

# A look at some acts of violence and silenced repressions: evictions in Argentina

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## Abstract

During, at least, the last two years the combined struggles aimed to elaborate and impose some policies of emotions in Argentina relied in the phrase "*this government does not perform repressions*" one of his more accepted and widespread discursive threads.

Beyond any "evaluation" on the national administration, over the last nine years there have been a series of repressive acts linked to the figure of eviction.

The eviction is an act of restitution of a previous order by taking out or pulling from one place a person or group of persons who are unable to prove ownership, possession and / or an usufruct over a land, territory, housing or "activity space".

This paper intend to show the various modes of acts of violence and forms of repression that can be observed in Argentina, using youtube videos about several acts of evictions, looking to make evident the constant pressure and repression that have existed against the indigenous peoples, youth, women and homeless people.

**Key words:** eviction, violence, repressions, bodies, Argentina

## 1. Introduction

In Argentina there has been a very dynamic, sustained and changing process of the devices of sensations regulation and social bearability mechanisms. Process in which social fantasies are elaborated and phantoms are updated that make ideological practices a special place from which to build a topography of conflict. In the last two years, at least, the set of disputes for elaborating and imposing certain policy (ies) of emotions in Argentina has had in the phrase "this government does not repress" one of its most diffused and accepted discursive threads.

Dodging any "evaluation" referred to the national administration of the last 10 years, certain repressive acts have occurred related to the figure of eviction. Evicting is an action of restitution of a prior order, removing or making a person or group of people leave a space, who cannot prove their property, possession or usufruct over a place, territory or housing. The present article intends to show the violence (s), "coagulation" of action and the forms of repression that can be observed in YouTube videos of different acts of eviction in Argentina. We intend to highlight the constant pressure and repression that has existed against indigenous people, youth, women, workers, people without land and roof, all of which have taken place in the last years.

A central aspect of this presentation is the methodological elements we have used. We have chosen as strategy of for inquiry certain YouTube videos for the exploration of the eviction phenomenon. Well known are the current uses in Social Sciences of Internet as a place for investigation. Three reasons drove us to chose the use of YouTube: a) it is a mean through which we could observe events of the recent past. Thanks to this, we could approximate to our intention polemizing the role of *remembrance* in the processes of actualization of colonial violence, b) it is a mean that allows to watch and listen to the protagonists of the events and "experiment", in a way, the contexts of the evictions, and c) it made possible to cover the whole country, at least in what was represented in YouTube, considering it a central point in our view on the geographies of violence.

A series of investigations already exist that ponder on the sense and uses of YouTube and video clip channels in everyday life in general and in social investigation in particular. Rafael Díaz Arias (2009) has presented the role of videos in Cyberspace, associated with the transformation in communication and languages, in the context of the global expansion of Internet. Juan Artero (2010) has analyzed "Models of business in online videos..." from a perspective that links profitability, technologies and differences between YouTube and Hulu. Also, José

Patricio Pérez Rufí and Francisco Javier Gómez Pérez (2010) by analyzing the video channels have explored the potential of Web 2.0 that by focusing on the users allows them to become content producers. In a more “technical” perspective, in the intent of presenting an analytical strategy about “Visualizing the results of YouTube searches”, Carlos Mera and Roberto Therón (2009) have explored the way of “dealing” with the results of a video inquiry.

In our case we have embarked in the study that results in the present article, having as a basis of our methodological strategy what Daniel Domínguez Figaredo (2007) has criticized and analyzed referred to virtual ethnography, what Dhiraj Murthy (2008) has discussed about digital ethnography, and what Christine Hine (2004) has systematized in her book on ethnography in digital contexts.

Concerning the connection with these authors (and beyond what is obvious by making this explicit) in every case our approach to the theoretical/empirical reconstruction of evictions is far from being a copy or a mere reproduction of their proposals, having as a distinguishing element our belonging to Sociology.

The task we engaged can be easily described, but it implied a series of developments and setbacks typical of the contingency of an open inquiry. The alluded tasks were the following: a) identifying the videos that appeared in YouTube when they are searched under the expression “evictions in Buenos Aires”, changing the Province<sup>1</sup> when the goal was achieved and repeating it until we would reach the whole country, b) we would select the videos that effectively referred to evictions in the definition aforementioned, included in the problem of our investigation, c) of these, we would choose one that resulted exemplary of a typical situation of the geographic/political area and/or affected subjects or groups strongly associated to them<sup>2</sup>, d) we observed the selected videos three (3) or more times, trying to produce notes and “systematizations” of what was experienced and e) we selected the images and phrases that allowed us to present the points of view of the subjects that produced the video and/or were protagonists of the eviction.

The whole process was crossed by moments of self-analysis and epistemological vigilance that allowed us to build a narration that could tribute the distances and proximities that lie between seeing and experiencing, while keeping a central place for the words of those who lived the events and those who produced the videos.

In such an epistemological and methodological context the present article aims to understand the tensions between *remembrance* as a political act that is constitutive of social life on one hand, and evictions as obvious samples of the existence of repression.

The argumentative strategy that we have chosen is the following: a) we synthesize the theoretical/empirical starting points that lead us to identify evictions as a currently relevant phenomenon, b) we schematized some of the results of the investigation, and c) we summarize the central points that enable us to advance in the comprehension of evictions and their place in the structure of colonial power.

We intend to emphasize on the comprehension of evictions as repressive technologies that delineate certain geographies of violence associated to processes of predation, dispossession and expulsion. For of reasons related to information “processing”, we leave for another moment what evictions have of collective interdictions.

## 2. Evicted Argentina

### 2.1. Trail, narrations and initial descriptions

For the present analysis we have used twenty four (24) videos, one per Province with the intention of covering the hole country. The guide line of all the videos is to show a situation of eviction carried out by local police authorities or private security. It can occur in a family’s house, in a manifestation, or in a working space of any kind. These situations have occurred between 2004 and 2012. In the following we will briefly describe the analyzed material, including also the information given by those who uploaded the video.

Video 1) It develops in Famatina<sup>3</sup>, a city in the province of La Rioja, and lasts 4’45’’. It shows several ways in which the community manifests its opposition to the settling of a mining project, and the forms in which the political leaders (governor and presidents) have supported the project. It presents photographs of the impact of

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<sup>1</sup> The Republic of Argentina is federally organized, formed by States called Provinces.

<sup>2</sup> For example, of groups of activists against large scale surface mining in mining Provinces.

<sup>3</sup> Even though this video is one of the last ones to be uploaded 01/15/2012 it crosses the usurpation process and collective interdictions since 2006.

the mine in local sceneries, and alludes to the eviction of activities and manifestations against the referred project. “The people of Famatina say ‘no’ to surface mega-mining. The governor... tries to go over the will of a community. ‘Famatina shall not be touched’ is the motto of the neighbors. It highlights that the mining project affects the environment, health and would destroy economic activities in the region”.

Video 2) “Police repression to evict mapus in Quillén, Aluminé”, occurs in the city of Quillén, in the Province of Neuquen, lasting 2’45”. It shows – in a desolated and windy landscape in August 2009- how a police operative for home eviction is developed, where one can hear the crying voices of children, see the fear of the mothers, and the police with guns and shooting. It also reflects *disproportioned* “reaction” “the people” throwing stones against police bullets.

Video 3) Develops in the city of Oran<sup>4</sup>, in the Province of Salta, lasting 9’55”. It shows the eviction of a neighborhood called “The Miracle” in the middle of the night. The voice of a journalist tries to describe what is happening over the sound of bullets that come from the infantry and the voices of people shouting. It also includes reporting of the some of the neighbor’s testimonies. The video ends with shocking images and the journalist injured and asking for an ambulance. The presentation of the video speaks: “The Municipal Government... denounced a settlement in front of a Judge, and she decides to order an eviction at 4am with police infantry. Violent confrontations occurred between the police and the neighbors. When they realized they where being filmed, the police hit the journalist”

Video 4) It refers to the Province of San Luis (07/19/2011), with a duration of 1’16”. It shows several adults, children and dogs in cold weather, preparing the fire to cook outdoors, with big pots and canisters. One can see some elements on the floor, like a kitchen. “The Gazette: this morning, around 7:15, the government finally had the luxury of evicting the family ... of their lands in Estancia Grande... The house has already been demolished and the Police is guarding the entrance. The whole process appears to have been executed with no court order “As if it were a Dictatorship”. The police entered the house of the... and attacked..., the daughter of..., his couple and 4 children. The adults were arrested for criminal background checks and released around 2pm, while the children passed by the Minority Police Station, after they had been attended in the Regional Hospital of San Luis...”

Video 5) It develops in the city of Rosario (11/03/2009), Province of Santa Fe, with a duration of 9’ 29”. “The video filmed by a person that was present in the place of the facts” shows protesters and police agents trying to evict a public street. One can observe sticks, pushing and shouting, moments where protesters and police agents try to dialogue, and denials –from the police- to continue filming”. November 3<sup>rd</sup> of 2009. The video’s presentation points out: “This morning a group of neighbors members of several territorial and social organizations, among which one can count the Assembly of Neighbors of Ituzaingo 60bis, Surastilla, Mate Verde, Hormiguero de Villa Banana among others, were brutally repressed when they tried to cut a street in front of the local building of the Government of the Province of Santa Fe. The result was 11 people arrested in the Second Police Station, freed around 5pm, and many injured”.

Video 6) It occurs in the city of Pinto (01/31/2007), in the Province of Santiago del Estero, with a duration of 6’ 21”. It shows the arrival of a company manager in a pickup truck. The image of a bulldozer between the trees indicates that they will demolish the houses of the local residents. Then the armed private security agents collaborate to allow the progress of the vehicle and assist the eviction chores. The video’s description says: “The peasants of Santiago del Estero are evicted at gun point of their lands by the company AFROAGRO S.A., the Pinto Town Hall allied to the Municipal Government have not condemned this outrage”.

Video 7) It is located in Ushuaia (03/11/2012), in the Province of Tierra del Fuego, with a duration of 8’ 37”. It shows a police operative in front of precarious houses, while they are being demolished, in the middle of shouting and strikes towards the inhabitants. “The gang of “Magimar” hits an older person, they hit women and men... this was authorized by the municipality of Ushuaia... Where are the leaders that the people chose????”

Video 8) It develops in a house where a civil society organization works. It shows a closed gate with people on both sides. Those inside are the police agents and on the street are people yelling “we want to enter”. In such a struggle one can hear shouting “they are hitting us”. The video lasts 1’ 04”. In the description one can read “Moments in which the police represses and evicts the ‘March 1<sup>st</sup> Group’ in Santa Rosa, La Pampa, by order of the judge... Tuesday, October 27<sup>th</sup>, 2009”.

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<sup>4</sup> Uploaded 05/25/2008

Video 9) It develops in the city of La Florencia (12/06/2010)<sup>5</sup>, Province of Formosa, with a duration of 10' 24''. It begins showing a local landscape with a tale that explains the amount of years (at least 150) since which the residents have lived in that place, and the beginning of the conflict because of the appearance an "alleged reforestation project". It presents some testimonies of the eviction. The video is described as: "Peasants evicted by landlords that act in complicity with the provincial government".

Video 10) It refers to the city of Andalgalá, in the Province of Catamarca, with a duration of 3' 02''. The video begins showing a manifestation in the street, with signboards and mottos opposed to surface mining. Suddenly police agents don't allow the manifestation to continue, and one can clearly see how they beat the protesters, turning into a growing violence that reaches shots and chasing of the people that are protesting and unarmed. In the presentation one can read "Not only on February 15<sup>th</sup> 2010<sup>6</sup> did they hit the people of Andalgalá. There are prior hits in October 2006 when they did not allow the neighbors pass to a meeting with suppliers of the mining companies".

Video 11) It develops in the Province of Chubut (08/02/2008), with a duration of 4' 25'', where "Many neighbors and members of social organizations of the Andean region manifested, on Saturday 2<sup>nd</sup> of August, in the city of El Hoyo (20 kilometers south of El Bolsón) to support a family... over who an eviction order lies. The protesters, over 50 of them, concentrated at noon in the Community Center of that town in Chubut, where they handed out fliers to the pedestrians, informing about this "real dispossession of lands in the 21st century". Then the formed a line of cars that passed by, in first place, the house a the current Mayor of El Hoyo... who had committed to request the Governor of Chubut... to protect the family... ancient residents of the area, of this unjust eviction order. The car line, with more than 20 cars, then stopped in front of the house of the former Mayor and current congressman for Chubut... to whom they did an escrache for his political responsibility in the irregular handing over of lands in legal conflict in favor of a lawyer... that intends to keep the land where people have lived for decades... Among the groups that were gathered, there were representatives of the Town Assembly against looting (...)"

Video 12) It develops in an open road (02/23/2011) where one can observe a police operative with tools made for cutting chains. Young people with Greenpeace shirts, sitting in silence and chained, are leading a protest against surface mining and the non-fulfillment\_of the Glacier's Law . Policemen approach them and cut their chains. The video lasts 1' 47''. Its presentation said: "The police of San Juan tried to evict Greenpeace's protest camp in the roads of Barrick, demanding the multinational company to stop blocking the Glacier's Law".

Video 13) It refers to the city of Cordoba (01/06/2009), in the Province of Cordoba, and lasts 9' 58''. It shows several photographs (at least since 2005) referred to different ways the people have manifested "No to eviction", "No to repression". The description says: "VILLA LA MATERNIDAD RESISTS, as it has for 4 years, the evictions, and joins the struggles of other Villas in Cordoba demanding the urbanization of the spaces where they have chosen to live. For the RIGHT to choose HOW and WHERE to live, for THE RIGHT TO THE CITY".

Video 14) Under the title *InViCo*<sup>7</sup> *United Blocking and Support* (05/26/2011) one can observe people manifesting in the public street, and a strong presence of provincial police. The people are carrying flags with inscriptions referred to their demands and to the organization they belong to. Separated by fences that prevent them from going forward, the police is armed with shields and guns. The video develops in the city of Corrientes, in the Province of Corrientes, and lasts 6' 15''. The presentation is the following:

"Our demands:

- 1- The urgent reactivation of INVICO, specially the EPAM programs and others oriented to families with low resources.
- 2- Passing to permanent staff of all precarious workers.
- 3- Salary recomposition of all workers with no distinction.

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<sup>5</sup> Even though the video was uploaded in 2010 the narrated facts are part of a long process that has its peak in 2009, in the situation the video refers to.

<sup>6</sup> That day (and other days of that same month) the hardest repression occurred against collective interdictions that oppose to surface mining. Choosing this video, and the intension of those who uploaded it (03/01/2010) is to evince a series of evictions associated to such a problem, that have occurred in the time laps in which this investigation is developed.

<sup>7</sup> Housing Institute of Corrientes.

- 4- Re categorizing salaries and compensatories for all workers according to the Law (Public Employee Statute)
- 5- Solidarity with Provincial Roadway Workers. NO to the real-estate business.”

Video 15) It develops in the Autonomous City of Buenos Aires<sup>8</sup> (12/11/2010) with a duration of 9’ 03’’, during the “first day of incidents in Villa Soldati, when occupants in the Indoamerican Park refused to leave from the usurped space”. The video captures a fragment of a report transmitted by cable TV, that shows a tense situation between occupants of the park and the Federal and Metropolitan Police that begins with the eviction of a settling. The so called occupants throw stones at the police, trying to avoid the eviction. The news information remarks the presence of hydrant police trucks and infantry personnel. One can hear shots, and see the police with guns and shields.

Video 16) The images show a manifestation taken place on 02/12/12, with flags and flyers saying “No to eviction”. In the streets of Eldorado, in the Province of Misiones, the testimony of a woman recounting the violent aggressions suffered in a farm by the hand of police forces and her detention in a local police station. The farmer complains that “neighbors sell lands that are not theirs, and we are the holders of that land and they sell what is ours”. To this testimony the video adds others (lawyers, neighbors, farmers) also explaining the violent acts the “abuses of justice”. The video lasts 13’ 36’’.

“ ‘No to eviction!!! Of farmer families in Misiones’ was the motto that led the massive manifestation that occurred this past Thursday, February 9<sup>th</sup>, in the city of Eldorado. UTR producers and organizations of the Family Agriculture Forum of Organizations moved into the ‘Settler’s Plaza’ towards provincial route N 14 handing out flyers referred to the situation that the peasant farmers are facing. Then they continued with an escrache in the Court of Instruction Number 1. This protest was organized after what occurred in Dos Hermanos that concluded with the torture suffered by the comrade... in hands of local police forces, commanded by the Judge... and in complicity with real-estate business’.

The demands:

1. The separation of the Judge... of all cases that involve the producers of Dos Hermanos because of his illegal and arbitrary proceeding.
2. Punishment to those responsible of the tortures committed to farmer families
3. Enactment of the law ‘No to evictions’ and to the regularization of the tenancy of land for farmer families.”

Video 17) It refers to the department of Ledesma (07/20/2009), in the Province of Jujuy, lasting 5’ 57’’. The video shows images of the acts that took place in San Salvador of Jujuy, demanding “lands” and “solidarity given we are isolated from practically everything”, but also the refusal to return to another “settling”. They refer also to the continuity of the evictions and the lack of access to family housing, accompanied by the advances of a national company in the area. The video is presented in the following way: “Since one month ago, 300 working families in the Ledesma Department continue demanding decent housing. Evicted by the Ledesma Company, they continue to resist and fight. All our support for this struggle!”.

Video 18) Refers to the “Eviction of Villa Carmela” occurred on November 11<sup>th</sup> 2010. It begins with the images of mothers sitting on the sidewalk, in front of the Government House in San Miguel of Tucuman. With their children there, the give testimony of the eviction of their family homes “by blows and punches” and with rubber bullets. The narrations of the women point to emphasize the mistreatment they suffered by the government and the public force. The video has lasts 2’ 09’’.

Video 19) The video refers to “The Brief and documentary of the eviction in March, and the new threats in September 2009”, and lasts 8’ 20’’. It involves the city of Caleta Olivia, in the Province of Santa Cruz, explaining the problem of housing that the population growth carries. According to the testimony of a woman, the houses that are in the city come mostly from the illegal occupation of land, and that is what happened in

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<sup>8</sup> It is important to note that we selected this particular video given the objectives of this investigation, but the history of evictions in the City of Buenos Aires deserves a special reconstruction, particularly since the current mandate of Mauricio Macri as Chief of Government. He has impulsed a “whitening” and repressive policy through the so called Public Space Special Control Unit.

February 2009, but in March they suffered an eviction attempt through the police forces with guns and municipal officials. Then the images reach a neighborhood called October 17<sup>th</sup> showing a bulldozer with which houses were torn down, and showing also the terrible dialogues between the neighbors and municipal officials.

Video 20) The video has a duration of 9' 55" and its presentation is the following: "The 21<sup>st</sup> of December of 2009 a group of blueberry workers were manifesting in demand for the payment of a national compensatory program called "inter harvests", which consists in a subsidy, when they were brutally repressed by the police. This video shows in a vivid way the police's actions. Concordia- Entre Rios- Argentina", intends to be a "chronicle of repression" through images of the workers, manifesting their demands in the middle of sirens and shooting.

Video 21) It shows the incidents occurred in the contexts of a dissertation of a scientist concerning the explosion of Glyphosate, in August, 2010. One can observe the assistants to the conference asking the police "Why does the police threaten me?" The video lasts 6' 12" and its presentation is the following: "NET OF POPULAR HEALTH; DR. RAMON CARRILLO. INCIDENTS IN LA LEONESA, CHACO, CONFERENCE ABOUT AGROTOXICS. The Mayor of La Leonesa (Chaco)... Congressmen... Former Sub secretary of Human Rights... Glyphosate and rice contamination".

Video 22) It takes place in the city of Mendoza, lasting 5' 04". It shows public manifestations with "evicted workers" in November 2011, carrying signs saying "we want to work"; "against municipal corruption". The video shows the eviction of street vendors in hands of the police, but also the eviction of the manifestation itself in the following way: "On Friday November 4<sup>th</sup> the street vendors of the Capital of Mendoza arrived to their working places as they did every day (outside of the Central Hospital) but the scenery they found was that their working places had been evicted, the area was fenced and there was a lot of police. The answers of the government have been discrimination, punches, threats and detentions".

Video 23) In 8' 20" it intends to show –according to its own presentation- how "The 26<sup>th</sup> of March of 2007 five settlements (Caraza, Libre Amanecer, Miro, Route 21 and Vicente Lopez) had organized themselves to fortify their struggle for decent houses. Up to today they are still fighting to achieve what the State denies them". The images of men, women, children and babies in the streets, declare being convinced of the just character of their demand given that "the future and the life of our children is in danger every minute that this situation stretches. The installation of a tannery and other contaminating industries, but also the terrible situation of overcrowding, lack of housing, lack of basic services (...) the insecurity and the misery we are living in is becoming more and more unbearable. Among the posters one can read: "LAND AND DECENT HOUSING!!!! STOP EVICTIONS, STOP GENDARMERIE AND GANGS"

Video 24) It occurs in the Province of Rio Negro, in February of 2010. In the street one can see neighbors, policemen, public officers and a background of smoke that comes from burning tires, while behind the precarious houses appear. The frame is completed with a bulldozer and a fire truck on a rainy day. It all happens in 4' 13" and in its presentation it says "The judge... presented himself in the occupied lands of Villa Obrera, General Roca, where he compelled the occupants to leave the place. The occupants stood in their posture, and the judge, considering the lack of police officers, could not complete the eviction".

The brief characterization of the material we have observed allows us to show the multiple and repeated situations of violence through which (and in which) each man, woman, child or baby build their everyday life as *evictees* in hands of some kind of "authority". From this perspective, in the next section we will try to make the first analysis of what we saw over and over again in the ritualized repetition of the violence at stake. The characterization also demonstrates clearly what at this point in the present article seems obvious: in Argentina there is repression.

## 2.2. Further approximations.

The forms and iterative expression of eviction actions produce a moment of analytic and hermeneutic perplexity if we do not grasp those actions from an angle, if we do not look transversally. When one assists, lives or observes an eviction in a direct and spectacular way, it accentuates the dialectics lies between naturalization of shame and the anguish of "not-being able- to do- anything".

In previous moments of this article we summarized a set of oblique approximations to the phenomenon, which plays with the complicities of the naturalization tendencies of who is looking at it.

In a **first approximation** what stands out is the consistency between everyday experience of the evicted people of the "World of No" and their "living adequacy" to the contingency of expulsion. Lived-life flows under the

comprehensive cover of precariousness and uncertainty.

Not having a place, the “un-spaced” living, the weaving of experiences of being a wonderer\_“makes” evicted people “Take where there is nothing” to recover roots, and to take hold. Social, spatial and class expulsion are tied together in evicted people or groups as the history of their life, of their family, and of their equals in the search for a place in the world.

In evictions certain tensions (and intensions) appear strongly between phantoms and fantasies of resisting/remaining and of risk/violence. Staying despite the use of force against them, supporting as a strategy for “remaining” is part of an everyday life in the tension of the *risk* of returning on the path of having nothing, and the *uncertain* consequences of being object of accumulated violence.

There is also another mobesian band that opens when the eviction is looked at obliquely, which is the overlaying of structures of feelings referred to the games between property/tranquility and property/lies. The evicted only ask that the lies that lead to their displacement are seen, and in this direction to be able to be in a time/space that allows them to walk with and towards their desires. The force, violence and repressive rationality are inoculated by the fraudulent character of the demand of order that the evictor claims.

If we could classify these technologies of everyday violence in a way, among many others, it would be the following: there are evictions by force that are “made-in-a-moment”, there are eviction by intimidation that are “made-in-time”, there are evictions made by deception that are “made-in-lie”. Now, this tripod of force, threat and lies crosses every action we have observed, qualifying one or another feature of the same evicting act.

A **second approximation** allows drawing lines of contact between pasts, presents and futures that trace a map of predation, dispossession and expropriation processes.

By this path, if one asks ‘What is an eviction?’ the first answer would be: an action of custody of a *performative order (of time-space) for the construction of a tomorrow in a today, elaborating the past*. Exemplary cases are the successive evictions of the Mapuche people that define a present that re-elaborates the past of possessions and traditions.

Close to the mobesian band that opens and displays its performative capacities, evictions are a part of the *geopolitics of custody* over objects of desire for the commodifying power. In such actions the private valorization of what is common and the prepotencies of the predation acts are knit and crossover. We can observe it clearly in the long struggle of the mining towns and the violent repressions of their collective interdictions.

Another fold in these expropriatory overlaps is found in evictions as an action that *obligates to abandon positions*, it pushes subjects as objects of force and agents forced to leave, to lose location and de-center. Every eviction of parks, streets, routes, and public spaces serves as an example of such features.

In the evictions tensions/distensions are experimented between occupying and un-occupying: the first action is inscribed in the dialectics of necessity, desire and demand; the second emerges from the use of any mean of turning others as a sole mediation for enjoyment. In this sense, *evictions are technologies that enable the usufruct of persons, spaces and processes for the immediate individual and/or corporative enjoyment*.

As all violence, *eviction is made to colonize the future*. When the children see and fear, when young people are attacked by the police, when women are beaten, when elder people suffer violence, beyond the immediate physical or moral consequences, tomorrows sensibilities are produced and reproduced.

These spiraled and overlaid visions of evictions allow to notice what in them refers to instrumental mechanisms in service of a systematic expropriation order, and as tools to elaborate sensation regulation devices.

A **third approximation** allows a description of evicted Argentina associated to spaces, subjects and power’s situationality.

In Argentina the geography of evictions transcends the naturalized and constant scenery of the main cities, and expands into productive lands, into spaces highly valued by financial speculation and tourism business, into populations close to gold mines (and other minerals), into ancestral lands, into the streets with more possibilities for street vendors, into dumps, into every “place” that re-gains value for the capitalist expansion, obstructus or facilitates it.

*Eviction is an act of “putting-in-value” spaces in the geopolitics of commodification of life.*

In Argentina the geography of evictions impacts, “multiplies” and elaborates a set of different sensibilities that build into bodies and subjectivities in terms of evicted individuals and groups: Women with children and no

house, Working Families, Indigenous People, Fumigated Towns, Expropriated Towns, Usurped Peasants, Ambulant Workers, Rural Workers and Immigrants (legal an illegal) are some of the faces that can be seen in the analyzed videos.

*Eviction is an act by which the previously named faces instantiate a geopolitical construction of the abject*

In Argentina the geography of evictions shows in a blinding manner the weaves of power that disseminate through an undetermined set of conflictual nets associated to dispossession and usurpation: governors, police chiefs, congressmen, judges, business men, owners of security companies, multinational corporation managers, are some of those who show, are seen or pointed as responsible for the evictions.

*Evictions are pornographic actions of exercise of power that do not “fear” to be asked for explanations*

In this approximation it is possible to advert how the commodification of spaces, the pornography of power and the configuration of the abject are mobesian bands that describe an undetermined game between multiple objects and diverse agents involved in the dialectics of expulsion.

A **fourth approximation** enables the systematization of a series of common features between the different forms that evictions and the evictees incarnate.

Evictions and the repression associated to them, beyond their multiple meanings and contexts, can be understood through some crosscutting elements that resemble and constitute them in a particular practice. Among the main elements we referred to, we can highlight the following:

- a) The geographies of evictions are connected directly to the objects and resources that must be protected and guarded by those who detain power.
- b) Every eviction implies the existence of “custody forces” an “evictors”, both as agents that can access the necessary force for expulsion.
- c) There is a disproportionality between the power of the evictees and the evictors, which puts the first in a suffering situation. Stones and sticks against long weapons and trained personnel for repression.
- d) Such geopolitical situations are characterized as being inscribed in the time-spaces where the evicted experiment precariousness of the situation of “being-evicted”, without counting with concrete external support in the moments that the eviction occurs.
- e) The emotions that tie and join the structures of “evicted sensibilities” are impotence and pain.

These transversal weavings allow us to have another approximation that enables the possibility of articulating evictions with the validity of a policy of bodies and emotions associated to a geometry of bodies and to the grammars of actions that thread usurpation, violence and predation.

#### **4. As a Final Opening**

The geography of evictions in Argentina corresponds with the geopolitics of repression and the custody of predation. Travelling through and trying to narrate such geographies confronted us with a central component of the renewed colonial tale: in Argentina there is no repression. The results of our first articulation between looking obliquely and narrating from the experiences and manifestations of the subjects of repression, not only refutes this element of the “tale” but also allows to observe between the resplendence that its pornographic state produces.

*Evicted Argentina* provokes remembrance as a reflexive act over our experiences, as the recuperation (and articulation) of our mnemonic traces and the association with other contents of our recollections. If we understand that the ideological practices contained in the dialectic relation Phantoms/Fantasies imprison, “enclose” and obdurate repressive actions in Argentina in the last 8 years, the observation and experience of the videos we analyzed obliquely allows to remember these subtle fragments of the living palimpsest of a recent history that for many does not mean much more than some lines en the press and some seconds on TV and/or radio. Between the feeling of “oh... yeah... I remember that” and the proposition “in Argentina there is no repression” what is liquefied is the performative power of discourse and the social magic of doing things with words. The crying

children, the women shouting, the peasants telling their experiences of usurpations and beatings, the workers chased in the streets of big cities, in small towns and in frozen mountains of the Patagonia are no more than images that remind us of the repressive order in contexts of continuous colonization.

*Evicted Argentina* calls us to continue thinking over racializing segregation and iterativity of horrific elements as social landscapes of a reality that always returns to the persecution of the abject. The borders, the limits and frontiers of the country, of cities, of concentrated spaces of common goods, of productive lands and working possibilities appear again and again in the videos that we have brought to remembrance here as space/time marks of those who are outside, of those who do not count and are referred to only because of the repulsion anchored in their faces. There, in the countryside without access, there in the outskirts of the peripheries, on the sides of the mental walls of neat and productive cities, most of the evicted pile-up and live. Almost a “new race” of expelled Argentinians, for whom even more important than their dark-skinned color is that they are mistaken and misplaced: they desire.

*Evicted Argentina* is a overlapping of violences: the symbolical, that implies contrasts and contradictions of a *Word* that cannot modify things and therefor ties itself to the judgements of the *Law* understood as restoration of *An* order with all that it involves for the individual and collective experiences; the epistemic violence as a systematical destitution of the power to explain the world in another way; the *doxic* violence in the sense of the everyday ways of transforming the aggressions in living into the body; and obviously the physical violence that not only imprints in sensibilities but also accompanies the witnesses, families and subjects that suffer it in the future. *Evicted Argentina* in these terms is a history of survivors of beatings, weapons, contamination, unemployment, threats and above all of tensions that are played between having to occupy and expecting expulsion.

Remembrance, segregation and colonization of the future through the structuration of feelings may be some of the central axes of this virtual ethnography through the world of videos that testify repression.

To explore the landscapes, the streets, the running, the pushes and shots of the repressive forces, the nervousness, the shouting, the disembodied narrations of usurpations, the explanations of abuses of power, have left us in front of a very simple question: if this is not repression... where is repression then?

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