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Conceptualising and tracing the increased territorialisation of politics: insights from Argentina

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ABSTRACT

The territorialisation of politics is a crucial transformation in state–society relations that has implications on how contemporary politics works. Defined here as the dispute for the physical control of space, be it a municipality, province or portion of land, within one or more politically constituted entities. It does not mean the emergence of a new regime type, but the process through which the territory *re-emerges* as a new cleavage after neoliberal reforms and authoritarian regimes have weakened/dissolved neo-corporatist arrangements for the resolution of socio-political conflicts in society. It is a cleavage because central political divisions are produced as a result of the physical encounter of or distance between political actors and of the dispute for the control of a territory for sociopolitical goals and causes that are not always territorially defined. Departing from this definition, I also raise potential explanatory hypotheses for the transformations that favoured this transformation in Argentina.

Introduction

Historically, the state has had an uneven presence through the territory in Latin America.[1] This situation intensified under neoliberal state reforms, whereby the state reduced its role even further as provider of universal welfare goods and services. A partial change took place in the 2000s with the gradual increase of state intervention in the provision of resources in order to reduce social unrest provoked by neoliberalism.[2] However, the return to socially minded state policies was not done in the same way as in the past. Instead of upgrading or recovering neo-corporatist institutions, in the twenty-first century the state in most of Latin America has innovated in territorialised policies and strategies for dealing with socio-political conflicts[3] because – as I argue here – *the locus of politics has shifted to the territory*.

Do these transformations indicate the end of corporatist politics? If so, what is the new predominant characteristic of politics in Latin America? In this article, I do not argue that we have reached the end of corporatist politics, but rather that it is no longer the dominant system for the articulation of social and political interests. To claim this is not new,[4] however, we still lack a general definition for what has changed in post-corporatist politics. The main

aim of this article it is to offer a definition for this central change in contemporary Latin America – *territorialisation of politics* – and illustrate it with Argentina.

The article is organised as follows. I first briefly review the key literature on territorial politics, and I then define 'territorialisation of politics'. I continue with an analysis of its historical origins in the case of Argentina. I outline the main transformations in Argentina's political arena from the end of labour incorporation in the 1970s to the present day to illustrate my arguments about the territorialisation of politics in Latin America. Before concluding, I show how territorialisation influences politics in Argentina through the example of the effect it has on social movements.

Review of the literature

The definition of the territorialisation of politics is not straightforward. The definition I propose builds on existing cultural, geographical and political science understandings of territorial politics, but focuses on how territory re-emerges as an organising cleavage that differs from functional arrangements.

Debates about the cultural meanings of the space of interaction and its resignification as a 'place' as a result of gender, class, ethnicity, emotional attachment, globalisation and social conflicts allowed us to understand the meaning given to a specific territorial space.[5] Lefebvre's[6] conceptualisation of space as socially produced is already a classic definition. However, space and territory are not the same thing. Though intimately related, the analysis of a territory differs – to some extent – from the research of the cultural meanings overlaid onto it.

The analysis of nation-states and international conflicts has given more relevance to the notion of geographic territory as something under dispute.[7] However, the specific geographic area under dispute is only nominally relevant for this approach, as the geography of a territory is generally analysed as a container of valuable resources such as oil, water, religious meaning and so on. In addition, according to this perspective, almost the only territorial disputes analysed are those that take place between two juridical units, mainly for the purposes of border delimitation or control. In other words, in contemporary politics, for this approach territory is exclusively of the nation-state (and the would-be nation-state) and the challengers of nation-states.

The now classical works of Tarrow[8] shows us that territorial and functional politics emerge, decline and re-emerge in different historical periods and locations. In Argentina, territorialised politics was central during the period of constitution of the nation-state, declining later in the 1940s due to the increased importance of neo-corporatism, to return as relevant in the 1990s because of a series of transformations I will analyse later in this article. According to this approach, territorialisation is a process of re-emergence of a spatial cleavage for national as well as subnational politics.[9] In this sense, it is important to distinguish between the constant logic of the state as composed by territorial and functional elements,[10] and *the increased territorialisation of the very functioning of politics*.

The meaning I give to the territorialisation of politics is one that owes a lot to the debates reviewed, and in particular to Tarrow's[11] pioneer studies of territorial and functional politics. At the same time, my definition is inspired by the ideas of Davis about 'distance of the state'[12] and the geographical analysis of territoriality by Sack.[13] This means that, even though I consider the territory as the culturally 'thick' place, I do not regard as the unit of analysis the

jurisdictional nation-state or the dispute with or between (the) nation-state(s). In this sense, my definition includes the meanings given to the territory by the actors, but the focus is on the human and ecological geography of the territory and how this influences political conflicts that are not necessarily related to war making. In addition, while territorialisation includes patronage and clientelism, these are not necessarily the (only) dynamics at play. While access to state resources such as money, positions of influence or authority is indeed at stake in territorialised politics, this is nothing new in politics.

Territorialisation of politics: a definition

I define 'territorialisation of politics' as the dispute for the physical control of space, be it a municipality, province or portion of land, within one or more politically constituted entities.[14] This is not an ideological, class-based, urban/rural or centre/peripheral cleavage, as the lines of distinction between antagonists and allies encompass all of these factors and subsume them in the territorial governability/disruption dispute,[15] notwithstanding party and ideological attachments. In other words, it is considered a cleavage because the central political divisions are produced as a result of the physical encounter of or distance between political actors, and also of the dispute for the control of a territory for sociopolitical goals and causes that are not always territorially defined. For this reason, what differentiates the political actors is not their ideology or class, but rather their geographical location, modifying their alliances and 'loyalties' based on the latter.

An effective definition of the term must address the question of how politics is organised. In my definition, the territorialisation of politics is the process through which the territory re-emerges as a new cleavage[16] in Latin America after neoliberal reforms and authoritarian regimes have weakened or dissolved neo-corporatist arrangements[17] for the resolution of socio-political conflicts in society.[18] Territorialisation does *not* mean the emergence of a new regime type,[19] as a cleavage appears with different strength in corporatist as much as in pluralist political arenas.

Territorialised politics is often national politics, but comes into play in the physical dispute for territory in the name of interests that sometimes are restricted to one political unit and sometimes are conflicts of a trans-district nature. In the intertwining of contentious and routine politics, territorialisation concerns more than the mere spatial membership of political actors; it refers, rather, to the spatial interfusion of the grassroots actors involved in any particular political struggle. Since it does *not* mean the denationalisation of politics, it is not restricted to electoral preferences or subnational authoritarianism. Territorialised politics may be associated with new actors and reformulated institutions and practices, but also works within already established institutions and is brought into play by actors that come from corporatist politics, such as trade unions.

Territorialisation of politics is *not* new. Politics always has a territorial dimension, but that dimension has not always been central.[20] I do not argue that the territorialisation of Argentine politics emerged recently, neither do I argue that Argentina returned to the nineteenth century politics of state-building.[21] *I adopt a historical viewpoint that allows to trace moments of greater and lesser territorialisation over a long term period of analysis*.

Its re-emergence as a central cleavage is what I consider to be relevant enough to justify the effort of a definition. Sack says that territorial behaviour is not always at play, and 'The issue then is to find out under what conditions and why territoriality is or is not employed'.[22]

With the purpose of illustrating this conceptualisation, the next section will be focused on identifying what might be considered as the main transformations in the political arena in Argentina that have produced an *increased* territorialisation of politics.

Territorialisation of politics in Argentina

Even though certain territories have always been relevant for Argentine politics,[23] contemporary territorialisation of politics as defined here is a process whose roots extend back to the 1960s. It expanded in the 1970s as a result of the closing off of other spaces for political participation – such as the parliament – by the authoritarian regime. But it was the military's promotion of participation at the local scale as a (later failed) project of gradual and controlled political democratisation that increased the relevance of the territorial dimension of politics in Argentina.[24] This process of 'administrative decentralisation' was closely associated with the application of neoliberal fiscal decentralisation policies.[25]

Four additional political transformations augmented the relevance of territorial politics in Argentina. First, there has been an increased use of *basismo* (organisation by territorially based grassroots assemblies) as a strategy for the mobilisation of claims by the popular sectors. In terms of party politics, there has been a reformulation of labour-based parties' organisational structures, which in the case of the Peronist Justicialist Party (PJ) meant its metamorphosis into a patronage-based machine party.[26] In regards to union politics, there has been a weakening of corporatist trade unionism in association with the end of the Peronist General Labour Confederation's (CGT) hegemonic representation of the labour movement.[27] Finally, a new central actor has emerged in the political arena: territorial social movements. Movements such as the *piqueteros* (unemployed workers movement), the assemblies' movement and the environmental movement mobilise their constituencies based on the location of their members, with territorialised claims that are not linked to the quest for autonomy or secessionism, but that have as their locus of contention the physical space of interaction. In this section, I analyse these political transformations in what might be regarded as explanatory hypotheses to account for the *re-emergence* of territorialised politics in Argentina.

Basismo: the origin of the territorialised organisation of the popular sectors

The origin of the contemporary territorialisation of politics is partially related to the antecedent of *basismo* and left-wing post-guerrilla strategies, and the later territorialisation of the PJ between 1983 and 1991.[28]

> Basismo was forged in activist Christian engagement. In Argentina the 'Church of the Poor' was very much a minority current and, unlike their Brazilian counterparts, the Argentinean hierarchy was not at all receptive to the post-Conciliar movement for change. Nevertheless, the Movement of Third World Priests was, during the 1960s and 1970s, the most visible element in Argentine Catholicism.[29]

In Argentina it was specifically linked to Peronism as a result of the vernacular evolution of 'integrist' and ultramontane Catholicism.[30] Later, a division between Marxist and Peronist Liberation Theology priests emerged, the first linked to the Trotskyist Workers' Revolutionary Party-People's Revolutionary Army (PRT-ERP) and the second to the *Montoneros*, *Peronismo de Base* and *Juventud Peronista*, dominating the Peronist sector in Greater Buenos Aires.

As such, *basismo* is the main contemporary antecedent of territorialised politics due to the efforts of guerrilla militants and priests for the grassroots organisation of shantytowns, but it remains marginal to some sectors of the Christian, Peronist and Marxist lefts until the 1980s.[31]

During the authoritarian regime, when the environment was highly repressive, the local scale became one of the main sites for political action.[32] As Levitsky says:

> Although base units [PJ local branches] were closed down, many continued to operate through informal 'working groups'. Others 'took refuge in non-governmental organisations', such as *sociedades de fomento*, neighbourhood clubs, soup kitchens, and church organisations. Still others worked out of front organisations such as 'study centres'.[33]

This clandestine and territorial work meant that Peronism was in the position to quickly reorganise once political participation was allowed again and in 1982 'Base units mushroomed throughout the country – seemingly out of nowhere'.[34]

At the same time, for many former guerrilla members (mainly PRT-ERP) and left-wing party activists *basismo* became a new approach to political organisation among the popular sectors. This was expressed through the Christian-based communities (CBC) organised land occupations of San Francisco Solano during the end of the authoritarian regime and emulated in other areas of Greater Buenos Aires, above all in La Matanza and Florencio Varela.[35] This crucial legacy was determinant for the constitution of the dense territorial networks that allowed for the emergence of the *piquetero* movement a decade later.[36]

At the governmental level, as of 1987 some leftist Peronists entered into local government in Greater Buenos Aires and promoted *basista* experiments:

> Leading figures of the 1970s revolutionary movement, as heads of the poorest municipalities, put into practice forms of organisation and participatory administration formats in accordance with 'basista' ideas and in opposition with the charity model of the [Raúl Alfonsín presidency's] PAN [National Food Plan].[37]

However, after the defeat in 1988 in Buenos Aires of the Peronist Renewal faction by Carlos Menem and in 1991 of the CGT sector by Eduardo Duhalde, the territorialised structure of the PJ was dismantled, transforming an incipiently structured mass-based labour party into a patronage-based machine party.

The transformations of the main labour-based party

In the 1980s the two main national parties, the PJ and the Radical Civic Union (UCR), initiated a territorialised strategy of expansion through the municipal level. While the UCR failed to build a dense territorial network in the poorer districts, the PJ went through a substantial de-unionisation process. Due to this, 'Reformers dismantled Peronism's traditional mechanisms of labour participation, and clientelist networks gradually replaced the party's union-based linkages to the working and lower classes'.[38]

Juan Domingo Perón founded the Peronist Party (later renamed PJ) for the sole purpose of having an electoral label.[39] Never important in the Peronist movement (which includes the CGT and the women's and youth branches), for the most part, union leaders controlled the party only after Perón's death.[40] After the return to a democratic setting, and due to the PJ's first defeat, in 1983, in a presidential election, a process of metamorphosis of the party began. A coalition of PJ governors transformed the PJ into a machine party detached from union control.[41] The conversion of the PJ promoted by the Peronist Renewal faction was

intended to emulate the social-democratic Spanish Socialist Workers' Party (PSOE) of the 1970s. The efforts by Peronist Renewal leaders positioned the PJ – the main party representative of popular sectors – as having gained a measure of autonomy from the CGT, while preserving its loosely structured organisation. In other words, in the 1980s and 1990s the PJ went from a labour-based party to a patronage-based machine.[42] This facilitated the PJ's survival into the neoliberal era, during which it has applied policies contradictory to its historically predominant developmentalist ethos. This series of transformations, though initially (1980s) implying a grassroots articulation of patronage and clientelistic neighbourhood units, later (1990s) would distance the party from its main constituency. In other words, as Juan José Álvarez, PJ deputy and former Hurlingham mayor, puts it: 'I think that – in many aspects and some places – Peronism has gone in a bourgeoisie direction and abandoned something that maybe distinguished it – the territorial protection effort, which was very strong, and very, very stable'.[43] In this sense, the territorialisation of politics in Argentina is attached to the main labour-based party's quest for rebuilding a territorial support base.

As a result, there are three organisational characteristics that – according to Levitsky[44] – define the present-day PJ (and Peronism in general): structural flexibility, bureaucratic flexibility and the mutual autonomy of higher- and lower-level bodies. This organisational structure produces a lack of coordination, an important consequence for how it interacts with the organised poor. This deficient coordination of the PJ, in addition to the flexible networked structure of the party, places the focus on internal factions (*agrupaciones*) and/ or more personalised territorially based leaderships rather than the party as a whole. Therefore, two difficulties of coordination emerge: first, a horizontal one among mayors or governors; second, a vertical one between mayors, a governor and the presidency, the latter of which produces a multi-scale space of contention/interaction that has consequences for national politics only in the case of Buenos Aires.

Increased pluralism in the trade union system

In 1992, a process of partial pluralisation of the union system started with the creation of the Argentine Workers' Union (CTA), the first national union federation since 1946 with no institutional relationship to the PJ. In parallel with this, in 1994 a classist sector, through the Maoist CCC, reached one of the highest levels of coordination for a non-Peronist union since 1969, though it never achieved the magnitude of the CGT and CTA.[45] After a process of reformulation of the union system that spanned two decades, 'in post-import-substitution industrialisation (ISI), liberalised Argentina, a new type of "segmented neocorporatism" has emerged, which shares certain traits of European-style neocorporatism'.[46] Etchemendy and Collier define this new neo-corporatism 'as a pattern of peak-level negotiations in which monopolistic unions, business associations, and the government coordinate on inflation-targeted, sectorwide wage agreements and minimum wage floors, which apply to a subnational minority of the labour force'.[47] In addition, the reach of the labour movement has shrunk from its historically high coverage of the economically active population (between 1970 and 1995 this coverage was by far the highest in Latin America with a 50.1% peak[48] since then decreasing to below 40%).[49] This is a consequence of democratisation and neoliberal reforms that undermined neo-corporatism[50] and the three pillars of Argentine union power: first, the end of the centrality of the CGT as the representative of Peronism when the
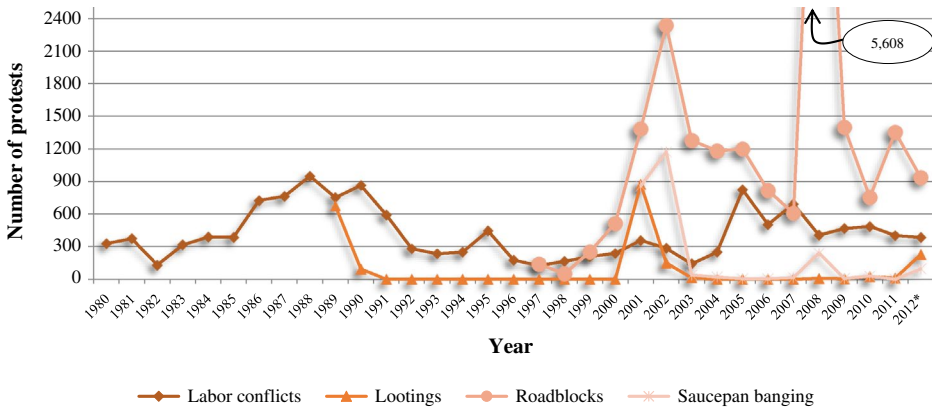
Figure 1. Comparison of main protest formats in Argentina, 1980–2012*. Source: Based on data from *Centro de Estudios para la Nueva Mayoría* (January 2013).
Note: *until November 2012.

party was proscribed or under authoritarian regimes; second, the end of a market with almost full employment during the ISI period;[51] and third, the de-unionisation of the PJ.[52]

Given that the PJ's relationship with the CGT was no longer decisive for the PJ's electoral success, the governors' and mayors' capacity to mobilise and the strength of their clientelistic relationships became the key territorial base for the party. This source of power was undisputed until the *piquetero* movement emerged and spread in the same territories, owing to the accumulated experience of *basismo*.[53] Since then, the CGT has had to dispute its constituency with other labour federations and territorialised movements. In addition, social movement unionism has grown in the post-2003 revitalisation of the trade union system.[54] As a result, unions are now more autonomous from the state and party politics and, though less central to government building, remain necessary for governability. The *piqueteros* and other territorial movements, for their part, became crucial actors in the national political arena due to these transformations. In other words, the territorialisation of politics implies that for winning national elections and governing it is a requisite to build political coalitions whose gravity centre is not the parliament or corporatist party-union relations,[55] but the vertical and horizontal relationship among territorial actors.[56]

The emergence of territorial movements as central actors

Quantitative protest event data analysis[57] and ethnographic research[58] have shown that the repertoire of protest has changed in Argentina. This change started in the 1980s and has accelerated since the 1990s, which has meant an increased territorialisation and de-corporatisation of mobilisations.[59] In Figure 1 this can be quantitatively seen in the comparison between the tendency for labour conflicts to remain stable and the rapidly increasing use of roadblocks. The latter was incorporated into the national repertoire of contention through its massive use by the *piqueteros*. Since then, almost all political actors have used this protest format. For instance, in 2008 there were 5608 roadblocks, most of them organised by rural producers. In 2010, the *piquetero* movement was the actor that staged the highest number of roadblocks, followed by the truck drivers' union.[60] Lootings and saucepan-banging protests

followed a different path. They experienced two small waves associated with the 1989–1990 and 2001–2002 crises.

Figure 1 shows that while trade unions maintain a relatively stable number of labour conflicts, the other three main types of protest each have three peaks (including 2008). Between 1983 and 2012 there were 35 national strikes, and just two between 2003 and 2012. These data allow for inferring that something has changed in the repertoire of protest in Argentina, which is increasingly based on a territorial locus of contention. The roadblock is a means of disputing with state authorities by disrupting the physical movement of goods and the mobility of the population at sites where these take place. As can be seen in Figure 1, roadblocks have been the main protest format used in Argentine politics since 1997.

This shift of the locus of contention to the territory is due to the pattern of inequality inherited from neoliberal reforms. The society that emerged as a result of neoliberalism is one that has replaced stratified socio-economic segregation with a spatial exclusionary model of segregation. The locations where major social movements – such as the piqueteros – are organised are 'social ghettos' where misery has been institutionalised through a redefinition of the role of the state from a provider of wealth to a provider of basic goods for survival.[61] As Merklen[62] argues, the popular sectors, having been marginalised, rebuilt their sociability through a 'territorial inscription' at the local level that allows for several alternative modes of survival. Political actors also perceive this situation. One of the main leaders of the piquetero movement explains:

> We say that there is an organisational displacement of the working class. Before it was organised in the factories and now a sector of the working class is organised in the territory. And we have in the territory an organisation similar to a trade union organisation: a single organisation in each neighbourhood with delegate committees, working sub-committees.[63]

In other words, territorial movements have emerged as central political actors.

The piqueteros and Peronism

There is now a greater number of organisations vying for the physical control of portions of neighbourhoods, shantytowns, enclaves and cities. These include territorial movements as well as parties, unions, churches, NGOs, the police and criminal networks, in urban as well as in rural spaces.[64] Among the several territorial disputes in Argentina, the most relevant of the last two decades has been the competition between PJ mayors and the piquetero movement. As a consequence of the emergence of the piqueteros, the territorialisation of politics reached its maximum intensity. The piqueteros is the first massive movement of the poor by non-Peronist political organisations since 1945.[65] While the left-wing groups organising the piqueteros can dispute part of the electoral and social bases of the PJ, it is not yet able to alter the political culture of the predominantly Peronist popular sectors. As a consequence of the economic restrictions imposed by the austerity policies of the Menem government, the capacity of the PJ's territorial brokers to sustain their clientelistic networks was weakened due to the lack of basic resources to distribute. As the effectiveness of the party's territorial network decreased, so the distance between the party and its constituency grew, leaving some space for other groups with previous basista experience to promote the organisation of the excluded popular sectors.[66] In this sense, an ex-priest and piquetero leader explained to me that the piquetero movement could emerge and grew as:

> [the political elites] Were fractured. Suddenly, it was evident. They were vulnerable on all sides as they were unable to implement a hegemonic common policy. In other words, as they became more fragile, we gained in strength. That does not mean that we had no need to confront a strong political machine.[67]

This provoked a transfer of Peronist participation to the *piqueteros* and other territorial movements. The territorialisation of politics has been less related to a novel ideological conversion of a social segment of society than to an innovation within the group that is mobilising the popular sectors. In part, this explains why nowadays the *piqueteros'* main legacy is that there are more organised popular sectors, and these are more autonomous than ever from Peronist organisations.

When neoliberal reforms began to be widely applied, the state grew more distant from the popular sectors (either by going absent or through a reformulation of its role) in what I called elsewhere a process of *disincorporation*.[68] In the popular sectors' quest to overcome the gap with a distanced and more territorially segmented state, movements' claims for rights imply the search for bridging their daily lives with the state apparatus as a source of welfare and security in what I defined as a *struggle for reincorporation*.[69] State presence provides for at least a minimum amount of regulation and basic promotion of rights for the popular sectors. However, there is a historical distrust of the state. For instance, Delamata[70] argues that the *piqueteros* do not question state intermediation; rather, they question the promotion of one specific means of intermediation as the only option – that based on the PJ's and mayors' brokers. This insight is confirmed in first-hand accounts I gathered, and can be interpreted as a defying of the arguments about movements' claim for autonomy. In other words, the goal of the *piquetero* movement is to reduce the distance of the state vis-à-vis the movement's constituency of marginalised people in the quest for being reincorporated as citizens and wage-earners.[71]

The assemblies' movement and environmental movements

The *piquetero* movement is not the only territorial movement in Argentina, though it has been by far the main one in quantity of mobilised persons and political impact. Other important territorial movements are the assemblies' movement of Buenos Aires and environmental movements in Esquel, Gualeguaychú, and other specific sites where the activities of large-scale infrastructural enterprises could translate into high ecological costs for the local populations.

The assemblies' movement emerged in some urban middle-class neighbourhoods as a result of the socioeconomic and political crisis of 2001. It expanded mostly in Buenos Aires and a couple of other big cities with the claim for a total replacement of the political elite, condensed in the phrase *¡Qué se vayan todos!* (All of them out!).[72] At the height of the crisis, the movement's assembly-based deliberative method of organisation was spread across the city with the aim of organising political struggle in a *basista*-inspired fashion.[73] The assemblies' coordination of saucepan-banging protests was very important in causing the fall of Adolfo Rodríguez Saá's government, as well as in the renewal of the members of the Supreme Court. The assemblies entered into a period of demobilisation after 2003, but the movement has not disappeared. Most of the activities it organises are neighbourhood-based, notwithstanding some of their members nominally rejecting territorialised political identities.[74] Some assemblies became cooperatives for local producers and others local independent radio

and television stations, while a few of them morphed into territorial branches of the CTA.[75] This movement's example illustrates that the territorialisation of politics is not exclusive of the popular sectors, but rather a general characteristic of Argentine politics.

The environmental movement is another important example of a territorialised movement in Argentina. The movement emerged around 2002. In 2011, there were more than 100 contentious events related to environmental issues.[76] Conflicts are over the preservation of specific territories from the effects of oil extraction, mining, dams, nuclear power plants and other major projects. This movement's claims are local and directed to subnational authorities for two reasons. First, politically, according to Article 124 of the 1994 Constitution, natural resources are under provincial control.[77] Second, economically, these types of projects are site-specific and have an evident impact within a certain geographical territory. This combination made subnational politics the locus of environmental conflicts. The main conflicts emerged in 2002 in Esquel over a gold mine installation that could have polluted water in the area, and in 2003 in Gualeguaychú over the construction of a cellulose factory just across the river in Fray Bentos, Uruguay. In both cases, the movement was organised by associations of self-assembled neighbours, and the main forms of protest are street marches and roadblocks. In other words, the environmental movement is inspired by the legacy of *basismo* and the organisational models of the assemblies' movement.[78]

Even though environmental movements purport to defend nature from human destruction, to their claim 'are also added issues related to local population characteristics, such as ethnic identity, regional culture threatened by the influx of foreign companies and landscape heritage'.[79] In other words, since the 2000s, territorial disputes for the control and administration of the natural environment has been another dimension of the territorialisation of Argentine politics.

The influence of territorialisation on politics in Argentina

In this section, I briefly analyse how territorialisation influences politics in Argentina, a centralised federal country. In particular, I illustrate this issue with the effect territorialisation has had on the *piquetero* movement, offering some insights about a topic that has been studied in terms of party politics,[80] and subnational authoritarianism,[81] but mostly ignored in scholarship on social movements in Argentina.[82] According to Davis:[83]

> political and economic development suggests that geographic location is one of the most long-standing and contentious sources of citizens' distance from the state. [because] … most nation-states are built around highly centralised administrative apparatuses that are concentrated in space.

In this sense, many *piquetero* leaders talk about 'doing a protest in La Matanza, just 20 km from the House of Government'[84] as a key difference in the evolution of this movement in Greater Buenos Aires as compared to the provinces of Neuquén, Jujuy and Salta. The leader of one of the main *piquetero* organisations – located in Mosconi (Salta), a petroleum enclave 1900 km from Buenos Aires – explained to me in the following terms why their protests have been more radical than the ones carried out by *piqueteros* in Buenos Aires:

> Because we are forgotten in a corner of Argentina! We are in the north of the country, on the border with Bolivia and Paraguay. One writes and sends letters, talks with this or the other civil servant, one asks for something with a written note so that a solution can appear, but they don't pay any attention; so it is as if the north is like a baby that cries. And when the baby cries in a

cinema everybody turns around to get it to stop. So, well, in the same way all the eyes look to the north of the country. And that's how the journalists come.[85]

These aspects are crucial for understanding the importance of municipal politics in national politics, and to recognise that when politics happens in Buenos Aires – though locally territorialised – its locus is national, and thus we are dealing with national politics.[86] This is also a crucial factor in the explanation of the emergence of *piquetero* organisations in particular districts. The movement emerged in those districts where the legacy of land occupations and Peronist Renewal territorial work was stronger.[87] The key territories where the *piquetero* movement is located are Florencio Varela, San Francisco Solano (Quilmes), and Isidro Casanova and Gregorio de Laferrère (both in La Matanza).[88]

In the 1990s, the Menem government increased decentralisation as part of the second stage of neoliberal reforms. This decentralisation produced a devolution of politico-administrative functions (such as education and health) to the provincial and municipal levels, which increased the responsibilities and resources of subnational units[89] in a state that historically was more centralised.[90] The asymmetric implementation of these reforms across Argentine provinces were mainly oriented toward urban and industrialised zones,[91] reinforcing the neoliberal fiscal decentralisation policies of the military with an increasingly spatialised economic grievance.

After two decades of reforms, the effect on party politics has been a divide between a very competitive national party system with a growing number of parties and provincial party systems with much lower competition (some of them hegemonic).[92] In addition, the two main national parties – the UCR and the PJ – are provincially and municipally segmented. According to Calvo and Escolar:

> This permanent nested game, apparently paradoxical, between the tendency towards provincial stability and the territorialisation of national politics has its origins in the geographic differentiation between Argentine subnational institutions and political systems – and at the same time, in the electoral difficulties that emerge when decentralisation processes grow in magnitude.[93]

The Subnational Democracy Index and the uneven territorial power of the piqueteros

National contentious politics is also concentrated in urban and suburban Buenos Aires due to Argentina's centralised federal system. Because of this, the political trends outside this area are bound up with divergent provincial dynamics and are generally more radical and subject to increased state and para-state repression. The power of geographical distance is such that really only in Buenos Aires has the *piquetero* movement become a national actor with relevant links with the state, with the exceptions of the Union of Unemployed Workers in Mosconi and the Neighbourhood Organisation 'Tupac Amaru' in Jujuy.[94]

The lack of strong *piquetero* organisations in several provinces is also related to a particular feature of the party system. The low number of unemployed workers' organisations in some provinces is a result of infrequent alternation of the party (or faction) in government and the resultant limitations on spaces for contention/interaction not controlled by the provincial party (or the dominant faction of the PJ/UCR). Gervasoni[95] has developed an index for measuring the degree of subnational pluralism in Argentina. If this index is crossed with the absolute number of roadblocks by province for 1997–2003, a positive relationship emerges between the number of roadblocks staged and the degree of subnational pluralism (Figure 2).
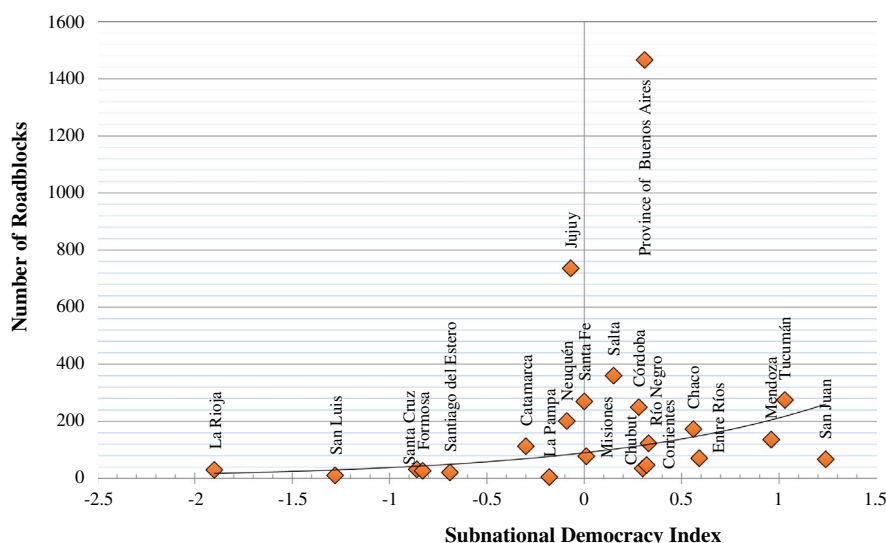
Figure 2. Number of roadblocks by provincial rank in the Subnational Democracy Index, 1997–2003.
Source: Based on data from the *Centro de Estudios para la Nueva Mayoría* (1997–2003), Gervasoni (2010)
and Silva (2009, 82 Table 4.5).
References: **Total Number of Roadblocks** is in absolute numbers for the 1997–2003 period.
Subnational Democracy Index measures the degree of provincial political pluralism. Two indicators of electoral
competition (executive contestation, legislative contestation) and three indicators of power concentration (succession
control, legislative control, term limits) compose it. The more negative the indicator, the less pluralist the context, with the
extremes being La Rioja (-1.90) and San Juan (1.24). This index was developed and conceptualised by Gervasoni (2010) and
applies to the 1983–2003 period.
Note: Tierra del Fuego and the city of Buenos Aires were not included in this figure due to not being included by Gervasoni
(2010) in the Subnational Democracy Index.

If these data are enriched with qualitative accounts of provincial politics in Argentina[96] and my own field interviewees' accounts, there are some interesting outcomes. For example, in addition to the obvious importance of Buenos Aires and Jujuy as spaces of contention, Santa Fe, Salta and Tucumán also become relevant. All these provinces are on the positive side of the index. In the one case on the negative side, Jujuy, the PJ is highly factionalised, which is also the situation in Tucumán and Buenos Aires. Salta presents a case of polarised competition between a relatively strong provincial party (*Renovador*) and a divided but strong PJ, while Santa Fe is a province with two strong parties (Socialists and the PJ), each with important internal divisions. In other words, great political stability in certain subnational spaces (in particular in the most peripheral provinces) due to low pluralism explains the limited presence or complete absence of *piqueteros* in those districts.

In some provinces the results of the Subnational Democracy Index may be combined with other variables that prevent even further the emergence of a strong *piquetero* movement. At least in Formosa, Santiago del Estero, Santa Cruz, La Rioja and San Luis, it is also relevant that these provinces are heavily-dependent on public-sector activities, that there is an important inclusion of informal or unemployed workers (the base of the *piqueteros*) in social programmes, and the successful clientelist strategies by governors. Even if they do not have any powerful *piquetero* organisations, politics in these provinces is still territorialised either through political party organisations, other grassroots movements or even protest

movements that are short-lived but intense, such as environmental movements against mining and extractive activities.

The differences in subnational party systems also account for the lack of a relevant *piquetero* organisation in the province of Neuquén, despite it being considered the origin of the movement, in contrast with the high plurality of *piquetero* organisations in Buenos Aires. On the one hand, it was the internal divisions within the hegemonic Neuquén Popular Movement (MPN) party that allowed for the emergence of the first *piquetero* protests there in 1996 and 1997.[97] It took nearly a year to the MPN to reduce the political opportunities that were giving the *piqueteros* the space to organise. This result is attributable to the important territorial capillarity of the MPN, in combination with the party's capacity to resolve internal disputes without reaching the point of the party splitting. On the other hand, there is a vigorous, atomised and territorially disperse *piquetero* movement in Greater Buenos Aires that has produced the majority of the roadblocks (Figure 2). This is the result of high levels of pluralism attributable to the PJ's territorialised factionalisation and the presence of alternative parties in a much higher quantity than in most of the rest of the country, resulting in a less captive electorate.

A by-product of these factors is that the *piquetero* movement has experienced a twofold process. On the one side, there has been a centralisation of contention from the initial localised enclave conflicts in Neuquén and Salta to the nationalised conflicts in Greater Buenos Aires. This is a result of the electoral and demographic magnitude of Buenos Aires and its suburban area, but is also due to the disruptive capacity of potential contentious events in the immediate vicinity of the seat of national power in a highly centralised country. On the other side, there has been a simultaneous provincialisation/municipalisation of the *piquetero* movement due to the sustained atomisation of the main *piquetero* organisations owing to inner subdivisions and low internal discipline. This last point is in part the result of a defining characteristic of social movements, that they are networks of heterogeneous actors, but the type of divisions they undergo and their pace are the direct result of the territorialisation of Argentine politics. In brief, the *piquetero* case illustrates how the repertoire of actions, the organisational formats and the demands have been increasingly territorialised in Argentina.

Conclusion

In this article, I defined a central characteristic of contemporary politics in Argentina: the territorialisation of politics, a crucial transformation that has implications on the very workings of politics. The definition I propose does not dispute the strong empirical evidence supporting the hypothesis that many Argentine provinces show weak democratic credentials.[98] Moreover, this definition complements other studies[99] that account for the changes that led to this increased territorialisation of contemporary Argentine politics. An added value of this definition is that links different processes of change in state–society relations that were previously studied as if they were independent to each other into a conceptualisation for the re-emergence of the territory as a new cleavage in Argentina and, potentially, also in Latin American politics.

In order to hypothesise how the territorialisation of politics might have unfolded in Argentina, I argued that the transformations that seems to have favoured the increased territorialisation of politics are: (1) the politico-administrative decentralisation of the state and the neoliberal process of fiscal decentralisation; (2) the use of *basismo* as the main

strategy for organising the claims of the popular sectors; (3) the metamorphosis of the main labour-based party into a patronage-machine or catch-all party; (4) the pluralisation of the trade union system; and (5) the shifting of the locus of contention to the territory and the emergence of territorial movements as central political actors.

In future comparisons with processes of territorialisation in other Latin American countries, it should be borne in mind that Argentina is a federation – like Brazil and Venezuela – while the territorial arrangements of countries like Chile, Colombia and Peru have historically been more centralised, experiencing uneven degrees of decentralisation in the last decades.[100] However, important territorialised conflicts emerged even in more centralised countries, such as the indigenous Mapuche in Chile's Patagonia,[101] Afro-Colombian communities, (para)military and guerrillas in the Pacific Coast of Colombia[102] and environmental conflicts all across Peru.[103]

I have not claimed that there has been a total rupture with the past. There are elements of continuity and change, and the record is mixed. In Argentina, territorialisation as a subset of non-functionalist provisions now exists alongside prior corporatist arrangements that have persisted into the present. In Bolivia, a mix of neo-corporatism and territorialism was institutionally promoted with a Constitutional reform, containing important changes for indigenous communities and peasants.[104] Brazil has combined territorialised and corporatist actors in mixed-participatory institutional arrangements.[105]

There is a need for further research on what seems to be a contemporary trait of Latin American politics. For instance, we can expect that territorialisation of politics has important consequences for patterns of violence and policy-making. Most recently, social policies directed to the poor have been focused on the neighbourhood in urban Argentina,[106] as well as in other countries in Latin America.[107] Violence promoted by state and social actors is unevenly distributed across countries in multidimensional disputes for portions of territory.[108] In sum, the increased territorialisation of politics is gradually transforming state–society relations in Argentina, and most probably elsewhere in Latin America.

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Notes on Contributor

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Notes

1. O'Donnell, "Democracy, Law, and Comparative Politics."
2. Barrientos and Santibáñez, "New Forms of Social Assistance"; Danani and Hintze, *Protecciones y desprotecciones*; Garay, "Social Policy and Collective Action"; Rossi, *The Poor's Struggle for Political Incorporation*.
3. Chiara and Di Virgilio, *Gestión social y municipios*; Cravino, *Construyendo barrios*; Delgado and Leite, "Políticas de Desenvolvimento Territorial."
4. Collier and Handlin, *Reorganizing Popular Politics*; Oxhorn, "Is the Century of Corporatism Over?"
5. Appadurai, *Modernity at Large*; Augé, *Hacia una antropología*; Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity*; Low, "The Anthropology of Cities"; Massey, *Space, Place and Gender*; López Sandoval, Robertsdotter, and Paredes, "Space, Power, and Locality."
6. Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 26–27.
7. Kahler and Walter, *Territoriality and Conflict*; Kolers, *Land, Conflict, and Justice*; Kratochwil, "Of Systems, Boundaries, and Territoriality"; Li, "State Fragmentation"; Spruyt, *The Sovereign State and its Competitors*; Tilly, *Coercion, Capital, and European States*.
8. Tarrow, *Between Center and Periphery*; Tarrow, "Introduction."
9. Tarrow (*Between Center and Periphery*, 3) argues that territorialised politics in Western Europe in the late twentieth century re-emerged 'as the migration of functional conflicts to the summit of the political system erodes the effectiveness of national parliaments, citizens turn more and more not to "functional" representation but to the territorial institutions around them, reinforcing the territorial dimension in representation just as it is being displaced in policy-making and administration. The result is to create a greater and more sophisticated range of demands upon local political leaders and a need for leaders who can link centre and periphery of the political system'.
10. Tarrow, "Introduction"; Gibson, *Boundary Control*.
11. Tarrow, *Between Center and Periphery*; Tarrow, "Introduction."
12. 'Space, or the "setting" in which people live and act, establishes parameters on action even as it interacts with social forces, structures, and conditions to construct that action. As such, location directly influences the formation, objectives, and strategies of citizens as individuals and collectively in social movements. Still, it is not merely the free-floating concept of location, but also the notion of distance, and in particular the idea of citizens' distance from the state' (Davis, "The Power of Distance," 601).
13. 'Territoriality in humans is best understood as a spatial strategy to affect, influence, or control resources and people, by controlling area; and, as a strategy, territoriality can be turned on and off. In geographical terms it is a form of spatial behaviour' (Sack, *Human Territoriality*, 1–2).
14. This section presents and expands a conceptualisation I introduced for the first time in Rossi, *The Poor's Struggle for Political Incorporation*, Chap. 1.
15. By 'governability', I mean the state's capacity to assert its authority over competing actors and institutions by resolving and reducing social conflicts.
16. I follow the classical definition of 'cleavage' proposed by Lipset and Rokkan, "Cleavage Structures."

17. 'Corporatism can be defined as a system of interest representation in which the constituent units are organised into a limited number of singular, compulsory, noncompetitive, hierarchically ordered and functionally differentiated categories, recognised or licenced (if not created) by the state and granted a deliberate representational monopoly within their respective categories in exchange for observing certain controls on their selection of leaders and articulation of demands and supports' (Schmitter, *Still the Century of Corporatism?*, 93–94).

18. For a detailed analysis of these transformations that I conceptualised as a process of disincorporation, see footnote 68 and Rossi, *The Poor's Struggle for Political Incorporation*, Chap. 1 and 9 mainly.

19. See Collier, "Trajectory of a Concept" for a conceptual discussion of regime types.

20. Tarrow, "Introduction."

21. See Oszlak, "Reflexiones sobre la formación del Estado," for state-building in Argentina.

22. Sack, *Human Territoriality*, 2.

23. See Walter, *The Province of Buenos Aires*; Ollier, *Atrapada sin salida*.

24. Prévôt-Schapira ("La consolidación municipal," 781–782) offers an excellent synthesis of these policies promoted by the military: 'As happened with other authoritarian regimes, the military had been great defenders of the institution of the municipality. Based on the Church's social doctrine and the idea of the "third way", the defence of the municipality was presented as the alternative that would allow for "state despotism" to be challenged. During the period known as National Reconstruction (1976–1983) and in the name of the principle of subsidiarity, a highly hierarchical system was installed by which the most important decisions were kept in the hands of the central power, while the subsystems (the provinces and municipalities) were left with the option of taking certain initiatives. In this way, in 1977 in the province of Buenos Aires, the municipality was given the responsibility of developing a land-use plan [related to land occupations and shantytowns]. In the same fashion, decentralisation and peripheral privatisation transferred some services to the municipal sphere (health, education). The idea of controlled participation on the part of the "civility" went hand-in-hand with the idea of subsidiarity. In the absence of elections, the municipal space was transformed into a site for dialogue with society's "social forces" [*fuerzas vivas*], in other words, with intermediary bodies (clubs, professional associations and some neighbourhood associations) in order to, in the medium term, reintroduce electoral polling from below'.

25. Falleti, "Varieties of Authoritarianism."

26. Levitsky, *Transforming Labor-Based Parties*; McGuire, *Peronism without Perón*.

27. Etchemendy and Collier, "Down but not Out."

28. Levitsky, *Transforming Labor-Based Parties*; McGuire, *Peronism without Perón*.

29. Prévôt-Schapira, "From Utopia to Pragmatism," 228.

30. Ibid., 229.

31. Merklen, *Pobres Ciudadanos*, 63; note 41; Santillán and Woods, "Iglesia y cuestión social"; Rossi, *The Poor's Struggle for Political Incorporation*, Chap. 3 and 4.

32. Ippolito-O'Donnell, *The Right to the City*, 55–59.

33. Levitsky, "An 'Organised Disorganisation,'" 37.

34. Ibid., 37.

35. Fara, "Luchas reivindicativas urbanas"; Merklen, *Asentamientos en La Matanza*.

36. The most important *piquetero* organisations that emerged as a result of this process are the Unemployed Workers' Movement 'Teresa Rodríguez' (MTR) in Florencio Varela and its allies, the Workers' Federation for Land, Housing and Habitat (FTV) in San Francisco Solano and La Matanza, and the Classist and Combative Current (CCC) in La Matanza (for a detailed analysis, see Rossi, *The Poor's Struggle for Political Incorporation*).

37. Prévôt-Schapira, "Las políticas de lucha contra la pobreza," 83.

38. Levitsky, *Transforming Labor-Based Parties*, 4.

39. McGuire, *Peronism without Perón*, 59–66.

40. Torre, "Prólogo."

41. McGuire, *Peronism without Perón*, 185–215.

42. Levitsky, *Transforming Labor-Based Parties*.

43. Quoted in Germano, *Piqueteros*, 297.
44. Levitsky, *Transforming Labor-Based Parties*, 86–87.
45. The Movement of Argentine Workers (MTA) should also be mentioned as an important dissident sector both inside and outside the CGT. Although not constituting a new union, from 1994 to 2001 the MTA worked independently of official CGT resolutions, coordinating protest actions with the CTA, CCC and some *piquetero* groups. In 2011, the CTA and CGT divided into two unions; the main labour federations now number at least four.
46. Etchemendy and Collier, "Down but not Out," 365.
47. Ibid., 366.
48. Roberts, "Social Inequalities without Class Cleavages," 15, Table 1.
49. Cardoso and Gindin, "Industrial Relations and Collective Bargaining," 33–34.
50. Oxhorn, "Is the Century of Corporatism Over?"; Rossi, *The Poor's Struggle for Political Incorporation*.
51. Torre, "Prólogo."
52. Levitsky, *Transforming Labor-Based Parties*.
53. Rossi, *The Poor's Struggle for Political Incorporation,* Chap. 3–7.
54. Senén González and Del Bono, *La revitalización sindical*; Gindin and Cardoso, "The Labour Movement."
55. Collier and Handlin, "Situating the Analysis," 50–60.
56. Rossi, *The Poor's Struggle for Political Incorporation*, 24–27.
57. Herrera, "La contienda política en Argentina"; Schuster et al., "Transformaciones en la protesta social"; Schuster and Pereyra, "La protesta social en la Argentina."
58. Cerrutti and Grimson, "Buenos Aires, neoliberalismo y después"; Grimson et al., "La vida organizacional en zonas populares"; Quirós, *Cruzando la Sarmiento*; Merklen, *Asentamientos en La Matanza*; Merklen, *Pobres Ciudadanos*.
59. Schuster et al., "Transformaciones en la protesta social," 61–62.
60. Ichaso, "Indicadores de conflictividad social."
61. Grimson et al., "La vida organizacional," 65.
62. Merklen, *Pobres Ciudadanos*, 41.
63. Personal interview, 2007.
64. Grimson, Ferraudi Curto, and Segura, *La vida política*.
65. For a historical analysis of this process associated with the two waves of incorporation that followed Argentina from the late nineteenth century to the early twenty-first century, see Rossi, *The Poor's Struggle for Political Incorporation*.
66. Levitsky, *Transforming Labour-Based Parties*; Svampa and Pereyra, *Entre la ruta y el barrio*; Rossi, *The Poor's Struggle for Political Incorporation.*
67. Personal interview, 2007.
68. 'The neoliberal reforms that started the process of recommodification of relations in the 1970s can be interpreted as a process of disincorporation, thereby redefining the main populist versus conservative political cleavage … as well as the roles of political actors involved in the first incorporation process of the 1950s' (Rossi, *The Poor's Struggle for Political Incorporation*, 15).
69. 'I use this term because although most actors in this quest [for (re)incorporation] present discourses of radical societal transformation, those discourses have actually unfolded as types of collective action that can be deemed "bridging with the state" (apart from the unintended consequences produced by the reincorporation of the actors). By "bridging with the state" I mean types of collective action that aim to (re)connect excluded segments of society with state institutions to recover – or, for the first time gain – access to rights and benefits that the state has failed or ceased to secure or provide' (Ibid., 17–18).
70. Delamata, *Ciudadanía y territorio*, 368–369.
71. Rossi, *The Poor's Struggle for Political Incorporation*, Chap. 1.
72. Rossi, "Aparición, auge y declinación."
73. Rossi, "Las asambleas vecinales y populares."
74. Rossi, "Compulsion Mechanisms."
75. Mauro and Rossi, "The Movement of Popular and Neighbourhood."
76. Giarracca, "Territorios en disputa."

77. Reboratti, "Socio-Environmental Conflict."
78. Reboratti, "Socio-Environmental Conflict"; Urkidi and Walter, "Dimensions of Environmental Justice."
79. Reboratti, "Socio-Environmental Conflict," 15; Svampa and Antonelli, *Minería transnacional*.
80. Calvo and Escolar, *La nueva política de los partidos*; Lodola, "La estructura subnacional"; Gibson and Suárez-Cao, "Federalized Party Systems"; Leiras, "Los procesos de decentralización."
81. Gibson, *Boundary Control*; Giraudy, "Varieties of Subnational Undemocratic Regimes"; Behrend and Whitehead, *Illiberal Practices*.
82. Social movement scholars have recently started to analyse the connection between contentious politics and geography, incorporating a more dynamic vision of the relationship between the territory and the political actors playing in and with it (Routledge, *Terrains of Resistance*; Sewell, "Space in Contentious Politics"; Auyero, "The Geography of Popular Contention"; Martin and Miller, "Space and Contentious Politics"; Oslender, "Fleshing out the Geographies"; Delamata, "Las organizaciones de desocupados"; Fernandes, "Movimentos Socioterritoriais"; Nicholls, "The Geographies of Social Movements"; Ippolito-O'Donnell, *The Right to the City*; Almeida, *Mobilizing Democracy*). As Auyero ("Space and Places," 549) says: 'Space, whether as a terrain to be occupied, an obstacle to be overcome, or as an enabler to have in mind, matters in the production of collective action. Space is sometimes the site, other times the object, and usually both the site and the object of contentious politics'. For these scholars the physical space is analytically again located at the centre of politics.
83. Davis, "The Power of Distance," 603.
84. Personal interview with *piquetero* leader of La Matanza, 2007.
85. Personal interview, 2007.
86. Due to this, Calvo and Escolar (*La nueva política de los partidos*, 272–273) have argued that 'in Buenos Aires there is a profound articulation of national politics with provincial and even municipal politics, such that the pull between one electoral arena and another is mutual, changeable over time and of varying intensity, in accordance with the demographic electoral impact that a district has on the ensemble of Argentina's national electoral levels'.
87. Merklen, *Asentamientos en La Matanza*; Merklen, *Pobres Ciudadanos*; Rossi, *The Poor's Struggle for Political Incorporation*, Chap. 3.
88. Other main spaces where land occupations occurred in the 1980s are Avellaneda, Moreno, Merlo and General Sarmiento. The latter two, plus Florencio Varela, received municipal support due to being districts governed by left-wing Peronists (Prévôt-Schapira, "La consolidación municipal," 788). In some places, the *piqueteros* built upon other territorialised antecedents such as enclave syndicalism (Salta) and non-territorialised experiences such as Maoist unionism (Jujuy) (Battezzati, "La Tupac Amaru"; Benclowicz, *Estado de malestar*; Rossi, *The Poor's Struggle for Political Incorporation*).
89. Falleti, "A Sequential Theory of Decentralisation."
90. For contending perspectives, see Eaton, "Decentralisation, Democratisation and Liberalisation"; Gibson and Falleti, "Unity by the Stick."
91. Gibson, "The Populist Road"; Gibson and Calvo, "Federalism and Low-Maintenance."
92. Calvo and Escolar, *La nueva política de los partido*, 48.
93. Ibid., 141.
94. Battezzati, "La Tupac Amaru"; Benclowicz, *Estado de malestar*; Rossi, *The Poor's Struggle for Political Incorporation*.
95. Gervasoni, "A Rentier Theory."
96. Auyero, *Contentious Lives*; Chavez, "The Construction"; De Luca, Jones, and Tula, "Back Rooms"; Jones and Hwang, "Provincial Party Bosses"; Behrend, "The Unevenness of Democracy"; Ortiz de Rozas, "Política provincial"; Scherlis, "Machine Politics."
97. Auyero, *Contentious Lives*.
98. Gibson, *Boundary Control*; Giraudy, "Varieties of Subnational"; Behrend and Whitehead, *Illiberal Practices*, among others.
99. Prévôt-Schapira, "La consolidación municipal"; Falleti, "A Sequential Theory", among others.
100. Angell, Lowden, and Thorp, *Decentralising Development*.

101. Urrua, *Territorialidad Mapuche*.
102. Oslender, "Fleshing out the Geographies."
103. Arce, *Resource Extraction.*
104. Zuazo, "¿Los nuevos movimientos sociales en el poder?"; Tockman, "Decentralisation, Socio-Territoriality."
105. Doctor, "Lula's Development Council"; Delgado and Leite, "Políticas de Desenvolvimento Territorial."
106. Cravino, *Construyendo barrios*; Chiara and Di Virgilio, *Gestión social y municipios*; Falappa and Andrenacci, *La política social*.
107. Barrientos and Vila, "Economic and Political Inclusion."
108. Hilgers and Mcdonald, "Introduction."

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