mentioned, AAPRESID's proposal to resolve the emergency described above primarily consists of the direct sowing technique which is necessarily accompanied by new seed variations and the intense use of agrochemicals (R, p. 1).[113] Technological facilities are therefore considered indispensable for *modern* and *sustainable agriculture* since they "help us to care about the environment, the people" (SD 119, p. 26).[65]

In the following, I will distinguish between *input technology* and *process technology*. The first includes everything that is used within the immediate cultivation process, such as new seed variations, herbicides, or chemical fertilizers. The latter refers principally to leading edge technology, such as GPS or specific computer software, which helps to make certain working steps more efficient and thus reduces production costs (SD planteos ganaderos, p. 31).

Input technology: The technological package

Direct sowing and the technological package is promoted as *the* answer to the problem of producing food in sufficient quantities and qualities in a socially, economically, and environmentally *sustainable* way (SD 116, p. 4).

[112] See Chapter 5.3.1.3.
[113] See Chapter 2.4.

According to AAPRESID, the implementation of direct sowing represents a paradigmatic change, and AAPRESID has contributed significantly to its introduction (SD maíz, p. 81; Q, n.pag.). Direct sowing means an agriculture that abstains from any kind of tillage implying a significant workload reduction for the farmers. It includes a comprehensive "(technological, organizational, and institutional) innovation" (SD 120, p. 16);[66] *technological* because the direct sowing technique includes the use of new seed variations, agrochemicals, and other technological inputs, and. *organizational* and *institutional* because it encourages farmers to completely change their usual practices and "interact with public and private organizations" [114] (SD 120, p. 16)[67].

At the environmental level, various advantages are mentioned as resulting from the direct sowing technique. Thus it is emphasized, for example, that it permits a more effective use of natural resources, such as water, which is scarce in some of Argentina's regions (SD maíz, p. 17; 119, pp. 24-44). Furthermore, soil quality is said to be conserved by waiving tillage. The GMOs used with the direct sowing technique, are also said to hold numerous advantages. Biotechnology is not only considered indispensable nowadays to feed the growing population but also to produce healthier food (H, n.pag.; N, n.pag.; SD 119. pp. 16 and 28):

> "Modern biotechnology, through the transference of genes from one living organism to another, permits the improvement of cultivations, the production of food of higher quality, and the development of medication and biodegradable industrial products, amongst other breakthroughs. Biotechnology has just begun and its application promises a better quality of life." (T, n.pag.)[68]

Furthermore, genetic modification increases the seed's resistances and their stress tolerance to external influences, permitting their cultivation even in areas where *conventional* seeds do not grow, such as dry or salty areas (SD maíz; 119, p. 7):

> "The idea is to incorporate a new germplasm so as to create greater resistances to diseases, and increase tolerance to water- and climate stress. In addition, it is proposed to adapt such germplasm to different types of soils and sowing." (SD 119, p. 26) [69]

Due to their higher level of resistance to climate conditions and other external and uncontrollable influences, GMOs are said to bring about higher yields, specifically economic profits for farmers as well as for the national economy. This description of a win-win situation is a typical legitimating strategy called *universalization* in media sociology. Only in this way can

[114] See Chapter 2.4.

GMOs be presented as the "future solution for food production" and "the only way to at the same time have a sustainable and intense agriculture" (N, n.pag.).[70]

Recurrently emphasized is that this technology is inoffensive and that "after all these years nobody can point out health or environmental risks originating from GMOs".[71] Furthermore, it is argued that the hybridizations made in biotechnology are the same as those happening naturally every day since the genes used for this purpose exist also in nature (N, n.pag.). People's concerns are therefore purely emotional and *irrational*, and lack any (*scientific*) basis. In this way, (bio)technology is presented as both the foundation and the result of *progress* and *modernity*. In media sociology, this presentation of a phenomenon as permanent or *natural* is known as *reification*. In this way, certain social relations and institutions appear indisputable.[115] On a linguistic level, it is also striking that the term *hybrids* is frequently used when talking about *GMOs*, a point which may be due to the negative connotation of the latter.

In biotechnology business, both public organizations (INTA, YPF, public universities, etc.) and private companies (BIOCERES Semillas SA, Monsanto, CIMMYT, ICARDA, PRODUSEM, etc.) are involved and intimately linked with each other (SD cultivos invernales, pp. 5-8; 119, pp. 7-9). This cooperation also becomes obvious in the many events organized by AAPRESID where governmental entities, private seed companies, and farmers come together (SD 116, p. 19).

Agrochemicals are a further element of the *technological package*. They are considered to be indispensable for a *modern* agriculture since "it is not possible to produce food for billions of people without using phyto-sanitary products[116] (G, n.pag.).[72] Meanwhile, non-technical ways of controlling weeds and insect plagues are said to be outdated or insufficient:

> "There are different strategies for controlling weeds: preventive, physical, cultural, biological, mechanical or chemical methods. However, in the last 40 years chemical control with herbicides has substituted to a large extent former practices of physical and mechanical control, contributing significantly to the high productivity of global agriculture." (R, p. 1)[73]

"Integral management" (B, p. 14)[74] is frequently spoken about and refers to a *reasonable* use of these products whereas emerging problems tend to be associated with incorrect application.[117] Therefore, AAPRESID promotes a series of *good practices* for an "efficient and responsible use of agrochemicals" (T, n.pag.)[75] including the selection of products of minor

[115] See Chapter 3.3.
[116] As already above, the original citation speaks about millions of people. Since it refers to the world population, however, it has to be billions of people.
[117] See Chapter 5.3.1.2.

toxicity and major selectivity, sticking to the time that should pass between the application of agrochemicals and harvesting, the importance of using the right doses, storing and transportation matters, health issues, proper handling of residual waters and packages, proper storage of chemical tanks, buffer zones between urban and rural areas, forestry curtains, monitoring of the climatic conditions in the moment of application, informing, accompanying and controlling farmers applying these products, technical formation of applicants and technical assistants, technical revision of machinery, use of exclusively renowned products, recommendation of certain techniques of applications, and so on (SD 119, pp. 30-38; 120, pp. 27f and 36-42; 121, p. 13; B, p. 13; C 22-24). It is obvious, however, that all these considerations do not (solely) arise from concerns about the environment or the society, but include clear economic considerations since "expansive is a cheap product which does not work" (SD 119, p. 31).[76]

In addition to herbicides, chemical fertilizers are considered crucial for production increases. However, farmers should learn to use the right product in the right moment. Consequently, AAPRESID also gives recommendations about strategies of proper fertilization (SD 118, pp. 5f; 119, pp. 21f, 33; B, p. 18).

According to AAPRESID, today about 80% of Argentina's arable lands are cultivated with the direct sowing technique applying the technological package. This percentage is much higher than in other countries (SD 119, p. 6). As can be seen above, significant production increases have been achieved in the last decades, and these increases may have been difficult with *conventional* agriculture. However, the environmental and social costs seem to be disproportionally high.[118]

Process technology: Precision agriculture

In addition to chemical products, good machinery is said to be crucial to increase productivity, including seed drills, harvesters, spraying equipment, etc. The use of computer software (for example, for irrigation management or simulation software[119]), GPS, and other technological tools is also recommended (SD 119, p. 24; 120, pp. 6, 10; D, n.pag.). This is

[118] See Chapter 2.4.2.
[119] Simulation software evaluates the impacts of certain techniques of sowing, irrigation, etc. on productivity (SD maíz, p. 14).

supposed to guarantee constant control and better management of the production plant. Moreover, it is said to help use natural resources and chemical products in a more efficient way. Cost-reduction however seems to again be the primary objective (SD 119, pp. 24-30; 120, p. 26).

5.3.2.2 Political Solutions: AAPRESID*'s Political Vision*

As already stated, AAPRESID also speaks about political changes considered necessary to solve the economic, political, environmental, and social problems outlined above.[120] Its political vision can be best summarized under the key words *development*, *free market economy,* and *democracy*. What AAPRESID understands by these terms will be discussed in this Chapter. However, AAPRESID is not content with only giving recommendations but tries continually to directly influence political decisions (to be discussed at the end of this Chapter).

Development

Unambiguously, AAPRESID considers agriculture as a possible driver for a society's and a country's *development* (SD 120, p. 15). In this context, it often speaks of *regional development,* which is supposed to improve both the situation of local farmers and the country's situation as a whole (ibid., p. 19). But what does AAPRESID understand by the term *development*?

The documents clearly distinguish between *developed* and *underdeveloped* countries whereas Argentina tends to be assigned to the aspiring ones, having a need to catch up but holding all the necessary conditions to become *developed* (SD bioenergía, p. 90). People only have to take advantage of the country's unexploited potentials that at the moment are strangled by national and international regulations (SD planteos ganaderos, p. 7).[121]

In the analyzed data material, *development* is clearly associated with economic growth. According to post-*development* theory, this is typical for an *occidental(ized)*, capitalist definition of this term (Quijano 1998, pp. 39f). And there is little space for different definitions since our linear understanding of history makes us see just one (right because *natural*) way of becoming *developed,* as Wolfgang Sachs (1996, pp. 54-58) states. This naturalization of a certain kind of

[120] See Chapter 5.3.1.
[121] See Chapter 5.3.1.3.

development (which is towards an increasing penetration of all areas of social life by capitalism) inescapably brings about the devaluation and pathologization of all alternative ways of socio-economic organization. Thus d*evelopment* becomes associated with culture, being *civilized*, superiority, etc. whereas *the other* is considered lacking in all these properties.

What is interesting, however, is that AAPRESID emphasizes its intention to not walk down the same path of most *developed* countries who have reduced agricultural activities to a minimum and depend now on food imports. On the contrary, it suggests strengthening this sector because the "economic and productive model of the developed countries cannot constitute a general *development* model since it requires more than one planet" (SD 119, p. 4).[77] According to AAPRESID, it is exactly the agricultural sector which promises an *integral* and *sustainable development* for Argentina if only realized in the right way (ibid.). Fostering this sector therefore means taking responsibility not only for Argentina but for the whole world, as it is not just Argentina in need of an eco-friendly production system able to increase global food supplies. Consequently, AAPRESID sees the "necessity of a paradigmatic change in the development of agriculture" (SD 119, p. 42).[78] This does not mean the simple adaption to technologies generated in other parts of the world but taking new paths and playing a leading role in the generation of new technologies (ibid.).

Consequently, AAPRESID presents its organizational members as "pioneers" (Q, n.pag.) since it is them who provoked the current "paradigmatic change" (T, n.pag.) with the implementation of the direct sowing technique and the technological package. They seem to enjoy telling AAPRESID's founding history of when "a small group of producers bet on another agriculture, achieved in overcoming the resistance to change, and gave impetus to new technologies" (Q, n.pag.).[79] Today, according to AAPRESID itself, it is dedicated to the "generous exchange of knowledge" [80] (Q, n.pag.) and stands for "social quality and territorial development"[81] (SD 119, p. 4). It presents itself as an entity that thinks about the people who have already been forgotten by politics and *modern* society: the farmers. With this, AAPRESID states its calling as "responding to the challenges of a sustainable development of Argentina and the world: to protect the environment and to generate more and better food and new resources of renewable energy" (Q, n.pag.).[82]

However, a closer look reveals that for AAPRESID, big companies are the main drivers of *development*. Citing one of Monsanto's leading managers, the "fundamental role of alliances between enterprises, institutions, and other entities to contribute to a sustainable

development" is declared (SD 119, p. 13).[83] This is why AAPRESID "maintains strong international connections" (Q, n.pag.)[84] and defines its mission as "pushing the system of direct sowing to achieve an economically, environmentally, and socially sustainable agri-food activity, based on the (technological, organizational, and institutional) innovation, assuming the commitment of interacting with public and private organizations, to achieve an integral development of the nation" (ibid.).[85]

Another crucial factor for a country's *development* is seen in "the cultural change, the change of our behavior, of our actions within the economic system and all its stages: primary production - industrialization - distribution - consumption and disposal" (SD 119, p.4).[86] It is again big private corporations which are said to be the only ones that can afford the necessary investments in science and education and thus bring about this cultural change (ibid., p. 13).

A further factor AAPRESID considers important for a country's *development* is energy. A country's level of energy consumption is seen as one of the main indicators for its *development* level and "an increase in the demand is necessary in a developing country" (SD bionenergía p. 26).[87] It is argued that even though for a long time the economic and purchasing power of a country was decisive for the access to energy resources, this changed with the invention of biofuel. Consequently, AAPRESID speaks of a "change of the energy paradigm" (ibid. p. 6)[88] since biofuel allows poorer countries to use more energy and thus *develop*. With this, *development* is no longer in opposition to environmental *sustainability* but it is *developed* countries looking out for their own interest that are accused of impeding access to biofuel and thus *development* for *Third World countries*.

Moreover, in one of the international documents, distribution matters are mentioned as crucial for socially *sustainable development*:

> "To provide the resources necessary for sustainable development of the communities most in need, we must ensure a more equitable global distribution of resources and empowerment. This will require the 'haves' to give up some of their material wealth, but not their well-being." (Rogers et al., pp. 69f)

Another of the international documents broaches the issue of *development aid* and criticizes some of the programs for increasing dependencies and being un*sustainable* (Gilbert 2012, p. 527). However, little importance is given to these topics. Finally, it can be said that AAPRESID adopts the prevailing definition of *development*, even though it pretends to take a different path. There may be various small differences in the idea of how *development* can be reached but

not in what *development* means. In this sense, AAPRESID reproduces *occidental*, capitalist values and contribute to their distribution and solidification.

As Sachs (n.d., n.pag.) points out, the concept of *development* has experienced various modifications over the course of history. Whereas in the 1960s *social development* was discovered, in the 1990s, when peasant populations could no longer be overlooked, the term *rural development* emerged. This was later replaced by terms like *equitable development, human development*, or - most recently - *sustainable development*. The latter is also the term preferred by AAPRESID. The exact meaning of *sustainable development* and the continuing relation of this concept to others such as *modernity*, *progress*, or *rationality* will be discussed in Chapter 5.4.

Free market economy and democracy

As already mentioned AAPRESID recurrently expresses concerns about the growing global food and energy demand and the question of how it can be satisfied.[122] Its primary idea consists of increasing productivity. Admittedly though, at some point the relation is not always "bigger production bigger economic results" (SD 119, p. 14).[89] Changes in the production process and increasing productivity are considered crucial factors for both the local and the national economy since they "generate a regional economic impact, through the bigger necessity of services, bigger necessity of storage, bigger volumes, therefore, higher VAT, bigger retentions, and more direct and indirect employment and necessity of a greater quantity of providers" (SD 120, p. 9).[90]

AAPRESID constantly searches for new strategies to remain competitive. In this context, the natural apparently unexploited advantages of Argentina (and other South-American countries) are pointed to (SD 120, p. 10). In addition to the natural conditions, other factors are considered important for a country's competitiveness, such as "human resources, physical resources, knowledge resources, capital and infrastructural resources" (SD planteos ganaderos, p. 10).[91] Whereas the first refers to capacitated staff,[123] physical resources mean the material conditions, such as the number of establishments in a country. Meanwhile, capital resources refer to "the lack of Argentine companies in the capital markets, especially in the international

[122] See Chapter 5.3.1.2.
[123] See Chapters 2.4.1 and 5.3.2.3.

ones" (ibid., p. 10).[92] Knowledge resources mean the necessity of being always up to date and using the newest technology. Infrastructure finally refers to the "evident backwardness of rural areas regarding systems of electric connections, internet, roads, and railways" (ibid.).[93] Moreover, quality is said to be an important competitive feature, even though the differences of quality standards between internal and external markets are considered problematic for the producers. Argentina is said to have generally high production costs in need of being reduced to a minimum without major losses in quality. Perhaps not surprisingly, AAPRESID asserts that producers working according to its standards and recommendations are more competitive than others since they simultaneously reduce costs and increase productivity (ibid, pp. 10-11).

In addition, another factor is considered essential to increasing profits: the opening-up of new sales markets. Therefore, AAPRESID repeatedly recommends adjusting production to the global demand and the global price development (SD 117, p. 10). However, national and international politics are said to destroy many business opportunities:

> "The most important element is the rise in demand of the Asia/Pacific zone and Russia. […]. It is important to see that Argentina was historically highly conditioned by non-tariff traps which divide the world. (SD planteos ganaderos, p. 7)"[94]

Consequently, AAPRESID highly criticizes the protectionist policies of both national and foreign governments.[124] The markets have to be liberated and the responsible politicians should do everything in their power to encourage the value chain (SD 119, p. 6). The following citation clearly illustrates AAPRESID's position:

> "Belloso [AAPRESID's president (author's note)] therefore requires clear politics, to respect the National Constitution and current legislation, to promote the strengthening of the institutions, to make the markets more transparent, to eliminate distorting commercial barriers and perverse subsidies, to proportionate the elimination of tariff and non-tariff barriers, to reduce the retentions of exportations which have an impact on the production that is affected by an excessive tax burden, to revise the imbalance of the tax burden over the agri-food community, to increase the offer of public goods and services (education, health, security, transport), to increase the investment in infrastructure, to offer juridical security to promote investments, and to promote biofuel." (SD 119, p. 6)[95]

With this, it becomes clear that the protectionist policies of President Christina Kirchner, and in particular the retentions, are considered as seriously damaging to the national economy (SD 119, p. 13; bionenergía, p. 20):

[124] See Chapter 5.3.1.3.

> "The sector of biodiesel from soybeans has a promising future considering the country's conditions of production, which are highly competitive, and the unsatisfied global demand but it should confront the challenge of protectionism which can be a death blow. The Argentine government should help this industry with actions in the multilateral arena (with the World Trade Organization) and with adjustments in local politics to increase obligatory cuts, permit a more equitable distribution of the quote and lower the exportation rights." (SD bionenergía, p. 20)[96]

According to AAPRESID, a government's main task consists of creating the best possible conditions for the free development of an entrepreneurial spirit as the following citation clearly shows:

> "A country will succeed when its national setting permits companies to develop new strategies to compete in this sector. A country will fail if the companies do not receive the right signals, are not subjected to the right pressures, and do not have the right capabilities." (SD planteos ganaderos, p. 9)[97]

It is demonstrated like a *natural* law that under free trade conditions the *best* companies will succeed and thus a society's prosperity and well-being will increase. Private entrepreneurs are therefore considered indispensable for a well-functioning economy. AAPRESID sees "the necessity of an articulation of public and private sectors" (SD 119, p. 20),[98] which is why it "proposes networks to potentiate the work of everyone involved: institutions, organisms, and individuals" (SD 121, p. 14).[99]

In addition, a strengthening of federalism and more democratic participation is claimed. Giving more autonomy to Argentina's provincial governments seems to be seen as a crucial factor for the economic success of every single province but also of the country as a whole since increasing competition is said to bring the best results for everyone. For this purpose, the president of a neighborhood union is cited claiming "municipal recognition, autonomy, national distribution, and citizen's participation (after more than 30 years of the recuperation of democracy)" (119, p. 48).[100]

The participation of private enterprises in science is also considered important, not to say indispensable. On its homepage, for example, AAPRESID publishes an interview with the molecular biologist Marc Van Montagu who clearly supports the financial contributions of the private sector. To the question of whether investigation would be more difficult without the help of private donors, he answers the following:

> "Yes, and slowly they are helping to develop tropical varieties […]. The small and medium enterprises in developing countries can do that with the help of multinationals; […] it is so much what they can contribute to the agricultural process. […] It is another world, completely different from university. […] In

> this moment we need the private sector. I do not see any possibility of having the university function without it." (N, n.pag.)[101]

However, AAPRESID also recognizes the danger represented by the increasing influence of private enterprises since they may be less *objective* and pursue economic interests:

> "A well known global and private petrol company inverted exorbitant amounts of money sustaining investigation in the academic field to show that the greenhouse effect is not anthropogenic." (SD bioenergía, p. 6)[102]

What is interesting is that one of the international documents published on the AAPRESID homepage clearly distinguishes between goods that should be privatized and others that should not. The latter implies "common goods such as fresh water, healthy soil, and clean air". It must be noted, however, that private ownership is considered being able to "secure investment in narrowly delimited goods where immediate return is foreseeable" (Kosoy et al, p. 75). The problem seen in private investments for "common goods", at least when they are exclusively managed by private entities, is chronic underinvestment and possible distribution problems (ibid.). Following this line of argument, the question arises if food as a good of basic need also falls into this category of common goods that should not be managed by private owners. However, in this case AAPRESID clearly advocates private players.

Another factor mentioned in the context of private ownership is the question of the costs of leasehold land, which push up production costs. It is argued that in some cases, producers "enter a vicious cycle that in many cases ends up with the extinction of their businesses if the value of the leasehold is not adjusted (SD 118, p. 28).[103] Therefore, AAPRESID points to the possibility of reducing production costs by fusions of single productive units:

> "In the United States the majority of bioethanol plants are the property of groups or cooperatives of associated farmers who saw therein a form of incrementing the demand and ensuring the future price of their grain production, diversifying their inversions, and participating in an industrial business in addition to the minimization of the transportation costs." (SD bioenergía, p. 56)[104]

Even though the problem of competitiveness between farmers is raised here, the solution is not seen in governmental interventions but in strategies to be developed by the farmers themselves. The development towards ever-growing production units, which are more competitive, remains unquestioned. Consequently, those who cannot keep pace with this development are responsible for their own *failures* since it is them who missed the chance to adapt to the new situation and develop new strategies.

AAPRESID's direct involvement in political processes

In order to achieve the desired political changes summed up above, AAPRESID constantly tries to increase its direct influence over national legislation. Hence, it is proud to announce that "AAPRESID together with other public and private institutions participated and continues participating in the creation of agricultural laws" (SD 120, p. 36).[105] Its legislation project "consists of uniting information, analyzing proposals, generating knowledge and drafting documents to give an answer to the orders of participation and opinion in the public media, communication media, and national and provincial legislative committees. It also serves to give technical support to orders of regional groups and nodes to participate in the provincial and municipal legislative committees" (SD 118, p. 31).[106] Furthermore, AAPRESID participated in the elaboration of guidelines for the use of phyto-sanitary products in peri-urban areas, issued by the Ministry of Agriculture, Livestock and Fisheries (SD 120, pp. 36-43).

In addition, AAPRESID makes a plea for choosing the *right* party in the elections:

> "We are solely responsible for our future, starting with electing those people in October who we think will mobilize us and accompany us in our vision and ideas of a thriving, prosperous country, of a developed, balanced society without any rancor." (SD 120, p. 12) [107]

Obviously, there are certain politicians who share AAPRESID's visions. Without naming a single party, it becomes clear who should be elected to foster its interpretation of *development*, free market economy, democracy, and thus its vision of a *modernized* agriculture.

5.3.2.3 Individual Solutions: Management and Division of Labor

Obviously, to start taking effect, the pure existence of new technologies is not enough. Consequently, AAPRESID supports a fundamental change of the political line, as seen in the previous Chapter. Furthermore, it considers a radical change of societal attitudes in general necessary to further progress in this respect, as we will see in this Chapter.

AAPRESID tries hard to convince its readers of its vision of *modern* agriculture and promotes the idea of an innovative and entrepreneurial farmer:

> "It is a virtue to be an innovative farmer, to have the capacity to see the advantages of new technological and cultural paradigms which are based on

> […] a deep understanding of the complex scientific system, and at the same time facilitate and demand a new agriculture." (S, n.pag.)[108]

As Hernández and Gras point out, agricultural practices have been fundamentally modified with the implementation of new technologies and increasing competitiveness in a global market. Farmers are urged to think more economically and long term and to convert more and more into managers of ever growing production units using the newest technologies in order to make their productions more cost-effective. With the *managerialization* of the production process, a new social figure emerges, the *agribusinessman*, who is highly (formally) educated and knows about agronomy, information technology, biotechnology, capital management, marketing, and other disciplines (or employs someone who does) (Hernández 2009, pp. 40 and 55-64; Gras 2012, n.pag.; Gras&Hernández 2009, pp. 94-96).[125] This process of *managerialization* also becomes obvious in the analyzed documents (i.e., SD 119, p. 40):

> "Quality management is a structured, notarized, operative form of working which is documented and integrated into technical and management procedures and permits the leading of the activities of the working force, machinery, and the equipment by recording the organizational information in a practical and coordinated way that guarantees both the client's satisfaction and low costs for quality products." (SD planteos ganaderos, p. 32) [109]

The term *management* in this context refers to "a series of coordinated activities carried out in a set of elements (human resources, procedures, documents, organizational structure, and strategies)"[110] (SD planteos ganaderos, p. 32). This also includes the precise planning and documentation of all working steps in order to control and improve every single element of the working process (ibid.). Even though raising the quality of products in this way is often mentioned, a closer look suggests that cost reduction is again the primary objective:

> "Each of these links of the production chain has the obligation to self-manage its performance and will control the quality of the anterior process with the objective that in the development of the productive activities nothing is left to chance." (SD planteos ganadero, pp. 32f)[111]

The increasing complexity of the production process resulting from all these changes leads to another phenomenon: the intensification of the division of labor. As already explained above, the division of labor refers to both the emergence of new social players – who become involved in agricultural activities due to trans-sectoral integration (between the agricultural sector and industry, commerce, finance, etc.) (Hernández 2009, pp. 41f) and the specialization of tasks during that period giving rise to new professions, such as contractors, (contracted) agricultural workers, service providers (tractor drivers, spray plane pilots, etc.), administrators,

[125] See Chapter 2.4.1.

transporters, etc. (Gras 2012, n.pag.; Aparicio et al. 1992, pp. 130-138) – and new organizational structures (contract farming, sowing pools, etc.).[126] The documents distinguish between different social players in agriculture, such as *agricultural workers* (*trabajadores*), *farmers* (*productores*), *professionals* (*profesionales*), *machine operators* (*maquinista*), and so on (SD 116, p. 19; C, pp. 6f). This demonstrates that it is no longer considered necessary that one person accumulates all the *knowledge* and capacities applied in the production process. Evermore specialized skills are required implying not only typical agricultural *knowledge* but also a series of specialized *knowledge*, for example, IT skills (SD 120, p. 16; 121, pp. 39f).[127] It is the close and complementary cooperation of all these players together and the constant control of every single production step that is considered the key to success in the agricultural business.

Therefore, AAPRESID developed its own label named *AC* (*Agricultura Certificada, Certified Agriculture*) to certify companies applying their organizational and work-based recommendations. *AC* "has the objective to offer tools to achieve agronomic and entrepreneurial management which is professional, efficient, and sustainable" (D, n.pag.).[112] This label also serves to "distribute and propitiate the use of a quality management system, particularly for production schemes of direct sowing" (B, n.pag.).[113] AAPRESID provides so-called facilitators to help farmers to implement *AC* and offer them subsidies (SD 118, p. 16; 119, p. 18). *AC* clearly promotes the use of new technologies and agrochemicals as well as a high division of labor. In this way, it is supposed to bring about not only a significant reduction of the production costs, but also environmental *sustainability* and high product quality (SD 119, p. 18; S, n.pag.):

> "It is a virtue to be an innovative farmer, to be able to see the advantages of new technological and cultural paradigms that should base on […] a deep understanding of the complex scientific and economic system. Understanding this system, at the same time, facilitates the emergence of a new agriculture and shows its necessity." (S, n.pag.)[114]

That AAPRESID promotes *AC* as "one step more towards the natural evolution of direct sowing"[115] shows again that the present changes in agriculture are considered not only indispensable but also desirable for society. Furthermore, AAPRESID promotes this label as a door opener to the international market (B, n.pag.).

AAPRESID declares having developed the requirements for the certification but does not certify in order to guarantee transparency and independence (B, n.pag.). However, the relation

[126] See Chapter 2.4.1.
[127] See also Chapter 2.4. and 5.3.2.3.

between AAPRESID and the certifying bodies remains unclear. What is undisputed though is that private companies, such as *Bayer CropScience*, are loyal sponsors of *AC*.

All these changes also have enormous social impacts. With the scientification of the agricultural field, *traditional* and indigenous thought patterns and practices are suppressed, marginalized, or even replaced since they are considered un*scientific*, *irrational*, and therefore not worth considering. If we look at this in more detail, it is their non-/less capitalist attitudes which are attempting to be changed. In other words, it is a *physically non-violent* way of eradicating *traditional knowledge* that has become obsolete in a capitalist logic. I say *physically non-violent* not because of a general absence of violence but because of the changes with regards to the type of violence. As we have seen in Chapter II, the eradication of *traditional knowledge* is by no means a new mechanism. However, the ways of elimination have changed significantly over time. Whereas in former days indigenous people were extensively murdered or violently expelled and enslaved, this course of action would not be socially accepted nowadays. Obviously, the marginalization of *non-compatible* individuals is still extremely violent when they have to give up their family-run farms, fall into debt, suffer hunger, etc. I also do not want to deny that there are still cases of physical violence where psychological violence does not function, such as cases of murderers of farmers, who refuse to sell their lands, or other hampering or interfering persons.[128] However, physical violence seems to be the *last resort*.

Now other mechanisms predominate which penetrate the individuals' bodies in order to make them more productive for society. This refers to the (re)production of power relations by discourses and social practices that serve as necessary prerequisites for the consolidation of a bigger whole, a macro power (Foucault 1990, pp. 92f), as we will see in Chapter 5.6. According to Foucault, power is only able to operate and consolidate due to a set of multiple heterogeneous power relations which are constantly re(produced) by discourse and our daily social interactions (Foucault 1978, pp. 133f). That is to say, we can identify a tendency towards more subtle, more invisible forms of violence which in many cases are not even recognized as violence by major parts of society but just as the normal course of *modernity*.

At this point, we should also pay attention to the colonial aspect of this process since it is clearly *occidental* values which are implied here. As postcolonial theories emphasize, colonialism (and Eurocentrism as its heritage) still exercises a great influence on the production of *knowledge* and social structure by producing particular *perspectives of knowledge*, a certain

[128] See Chapter 2.4.2.

intersubjectivity, social imaginary, and a historical memory (Quijano 2000, pp. 542-553). This globalization and homogenization of certain thought patterns is exactly what Quijano calls the *coloniality of knowledge*, a living legacy of European colonialism in social orders and forms of *knowledges*. As we have seen, AAPRESID unquestioningly accepts *occidental* concepts such as *modernity, progress,* and *development* including all the images of Latin America as pagan, *subdeveloped*, and inferior (Mignolo 1993, p. 58).[129]

We are dealing here with a Eurocentric and highly discriminatory discourse that emerged in colonial times and still determines the social and economic structure of *modern, post-colonial* societies. This is reflected not only in the outside-perception but also in the self-perception (Quijano, 2000, p. 555; 2007, pp. 94f). AAPRESID's assignment of Argentina to the grouping of *subdeveloped* countries is a good example of this assumption of certain values and assessments. AAPRESID aims at becoming part of the *developed world* while adapting the predominant definitions of *development*, *subdevelopment*, *modernity*, etc.

As we see here, discourses are rather productive. They produce objects but also (inter)subjectivities (a symbolic order or symbolic material structure which guides our interpretations in everyday life), and subject positions (collective and individual identities, including certain rules for the participation in discourse which allow or disallow us to do, think and say certain things in certain ways) (Keller 2005b, pp. 56-63). Meanwhile, alternative thought and action patterns are increasingly suppressed (Escobar 2006, p. 447).

5.3.3 Consequences: Environmental, Economic, and Environmental *Sustainability*

Clearly, AAPRESID considers its recommendations as the basis for an environmentally, socially, and economically *sustainable* agriculture. *Environmental sustainability* mainly refers to the direct sowing technique, which is said to be more resource-saving than *conventional* agriculture. *Economic sustainability* points to regional and national *development,* which is said to be stirred up by the *modern*ization of agriculture. *Social sustainability* finally refers to the indispensible capacity of *modern* agriculture to feed the growing population. Moreover, increasing productivity is said to create jobs and contribute significantly to the reduction of poverty and the augmentation of general social well-being (SD 120, pp. 3-9). Essentially, not only producers are said to benefit from these developments but every single member of society, as

[129] See Chapter 5.3.1.3.

food production in sufficient quantity and best possible quality is in everyone's interest. And it is AAPRESID who makes this possible which is how it contributes to more social equality and to greater social well-being in general. It remains unmentioned that *modern* agriculture needs much less working force than *conventional* agriculture despite its production increases, and that many people suffer from the consequences of agribusiness (as outlined above).[130]

Economic growth is still considered the most important (even though not the only) factor for *progress* and *development,* and is asserted as the basis for social well-being. AAPRESID emphasizes that for a long time economic growth was thought to be incompatible with environmental and social *sustainability*, and it was AAPRESID who made the impossible possible with the introduction of the direct sowing technique and the associated technological package.

Moreover, it is interesting to note that there is always an emphasis on both individual and societal advantages, so to speak, a win-win-situation. This is a common legitimating strategy called *universalization* in media sociology. It aims at gaining the greatest possible support for certain power relations. By highlighting that it is not only a part of society that is benefitting but all members, the current social order is legitimized.[131] AAPRESID tries therefore to convince farmers that changing their working methods would not only be advantageous for themselves but they would contribute to a better world for all of us.

The farmer's convincement of the necessity to change their practices finally makes other forms of coercion obsolete. As Foucault (1980, p. 119) stated, the *modern* subject does not even need to be coerced in order to behave in certain ways, as was the case in feudal times. *Modern* power makes people believe that they are acting for their own good, which is why it is generally not even recognized as power (Foucault 1980, p. 119). As we will see in Chapter 5.4, this belief requires the recourse to certain interpretative schemes and classification patterns. Before going deeper, however, we will take a closer look on AAPRESID's *supportive red*, that is to say, all the social actors who are given the chance to speak in the documents and thus serve to legitimize AAPRESID's ideas. This allows us finally to understand the interpretative schemes and classification patterns underlying AAPRESID's line of reasoning.

[130] See Chapter 2.4.2.
[131] See Chapter 3.3.

5.3.4 Main Players

As already seen, according to Foucault, different *knowledges* compete with each other in the *battle for truth*, a battle for the "rules according to which the true and the false are separated and specific effects of power attached to the true" (Foucault 1980, p. 132). Each society has its own *political economy of truth*, that is to say, a specific way of how *power* and *truth* are organized and linked with each other. For the political economy in our (*occidental, enlightened*, capitalist) society, Foucault identifies the increase of importance of *scientific* institutions as characteristic. As a consequence, those who have best access to these institutions are more likely to have their *knowledge* recognized as *truth* (ibid., pp. 119-132).[132]

From the previous discussion, it is clear that AAPRESID is actually closely linked to *scientific* institutions and most of the *experts* cited in the documents form part of the *scientific* community. However, there are further social players given a chance to speak. This Chapter therefore focuses on the following questions: who are the *experts* and *specialists* cited in the documents in order to support AAPRESID's vision of a *modern* agriculture? What are the professions, *scientific* sectors, political entities, etc. playing a role here?

The adjoining figure shows the different groups of *experts* who together build what I call AAPRESID's *supportive red*.

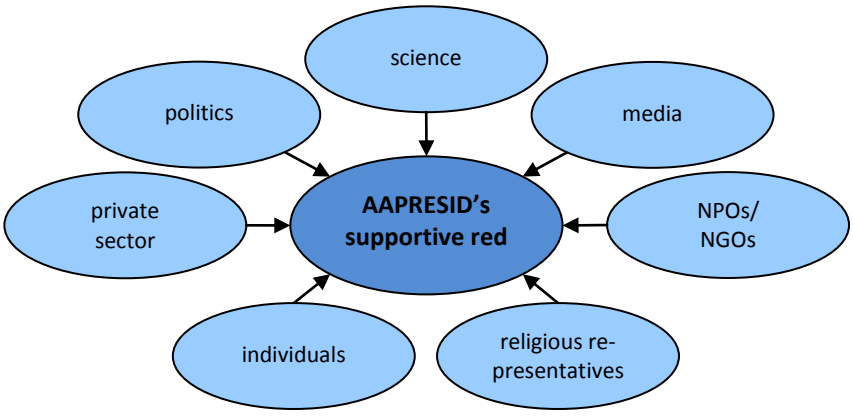

Figure 12: AAPRESID's supportive red. Own figure.

As we can see, AAPRESID aims at gaining broad support in different social sectors. In the following, I will give a rough overview about these social groups and their legitimating role in the discourse on agribusiness. At the end of this Chapter, I will also refer to those subjects who are not given a chance to speak and in this way are made invisible in this discussion.

[132] See Chapter 3.1.

The role of science

As already mentioned, science plays a rather important role in AAPRESID's legitimization strategy. "We need more knowledge and less fear" (SD 120, p. 16)[116] is stated in one of the articles. This clearly refers to *scientific knowledge* and technology as the output of this *knowledge* that is seen as the basis for a further *rationalization* of all agricultural activities and thus for increases in efficiency and productivity. This is how science is supposed to improve all our lives.

It is scarcely surprising therefore that the vast majority of *experts* cited in *Siembra Directa* forms part of the *scientific* community. This includes mostly natural *scientists*, such as agricultural engineers, (molecular) biologists, agronomists, climatologists, plant pathologists, veterinarians, etc., but also economists, philosophers, sociologists, etc. It is striking, however, that natural *sciences* are presented as homogeneous, logical, *rational*, based on simple cause and effect relationships, and generally agreeing on a (single) *scientific truth*, whereas social sciences are described as vague, un*scientific*, less serious, and less reliable (SD 120, p. 20; Rogers et al. 2012, p. 70).

Moreover, various universities are cited and said to generally share AAPRESID's concerns. However, AAPRESID clearly presents itself as the most important *expert* in this field. Hence, members are recurrently cited when talking about national and international events where they have had a presence. AAPRESID allegedly accumulates manifold *scientific knowledge* and thus contributes significantly to the renovation of both *scientific knowledge* and agricultural practices. Furthermore, it strives to emphasize that its *expertise* is also recognized by others, for example, in the form of awards (SD 121, p. 4).

AAPRESID sets itself the task of "breaking paradigms" (SD 119, p. 28)[117] in reference to the technologization of agriculture. It considers science as the basis of *modern* agriculture, which is why it aims to "approximate science to the real productive systems" (SD 119, p. 42).[118] According to AAPRESID, each productive unit should be subjected to *scientific* procedures. Therefore, it recommends the conduct of different tests and diagnostic methods as well as a constant monitoring and recording of each production step (SD 116, p. 20; 117, p. 9; 120, p. 20; C, pp. 29f).

In this context, it is noteworthy that a distinction is made between "experts and farmers" (E, n.pag.). With this differentiation, a hierarchical structure is established suggesting

that *modern* agriculture is in need of *scientific knowledge* that normal farmers do not have. Thus farmers depend on professionals who know how things should be done. Allegedly, their research activities convert (natural) *scientists* into the bearers of an *absolute truth*.

Through the distribution of this *truth* by discourse, the farmers are prompted to act in certain ways. Their daily practices, in turn, retroact on the discourse since "there is no knowledge without a particular discursive practice; and any discursive practice may be defined by the knowledge that it forms" (Foucault 2002, p. 201). This representation of science as *the truth* producing institution and *scientific knowledge* as *the* (only valid) *knowledge* can be considered an example for what media sociology calls *narrativization*. This refers to a particular representation of power relations where science is lifted up and, at the same time, other (*traditional*) *knowledges* are devalued. [133]

As we have already seen above, science and new technologies are presented not only as useful and offering the possibility to improve the lives of all of us but as a social necessity.[134] All concerns about new technologies or chemical substances are said to lack any *scientific* foundation and be purely "emotional" (N, n.pag.). In an interview with Van Montagu, the inventor of the first transgenic plant, it is stated, for example, that science serves to "cultivate ones emotions" (ibid.).[119] With this, a *scientific truth* is opposed to *irrational* and emotional beliefs, which are said to hinder social progress:

> "If someone really knows what science is […] this person can begin to understand what we would be able to do. The instructed persons […] would not dare to say that GMOs are against nature." (N, n.pag.)[120]

According to Van Montagu, "ration and science can contribute wisdom for society" (N, n.pag.).[121] He considers innovation an academic product and science a tool "to identify what is dangerous and what is not" (ibid.).[122] This means at the same time that he takes the absence of any proof of danger as an evidence of a technology's inoffensiveness:

> "The fact that GMOs have been cultivated since 1994 without any prejudice for human health and the environment is the most forceful evidence that the technology is safe." (N, n.pag.)[123]

To the objection that other *scientists* do consider GMOs as dangerous, Van Montagu counters that there are bad *scientists* committing fraud and saying nonsense (N, n.pag.).

[133] See Chapter 3.3.
[134] See Chapter 5.3.2.1.

AAPRESID also explicitly criticizes certain research as un*scientific* (I, n.pag.; J, n.pag.). In its opinion, some works are just political interventions lacking any *scientific* reasoning.

In addition to this idea of a general *irrationality* of large parts of society, the "lack of communication between scientists and society" is held responsible for the general mistrust. Following this line of reasoning, the society stands in their own way since people refuse to use already existing solutions:

> "These are problems of our society. Science helps a little bit but at the same time, human beings find ever more ways to create problems." (N, n.pag.)[124]

Science is presented as the basis of any *progress* that gives us the necessary prerequisite to make right decisions (SD 119, p. 30). As stated in the documents, "Innovations always stem from university" (N, n.pag.).[125]. It not only helps us to "identify what is dangerous and what is not" but offers us tools to improve and facilitate our lives. The message is that for every (economic, social, environmental, etc.) problem there is a *scientific* solution (ibid.):

> "We do not resolve environmental problems with demonstrations and candles. We should use science and technology to resolve them." (N, n.pag.)[126]

However, it is admitted that "science is not a dogma of *truth* but a permanent challenge and questioning" (N, n.pag.).[127] Actually, AAPRESID in its publications repeatedly points to the caducity and error-proneness of *scientific knowledge* and hands over responsibility to the producers of this *knowledge*. This is reflected in statements like the following:

> "The information offered in this publication is realized with the greatest possible scientific rigor regarding the knowledge published in the bibliography and/or offered by the referents cited in the acknowledgements. However, neither the author, nor the institution assumes responsibility with regards to the actual or potential risks and effects which can derive from the use or application of its content." (R, n.pag.)[128]

Nevertheless, AAPRESID makes sure that all recommendations for agricultural practice are based on research that has been generally cited in the documents (SD 119, pp. 21f; SD 118, p. 5). This may refer to external or internal research since AAPRESID initiated its own program, *Sistema Chacras*, which aims to "generate information with scientific rigor" (S, n.pag.):

> "A method to learn while producing. It is a work method for the development of sustainable agricultural technologies, adjusted to the particular conditions of different environments and productive systems. It is the best expression of the collaboration between the academic world and the scientific method, and the everyday experience of the producers, technicians, and advisors." (S, n.pag.)[129]

However, AAPRESID tries to also show openness to external professionals and invites them to its events. These *external experts* clearly serve the legitimization of AAPRESID's vision of *modern* agriculture and shows that AAPRESID is always up to date and, most importantly, *objective*, an attribution closely linked with natural *science*. These *specialists* may come from Argentina or other countries, work within governmental organizations or in private companies; but a characteristic they all have in common is their *scientific* background which is supposed to ensure the validity of their statements. It remains clear, however, that a selection is made when certain *experts* are cited and others not.

Political associations and representatives

AAPRESID also tries to maintain a close relation with politics.[135] Not only does it try to directly influence political decisions and legislative processes, but it also cites political representatives so as to highlight the broad support it enjoys on a political level in Argentina and abroad:

> "For many years now, the relationship between the Netherlands and AAPRESID has strengthened. Let us remember when the Queen of Holland Beatriz visited AAPRESID in 2006. From then on, this European country considered our institution a referent of sustainable agriculture." (SD 116, p. 22)[130]

In the same way, Great Britain's Prime Minister is mentioned as supporting AAPRESID. These politicians are cited in their roles as representatives of their countries implying that the whole country shares AAPRESID's vision of a *modern* agriculture (SD 116, p. 22).

As already mentioned above, some of the cited *experts* work within governmental organizations, such as INTA, SENASA, EEAOC, or public universities. They are primarily cited when speaking about the legal framework and AAPRESID's strict adherence to it. In other words, the compliance with national standards and requirements is supposed to guarantee the absence of any danger to society from new technologies (N, n.pag.; SD 116, pp. 26-33):

> "It is important to declare that the agrochemicals used in this zone, such as in the rest of the province and the whole country, have been approved by the corresponding national entity, the National Service of Health and Quality (SENASA). It is the competence of this national entity to authorize the use of

[135] See Chapter 5.3.2.2.

> different commercial formulas, many of which contain glyphosate, as part of the practices of plague and weed control for the agroindustry." (N, n.pag.)[131]

At the same time, the compliance of national norms with international standards is emphasized (N, n.pag.). In this way, norms and regulations are also cited to foster the argument of individual guilt in cases of human intoxication with agrochemicals, as already discussed. The problem is not the product but its incorrect use.[136] Neither the meaningfulness of national standards nor their sufficiency are questioned at any point. International restrictions, in contrast, are criticized, especially those of the EU.[137]

Public universities and other governmental entities are cited with the same objective of showing broad political support but also *objectiveness*. They are supposed to offer independent data material devoid of any private interests:

> "This award is magnified considering that we have been recognized by renowned institutions such as CPIA (Consejo Profesional de Ingeniería Agronómica), INTA (Instituto nacional de Tecnología Agropecuaria), the University of Morón, and the Italian Hospital." (SD 121, p. 2)[132]

Consequently, governmental organizations, such as the INTA or representatives of certain public universities, are frequently invited to AAPRESID's events (U, n.pag.; SD 121, pp. 21f).

International political agencies are also cited on various occasions. They serve to support both AAPRESID's analysis of the social status quo and its concrete actions intended to change current conditions. Furthermore, they seem to be used to show the *objectively* existing necessity of their recommendations. In addition international and foreign organizations are cited to support the argument of the harmlessness of certain products such as glyphosate.

> "All these phyto-sanitary products have been permitted by the World Health Organization and later by other entities, and those which are in use, comply with its scheme of permission and regulation." (G, n.pag.)[133]

The fact that this substance is also used in other parts of the world is further used to demonstrate its general inoffensiveness:

> "SENASA does not consider toxic glyphosate, [...] which […] is commercialized worldwide. Neither does the World Health Organization (WHO), the European Union (EU), or the United States Environmental Protection Agency (USEPA) because this herbicide biodegrades in the soil as well as in water, and does not possess any biologic persistence." (N, n.pag.)[134]

[136] See Chapter 5.3.1.2.
[137] See Chapter 5.3.1.3.

It is striking that glyphosate is presented here as an eco-friendly plant protection product whereas elsewhere the toxicity of this substance is admitted.[138] Furthermore, it is concealed in this statement that the EU restricts the use of glyphosate by setting limit values (even though the compliance with existing norms cannot always be guaranteed).

Undoubtedly, the international organization most mentioned in the documents is the *FAO*. In one of the documents, for example, it is stated, that the "FAO plans the necessity of realizing a change in the production paradigm" (SD 119, p. 19),[135] alluding to the necessity of saving natural resources. AAPRESID picks up this argument to promote the direct sowing technique and the technological package. There is also direct collaboration with the FAO since AAPRESID forms part of a working group of the *Global Soil Partnership* (SD 120, p. 3). However, the FAO is also criticized. In one of the international documents, for instance, it is stated that "the FAO is promoting other green ways of raising yields, in particular an approach called conservation agriculture" but "critics argue that conservation agriculture can actually decrease yields" (Gilbert 2012, p. 526). This is finally used to vote for chemical fertilizers, which in drier zones are "a matter of life or death" (ibid.).

The World Bank is another international player often mentioned in the documents. In one of the international documents, for example, it is presented as helping poor Sub-Saharan Africa to *develop* (Gilbert 2012, p. 526). Further international organizations mentioned in the documents are the *Weed Science Society of America (WSSA)*, the *Herbicide Resistance Action Committee (HRAC)*, the *United Nations Environment Program (UNEP)*, the *United Nations Convention to Combat Desertification (UNCCD*), the *International Council for Research in Agroforestry (ICRAF)* or *the Alliance for a Green Revolution in Africa (AGRA)* (Gilbert 2012, pp. 525f; SD 120, p. 3; R, p. 2).

In addition, international awards are used to show professionalism as well as good intentions. Marc Van Montagu, the inventor of the first transgenic plant and winner of the world food price, describes the award in the following way:

> "This World Food Price recognizes plant biotechnology as innovation highly beneficial for society. As ignorance is our worst enemy, I agree that this award is a great opportunity to broaden the dialog with our politicians. I sincerely hope that we manage to mobilize the legislators and the society to make correct decisions to approve GMOs in Europe." (N, n.pag.)[136]

[138] See Chapter 5.3.1.2.

The private sector

AAPRESID also maintains close relations with various private associations operating in the agricultural sector, such as the *SRA (Sociedad Rural Argentina, Argentine Rural Society* (G, n.pag.), *RTRS* (*Round Table of Responsible Soy)* (SD 119, p. 18) and *ASA* (*Association of Argentine Seed Producers, Asociación de Semilleros Argentinos)* (ibid., pp. 19f). All these associations were established by (medium- and large-scale) producers in order to join forces to defend their interests, which are often in opposition to those of small-scale farmers.

Moreover, numerous private companies are mentioned in the documents to underpin AAPRESID*'s* ideas by spreading alleged *scientific knowledge*. AAPRESID*,* in turn, allows private companies to promote their products at its events as well as in its magazine in the form of large-scale advertising (SD 119, p. 12). In the special issues of the magazine, private companies have even had their own sections where they publish their latest research findings and promote their new technological inventions. Even though it is marked that these sections are for "associated companies", it is difficult to distinguish them from other sections since the magazine's surface does not change.

Further, AAPRESID is closely related to some bank institutes, such as BBVA Francés, Galicia, or Santander Río, as well as to insurance companies, such as Allianz. All these players clearly expect financial benefits from promoting the *modernization* of agriculture. Therefore, it is not very surprising that they support AAPRESID.

Non-profit and non-governmental organizations

Even though AAPRESID criticizes certain NPOs/NGOs for impeding technological processes that are able to improve our lives, close collaboration is maintained with some of them:

> "This year, within the congress [the annual AAPRESID Congress (author's note)], we were able to work together with Arbusta, a NGO dedicated to the empowerment, education and socio-laboral development of women and young people from underprivileged sectors." (SD 119, p. 53)[137]

These organizations are also considered important in the fight against hunger. Thus the *Argentine Network of Food Banks*, a civil NPO involving all 17 national food banks, is mentioned as making a substantial contribution to solving this problem (SD 118, p. 32).

Foreign associations and corporations are mentioned especially in reference to role models such as the *Dutch Sustainable Trade Initiative (IDH)*, an initiative formed by private companies (funds), governments, and NGOs aiming to accelerate *sustainable* trade through "coalitions […] between first level multinationals, organizations of the civil society, governments, and other interested parts".[138] *Solidaridad*, a Dutch organization, which promotes *sustainability* and fair trade, is another example. Both organizations are said to consider AAPRESID an important ally in realizing more *sustainable* agriculture (SD 116, p. 22):

> "Dutch institutions have a clear vision of the leading role of Argentine agriculture in the production of sustainable food. This is why IDH and Solidaridad have maintained interaction with AAPRESID over a long period of time and looked for possibilities to work together." (SD 116, p. 23)[139]

These attempts to take in more critical discursive threads are a good example of discursive blending. By collaborating with NPOs/NGOs, AAPRESID is obviously trying for its own purpose to get on board with supposedly independent social players. As civil movements, NPOs/NGOs may be perceived as defending general social interests and having honorable values. By emphasizing the support AAPRESID receives from these organizations and its collaboration with them, AAPRESID's works and deeds may also appear more honorable, altruistic, and beneficial for the public good.

Media

AAPRESID is also apparently linked with certain media since journalists are frequently invited to its events, and afterwards cited in *Siembra Directa*. Media are considered to play an important role in social and political changes (SD 119, p. 48):

> "We, the media, can help to evoke changes; the information circulates with the same capacity from the bottom to the top. Therefore, the day when the news is free, horizontal, and federal, politics will be a song." (SD 119, p. 48)[140]

Media representatives are mostly cited in order to criticize the government and its institutions and to show the broad support AAPRESID enjoys. The same can be said about references made to the *Award of Agricultural Excellence*, which was presented to AAPRESID by a national newspaper together with a bank institute.

AAPRESID is conscious of the importance of showing presence in all different kinds of media. Consequently, it is present in nearly all national newspapers, especially in their rural

supplements, but also in national and international specialized journals. In addition, AAPRESID is increasing its presence in social media, a platform it considers the "media par excellence by which we express, learn, capacitate, discuss, and unite" (SD 119, p. 53).[141] Consequently, AAPRESID also appears on platforms such as *Facebook* or *twitter* and highlights its high number of followers (ibid.).

> "The networks have also served to overcome the frontiers of our country since we have been able to promote our proposal of following the event [the annual AAPRESID congress (author's note)] online via Agrositio. The result? More than 1,500 people in 20 countries of the world, including Argentina's provinces, were able to enjoy all the plenaries and workshops. [...] The big AAPRESID Community is constantly growing, counting more than 4,220 followers on Twitter and more than 7,100 on Facebook. We are on the networks. Join our network and our big AAPRESID Community!" (SD 119, p. 54)[142]

Individuals

Another legitimization strategy appearing in the documents consists of personal narrations. Most of them refer to difficulties in the production process and their solutions:

> "Beyadi acknowledges that many of her fellow farmers will drop the new green techniques when aid goes. […] Like her neighbours [sic], she sees inorganic fertilizers as the key to growing more food." (Gilbert 2012, n.pag.)

Furthermore, personal narratives are repeatedly used to illustrate the results of the application of the *good practices* recommended by AAPRESID. Talking about the program *AC*, for example, one of its applicants says the following:

> "We could improve our teamwork, optimize production records, define purposes and objectives of each realized procedure as well as correct and prevent errors found in certain tasks." (SD 120, p. 17)[143]

With personal narrations, the *emergency,* for which AAPRESID asserts to offer the solution, becomes more personal and the readers feel specifically addressed.

Religious representatives

What may be surprising considering the allegedly *scientific* orientation of the magazine, is that religious representatives are also cited in some sections. This is done in order to show AAPRESID's good intentions and the support it enjoys even in this area. In the 21st AAPRESID

congress, for example, a representative of the Argentine Judeo-Christian brotherhood spoke about Christian and Jewish values. Furthermore, a priest of the Archdiocese had the chance to speak, arguing that all people of all religions should turn more towards the *truth.* Further, a representative of a Protestant parish church required more solidarity and "insisted on 'not forgetting about those who do not possess any land'" (SD 119, p. 50).[144] In another article, a representative of the Jewish Community of Rosario talks about the necessity of rethinking Argentina, arguing that politics, in contrast to religion, has not advanced in the last years in reference to the lack of dialog and constructive cooperation. The inauguration of AAPRESID's new official head office also included religious representatives on the podium. Thus a representative of the Israelite Community spoke about the importance of dialogue and finding a common solution for social problems. After, a priest blessed the new headquarters (SD 117, p. 6).

Religious office-holders, as representatives of the divine power, seem to be used to affirm AAPRESID*'s* ethical conduct. It remains clear, however, that AAPRESID defines ethical (un)correctness. Moreover, religious representatives are also cited to encourage people to join AAPRESID in its aim to construct a better world. Thus, for instance, a rabbi is cited saying that "the Jewish tradition does not bless places but works, that is to say, the future of this place depends on you" and encouraging the audience to "take care about our future on earth" (SD, 117, p. 6).[145]

Non-present social players

Despite the long list of social players appearing in the documents, we should not overlook that many others are not given a voice. This includes critical voices from the *scientific* community, political arena, or social and environmental movements, and especially indigenous and rural populations who tend to be the most heavily affected by the negative consequences of agribusiness. That is to say, in the context of the scientification of agriculture, *traditional* and indigenous ways of thinking and acting tend to be suppressed and replaced since they are degraded as un*scientific* and *irrational*. However, if we look at this in more detail, it is their non-

/less capitalist behavior which an attempt is being made to change in order to make them more productive for society.[139]

This invisibilization of certain social players, also known as *nominalization* or *passivization,* is a strategy commonly used in media.[140] The objective is the occultation of the negative consequences of various processes by shrouding the existence of certain social groups. Namely, in the case of NGOs/NPOs, AAPRESID seems to find itself required to adopt a position since such organizations have already achieved certain visibility in society.[141] Peasant and indigenous movements, on the contrary, can still be easily ignored due to their general invisibility.

This is what Foucault describes as the *battle for truth*; a battle for the "rules according to which the true and the false are separated and specific effects of power attached to the true" (1980, p. 132). *Truth* is the result of this battle of different *knowledges* which are attempting to be recognized as *true.* Thus *truth* is inevitably linked to power. Essentially, each society has a certain *regime of truth*, that means a general politics of *truth* which determines "the types of discourse which it accepts and makes function as true; the mechanisms and instances which enable one to distinguish true and false statements, the means by which each is sanctioned; the techniques and procedures accorded value in the acquisition of truth; the status of those who are charged with saying what counts as true" (Foucault 1980, p. 131). As discussed above, Foucault assigns certain institutions (*scientific* institutions, mass media, educational institutions) a central role in the process of *truth* production and distribution in *occidental*, capitalist societies. As a consequence, those who have the best access to these institutions are more likely to have their *knowledge* recognized as *truth* (Foucault 1980, pp. 106-108 and 131f).[142] Obviously, critical voices on *modern* agriculture do not have the same access points and possibilities as their proponents. Peasant and indigenous movements seem to speak *another language* and to resort (primarily) to other institutions, which is why their *knowledges* do not assert themselves in the *battle for truth* and are more and more suppressed.

[139] See Chapter 5.3.2.3.
[140] See Chapter 3.3.
[141] See above.
[142] See Chapter 3.1.

5.3.5 Interim Conclusion: The *True* Narration

This narration of a social emergency (environmental, economic, and social irresponsibility of *conventional* agriculture which results in scarce global food resources, hunger, poverty, economic problems, etc.) and the only solution for this problem (the agribusiness model consisting in technological, political, and individual solutions as we saw above) can be considered the core of the associative discourse on *modern* agriculture, with the social players mentioned in the last Chapter as its protagonists. By spreading this narration via certain channels and certain (institutionalized) players, which our society considers the announcers of *truth*, it is converted into a *true* narration.

In order to understand this process, I again cite Foucault on the topic of characteristics of the *political economy of truth* in our *occidental*, capitalist societies:

> "'Truth' is centred on the form of scientific discourse and the institutions which produce it; it is subject to constant economic and political incitement (the demand for truth, as much for economic production as for political power); it is the object, under diverse forms, of immense diffusion and consumption (circulating through apparatuses of education and information whose extent is relatively broad in the social body, not withstanding certain strict limitations); it is produced and transmitted under the control, dominant if not exclusive, of a few great political and economic apparatuses (university, army, writing, media); lastly, it is the issue of a whole political debate and social confrontation ('ideological' struggles)." (Foucault 1980, pp. 131f)

This statement points to numerous aspects. First, is the importance of science, as explained in the previous Chapter. As we saw, AAPRESID is closely linked to *scientific* institutions and *knowledge* and technology as the output of this *knowledge*. *Science* is considered the basis for a further *rationalization* of all agricultural activities and thus for increases in efficiency and productivity. This is how *science* is supposed to improve all our lives. The emergence of new academic careers related to agribusiness as mentioned in Chapter 2.4.2 can also be considered a result of the increasing scientification of the agricultural process.

This is what Foucault refers to when he says that a *power dispositif* enables the emergence of a specific type of *knowledge* which in turn supports the *dispositif* (Foucault 1978., pp. 119-143). Dispositifs (and discourses as parts of them) determine what is and is not possible to think and say, as it is discourses providing us with a language to (meaningfully) speak about something (ibid. 1972, p. 216). Consequently, discourses define and produce the objects of our *knowledge*, even though the division between accepted and unaccepted *knowledge* is by no means a stable one. At the same time, alternative ways of thinking tend to be buried since they

are dismissed as non-*scientific*, *irrational*, and thus not worth the conservation (ibid. 2002, pp. 100-102). It thus becomes clear which statements will assert themselves in the *battle for truth*: those which comply with the rules established within the *regime of truth*, that is to say, the general politics of *truth* within a society. This *regime of truth* determines "the types of discourse which it accepts and makes function as true; the mechanisms and instances which enable one to distinguish true and false statements, the means by which each is sanctioned; the techniques and procedures accorded value in the acquisition of *truth*; the status of those who are charged with saying what counts as true" (ibid. 1980, p. 131).

The second point of analysis from Foucault's statement is the amalgamation of *science*, politics, and economy. As we saw in Chapter 2.4.3, it was certain changes in the political line which made the consolidation of agribusiness possible. On the other hand, it was the emergence of the discourse described in this work which can be held responsible for certain changes of the political line. This refers to the public and attention-grabbing demonstration of the social emergency outlined above and the agribusiness model as the only conceivable solution for this problem.

Third, is the production and diffusion of information via certain channels with great reach and social importance, such as media or universities and other educational apparatuses. This results in the naturalization of certain *truths* and the associated power relations that thereupon penetrate the social bodies in the most profound ways.

Fourth, Foucault refers in this statement to social confrontations. In our case, this means what I referred to as the non-present social players.[143] Even though they do not have the same access to the institutions of *truth* production and thus their *knowledges* do not have the same probability of being recognized as *truth*, their existence necessarily leads to a constant ideological struggle, which contributes to the constant modification of *truth* and power relations.

5.4 Interpretative Schemes and Classifications

As already mentioned, in the *narrative structure* outlined above, certain *interpretative schemes* and *classifications* can be identified, that is to say, thought patterns that cause us to

[143] See Chapter 5.3.4.

interpret and qualify our social experiences in particular ways and guide our social interactions (Keller 2005b, pp. 67f; 2005c, p. 232; 2007, n.pag.).[144]

Three such *interpretative schemes* are *development*, *modernity,* and *rationality.* According to Wolfgang Sachs (1996, pp. 54-58) our linear understanding of history brings about a tendency to see only one (*right* because *natural*) way of *human development*, with *modernity* as the final result. This naturalization of a certain type of *development* (which is towards an increasing penetration of all areas of social life by capitalism) necessarily implies the devaluation and pathologization of all alternative ways of socio-economic organization. Essentially, the term *development* is associated with *culture*, being *civilized*, *modern*, superior, etc. whereas *the other* is considered lacking all these attributes. Hence, post-*development* theory considers *development* to be a *Western* invention that served and still serves the formation and preservation of *Western* hegemony by suggesting that the *West* is technologically and socially advanced and thus superior (Escobar 2006, p. 447).

As seen in Chapter 5.3.2.2, *development* in a capitalist logic is primarily defined in economic terms, and often used synonymously for economic growth. That means, the idea of *development* is also intimately related with capitalism since a country is usually considered more *developed* the more capitalist its organization is. Moreover, the alleged difference with regards to the grade of *development* and the feeling of being *underdeveloped* (but able to *develop*) is exactly what helps capitalism to consolidate (Sachs 1996, pp. 52-54). In short, the distribution of the *development* concept has allowed the *Western* world to pursue its political and economic interests and to continue with the exploitation of *non-Western* countries. The main difference to colonial times is that physically violent interventions have lost importance since the *development* discourse has managed to convince also the colonized of the necessity of changing their economic and political functioning for the sake of *modernization* (Quijano 1998, p. 43; Mignolo 2007, pp. 39-55).

The concepts *development* and *modernity* are closely linked to another interpretative scheme: *rationality*. As already mentioned, *modern* agriculture (same as *modern* life in general) is asserted to be in need of *scientific knowledge*. With this scientification of the agricultural field, *traditional* and indigenous thought and action patterns have been classified as un*scientific*, *irrational*, and therefore not worth conservation. All three interpretative schemes (*development*,

[144] For a more detailed description on what *interpretative schemes* and *classifications* are according to Keller, see Chapter 3.2.

modernity, and *rationality)* finally have the same effect: the suppression and replacement of alternative *knowledges* and types of socio economic organization.[145] This tends to be considered the *normal* course of events. If we take a closer look, however, we see that it is pre-/less capitalist attitudes that are removed in this way. As previously discussed,[146] with the success of the agribusiness model, farmers tend to convert more and more into managers who aim at increasing the surplus value of their production units. To be precise, they increase their own productivity value within a capitalist society.

Another *interpretative scheme* found in the documents is *sustainability*. AAPRESID recurrently emphasizes its focus on social, economic, and environmental factors that are said to guarantee a better life for all members of society. Same as *development*, *sustainability* is closely linked with *science*. As can be seen from the previous analysis, new technologies are considered the necessary tool to bring about *sustainability* in the agricultural field. This means, at the same time, that any procedures not based on the newest technological inventions tend to be classified as un*sustainable* and therefore socially, economically, and environmentally irresponsible.

It seems interesting now to have a closer look at the connection points of all these *interpretative schemes*. In this context, it is noticeable that AAPRESID repeatedly emphasizes that progress and *sustainability* was incompatible for a long time but thanks to AAPRESID's efforts, this is no longer the case. It is APPRESID who found the solution for this problem with its direct sowing technique and the associated technological package that permits the production of food in sufficient quantities and qualities in a socially, economically, and environmentally *sustainable* way.[147]

This is how the *interpretative schemes development* and *sustainability* merge with one another and the concept of *sustainable development* is created. This concept is based on *rationality* and is the key to *modernity*. What is also interesting, AAPRESID tries hard to present this concept as opposed to *occidental development* strategies, which are said to lack *sustainability*. However, a closer look reveals that most of the assumptions and conclusions included in the occidental conceptualization of *development* have been adopted. It is still a (more) capitalist *development* being sought, and economic growth plays a major role in the argumentation as well as a *free market economy* and *globalization*. This is based on the assumption that under free trade conditions, a society's prosperity and well-being inevitably

[145] See Chapters 5.3.4. and 5.3.5.
[146] See Chapter 2.4.2 and 5.3.2.3.
[147] See Chapter 5.3.2.1.

increases.[148] As Sachs (n.d., n.pag.) already pointed out, all versions of *development* (*human development, equitable development*, etc.) at their core remain the same and aim to "extend human-centred utilitarianism to posterity".[149]

In short, even though AAPRESID claims to take a different course, it clearly adopts the prevailing definition of *development*. There may be little differences in its idea of how this *development* can be reached but not in what *development* finally means. In this sense, AAPRESID clearly reproduces *occidental*, capitalist values and contributes to their distribution and solidification.

5.5 Phenomenal Structure

The term *phenomenal structure* refers to the general composition of the discursive elements constituting a phenomenon, that is to say, their characteristics, causal relations, responsibilities, identities of involved social players, problem dimensions, values, judgments, moral and aesthetic considerations, discourse generated model practices, positionings of subjects, etc. The following table shows the phenomenal structure of the associative discourse on *modern* agriculture as it is (re)produced by AAPRESID. It should be noted, however, that all this corresponds to the values, attitudes, and interests of just one of the involved social players: AAPRESID. This means the attempt is not made here to reveal the inner *nature* of the phenomenon of *modern* agriculture and the involved social players but specific discursive attributions (Keller 2005b, p 68; 2007, n.pag.).

Dimensions	Concrete Implementation
Origin	An emergency appears: *conventional* agriculture is ecologically, socially, and economically un*sustainable*, irresponsible, and thus untenable.
Responsibilities and concrete actions	Farmers: have to change their mentality and their social practices. The technical tools to resolve the upcoming emergency already exist but farmers have to become convinced of their utility and indispensability. Society: has to become more open-minded towards new technologies and *scientific progress*. *Science*: has to constantly analyze social problems and find solutions. *Scientific knowledge* and technologies as its outcome are the basis of *progress* and *modernity*

[148] See Chapter 5.3.2.2.
[149] See Chapter 5.3.2.2.

	that guarantees a better life for all. Private sector: the participation of the private sector in science and economy is not only indispensable but also desirable since it is one of the main drivers of *development*. Politics: (national and international) politics should create the best possible conditions to encourage *development* and *progress*. More concretely, this means strengthening the social acceptance of new technologies and supporting free trade as well as the protagonist role of private players. AAPRESID: found the solution for the arising emergency. Now it has to endeavor to ensure the social acceptance of its proposals.
Self-Positioning	AAPRESID stands for "conviction, work and management", "reasonable work" and "a different reality" (SD 121, pp. 14f).[146] Furthermore, it presents itself as a *pioneer* since it is the initiator of a *paradigmatic change*. This will favor every single member of society since AAPRESID acts in the interest not only of small and medium farmers but all of society.
Positioning of others	Farmers: are too *traditional* and therefore skeptical about changes. Their *traditional knowledge* has become obsolete in *modern* times. Those maintaining *traditional* practices act irresponsibly since they are opposed to the national *development* and the improvement of the national economy for which they could play a protagonist role. Society: is mostly *traditional*, backward, and skeptical about changes. *Science*: is the basis of any *progress* and *development* and the fundament of a *sustainable* agriculture. Private sector: is indispensable for *science* and thus *progress* and *development* due to the irresponsibility of the government. Politics: the national government does not meet its responsibility to improve Argentina's economic situation and strengthen a *sustainable* agricultural production. Same as society, politicians are *traditional* and conservative. This is why civil associations, such as AAPRESID, have to take responsibility. Environmental and social movements: a product of society's *irrationality* and thus opposed to *progress* and *development,* and general social interests. However, to reach broad social acceptance, as many movements as possible have to be brought on board.
Welfare model	Social welfare and well-being are closely (even though not solely) related to economic factors. Economic growth can be best reached within a capitalist, neoliberal economic system.
Values	*Modernization* is not only desirable but accessible for everyone. *Sustainable development* is the best way thereto. Nature is a scarce resource whose usage can be optimized in a *sustainable* way. Europe is naturally underprivileged and owes its powerful position to illegitimate political maneuvers. Their hegemony, therefore, is only temporary and *non-Western* countries are in a position to catch up in terms of *development*.

Table 4: Phenomenal structure of the associative discourse on *modern* agriculture. Own table.

5.6 The *Dispositif* and the *Global Strategy*

The above analysis of the narrative structure, the interpretative schemes, and the phenomenal structure of the associative discourse on *modern* agriculture, permits us now the specification of the dispositif and the global strategy this discourse supports. As previously presented,[150] the term *dispositif* refers to the institutional structure of a *discourse*, namely the cognitive and normative but also material, practical and personal infrastructure. Hence a dispositif includes everything that can be considered constitutive for a specific pattern of power (Keller 2005a, n.pag.).[151] As Foucault (1978, p. 126; 1990, pp. 92f) argued, this pattern of power is not stable and does not originate from a single source. With Foucault we can understand power as "the process which, through ceaseless struggles and confrontations, transforms, strengthens, or even reverses them [power relations, author's note] […] and lastly, as the strategies in which they take effect, whose general design or institutional crystallization is embodied in the state apparatus, in the formulation of the law, in the various social hegemonies" (Foucault 1990, pp. 92f).

To be precise, in the case of *modern* agriculture, the *dispositif* consists of the different discursive threads, this means the associative thread of discourse we described above, but also the *scientific* thread, the public thread, the discursive thread of social and indigenous movements, etc. whose consideration is beyond the scope of this work. Essentially, critical voices also form part of the *discourse* on - and thus the *dispositif* of - *modern* agriculture, even though their public perception and scope of influence may vary widely. Moreover, the practices emerging from and (at the same time) reproducing a discourse are also inherent elements of the *dispositif* as well as the technology and machinery used day by day, the laws and normative regulations established in this field, the organizations and associations founded to promote *modern* agriculture, the events they organize, the buildings they construct, and so on. All this also had to be left relatively mute due to focus being on the associative discursive thread on *modern* agriculture and its social consequences.

Nevertheless, I would like to focus now on the question of the specific *pattern of power* (Keller 2005b, p. 60), the *macro power* with the words of Foucault (1990, p. 92), and the global strategy supported by this dispositif (Foucault 1986, p. 234). That is to say, all the elements of a dispositif mentioned above are supportive of a specific pattern of power, meaning specific power relations, which they constantly (re)produce (Foucault 1990, p. 93; Keller 2005 a, n.pag.).

[150] See Chapters 3.1 and 3.2.
[151] For more detail on Keller's definition of a dispositif, see Chapter 3.2.

As we have previously discussed,[152] according to Foucault, power is nothing more than "the name that one attributes to a complex strategical situation in a particular society". (Foucault 1990, p. 93). With this, Foucault does not refer to a final aim pursued by an individual or a group of individuals. The resulting strategy is nobody's direct intention but the effect of the complex interplay of all the social players involved. As the result of a number of effective and reasoned tactics, it ensures the domination of certain social groups (Foucault 1978, pp. 119-132, 1990, pp. 94f). This raises the question of what does this strategy consists of. Who are the main profiteers of this *colonization of power* (Quijano (2000a/b)? And finally, who are those social groups whose *knowledges* are buried in this struggle?

Post-colonial theory helps us to answer these questions in that Quijano (2000, p. 533) and other post-colonial thinkers give the contemporary pattern of power a name: *modern/colonial and Eurocentered capitalism.* With this, Quijano refers to the global distribution of power established in times of colonization but still continuing today. As we saw in Chapter 3.4, according to Quijano, neither a decolonization of *knowledge* nor of power has taken place. The concept of *development* (in all its versions) is the best example for the continuing *coloniality of knowledge*. Following his line of argumentation, *development* is a mere *Western* invention that legitimates a particular social order and thus supports *Western* hegemony (Quijano 1998, p. 46). This is regardless of if we speak of *economic development*, *socio-economic development*, *human development* or, as in our case, *sustainable development,* since the underlying presumptions and the legitimizing effects are the same.

Quijano takes this *coloniality of knowledge* as constitutive for the *colonality of power*. Meaning, our current global pattern of power has become manifest in our daily social practices and forms of *knowledge*.[153] What is more, it pursues a certain *strategy*. As already mentioned, this does not refer to a (single) goal intended by individuals or groups of individuals but to the result of the interplay of innumerable micro-powers, of assenting and dissenting votes, of *scientific*, public, and medial voices, etc.[154] As Quijano would put it, these power relations are the direct consequence and expression of the interactivity of a dispute, which consists of three elements: domination, social exploitation, and conflict (Quijano 2001, p. 10; 2007, pp. 347f).

But what does this *global strategy* consist of? According to Quijano (2000, pp. 542-549), the concept of *development*, same as *modernity* or *rationalism*, served and still serves the

[152] See Chapter 3.1.
[153] For more detail on the historic emergence of *modern/colonial and Eurocentered capitalism*, see Chapter 3.4.
[154] See Chapter 3.1.

legitimization of *Western* hegemony and the exploitation of the *Non-Western* world. With *modern/colonial and Eurocentered capitalism*, a new form of controlling labor, its resources, and its products emerged. In this way, capitalism has become the new universal pattern of social exploitation. Namely, labor is organized around and upon the basis of capital and the world market, which implies a profound transformation of the production conditions and relations. Even though the biological conception of *race* is (explicitly) hardly used these days to legitimate the prevailing social order, we are still dealing with the attribution of social roles to certain geo-historical places, as already seen in colonial times. Social constructs, such as *development* or *rationalism*, have served the *West* to constitute itself in the center of *modernity*, which is just a further *Western* construct. Again, this does not mean that someone intentionally invented these concepts aiming at the subjugation of *the other*. Instead they are the result of a joint social process which has taken place within certain power structures. At the same time, this social process is constitutive for the emergence and the conservation of these power structures.

Obviously, this entailed certain social consequences, such as, changes of intersubjectivity, that is to say, the ways we perceive and interpret our social environment, but also our social imaginary, our historical memory, and our perspective of *knowledge* which can be considered an *occidental/Eurocentric* one. As already mentioned in Chapter 3.4, the *Eurocentric perspective* includes the concepts of linearity and universality. This means, historical changes tend to be associated with homogeneity and continuity rather than heterogeneity and discontinuity. Moreover, it is characterized by the idea of evolutionism and dualism. This refers to the idea of a natural state of things, upon which *civilization develops* itself towards something better. Consequently, dichotomous distinctions, such as *natural-civilized*, *irrational-rational*, *primitive-modern*, *past-future*, and so on, are imposed upon all social phenomena (Quijano 2000, pp. 543-553).

With the globalization of *modern/colonial and Eurocentered capitalism*, these changes of intersubjectivity are also globalized. Specifically, not only the perception of *Non-Western* regions changed but also the self-perception and self-definition of these regions, as Mignolo (2007, pp. 39-55) pointed out. This also becomes evident in the documents analyzed in this work when AAPRESID uncritically adopts the prevailing definition of *modernity* and *development* as well as the assessment of Latin America as less *modern* and *underdeveloped*.[155] This self-perception is a clear product of the *coloniality of knowledge* and *power*. That means, within the current power structures, a certain kind of *development* has become naturalized: the *development* towards a

[155] See Chapter 5.3.1.3.

modern, occidental, and still *colonial capitalism.* This implies the devaluation and pathologization of all alternative ways of socio-economic organization. To be exact, the judgment of the *West* as being more *civilized* and superior, and *the other* as being less *civilized* and inferior has become widely shared even by the colonized.

In summary, *modern, occidental* and *colonial capitalism* represents the *macro-power* that is supported by the discourse on *modern* agriculture I analyzed in this master's thesis. This *macro-power,* as a product of the interplay of innumerable *micro-powers*, pursues a certain *global strategy* consisting of the conservation and consolidation of certain hegemonic power relations. It is considered global not only because this pattern of power has been imposed upon all world regions and populations. Furthermore, it is all-embracing since it controls all areas of social life, including the most intimates (Quijano 2000, p. 545).

This finally raises the question of the profiteers of these processes and the discourse on *modern(ized)* agriculture as part of them. Undoubtedly, AAPRESID (as well as some other social players involved here) hopes to find economic benefits and probably a general rise in power. However, there is no doubt that these changes also (not to say primarily) imply advantages for the *West,* which abandoned agriculture on its way to *modernization* and is now in need of food imports.[156] This is what I referred to when I spoke about the continuing attribution of social roles to certain geo-historical places as being the heritage of colonial times. This also allows the *West* to find its values and convictions and thus its hegemonic role affirmed by *Non-Western* regions. It is this global division of labor organized today on the basis of *modern* nation states and legitimized by an *occidental perspective of knowledge* that enabled and still enables the *occident* to establish itself as the center of the capitalist world order.

[156] Contrary to the widespread public opinion, the EU also imports large quantities of GMO foods which is preponderantly used as animal feed.

VI CONCLUSIONS

At this point, I do not want to again sum up what is written above since the last few Chapters already offer a good summary of how the discourse on *modern* agriculture is composited and what functions it fulfills. Instead, I prefer to convey a kind of prospect and to devote attention to the question of the changeability of discourses and the associated power relations.

As we saw in Chapter 3.1, according to Foucault, the subject is a product of power and the sedimentation of *knowledges* produced within certain power relations. It is these power relations which determine what can be done and thought. At first sight, this vision seems to leave little scope for oppositional consciousness or resistant behaviors. However, a closer look at Foucault's theoretical conceptions reveals that his subject is by no means a completely determined one. Actually, he considers resistance an inherent part of power. Even though Foucault repeatedly stated that power is everywhere, he also emphasized that "where there is power, there is resistance" (Foucault 1990, p. 95).

However, the question remains of how we can resist? After having spent numerous years analyzing power and discourse, it was only at the end of the 1970s when Foucault started to address this issue. However, he did not find a clear answer to this question until his death in 1984. Even though he concedes the subjects general capability to resist, he cannot find a comprehensible explanation for this behavior, which is why he finally declares: "the man who rebels is ultimately inexplicable" (Foucault 1979 quoted from Senellart 2009, p. 487). Therefore, regarding the question on the resisting subject, Foucault's theoretical concepts seem to reach their limits. Nevertheless, what we can take from Foucault to answer this question is his assertion that the objective of any resistance cannot consist of getting rid of power. This would be an impossible endeavor. Instead, it means to change power relations, that is to say, not the encompassing liberation of power but the minimization of the determination exerted by these power relations.

> "I do not think that a society can exist without power relations, if by that one means the strategies by which individuals try to direct and control the conduct of others. The problem, then, is not to try to dissolve them in the utopia of completely transparent communication but to acquire the rules of law, the management techniques, and also the morality, the ethos, the practice of self, that will allow us to play these games of power with as little domination as possible." (Foucault 1984, p. 298)

According to Foucault, every social interaction is characterized by a battle for *truth* and thus for power, in other words, the attempt of getting *a truth* accepted as *the truth*. This also means that *truth* and power are in constant flux. However, Foucault does not speak about the simple replacement of one *truth* by another but of changing the present hegemonies by changing the *political economy of power*, namely, the specific way of how power and *truth* are organized and how they circulates through the social bodies. In short, resistance means to change the rules of how *truth* is produced. This finally means a plea for the deconstruction of traditionalized categories in order to open new ways of conceiving our world.

In a similar – even though more elaborated – way, post- and decolonial theorists conceptualize resistance. The Portuguese sociologist Boaventura de Sousa Santos, for example, introduces into the discussion the term "epistemological decolonization" which he considers the necessary condition for the change of global power relations. Concretely, this means the creation of pluralistic spaces where an intercultural dialog and a collective construction of diversity can actually take place. According to De Sousa Santos (2009, p. 16), the worst injustice of our world is "cognitive injustice" which represents the basis of all other forms of injustices such as socioeconomic, sexual, or racial injustices, among others. This refers to "the idea that there is just one valid *knowledge* which is produced […] in the global North and which we call modern science".[147] As we can see, De Sousa Santos does not refer to geographic regions but adheres to the idea of social classes and emphasizes that "it is also the South in the North […], the oppressed, marginalized groups of Europe and North America, and the global North in the South; it is the local elites which benefit from the global capitalism."[148] De Sousa Santos adjudges enormous potential to these oppressed and marginalized groups all over the world which still hold alternative ways of socioeconomic organization and interpretations of the world. According to De Sousa Santos, this still existing diversity just needs to be encouraged in order to create a pluralistic space.[149]

> There exist different ways of thinking, of feeling – of feeling while thinking, of thinking while feeling-, of acting, different relations between human beings - different relations between human beings and non-human beings, with nature, o what we call nature; different concepts of time, different forms of looking at the past, the present, and the future; different forms of organizing the collective life and the provision of goods and resources from an economic viewpoint. (De Sousa Santos 2009, pp.16f)[150]

Concretely, this means to step out from universalism and actively create pluralism. To generate an "epistemology of the South", de Sousa Santos says, that we have to understand and interiorize that "the comprehension of the world is far more ample than the comprehension of

the occidental world and therefore the transformation of the world can also occur in ways, modes, and with methods which are unimaginable for the occident" (De Sousa Santos 2009, p. 16).[151] This finally means starting to conceive a post-capitalist future which represents the real challenge of today but seems a difficult endeavor even for many so-called *progressive*.movements.

> The epistemologies of the South mean the claim for new production processes, the appreciation of knowledge as valid, whether or not they are scientific, and new relations between different types of knowledge, departing from practices of social classes and groups which have suffered destruction, oppression, and discrimination in a systematic way caused by capitalism, colonialism, and all the naturalizations of inequality in which they have unfurled; the exchange value, the individual property of land, the sacrifice of Mother Earth, racism, sexism, individualism, the material over the spiritual and all the other monocultures of the mind and society – economical, political, and cultural – which try to block the emancipator imagination and to sacrifice the alternatives. (De Sousa Santos 2009, p. 16)[152]

This already shows that decolonization does not mean a simple theoretic challenge as also Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui (2010, p. 7), an Aymara sociologist and historian, emphasizes:

> A discourse of decolonization, a theory of decolonization, is not possible without a decolonizing practice. […] The possibility of a profound cultural reform in our society depends on the decolonization of our gestures, our acts, and our language with which we name the world. (Cusicanqui 2010, pp. 62 and 71)[153]

As De Sousa Santos highlights, mental openness and imaginative power are the core elements for a profound change of power relations which then settle out in altered social practices and vice versa. Specifically, that means considering alternative perspectives valuable and developing the capacity to imagine a world that works in a completely different way.

Enrique Dussel, an Argentine historian, speaks in this context about the necessity of a *transmodern project*. He agrees with other *decolonial* thinkers that the subaltern subjects hold the potential to "develop […] cultural pluralism in future outpacing the terms modernity and capitalism." (Dussel 2004, p. 221)[154] According to Dussel, however, these suppressed cultures are neither *pre-modern* nor *postmodern* but "developed in a transmodern horizont, like a beyond all the internal possibilities of just modernity" (ibid., p.222). With "beyond" Dussel refers to an exteriority of those who have been excluded in *modernity*, a vision that Foucault and probably many post-colonial thinkers would not have shared. However, whether it is spoken about exteriorized or marginalized cultures, the importance attached to the generation of *pluralistic spaces* by encouraging differing epistemologies are always considered the necessary prerequisite to overcome the current global pattern of power which is *modern, colonial,*

Eurocentric capitalism. According to Dussel (ibid., p. 223), the current globalization process reinforces this development since it incites the oppressed to rediscover and defend – and I add: to modify – their identities. Thus the oppressed keep an immense capacity to initiate this change towards *transmodernism* by re-defining the relations between human beings and between human beings and nature (ibid.). However, *transmodernism* does not mean the complete rejection of *modernity* and all what it has brought forth but a synthesis of what is generally regarded *pre-modern*, *modern* and *post-modern* realities. Criticizing the linear way of thinking Dussel identifies even in many post-colonial thinkers, he advocates for a *transmodern* project that seeks to revitalize suppressed *traditions* and *knowledges* and to relate, combine, and juxtapose them with what is considered *modern* elements in order to create a pluralistic world for all of us.

> This transmodernity should assume the best of the modern technological revolution, excluding the anti-ecological and exclusively occidental elements in order to place it at the service of worlds which are different concerning their values, old and new ones, with proper traditions and ignored creativity. This will permit to open the immense cultural and human richness […]. Future multicultural transmodernity will be multifaceted, hybrid, post-colonial, pluralistic, tolerant, democratic but beyond a liberal democracy and the modern European state, with splendid millennial traditions, respecting the exteriority, and affirming heterogeneous identities (Dussel 2004, p. 223)[155]

For the field of agriculture this also does not mean the rejection of any technological inventions or the return to *antiquated* modes of production Rather it means to create the necessary social conditions so that there is not only one *right* – because *modern* and *rational* – way to realize agriculture. It means to develop the capacity to imagine radically different forms of production following radically differing logics. It also means a radical change of social relations in general, of our relations with nature, of socio-economic organization, our interpretative schemes, and classification patterns, etc. Finally, it means to create an agriculture serving the people and not exclusively big companies.

Certainly, in the framework of this work it is not possible to give a satisfactory answer to the question of how resistance in this field may look like and what effect they may take on current power relations. What remains clear, however, all the authors mentioned above agree in that a profound analysis and critic of the present *regime of truth* is in any case a necessary condition (even though only a first step) for the deconstruction of present dominations and subsequently their transformation. With this work I wanted to contribute to this endeavor in the specific field of *modern* agriculture and show that current changes in this field are by no means the inevitable result of *modernity* as often assumed, but just one out of many possible

developments which is linked to certain *knowledges* and certain power relations. It is these *knowledges*, our interpretative schemes and classifications patterns, in short our *modern* consciousnesses, which has to be understood as ideological basis of these power relations but, at the same time, as a just contemporary social construct. Finally I also wanted to show that there still exist alternative ways of socioeconomic organization, of interpreting the world and relating to it. Only if we develop a critical view on established *truths* and understand their temporary character regarding the whole of contrasting, multifaceted and also inherently contradictory, alternative developments seem conceivable.

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VIII LIST OF FIGURES

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X Abstracts

Abstract (english)

Since Argentina implemented a new agricultural model in the 1970s (the agribusiness model) its agriculture has passed a series of radical changes. This refers especially to the implementation of a new technological package consisting primarily of new seed varieties (hybrid seeds and later GMOs) and the associated agrochemicals. The social and environmental consequences of these changes are staggering and range from the concentration of capital and the control over land and natural resources to increase poverty and inequality, unemployment, the transit to more precariat and flexibility in labor, processes of de-peasantization and rural de-population, territorial conflicts, displacements, health problems (in consequence of fumigation), a declining biodiversity, environmental contamination, desertification, etc.

Apparently, the breakthrough of the agribusiness model is closely linked to certain intersubjective assumptions which have been (re)produced by a hegemonic discourse. This master's thesis examines this discourse and wants to give an answer to the question of how these changes have been able to assert themselves without any major obstacles. For this, I refer to Michel Foucault and his extended reflections on discourse, as well as to Rainer Keller's *sociology of knowledge approach to discourse (SKAD),* which implies a concrete methodological program that allows a sociological research focusing on the interplay of discourse, *power*, and *knowledge*. Using the example of the *Argentine Association of No Till Producers (AAPRESID)*, one of the main associations in this field, the *narrative structure* of the discourse on *modern* agriculture is traced as well as certain *classifications* and *interpretative schemes* that appear therein. This includes the concepts of *modernity, rationality*, and particularly *sustainable development, which* are considered as the key to *modernity* and based on *rationality*.

Even though AAPRESID tries hard to present this concept as opposed to *occidental development* strategies, a closer look reveals that there may be little differences in the idea of how *development* can be reached but not in what it finally means. This can be considered both a product and a supportive element of the naturalization of a specific interpretation of *development* consisting in the increasing penetration of all areas of social life by capitalism. The devaluation and pathologization of all alternative ways of socio-economic organization are the inevitable consequence. In this way, this discourse (re)produces a specific pattern of power which some post- and de-colonial thinkers call *modern/colonial and Eurocentered capitalism*. This refers to the global distribution of power relations that were established in times of

colonization but still continues today and serves the preservation of *Western* hegemony. It is this discourse, the *development* discourse (in all its versions), which has convinced also the colonized of the necessity of changing their economic and political functioning for the sake of *modernization.*

Abstract (deutsch)

Seit der Implementierung eines neuen Agrarmodells in den 1970er Jahren (das *Agribusiness-Model*), war die argentinische Agrarwirtschaft mit zahlreichen fundamentalen Veränderungen konfrontiert. Damit ist insbesondere die Einführung eines neuen Technologiepakets gemeint, das aus neuem Saatgut (Hybridsamen und später gentechnisch veränderte Organismen) und den dazugehörigen Pestiziden besteht. Die sozio-ökologischen Folgen sind verheerend und reichen von der zunehmenden Konzentration von Kapital sowie der Kontrolle über Land und andere natürliche Ressourcen bis hin zu steigender Armut und Ungleichheit, Arbeitslosigkeit, Prekarisierung und Flexibilisierung von Arbeit, Landflucht, territorialen Konflikten, Vertreibungen, Gesundheitsproblemen (als Folge von Pestizidanwendungen), schwindender Biodiversität, Umweltverschmutzungen, Desertifikation, etc.

Der Durchbruch dieses neuen Agrarmodells scheint mit bestimmten intersubjektiven Annahmen verbunden zu sein, die durch einen hegemonialen Diskurs (re)produziert werden. Diese Masterarbeit untersucht diesen Diskurs und sucht eine Antwort auf die Frage, wie es möglich war, dass sich dieses Agrarmodell trotz all der negativen Konsequenzen etablierte. Dafür wurde auf Michel Foucault und seine ausführlichen Überlegungen zu Diskursen zurückgegriffen, sowie auf Rainer Kellers wissenssoziologische Diskursanalyse (WDA), die ein konkretes wissenschaftliches Programm beinhaltet, das eine Fokussierung auf das Zusammenspiel von Diskurs, Macht und Wissen erlaubt. Am Beispiel der argentinischen Vereinigung für pfluglose Agrarwirtschaft (AAPRESID), eine der wichtigsten Organisationen in diesem Feld, wurde die narrative Struktur dieses Diskurses nachgezeichnet, und die darin aufscheinenden Klassifikationen und Deutungsmuster herausgearbeitet, insbesondere *Modernität*, *Rationalität* und *nachhaltige Entwicklung*, wobei Letzteres als Schlüssel zur *Modernität* und basierend auf *Rationalität* betrachtet wird.

Wenn AAPRESID auch versucht, dieses Konzept westlichen Entwicklungsstrategien gegenüberzustellen, wird bei genauerer Betrachtung deutlich, dass es zwar kleinere

Unterschiede in der Vorstellung geben mag, wie *Entwicklung* erreicht werden kann, nicht jedoch darin, was *Entwicklung* schlussendlich bedeutet. Das kann sowohl als Resultat sowie als unterstützendes Element der Naturalisierung einer spezifischen Interpretation von *Entwicklung* betrachtet werden, die durch eine zunehmende Durchdringung aller Sphären des sozialen Lebens durch kapitalistische Strukturen gekennzeichnet ist. Das wiederum ist unweigerlich mit einer Abwertung und Pathologisierung andersartiger sozio-ökonomischer Organisations-strukturen verbunden. Auf diese Weise (re)produziert dieser Diskurs ein spezifisches Machtmuster, das von manch post- und de-kolonialen Denkern als *moderner/kolonialer und eurozentristischer Kapitalismus* bezeichnet wird. Damit ist die globale Verteilung von Machtbeziehungen angesprochen, die sich zu Kolonialzeiten etablierte und bis heute andauert und der Erhaltung westlicher Hegemonie dient. Es ist dieser *Entwicklung*sdiskurs (in all seinen Varianten) der schlussendlich auch die Kolonialisierten von der Notwendigkeit überzeugt hat, ihr ökonomisches und politisches Funktionieren in den Dienst der *Modernisierung* zu stellen.

XI ANNEX

List of Documents for Analysis

Author and title	Abbreviation
Rogers et al (2012): A Vision for Human Well-Being: Transition to Social Sustainability	Rogers et al.
AAPRESID: AC Agricultura Certificada	B
AAPRESID: AC Manual	C
AAPRESID: AC Protocolo de Certificacion	D
Gilbert (2012): African Agriculture: Dirty Poor	Gilbert
Amiotti et al. (2012): Agronomic and Taxonomic Consequences of Agricultural Use of Marginal Soils in Argentina	Amiotti et al.
AAPRESID: Aula AAPRESID	G
AAPRESID: Biotecnología: ¿Cabe Oponerse?	H
AAPRESID: Carta al Editor Sobre el Artículo de Paganelli y Col.	I
AAPRESID: Carta de Lawrence J. Marnett, Ph.D. a Gastón Fernández Palma.	J
AAPRESID: En el Valle del Conlara no hay Rastros de Pesticidas ni Agroquímicos. Notice, 30/09/13	K
AAPRESID: Fitosanitarios: la Discusión Suma Voces. Notice, 03/10/13	L
AAPRESID: La Agricultura y la Sequía. Notice, 02/02/14	M
AAPRESID: La Tecnología de los OGM es Como Respirar. Notice, 04/11/13	N
Kosoy et al. (2012): Pillars for a Flourishing Earth: Planetary Boundaries, Economic Growth Delusion and Green Economy	Kosoy et al.
AAPRESID: Programa Nexo	P
AAPRESID: Quienes Somos	Q
AAPRESID: Rem Manual Herbicidas	R
AAPRESID: Juntos Sabemos Más	S
AAPRESID: Siembra Directa	T
AAPRESID: Sistemas Chacras	U
Cornelissen et al (2012): The Role of Bioenergy in a Fully Sustainable Global Energy System	V
Biermann et al (2012): Transforming Governance and Institutions for Global Sustainability: Key Insights from the Earth System Governance Project	X
Siembra Directa No. 116	SD 116
Siembra Directa No. 117	SD 117
Siembra Directa No. 118	SD 118
Siembra Directa No. 119	SD 119
Siembra Directa No. 120	SD 120
Siembra Directa No. 121	SD 121
Siembra Directa especial: Bioenergía 11/14	SD bioenergía
Siembra Directa especial: Cultivos 04/13	SD cultivos
Siembra Directa especial: Maíz 08/14	SD maíz
Siembra Directa especial: Soja 09/14	SD soja
Siembra Directa especial: Planteos Ganaderos	SD planteos ganaderos

List of AAPRESID's Associated Companies

Industry	Mass Media	Institutions
Acay agro	ABC rural	Acsoja
Advanta	Agritoral.com	Acta
Agrofina	Agromercado	Centro de gestión agropecuaria
Agrometal	Agrositio	AIANBA
Albor	Agro TV	ArgenTrigo
Allianz	Amanecer Rural	ArPOV
Asociación de Cooperativas Argentinas	Bichos de Campo	ASA
ASP	Cadena 3 Argentina	ASAGIR
Barenburg	Campo abierto	Bolsa de cereales y productos Bahia Blanca
Basf	Chacra	Belgrano Universidad
Bayer	Clarín	Bioceres
BBVA francés	Continental agro	Caprove
Bertini	DizadeCampo.com	Casafe
Biagro	Dossiert agropecuario	Centro de Comunicación y Capitación para el Medio Rural
Bioceres	ediciónrural.com	CIAFA
Bunge	El campo la industria verde	CPIA
Cheminova	El federal	CREA
CKC	El litoral	FADAFCS
Claas	Expoagro	FEDIAR
Compañia	fyo	Fertilizar
Compo	Hombres de Campo	INTA
Crucianelli	horizonteA	IPNI
Donmario	infocampo	Maizar
Dow Agribusiness	La capital	Reino de los Países Bajos
Du Pont	La red rural	Senasa
FN semillas	Las Bases	Universidad Austral
Galicia	Marca Liquida SD	UNL
Geosistemas	Mirador provincial	
GG Grimaldi Grassis.A.	Mitre	
Grupo Asegurador La segunda	Mitre y el campo	
Hook	Mundo Campo	
HSBC	Nuevo siglo	
ICBC	ON24	
IpesaSilo	Punto biz	
John Deere	Radio Rivadavia	
KWS	Rural	
La Segunda	SembraND	
Magan	Solo Campo	
Mainero	Super Campo	
Mercobras S.A.	Tiempo de campo	
Meriti	Tranquera abierta	
Metalflor	Tranqueras al mundo	
Monsanto		
Mosaic		
Nidera semillas		
Novozymes		
Nufarm		
Pannar		

Pioneer		
Pla		
Profertil		
Palaverisch Inoculantes		
Red Surcos		
Rizobacter		
Rotam		
San Cristobal		
Santander Rio		
Santa Rosa		
Plastar Silobolsa		
SpeedAgro		
Spraytec		
SummitAgro		
Syngenta		
VF Vassalli Fabril S.A.		
Yam Yeso Agrícola Malargüe		
Yara		
YPF		

Curriculum Vitae

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2004 - 2007	Bakkalaureatsstudium Soziologie	Universität Wien
2004 - 2012	Diplomstudium Erziehungswissenschaft	Universität Wien
2009/2010	Austauschjahr in Spanien für das Studienfach Soziologie (ERASMUS)	Universität Alicante
2012/2013	Austauschjahr in Argentinien für das Studienfach Soziologie (Joint Study)	Universität Buenos Aires
2013	6-monatiger Forschungsaufenthalt in Argentinien (KWA-Stipendium)	Universität Buenos Aires
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PUBLIKATIONEN

Kubizek, Anna K./Rybaczek, Clara (2007): Management. In: Ernst, Michaela et al. (Ed.): Pädagogik macht Kritik. Texte zur Gouvernmentalität. Wien: Löcker, 228-266.

Kubizek, Anna K. (2012): Die Bildungsbe(nach)teiligung von Flüchtlingskindern und -jugendlichen im österreichischen Bildungssystem unter Berücksichtigung von Schüler_innen mit „sonderpädagogischem Förderbedarf“. Wien: Universität Wien. Diplomarbeit.

XII NOTES

[1] [...] se posicionaba como el portavoz de la soja [...].

[2] [...] empresarios innovadores [...].

[3] [p]ara lograr esta disposición 'hacia afuera', los dirigentes aaprendistas colaboraron activamente en la creación de espacios institucionales [...] (como [...] ACSOJA, MAIZAR, etc.), pero también reorientaron instituciones existentes, en las que se aggiornaron dinámicas colectivas coherentes con el cambio de paradigma [...].

[4] [...] cambio de mentalidades [...].

[5] La articulación de lo productivo y lo político es un rasgo central de la práctica militante que, a partir de 2000, desarrollará con fuerza la cúpula aapresidista. Con ese espíritu, la Asociación no sólo se encargará de organizar 'salidas a campo' para medir el rendimiento de tal cultivo o tal ferttilizante, dictar cursos de formación en su Instituto de Capacitación y publicar regularmente su revista técnica, sino que además promoverá actividades orientadas a extender su auditorio más allá del sector agrícola, proponiendo al debate público temáticas más amplias que las meramente productivas.

[6] [...] han calado y dejado, una vez más, en evidencia de la grave situación que vivimos cotidianamente en nuestras comunidades campesinas indígenas y de cómo la policía, el Juez [...] y el gobierno de la provincia de Santiago, no han actuado ante las innumerables denuncias que se han realizado por las amenazas de muertes de grupos armados [...].

[7] [i]mpulsar el sistema de siembra directa para alcanzar una actividad agropecuaria sustentable (económica, ambiental y socialmente), basada en la innovación (tecnológica, organizacional e institucional), asumiendo el compromiso de interactuar con las organizaciones públicas y privadas, para lograr un desarrollo integral de la Nación.

[8] [...] estimulando el liderazgo y la innovación [...].

[9] Generar conocimiento. [...] Adaptar dichos conocimientos a situaciones puntualesy locales. [...] Capacitar para que esos conocimientos sean aceptados y finalmente aplicados en forma efectiva y eficiente.

[10] [...] lucha contra la desinformación [...].

[11] [...] despejaran todas sus dudas acerca del uso de fitosanitarios, manejo de cultivos, semillas transgénicas, entre otros temas [...].

[12] En primer lugar los chicos descubrieron cómo era la agricultura basada en la labranza y cómo evolucionó la siembra directa en nuestro país gracias a sus múltiples ventajas. [...] La siguiente estación temática se refirió a biotecnología. Para explicar en forma sencilla un tema tan complejo, se dispusieron distintos elementos que se usan en la vida cotidiana: alimentos, medicamentos, etc.

[13] [...] reúne a los principales expertos y es un punto clave de actualización, debate y exhibición de los avances tecnológicos.

[14] Para 2030/2035, probablemente seremos 9 millones y tendremos una enorme escasez. Todos saben que la inestabilidad climática provocará tormentas y variaciones climáticas extremas. Nuestras plantas no están listas para sobrevivir en esas condiciones extremas.

[15] [...] el uso repetido de un mismo herbicida o de herbicidas con el mismo modo de acción.

[16] [E]l uso creciente de mezclas de insecticidas, dosis más altas y fungicidas [...].

[17] [E]l proceso de agriculturización que se asoció en un principio a una mecanización intensa, tuvo como consecuencia problemas de erosión de diferente intensidad con la consecuente pérdida de materia orgánica. Hace veinte años, no se pensaba en reponer los nutrientes del suelo, porque supuestamente alcanzaba con la fertilidad natural de los suelos.

[18] Segun la Fao más de 800 millones de personas se van a dormir con hambre cada día. Si con 7000 millones de habitantes pasa esto, como alimentar 9000 millones de bocas el 2050?

[19] Debemos producir y generar un producto con altos contenidos de nutrientes, de muy buena calidad nutricional, alta disponibilidad, y de bajo costo. Debemos cumplir de manera precisa con el objetivo de que sea un ingrediente barato para poder producir carne o leche. La fibra de calidad permite lograr altas eficiencias de conversión del alimento, importantes niveles de inclusión en las dietas, disminución de los costos de alimentación y contribuye de manera decisiva en la salud animal.

[20] [...] los países en desarrollo [...] la otorgan gratuitamente. Todas las multinacionales están implicadas en los programas allí.

[21] Claro que no está bien distribuido y si lo sabemos, intentaremos cambiarlo. Solo que lleva mucho tiempo cambiarlo, y nunca lo han logrado. Hay una leve mejora, pero es muy lenta. Ahora tenemos los medios para acelerarlo. Y no existe el menor argumento en contra de ello. Solo digo que necesitarán nuevas tecnologías, porque las antiguas están obsoletas.

[22] No podemos obviar el hecho de que el glifosato es un producto destinado a matar malezas, cuya toxicidad está definida y publicada, y requiere cuidados pertinentes. Respecto de las condiciones de manipulación, lmacenamiento y aplicación indebida de fitosanitarios hay que hacer las denuncias correspondientes para que resuelva la autoridad competente.

[23] [L]os ingenieros agrónomos son como los médicos del campo, los productos químicos los remedios que se utilizan y que ellos por sí solos no son malos, enfatizando que lo negativo es utilizarlos de manera incorrecta y de forma no profesional.

[24] La toxicidad aguda del producto formulado se considera primordialmente en caso de exposición directa de las personas al producto, ya sea por derrames durante el transporte y/o el almacenamiento, por salpicaduras durante la preparación, o bien ante eventuales procesos de exoderiva del caldo. En el caso de las poblaciones urbanas, la eventual exposición provendría de las gotas exoderivadas provenientes del caldo, cuyo riesgo es atenuado por la dilución del producto formulado.

[25] Lo que ocurre es que el producto viene con una recomendación del fabricante, pero la responsabilidad del fabricante escapa a la aplicación que haga el productor en el campo [...]. En el 99 por ciento de los casos no es el producto en sí el problema, sino la manera de aplicación [...] [E]s lógico que ocurran, lamentablemente, si no se aplicó como se debe. Si no se utilizan máscaras, guantes, si hay viento [...].

[26] [...] el 75% de los casos de intoxicación y muerte con fitosanitarios se dan en América La-tina" [...] "la mayor cantidad de casos no se dan en el área agrícola, sino en los domicilios, con los productos fitosanitarios utilizados en el hogar.

[27] [...] los espacios intermedios y sin delimitación aparente entre lo que se considera zona rural y lo que se define como urbano.

[28] Debido al desarrollo creciente de los centros urbanos sobre áreas tradicionalmente agrícolas, los habitantes perciben las prácticas habituales de manejo y aplicación de fitosanitarios como un riesgo potencial para su salud y el ambiente.

[29] El clima de incertidumbre acerca de los impactos de los fitosanitarios a veces se convierte en un conflicto entre agricultores y pobladores de las zonas periurbanas.

[30] [t]enemos una agricultura más sana que la de 50 años atrás.

[31] La importación de energía es un serio problema dada la cantidad de divisas necesarias para afrontar dicha compra [...]. Los subsidios a la energía presentes en los últimos años han exacerbado la demanda, estimulando un consumo ineficiente e irresponsable, especialmente en el sector residencial.

[32] [E]l desarrollo global de la economía de los últimos ciento veinte años, tuvo como uno de sus pilares al petróleo, recurso que [...] a la fecha fue agotado en más de la mitad y que tendrá elevados costos de extracción sobre una buena parte de sus reservas remanentes. [...] [P]ero paralelamente se están encendiendo grandes señales de alerta por sus elevados costos ambientales.

[33] [...] el mundo nos pide y nosotros nos negamos a producir.

[34] [...] reglas claras, respeto pleno, libertad de comercio.

[35] [...] importantes cambios de paradigma en el ámbito institucional, organizacional, tecnológico y comercial, impactando fuertemente en el negocio de los alimentos en general.

[36] [e]n el último período se perdió la mitad de las reservas ganadas, se instaló depreciación cambiaria con déficit fiscal y atraso tarifario, que llevó a la inflación a su actual piso de 2% mensual. A esto se sumó la creación del cepo cambiario que creó un mercado distorsionado, lo cual llevó a contener importaciones de una manera "brutal", ayudando a algunas industrias a sobrevivir pero asfixiando al resto por la escasez de insumos importados.

[37] El Gobierno ha fomentado el desarrollo de pequeñas y medianas fábricas de biodiesel en el mercado local, a las que les otorga un cupo equivalente al total de su capacidad instalada y un precio mucho mayor al de las fábricas más grandes y eficientes. Esto permite que el segmento pyme de la industria de biodiesel esté operando a full capacity, mientras que las grandes fábricas opere con muy baja utilización de la capacidad instalada -estando algunas de ellas paradas.

[38] [...] estimulando un consumo ineficiente e irresponsable, especialmente en el sector residencial [...].

[39] Sudamérica tiene la tecnología, los recursos y las ideas para posicionarse en el mundo. [...] la región que tiene más potencial para crecer [...].

[40] Parece una paradoja, pero el Ministerio de Economía privilegia al gasoil importado desgravándolo del 41 % que tributa el gasoil y el biodiesel de producción nacional. Desgravar al gasoil mineral importado y gravar al biodiesel de producción nacional es ilegítimo, se trata de una política de "anti compre nacional" y opuesta al agregado de valor en origen, que suena contradictoria con los fundamentos del modelo nacional y popular [...].

[41] Argentina se caracteriza por una cultura de la constitución y de la legalidad sumamente débil. Hoy, a 30 años de vida democrática, aparece una cultura democrática de baja calidad, fuertemente delegativa en las figuras del poder ejecutivo en todos sus niveles de gobierno.

[42] [...] populismo y clientelismo [...] las herramientas con las que cosechan sus votos [...].

[43] [l]a administración pública que tenemos hoy está impregnada de un espíritu industrialista, propio de otra época.

[44] Vivimos en un modelo de país en donde la calidad institucional no es un atributo realmente destacado. Por eso, no es de extrañar que el federalismo, un vínculo que debe existir entre el gobierno nacional y gobiernos provinciales, sea tan frágil y esté tan lejos [...]. El federalismo significa también competencia y potestades.

[45] [...] convicción, trabajo y gestión [...], trabajo responsable, [...] una realidad diferente.

[46] [...] necesitamos más Estado [...].

[47] El campo tiene un atraso evidente en los sistemas de conexión eléctrica, Internet, caminos y ferrocarriles. Todo ello configura un costo importante que castiga el precio neto recibido por el productor al momento de entregar su mercadería.

[48] [...] el apetito estatal es el verdadero problema para que este sector no pueda desarrollarse.

[49] [...] el actor principal del mercado mundial de biodiesel.

[50] [...] la fase actual de retracción, caracterizada por la fuerte caída de las exportaciones a raíz de los conflictos comerciales con la Unión Europea (UE) y el nuevo rumbo que tomó la política energética a nivel nacional.

[51] También es un mercado altamente regulado, en donde existen medidas de asignación de cuotas de producción y entrega, fijación de precios de venta o precios mínimos, licitaciones públicas, transacciones vinculadas a subsidios de mezcla con combustibles, bonos públicos que cotizan en mercados poco transparentes, altos aranceles de importación, prohibiciones o restricciones de origen de biocombustible para alentar producciones locales, entre otras medidas.

[52] Mucho más cercano en el tiempo surgió un ataque deliberado por parte de Europa, al biodiesel de Indonesia y de Argentina, bajo el establecimiento [...] de aranceles compensatorios antidúmping, que en

la práctica obran como barreras para-arancelarias. La revisión del proceso empleado para su determinación, deja a la intemperie la irracionalidad del mismo y la clara intención de proteger a la industria europea, frente a otras extracomunitarias más eficientes como la nuestra.

[53] [l]as medidas proteccionistas contra la Argentina.

[54] [...] son absolutamente incompatibles con las reglas de la Organización Mundial del Comercio (OMC).

[55] Este proteccionismo europeo está destruyendo una nueva industria en la Argentina, con consecuencias directas sobre el crecimiento, el empleo y el desarrollo rural. Los productores-exportadores argentinos se benefician de ventajas competitivas naturales, relacionadas con la accesibilidad de abundante materia prima en zonas cercanas a la industria y el acceso a puertos privados de aguas profundas. Estas ventajas no están presentes en la UE.

[56] No dudo en afirmar que Europa se termino, y solo será un recuerdo o un lugar para visitar, que históricamente Asia siempre fue potencia y eso no cambiara en este momento.

[57] [...] transfiriendo ingresos aguas arriba de la cadena, a favor de los productores agropecuarios, que habitualmente reciben una escasa porción del precio final de los alimentos pagados por los consumidores.

[58] Resulta llamativo que varios grupos que están en contra del desarrollo de los biocombustibles en el mundo, se identifiquen con la izquierda opuesta a Occidente, que casual o causalmente esté financiada por algunos países estructuralmente exportadores de petróleo.

[59] Argentina no tiene ninguna razón para estar tan bajo y uno de los motivos, entre tantos otros que debemos analizar, es la falta de eficiencia de los productores.[...] El capital está, el conocimiento está, lo que hay que hacer es identificar a los culpables.

[60] [...] es un problema de la sociedad. La sociedad está desilusionada porque las personas no se entienden, porque no conseguimos tener una sociedad democrática o por causa del sistema bancario.

[61] La gente me dice “pruébeme que no es peligros”, pero no se puede demostrar la ausencia de peligro. Si dices que un automóvil es peligroso, las personas estarán de acuerdo, pero dirán que lo pueden controlar. Si dices que la tecnología OGM es peligrosa, como no saben de qué se trata, lo creerán porque no encuentran ninguna ventaja en ella.

[62] El movimiento ecologista es realmente [...] ‘criminal’. [...] Si piensa que el 12 % de la población mundial está muriendo de hambre en este momento, la sobrepoblación continúa y se destruyen tantos hábitats en el mundo…y todo ello se podría evitar. Hoy tenemos el conocimiento y la tecnología para enfrentarlo. [...]. La OGM fue bloqueada con éxito por el movimiento ecologista.

[63] Frente a la creciente demanda global de alimentos en cantidad y calidad y el desafío es satisfacerla con sostenibilidad de los recursos naturales, [...] nuestra respuesta se basa en un sistema de producción que contempla la agricultura sin labranzas, con cobertura de rastrojos, las Buenas Prácticas Agrícolas y la innovación tecnológica fundamentada en la ciencia (biotecnología moderna) [...].

[64] [p]ara que el sistema sea rentable y sustentable debemos lograr la máxima eficiencia de uso de estos recursos y ahí es donde toma importancia el manejo estratégico de los recursos.

[65] [...] nos ayude a cuidar el medio ambiente, a las personas [...].

[66] [...] innovación (tecnológica, organizacional e institucional).

[67] [...] interactuar con las organizaciones públicas y privadas.

[68] Biotecnología Moderna, que a través de la transferencia de genes de un organismo vivo a otro, permite el mejoramiento de los cultivos, la producción de alimentos con cualidades superiores, de medicamentos, y de productos industriales biodegradables, entre otros avances. La biotecnología recién empieza; y sus aplicaciones prometen una mejor calidad de vida.

[69] El planteo es incorporar un nuevo germoplasma, adecuar mayor resistencia a enfermedades, tolerancia a estrés hídrico y climático. Además se propone adoptar a distintos tipos de suelo y de siembra [...].

[70] [...] la solución del futuro para la producción de alimentos; la única salida para tener, al mismo tiempo, una agricultura sustentable e intensiva.

[71] [d]espués de todos estos años, nadie puede señalar un peligro de los OGM para la salud o para el medioambiente.

[72] [n]o se puede producir alimentos para millones de personas sin el uso de fitosanitarios.

[73] Existen diversas estrategias de control de malezas, ya sean métodos preventivos, físicos, culturales, biológicos, mecánicos o químicos. Sin embargo, durante los últimos 40 años, el control químico con herbicidas ha sustituido en gran medida las anteriores prácticas de control físicas, y mecánicas, contribuyendo significativamente a la alta productividad de la agricultura mundial

[74] [...] gestión integral.

[75] [...] manejo eficiente y responsable de agroquímicos.

[76] [...] caro es un producto barato que no funciona.

[77] [...] el modelo económico productivo de los países desarrollados, requiere de más de un planeta si queremos.

[78] [...] la necesidad de cambiar de paradigma en el desarrollo de la agricultura.

[79] [...] un pequeño grupo de productores innovadores apostaron a una agricultura distinta, lograron superar la resistencia cambio y dieron impulso a nuevas tecnologías.

[80] [...] intercambio generoso de conocimiento.

[81] [c]alidad social y desarrollo territorial.

[82] [...] responde a los desafíos del desarrollo sustentable de la Argentina y el mundo: proteger el medioambiente y contar con más y mejores alimentos y nuevas fuentes de energía renovables.

[83] [...] el rol fundamental de las alianzas entre empresas, instituciones y otras entidades, para contribuir al desarrollo sustentable.

[84] [...] mantiene fuertes conexiones internacionales […].

[85] [i]mpulsar el sistema de siembra directa para alcanzar una actividad agropecuaria sustentable (económica, ambiental y socialmente), basada en la innovación (tecnológica, organizacional e institucional), asumiendo el compromiso de interactuar con las organizaciones públicas y privadas, para lograr un desarrollo integral de la Nación.

[86] [...] un cambio cultural, un cambio en nuestra actitud, en nuestro accionar, dentro del sistema económico y en todas sus etapas: la Producción primaria - la Industrialización - la Distribución - el Consumo y el Desecho.

[87] [...] un aumento de la demanda es necesario en un país que se desarrolla [...].

[88] [...] cambio en el paradigma energético.

[89] [...] mayor producción mayor resultado económico [...].

[90] [...] genera un impacto económico regional, por la mayor necesidad de servicios, mayor necesidad de acopio, mayor volumen, por lo tanto mayor IVA, mayores retenciones y mayor IIBB, mayor empleo directo e indirecto y necesidad de mayor cantidad de proveedores.

[91] [...] recursos humanos, recursos físicos, recursos del conocimiento, recursos del capital e infraestructura.

[92] [...] la falta de acceso de las empresas argentinas al mercado de capitales, en especial al internacional [...].

[93] El campo tiene un atraso evidente en los sistemas de conexión eléctrica, Internet, caminos y ferrocarriles.

[94] [E]l elemento más importante es el crecimiento de la demanda de la zona Asia/Pacífico y Rusia. [...] .Es importante tener en cuenta que argentina históricamente estuvo muy condicionada por las trabas para-arancelarias que dividían al mundo [...].

[95] [...] Belloso reclamó políticas claras, respetar de la Constitución Nacional y legislación vigente, promover el fortalecimiento de las Instituciones, transparentar los mercados, eliminar barreras comerciales distorsivas y subsidios perversos, propiciar la eliminación de barreras arancelarias y para-arancelarias, reducir las retenciones a las exportaciones que impactan sobre la producción afectada por una excesiva carga impositiva, revisar el desequilibrio de la carga impositiva sobre la comunidad agroalimentaria, aumentar la oferta de bienes y servicios públicos (educación, salud, seguridad, transporte), aumentar la inversión en infraestructura, brindar seguridad jurídica para promover inversiones, y promover el desarrollo de las bioenergías.

[96] El sector del biodiesel de soja tiene futuro promisorio desde el punto de vista de las condiciones de producción altamente competitivas del país y de la demanda mundial insatisfecha, pero debe afrontar el desafío del proteccionismo que puede ser un golpe mortal. El gobierno argentino debe apoyar a esta industria con acciones en el ámbito multilateral (ante la Organización Mundial del Comercio) y con ajustes en la política local para aumentar el corte obligatorio, permitir una distribución más equitativa del cupo y rebajar los derechos de exportación.

[97] Las naciones triunfan cuando el entorno nacional permite que las empresas desarrollen nuevas estrategias para competir en el sector. Las naciones fracasan cuando las empresas no reciben las señales correctas, no están sometidas a las presiones correctas y no tienen las capacidades correctas.

[98] [...] la necesidad de articulación de los sectores públicos y privados en la expansión de la frontera agropecuaria.

[99] propone un trabajo en Red potenciando el trabajo de todos los que la integran, tanto instituciones, organismos, como personas en forma individual.

[100] [...] reconocimiento municipal, la autonomía, la distribución nacional y la participación ciudadana (con más de 30 años de la recuperación de la democracia).

[101] Sí, y lentamente están ayudando a desarrollar variedades tropicales; [...] Las pequeñas y medianas empresas de países en desarrollo lo pueden hacer con la ayuda de multinacionales; [...]. Es tanto lo que pueden aportar al proceso de la agricultura. [...] Es otro mundo, completamente separado de la universidad. [...]En este momento, necesitamos al sector privado. No veo forma de hacerlo funcionar sin ello. la universidad.

[102] [U]na conocida y enorme compañía petrolera mundial, privada, había invertido cuantiosas sumas de dinero sosteniendo investigaciones en el ámbito académico para demostrar que el efecto invernadero no es antropogénico.

[103] [...] se ingresa en un círculo vicioso que en muchos casos llega a extinguir el negocio si no se ajusta por el lado del valor del arrendamiento.

[104] En los Estados Unidos [...] la mayoría de las plantas de bioetanol son propiedad de grupos o cooperativas de productores agropecuarios asociados, que vieron en ellas una forma de incrementar la demanda y asegurar el precio futuro de su producción de granos, diversificar su inversión y participar de un negocio industrial, además de minimizar los costos de transporte [...].

[105] AAPRESID, junto a otras instituciones públicas y privadas, participó y sigue participando en legislación agroalimentaria.

[106] Proyecto de Legislación Agroalimentaria, el cual consiste en reunir información, analizar propuestas, generar conocimiento y redactar documentos para dar respuesta a los pedidos de participación y opinión en medios públicos, de comunicación, comisiones legislativas nacionales y provinciales. También, dar apoyo técnico a pedidos de regionales y nodos para participar en la comisiones legislativas provinciales y municipales.

[107] Que somos nosotros los únicos responsables de nuestro futuro, comenzando por votar en octubre a quienes tengamos la convicción, que nos movilicen y nos acompañen en el desarrollo de nuestra visión e ideario de país pujante, prospero, de sociedad desarrollada, equilibrada, sin rencores.

[108] Ser un agricultor innovador, tener la capacidad de ver las ventajas de adoptar nuevos paradigmas tecnológicos y culturales, es una virtud personal que debe alimentarse de razones, de causas y efectos, de

un profundo entendimiento del complejo sistema científico y económico que facilita, y a la vez demanda, la existencia de una nueva agricultura.

[109] Gestión de la Calidad, es una forma de trabajo estructurada, protocolizada, operativa, documentada e integrada a los procedimientos técnicos y gerenciales, que permite guiar las acciones de la fuerza de trabajo, maquinaria y equipamiento, registrando la información de la organización de manera práctica y coordinada, que asegure la satisfacción del cliente y bajos costos para la calidad.

[110] [...] una serie de actividades coordinadas que se llevan a cabo sobre un conjunto de elementos, (recursos humanos, procedimientos, documentos, estructura organizacional y estrategias).

[111] [C]ada uno de los eslabones de la cadena productiva, tiene la obligación de auto gestionar su desempeño y será el controlador de calidad del proceso anterior, con el objetivo que en el desarrollo de las actividades productivas, nada quede librado al azar.

[112] [...] tiene por objeto brindar herramientas para lograr una gestión agronómica y empresarial profesional, eficiente y sustentable.

[113] [...] difundir y propiciar la utilización de un sistema de gestión de calidad, específico para esquemas de producción en Siembra Directa.

[114]Ser un agricultor innovador, tener la capacidad de ver las ventajas de adoptar nuevos paradigmas tecnológicos y culturales, es una virtud personal que debe alimentarse [...] de un profundo entendimiento del complejo sistema científico y económico que facilita, y a la vez demanda, la existencia de una nueva agricultura.

[115] [...] un paso más en la evolución natural de la Siembra Directa.

[116] Necesitamos más conocimientoy menos miedo.

[117] [...] romper paradigmas [...].

[118] [...] acercar la ciencia a los sistemas productivos reales.

[119] [...] cultivar sus emociones [...].

[120] Si uno realmente sabe lo que es la ciencia [...] puedes comenzar a comprender qué se podría hacer. Las personas instruidas [...] no se atreverían a decir que los OGM van en contra de la naturaleza.

[121] [...] la razón y la ciencia pueden aportar sabiduría a la sociedad [...].

[122] [...] a identificar qué es peligroso y qué no.

[123] El hecho de que los OGM se cultivan desde 1994 sin ningún perjuicio a la salud humana y al medioambiente es la evidencia más contundente de que la tecnología es segura.

[124] Son problemas de nuestra sociedad. La ciencia ayuda un poco, pero, mientras tanto, los seres humanos encuentran cada vez más maneras de crear problemas.

[125] [...] innovaciones siempre provienen de las universidades.

[126] No resolveremos los problemas del medioambiente con marchas y velas. Debemos utilizar la ciencia y la tecnología para resolverlos.

[127] La ciencia no es un dogma de la verdad, sino un permanente desafío y cuestionamiento.

[128] La información contenida en esta publicación está realizada con el mayor rigor científico posible, sobre la base de conocimientos publicadas en la sección Bibliografía y/o brindados por los referentes citados en la sección de Agradecimientos. Sin embargo, ni el autor ni la Institución asumen responsabilidad alguna acerca de riesgos o efectos actuales o futuros que pudieran derivarse del uso o aplicación de su contenido.

[129] Un método para aprender produciendo Es un sistema de trabajo pensado para el Desarrollo de Tecnologías Agropecuarias Sustentables, ajustadas a las condiciones particulares de los diferentes ambientes y sistemas de producción. Es la mejor expresión de la colaboración entre el mundo académico, el método científico y la experiencia del día a día de productores, técnicos y asesores.

[130] Desde hace varios años, la relación entre los Países Bajos y AAPRESID se viene fortaleciendo. Recordemos la visita de la Reina de Holanda Beatriz a AAPRESID, ocurrida en 2006. A partir de allí, el país europeo considera a nuestra Institución un referente en agricultura sustentable.

[131] Es importante aclarar que los agroquímicos utilizados en esta zona, como en el resto de la provincia y el país, se encuentran aprobados por el organismo nacional correspondiente, que es el Servicio Nacional de Sanidad y Calidad Agroalimentaria (SENASA). Es competencia de este organismo nacional habilitar el uso de las diferentes fórmulas comerciales, muchas de ellas con glifosato, como parte de las prácticas de control de plagas y malezas para la agroindustria.

[132] Este galardón se magnifica considerando que fuimos reconocidos entre Instituciones nominadas como el CPIA (Consejo Profesional de Ingeniería Agronómica), INTA (Instituto nacional de Tecnología Agropecuaria, Universidad de Morón y Hospital Italiano.

[133] Todos los fitosanitarios están permitidos primero por la Organización Mundial de la Salud y luego por otros entes, y los que están en aplicación cumplen con su esquema de permiso y reglamentación.

[134] [...] SENASA no considera tóxico al glifosato, [...] que, [...] se comercializa en todo el mundo. Tampoco lo consideran tóxico la Organización Mundial de la Salud (OMS), la Unión Europea (UE), la Agencia de Protección Ambiental de los Estados Unidos (EPA), ya que este herbicida se biodegrada, tanto en el suelo como en el agua, y no posee persistencia biológica.

[135] FAO plantea la necesidad de realizar un cambio en el paradigma productivo.

[136] Este World Food Prize reconoce la biotecnología vegetal como una innovación altamente benéfica para la sociedad. Como la ignorancia es nuestro peor enemigo, concuerdo en que este premio representa una gran oportunidad para ampliar el diálogo con nuestros políticos. Espero, sinceramente, que se logre movilizar a los legisladores y a la sociedad para tomar las decisiones correctas en pos de la aprobación de los OGM en Europa.

[137] Este año, durante el Congreso pudimos trabajar en equipo junto a Arbusta, una ONG que se desarrolla empoderando a mujeres y jóvenes de sectores postergados, formándolos y promoviendo su desarrollo socio-laboral.

[138] [...] coaliciones [...] entre multinacionales de primer nivel, organizaciones de la sociedad civil, gobiernos y otras partes interesadas.

[139] Las Instituciones holandesas tienen una visión clara del protagonismo del agro argentino en la producción de alimentos sustentables. Es por ello que, desde hace tiempo, IDH y Solidaridad han mantenido interacción con AAPRESID para ver la posibilidad de trabajar conjuntamente.

[140] Los medios podemos ayudar a parir de cambios, la información circula con la misma capacidad de abajo hacia arriba. Por eso, el día que las noticias sean libres, horizontales y federales, la política será una canción.

[141] [...] el medio por excelencia por el cual nos expresamos, aprendemos, nos capacitamos, discutimos y nos unimos.

[142] Las redes sirvieron también para superar las fronteras de nuestro país, ya que pudimos promocionar la propuesta de seguir el evento on-line vía Agrositio. ¿El resultado? Más de 1500 personas en 20 países del mundo, incluidas las provincias argentinas, pudieron disfrutar de todas las plenarias y talleres. [...] La gran Comunidad AAPRESID se encuentra en constante crecimiento, contando con más de 4220 seguidores en Twitter y más de 7100 en Facebook. ¡Estamos en las redes, enrédate y unite a la gran Comunidad AAPRESID!

[143] Pudimos mejorar el trabajo en equipo, optimizar registros productivos, definir propósitos y objetivos de cada procedimiento que se realiza, como así también corregir y prevenir errores encontrados en ciertas tareas.

[144] [...] insistió en 'no olvidarse de aquellos que no tienen tierra'.

[145] [...] la tradición judía no bendice lugares sino obras, así que de uds. depende el futuro de este lugar. Cuidemos nuestro devenir en la tierra.

[146] [...] convicción, trabajo y gestión [...], trabajo responsable, [...] una realidad diferente.

[147] [...] la idea de que existe un sólo conocimiento válido, producido [...] en el norte global, que llamamos la ciencia moderna.

[148] es también el Sur que existe en el norte, [...] los grupos oprimidos, marginados, de europa y norteamérica. también existe un norte global en el Sur; son las elites locales que se benefician del capitalismo global (S 16)

[149] [...] la diversidad del mundo es infinita.

[150] Existen diferentes maneras de pensar, de sentir –de sentir pensando, de pensar sintiendo–, de actuar; diferentes relaciones entre seres humanos –diferentes formas de relación entre humanos y no humanos, con la naturaleza, o lo que llamamos naturaleza; diferentes concepciones del tiempo, diferentes formas de mirar el pasado, el presente y el futuro; diferentes formas de organizar la vida colectiva y la provisión de bienes, de recursos, desde un punto de vista económico.

[151] [...] la comprensión del mundo es mucho más amplia que la comprensión occidental del mundo y por eso la transformación del mundo puede también ocurrir por vías, modos, métodos, impensables para occidente [...].

[152] Las epistemología del Sur [sic] son el reclamo de nuevos procesos de producción, de valorización de conocimientos válidos, científicos y no científicos, y de nuevas relaciones entre diferentes tipos de conocimiento, a partir de las prácticas de las clases y grupos sociales que han sufrido, de manera sistemática, destrucción, opresión y discriminación causadas por el capitalismo, el colonialismo y todas las naturalizaciones de la desigualdad en las que se han desdoblado; el valor de cambio, la propiedad individual de la tierra, el sacrificio de la madre tierra, el racismo, al sexismo, el individualismo, lo material por encima de lo espiritual y todos los demás monocultivos de la mente y de la sociedad –económicos, políticos y culturales– que intentan bloquear la imaginación emancipadora y sacrificar las alternativas.

[153] No puede haber un discurso de la descolonización, una teoría de la descolonización, sin una práctica descolonizadora. […] La posibilidad de una reforma cultural profunda en nuestra sociedad depende de la descolonización de nuestros gestos, de nuestros actos, y de la lengua con que nombramos el mundo.

[154] […] gestar […] una pluralidad cultural futura posterior al término de la modernidad y el capitalismo.

[155] Esa transmodernidad debería asumir lo mejor de la revolución tecnológica moderna, descartando lo antiecológico y lo exclusivamente occidental, para ponerla al servicio de mundos valorativos diferenciados, antiguos y actualizados, con tradiciones propias y creatividad ignorada, lo que permitirá abrir la enorme riqueza cultural y humana [...]. Transmodernidad futura multicultural, polifacética, híbrida, poscolinial, pluralista, tolerante, democrática, pero más allá de la democrácia liberal y del Estado moderno europeo, con espléndidas tradiciones milenarias, respetuosa de la exterioridad y afirmativa de identidades heterogéneas.