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Correia, Joel E. *Disrupting the Patrón: Indigenous Land Rights and the Fight for Environmental Justice in Paraguay's Chaco*, Oakland, University of California Press, 2023, 236 pp, ISBN: 9780520393103.

Joel A. Correia's book, *Disrupting the Patrón: Indigenous Land Rights and the Fight for Environmental Justice in Paraguay's Chaco*, examines the realities of two Indigenous tribes of Chaco, Paraguay: the Enxet and Sanapaná. The Enxet tribe has historically lived west of the Paraguay River, near Gran Chaco, an area now entirely occupied by settler ranching. The tribe known colloquially as Sanapaná (referring to themselves as Nenhlet) have been historically nomadic; their status as a traveling tribe has relegated them to intense government neglect. Both groups experienced settler-colonization in the early 1900s, their history intertwined with Anglican and Mennonite colonization. Based on interviews with members of these tribes from the communities of the Yakye Axa, Sawhoyamaxa, and Xákmok Kásek, Correia tells the stories of (re)displaced people searching for environmental justice on their ancestral lands. He situates the research around the relationships he has built within the communities, traveling with his interlocutors to their ancestral lands and unpacking histories of violence, starting with the Anglican missions as land was sold out from under their feet and extending to the ongoing cattle ranches and exploitation of Indigenous workers.

The book adds to a growing body of literature on Paraguay's Indigenous populations and their fight for human rights. Recently published work has dealt with land, coloniality and queer and poetic dealings with Indigeneity and Guaraní (the larger Indigenous language of Paraguay), including René Horst's discussion of indigenous resistance to the Stroessner regime and Shawn Austin's *Colonial Kinship*, which expands on the history of Africans in Paraguay and their linguistic and cultural impact on the country (Austin, 2021; Horst, 2007). Correia uses ethnographic accounts to analyse the ongoing settler-colonial impact on the land and the well-being of his interlocutors, as well as the "dialectics of disruption" through which they fight for the return of their land using both legal and extralegal means. Rather than focusing on "documenting" a community as has been practiced in previous forms of colonial ethnography, Correia frames his book as a relational project that builds upon the collective knowledge and storytelling of the communities he works alongside, which is not defined by "comparative analysis" (p. 18).

The book's emphasis on storytelling and communal theory generation is captured in the "ruptures" that appear between each chapter. These ruptures are episodic breaks that offer ethnographic accounts of everyday situations, such as sipping on terraré (a drink of Guaraní origin that appears in hot and cold forms), engaging with community members, or standing on ancestral territories that exist in "legal liminality". This process of recounting everyday lived experience further distances the work from an "objective" ethnographic account. Correia's work welcomes the idea that the everyday experiences of housing, food, and economic instability, caused and reified by the government, generate critical theory that substantiates the political claims of the communities. Correia reiterates legal liminality through the concept of the "disposition of people in place" (p. 46). By centering Indigenous communities within the context of their ancestral territory and accounts of the violence of displacement, Correia's book goes beyond the contexts of political theory within the university. Correia's interlocutors write and characterize their own conceptions of Indigenous futurities and environmental justice. The book also focuses directly on the land, including cattle ranching, soybean production, and environmental degradation. In his account, environmental injustice is directly linked with state-inflicted violence on Indigenous populations, who are relegated to being "peons" of the "patrón," (boss), which Correia directly links with settler colonialism (p. 5).

One concern Correia's work marginally discusses is the issue of gender. Correia's work, like that of Silvia Hirsch, Paola Canova, and Mercedes Biocca (2021), examines how gender and identity interact with land restitution and Indigenous refusals. Correia successfully unpacks environmental injustice and its political repercussions. Future research could further develop a description of the patrón as gendered, asking how masculinity and androcentrism appear in the racial-colonial context. For example, how does gender, as it is folded into the logics of multiculturalism and neoliberalism, contribute to the enforcement of patriarchal values in Paraguay? While documenting the viewpoints of both men and women, the interviews in the book are oriented mainly toward male interlocutors. I would have liked to see Correia address the specific harms that are experienced by Enxet and Sanapaná women and queer people. Nevertheless, Correia's work centers different groups of all ages and genders (families, communities, and individuals) who actively participate in the demand for land restitution despite the contradictory and often purposefully opaque categories of government ownership and 'development' wielded by the Paraguayan state (p. 125).

Correia argues that racialised politics and capitalism are intertwined within the pseudo-Christianizing projects of the Chaco region of Paraguay. The struggle of the Yakye Axa, Sawhoyamaya, and Xákmok Kásek communities is further complicated by their dual visibility and invisibility in both legal institutions and mainstream culture. Their inability to produce "proper paperwork" (for reasons such as community leadership changes, ancestry, birth or death certificates, etc.) results in the denial of legitimate land restitution. The government refuses to intervene, claiming that the communities fighting for their land must be patient, thus placing them in a bind in which their "appropriate legal action" is met with stalling and inaction by the state (p. 3). At the same time, by situating the land as empty and a space to be "developed," the state constructs the 'archetypal, ideal Indigenous person' as a rural Paraguayan who serves as

an ‘upstanding citizen’ by developing the land. While conforming to this archetype brings visibility in the eyes of the state, the real issues of Indigenous populations in Paraguay are rendered invisible. Moreover, the biopolitical circumstances of land development create “states of emergency” - due to a lack of resources - that are not solved through sustainable policy change but are consistently “treated”, as though the provision of sufficient medical resources, food, and safe housing is unattainable in the long term. By keeping Indigenous communities in a constant state of near demise, the state is able to continue supporting the overcultivation of land and exploitation of Indigenous workers. (pp. 107-112). Cattle ranching and farming infrastructure depend entirely upon the exploitation of local Indigenous communities as infrastructure (p. 33). In ending the government’s deliberate production of a “state of emergency,” Correia argues, returning land to Indigenous peoples creates “*the conditions of possibility for transformative justice based on restoring relations through self-determination*” (p. 130, emphasis added).

Roads and fences are symbolic throughlines throughout the book, representing both the destructive path that racial capitalism has burned through ancestral lands and the inhibiting barriers facing those seeking land restitution. Correia argues that these are likewise locations where necessary disruption must and does occur. He reveals how law, land, resources, development, the patrón and cattle are all interconnected as pieces of the various modes of state-sanctioned violence. Defining violence through the frameworks of neoliberalism and multiculturalism thus does not encompass the much larger and older problem mapped along “racialized-gendered-classed” geographies. The government is required by law to repatriate the land and therefore must be forced to do so.

Indigenous communities rely on the land for survival while having no agency over the very same land. The Paraguayan government continues to prolong legacies of settler colonialism that actively “displace in place,” extract labor, and “develop” land. Despite this, Enxet and Sanapaná communities develop Indigenous modes of environmental justice, land repatriation, and cultural tradition by taking extra-legal action. By blocking roads and gathering on their occupied lands (among other methods), community members force authorities to pay attention. Cattle ranching and the Paraguayan state are specific aspects of a larger system of inequity that is more frequently documented in scholarship. Research on questions of culture, art, and expression within these communities, including the impact of Anglican and Mennonite understandings of spirituality, gender, and community, would help deepen Correia’s careful examination of the interrelated nature of environmental justice, state violence, and gendered-racialized relationships in Indigenous communities in Paraguay. Enxet and Sanapaná people continue to fight for environmental justice and Indigenous futurity, calling for the public’s attention to their fight for land reoccupation rooted in years of ancestral knowledge. Correia’s addition to their labor contributes to years of theorization, storytelling, and knowledge-building within Indigenous communities, especially in the context of environmental justice and land reclamation, crucial for communities overlooked in the canon of anthropological and environmental studies.

Cahlia A. Plett

University of California, Riverside

ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0009-0001-6822-7602>

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