Signals of dispute, spatialities in dialogue. The potential of communication in "Defendamos Alberdi" and "Vecinos del Chavascate"

Señales de lucha y espacialidades en diálogo. La potencia de lo comunicacional en Defendamos Alberdi y los Vecinos del Chavascate

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Abstract

This papers retakes the practices of "Multisectorial Defendamos Alberdi" of Córdoba city and the "Asamblea de Vecinos del Chavascate" of Sierras Chicas, Córdoba province (Argentina), as social movements that fight and resist from particular events against the "real estate speculation" and Government policies around the idea of "development" and "progress" in defense of commongoods, and the increasing popular participation in decision-making processes, about the transformations that occur in their territories. Our interest is focused on making a critical reflection about relationships between space-power and the communication in these social movements from research and extension course in which qualitative and participatory methodological strategies were carried out.

Keywords

Neighbors, spatialities, social movements, community radio stations, territorial identities.

Resumen

El presente artículo recupera las experiencias de la multisectorial Defendamos Alberdi de la ciudad de Córdoba y la Asamblea de Vecinos del Chavascate de las Sierras Chicas de la provincia de Córdoba (Argentina) como movimientos sociales que en pos de la defensa de los bienes comunes, la gestión comunitaria y popular de diversos espacios y la decisión sobre las transformaciones que ocurren en sus territorios, resisten ante las formas y contenidos de los horizontes establecidos por las ideas de progreso del "desarrollismo inmobiliario" y de las políticas gubernamentales. El artículo se centra en una reflexión crítica en torno a las relaciones entre el espacio y el poder, desde una perspectiva comunicacional, a partir del análisis de estos movimientos en espacios de investigación y extensión universitaria en las que se llevaron a cabo estrategias metodológicas cualitativas y participativas.

Palabras clave

Vecinos, espacialidades, movimientos sociales, radio comunitaria, identidades territoriales.

1. Introduction

"A process of dialogue and negotiation is not successful if the parties do not give up their will to defeat the other". This comment was made by Subcomandante Marcos (2001), perhaps one of the first leaders of social movements[1] in the age of the internet. These negotiations are affected, like never before, by the communicational strategies in terms of conflict. After almost 2 decades, social movements have reconfigured the processes of struggle and negotiation, among other strategies, based on the use of information and communication technology (ICTs).

The province of Cordoba was the site of advanced neoliberal processes beginning in 1987. In order to take these measures, especially starting in 1995, it was the Fundación Mediterránea itself who was in charge of carrying out the diagnostics and assessing the pertinent measures (Manzo, 2011). In this context, starting in 1996, with the approval of the RR soybean, agricultural industry businessmen had the consent of provincial authorities to carry out the clearing of native forests. Currently, Cordoba has barely 3 percent of its original native woods area still intact according to different technical reports. It is possible to consider, in the context of struggles, various social movements are capable of configuring spaces that are disjointed and tangled, allowing them to uphold resistances against the global neoliberal logics and their local versions.

The neoliberal movement[2] began in the province of Cordoba before Thatcher or Reagan's arrival to power. In 1977, in the space where the outlines of the University Reform of 1918 were sketched, while the civil-military dictatorship worsened the repression, a group of industrial businessmen from the province announced the creation of Fundación Mediterránea[3]. The elites appropriated a milestone in Latin American democracy and its discourse, but with different meanings and interests (Fantin & Schuster, 2011). Its Institute for the Study of the Economic Reality of Argentina and Latin America (IERAL for its Spanish acronym) would be Argentina's most important factory of neoliberal thought. Its men and ideas played an important role in the last dictatorship, in the decade of the 90s and in the last 30 years of provincial governments, regardless of party lines (Ramírez, 2011).

Neoliberal politics deepened spatial transformations situated, connected to various local and global scales, in a model that favored (and favors) the appropriation and concentration of natural common goods (water, soil and native forests) and the dispossessing of urban common goods. In order to counter attack these processes, local resistances like contesting social movements arose. "Los Vecinos del Chavascate" and "Defendamos Alberdi" were founded as movements that make up part of a tangled framework of local territorial resistances and that appropriated the communication realm in multiple ways to strengthen their fights.

"La Asamblea de Vecinos del Chavascate" is a citizens organization made up of residents of the Sierras Chicas of Cordoba (towns of Agua de Oro, Cerro Azul and El Manzano of the Colon Department - Province of Cordoba), that since 2007 has carried out a struggle against "speculative real estate development" that jeopardize the supply of potable water and the preservation of native woods. La Multisectorial Defendamos Alberdi is a collective made up of volunteer neighbors, immigrants of various nationalities, an urban indigenous community, and members of organizations and institutions of the Alberdi neighborhood in the city of Cordoba (Department Capital of the province of Cordoba [Argentina], which is located just south of the Colon Department) in defense of the heritage and neighborhood life. Both collectives, despite their singular features, are against the advance of the real estate market.

2. Critical spatialities

We understand the critical spatialities concept as spaces that allow for the interruption of modern western thought and that facili-

tate the discovery of other voices that were and are silenced. Open ourselves to various political subjects promoters of change, in situated contexts and with space-time diversity (Rivera-Cusicanqui, 2010), recognize struggles and resistances from encounters and horizontal dialogue. For such, "it is necessary to bring the space towards the inside of the story and let it talk" (Porto-Gonçalves, 2009: 123). "Letting it talk" implies at least 2 processes: that the space be the central analytical category in the comprehension of social phenomena. And assume the co-production and relationship of immanence between society and space.

In the encountering of experiences of disputes for urban life linked to the Multisectorial Defendamos Alberdi and Asamblea de Vecinos del Chavascate in their struggle for common natural goods, we recognize that these social movements dislocate the established horizons surrounding the idea of "development" and "progress". Based on collective/collaborative work, we interpret them as the confluence of pluriversal experiences, slopes that open breaking points in the time-space continuum of the modern-colonial-capitalist-patriarchal (Llorens, Pedrazzani & Rodríguez Nazer, 2017), that insinuate "the presence of the other, at times all of the other, which is to say, all that which opposes or highlights the existing reality" (Delgado in Stavrides, 2016: 9).

In the compilation edited by Rosales, Garay and Pedrazzani (2016), there is an effort to situate the notion of *patchwork* to question the space and the spatialities. In works collected within, we speak about the work of Zabaleta (1986) and Tapia (2008) in terms of the notion of social *patchwork formations* and *patchwork societies* as an invitation to question the "times" and "heterogeneous spatialities". The proposal is to go beyond the modern/colonial/patriarchal thought binaries, as the flipside of a homogenizing time and a space. "One does not live in a neutral white space (...) One lives, dies, loves in a squared off, cropped, *disjointed* space, with light and dark areas…" (Foucault, 2010: 20). This chaos supposes a disper-

sal in both spaces and histories and a relational space. The multi-societal dimension that Tapia (2008) refers to in the notion of *patchwork society* allows for the spatiality to come into play in terms of heterogenous temporalities on a territorial substratum or "common spatial horizon" (Martín-García, 2016). Although there is still a pre-eminence of the temporality over spatiality in the construction of the imaginations and political projects, Martín-García (2016) indicates that the idea of heterogeneous space could lie beneath this conception in the sense that these structures are a lattice of dimensions such as "form of organization; a common history more or less shared in terms of experiencing events and feelings; a memory; a process of a historic accumulation; political projects; the constitution of identities and political subjects" (Tapia, 2008:90). The author is thinking of popular practices or rebellions, like structurers "of spaces that are gradually molded by rebellions or a lack thereof: systems of relationships of exploitation and inequality and relationships of dominance and oppression that have different and gradual cleavages that contribute to a permanent and historic (re)spatialization" (Martín-García 2016: 90). Considering these disjointed spatialities "will enable us to understand the diverse historical popular political experiences (and spatialities) from a less Eurocentric perspective" (89).

Lefebvre gives a fundamental contribution to questioning the space and the spatiality that allows for interpreting the spatial *patchwork* and articulate it to a tangled dimension. In the 60s and 70s, Lefebvre "proposes a new relationship of society with space by proposing the latter as a social product; in whose ontological base the spatial and the social are built mutually" (Pedrazzani, 2016: 333). Understanding that "social relationships are projected on space, they inscribe themselves in the space at the rate which they are produced" (Lefebvre in Pedrazzani, 2016), the "materialization of the human existence" does not occur only in the space of the capital and of the state that Lefebvre designated as "abstract space" (Lefebvre, 2013). This supposes

recognizing processes of patchwork and tangling of diverse trajectories, being unable to be reduced, neither from the historic plane, nor from "human" experience, to the formalized abstractions of the space belonging to modernity.

2.1. Social movements and communicational potential

From social movements, resist, continue and preserve common goods requires multiple communicative strategies that enable penetration of the wall of mass communication media as agents of constant propaganda that reinforce and feed the neoliberal model (Chomsky & Herman, 1989). In this sense, information and communication technology (TICs) and the use of alternative media such as community radios become effective tools for reporting conflicts, empower social groups and as a way of placing them on the public agenda (Lander, 2014).

The potential of communicational strategies[4] via the use of network communications changes the ways to address conflicts. Direct democracy and internet, first; cellphones and social networks, afterwards, there were and are still effective tools for challenging the global politics of the elites (Portillo, 2014).

Use of the ICTs tends to promote tangled cultures, an opposing force against the mass images of the communication media, in a space of dialogue and relational interaction, in a framework "where all the receptors are potential emitters" (Escobar, 2010), presenting a "gradual disengagement of the contiguity and simultaneity" (Castells, 2009: 62).

Discursive plots, amplified by mass communication media, that legitimize the appropriation of goods by legal measures, taxed and privatizations, use communication to silence and/or delegitimize complaints of social movements[5]. Recovering community communication practices and strategies and diffusion allows unravelling the forms that the relationship space-power-know takes on, and strengthen, like in this case the struggles and resistances to produce other discourses.

3. Methodology

In accordance with the proposed objective, we base ourselves on the work done in various research projects[6] together with activities co-organized with both social movements in which methodological strategies were used that were both qualitative and participative. Various methods and techniques have converged, specifically here: reviews of secondary sources, especially analysis of documents and publications in social networks performed by members of movements in order to delve into the spaces of assertion and their communication media, participation observed, formal and informal interviews in 2017 and the first half of 2018. We position ourselves as academic researchers committed to the struggles of these movements; therefore, participant in many of the processes underway.

4. Multisectorial Defendamos Alberdi

"We were founded on feelings, of our cry upon seeing how they go unpunished while destroying our neighborhood, "Stories of members of the Multisectorial (Correa, 2016: 28)

As we mentioned, Defendamos Alberdi is comprised of both neighbors as well as members of various organizations and institutions of Alberdi and diverse areas of the city (base, support, indigenous, immigrant organizations and education institutions, among others). They come together in order to defend the neighborhood heritage and identity, and against the speculation and advance of the real estate market (Correa, 2016). As the collective is diverse in terms of both members and positions, it makes for a combination of varied experiences and spatialities, tied to the diversity of trajectories and stories.

Figure 1. Multisectorial origin.

Source: Self-made collage, Pictures from Defendamos Alberdi Facebook page.

Figure 2. Multisectorial slogan.
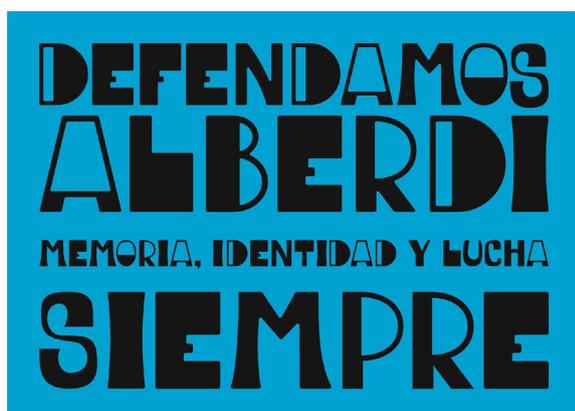
Source: Defendamos Alberdi Facebook page

The area's history features evictions and resistances that date back to the end of the 19th century when the Comechingón indigenous community of the denominated Pueblo de La Toma (today Alberdi) were driven from their lands[7]. The history of resistances also includes student and worker movements: University Reform of 1918, the 1969 Cordobazo, and the 105-day sit-in strike by the workers of the Córdoba beer factory in 1998 are among the largest. Currently, it is a destination for migrants (Peruvians, Bolivians, Colombians, African migrants, among others) looking for jobs, housing, and a better life.

From the multisectorial, a number of strategies and activities are developed in defense of the neighborhood's heritage and urban life: Organization of historic heritage tours (Image 3), festivals promoting neighborhood identity -called "Dichas"- that organize the neighborhood band of street musicians; marches and street protests with the objective of socio-political recognition. Among these and other activities, we analyze the program "La Chimenea", on Radio Libre, as we recognize that it contributes from a communicational perspective to a co-construction of the neighborhood spatiality and identity in an open and plural sense.

Figure 3. Activity promotion.

Source: Defendamos Alberdi Facebook page.

4.1. The radio space

The construction of a territorial "we", linked to residents and the neighborhood, is presented here as relations, flows and social and communication networks that test any attempt at delimiting a neighborhood geography in local and static terms. That "we" contains the recognition of a plurality of experiences, trajectories and identities -ethnic, national, of class, of gender- that must come together in their singula-

rities for the confirmation of the collective. It appeals to a certain local dimension and this local (like the translocal or the global) is sustained according to a multiplicity of rituals and practices of production and support of its materiality (Massey, 2008).

Figurw 4. Radio program advertising.


Source: https://www.facebook.com/LaChimeneaRadioLibre/

In this case, the radio space is one of the "rituals of production" of the local which the co-construction of the neighborhood and a territorial "we" is disputed via the production of identifications and othernesses. *La Chimenea* is the name of the program that for over 4 years has been broadcast on community radio channel FM Libre 92.7 of Barrio Alberdi (See Image 4). The *radio weekly review* -simultaneously streamed via Facebook and uploaded to a virtual radio archive-, is proposed as a space to disseminate and dialogue about different problems that the Multisectorial and neighbors find important. Among its assertations and practices, we recognize three connections of meanings where the neighborhood and the radio are deeply linked and materialize.

4.1.1. The co-construction of a territorial "we"

In its narrative, this medium proposes a "popular and neighborhood level communication". The program indicates that its objective is "to inform on what is currently happening in the neighborhood, to neighbors, in the city and with our urban struggles" (J, program host and member of Defendamos Alberdi). If the co-pre-

sence seems to be a fundamental dimension in the production of a territorial "we", this in current times is neither the beginning nor the end upon being surpassed in all its dimensions.

Figure 5. Program schedule.
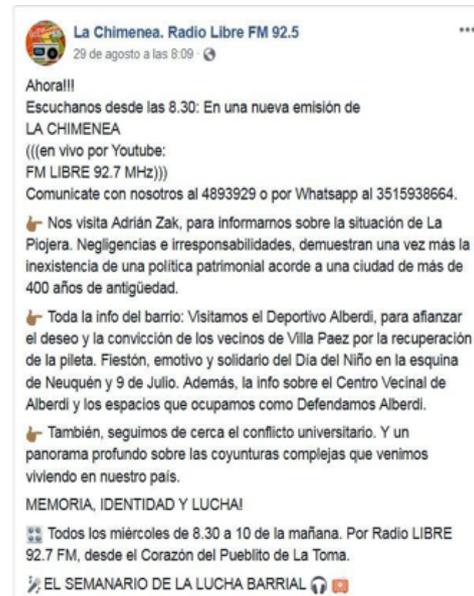
Source: La Chimenea Radio Libre FM 92.5 Facebook page.

The construction of that "we" depends on the putting into play of a series of production and support rituals. In this communicational space, the territorial dimension is central axis in the construction of meaning,

> ... the possibility to have a radio program is always a very important tool to carry out politics and influence the territory… the possibility to communicate activities that make not only this neighborhood organization but rather fundamentally, matters that have to do with the reality of the neighborhood, a neighborhood for the people, in the middle of the city, and that not only experiences lots of changes but also lots of problems... (J)

The participative dimension and the territorial references are expressed by representatives and neighbors that participate via phone calls and messages sent, where the name of the nei-

ghborhood or sector is often referred to in the personal presentations, or rather in the indication of different particular problems placing them from the presentation of "we ourselves", in a complex cartography.

> ... the topic of participation, how we make people come together, or people participate,... that the people propose alternatives to the reality... that we live (P, host of the program and member of Defendamos Alberdi)

The radio space is also understood as a medium to use and position oneself in the political and social disputes that are expressed on a neighborhood and city level.

> The idea of being able to transmit a neighborhood struggle or transmit the problems that one sees as a resident and activist of a territory, a radio program is a very effective medium ... we believe that for this reason a radio program may be a very important tool and even fundamental in the struggle... (J.)

Both in *La Chimenea* and other practices and rituals on a local level, the Multisectorial appeals to the construction of a "we" associated to the street and neighborhood, but also an association to the processes and collectives of the city and the country. They pay attention to the diversity of situations in which neighborhood, ethnic, national, class, gender identities, among others, are expressed and are articulated locally and on variable scales. Among the diversity pf expressions, they put into play and dislocate forms and content that legitimize the "real estate development" and the governmental politics that favor them.

4.1.2. The construction of the otherness

In part, the construction of a territorial "we" expresses a spatialization subject to the "can you spot the difference game". That "we" that is constituted around a relationship of negativity, "of a constitutive exterior", in a practice that seeks to distinguish itself from a thing defined as "other", in this case, the hegemonic actors. In the interview, J. indicates that the

Multisectorial is "a territorial organization, an urban social movement that fights for the defense of the neighborhood in the face of advancing real estate market starting with the downtown" (J.).

The main idea is to express a spatialization of the "can you spot the differences game" that allows situating and identifying the otherness in regards to the neighborhood territory. The actors that identify themselves with the downtown -the state, provincial, municipal and patriarchal families- were those that advanced on the communal territory of La Toma at the end of the 19th century, those that repressed the worker-student protests of the Cordobazo, those that caused the loss of jobs and repressed the workers during the decade of the 1990s, those that approve the destruction of the neighborhood's historical heritage and those that currently promote the real estate speculation.

In a context in which the "developer groups" and the agents of the State, have used hegemonic communication media to favor real estate speculation, the radio program attempts from the margins, "to influence in a political agenda... marked by those who have power in the communication realm" (J.).

In this "neighborhood struggle", if the first identification of the otherness materializes in the demolished homes, the high-rise buildings and "gentrification" process -term reappropriated by the collective itself-, the Multisectorial went re-defining and expanding the forms to express this otherness. As one announcer and member of the Multisectorial indicates,

> It is no longer a problem of buildings against old houses, at one time it was like that, (now) it is the problem of how we live, of what do we do to live in better living conditions, what is "good living" (P.)

Proposing as otherness the imaginary of development and progress, the urban "good life" proposed does not suppose returning to a romantic interpretation where the local realm

expresses the reference to a bucolic landscape and past -a return to - lost in the translocal forces and flows, but rather in the construction of a geographic imagination in an open and pluri-diverse sense.

4.1.3. The de(s)colonization of territory and communication

The program refers to a territorial genealogy of struggles and disputes, re-situating the community radio, as it says in its advertising, in the "Heart of La Toma" (See Image 5). Taking this "heart" as center of the dispute points to a de(s)colonization of the neighborhood and urban sphere, in which the colonial matrix still expresses itself in multiple aspects and relations.

The radial space is shared with other programs linked to social problems and interests of which we can highlight that referring to the original and indigenous peoples and the afro migrant collective of Cordoba. In this plurality, indigenous peoples, migrants of various nationalities and popular sectors find channels to narrate from their own voices and experiences. These forms of creating communication, that do not have space in the hegemonic media, contribute meaning to the radio itself in the community and popular communication medium, that dialogues, communicates and shows what is happening in and from the south, and all this based on pluri-diverse perspectives and experiences (Santos, 2001).

The de(dis)colonization of the territory from the radio sphere acquires multiple expressions in this local space, in terms of an anti-colonial and anti-capitalist struggle, that deploys diverse proposals, many times in tension: the recovery and reconstruction of the voices and knowledge of the Comechingón community that was made invisible by the first colonial order, and by the modern Cordoba state afterwards; in the deconstruction of the racial categories by giving a voice to those sectors that were silenced and subordinated -indigenous, African, popular- in a society which they never disappeared from, even with the con-

formation and consolidation of the modern provincial state, a colonial society matrix-racial and classist-. By interrupting from the communication and the practices to dispute the signage of the city and the neighborhood that constantly affirms the colonial-modern dimension: replace the neighborhood's name Alberdi with "Pueblo La Toma"; change the name Colón Avenue and Plaza Colón to Comechingones Avenue and Plaza Comechingones respectively, rename the plaza Jerónimo del Barco –last name associated with the expropriation of land from the community of the Pueblo La Toma-, the Plaza Curaca Lino Acevedo, among many other changes.

5. "We are the mountain that marches"

The Asamblea de Vecinos del Chavascate was founded in the middle of the first decade of the 2000s. The surplus of the soy boom had generated profits that benefited the real estate market (creation of private neighborhoods on the outskirts of the city of Cordoba). The Chapel of Candonga[8], national historic monument (built in the XVII century, its architecture reminiscent of the Jesuits) and its surroundings remained almost intact until the initiation of the mountain real estate development project.

In this mountain neighborhood, the project of the Ticupil company planned for the construction of over 300 homes on 150 hectares (370 acres) considered a "red zone" by the Provincial Regulatory Law of Native Forest Territory of the Province of Cordoba[9]. In other words, it is recognized as a protected area.

The Chavascate River flows to the side of said chapel. The potable water intake is located here in order to supply the communities of the valley (Agua de Oro, Cerro Azul and El Manzano) where over 10,000 people live. The project jeopardizes the regular supply of a common good that at various times of the year is scarce, and at times even runs out[10].

Cotaimich, member of the Asamblea, defines the vecinos del Chavascate as a group of "people that fight for water and life" (Cotaimich[11]). This statement holds not only the focus of the conflict but also the construction of an otherness that opposes the capitalist and Eurocentric vision of the project. Among the spaces of negotiation achieved, residents worked together with provincial authorities on a project of participative territorial regulation. The technicians spoke of hydric resources, the residents of a common resource, or what Deón (2014) calls "road of water", the use of the common resource that forms part of a social, cultural and economic process fundamental for life.

Clearing in mountainous areas required for private neighborhood projects is performed without planning. In 2015, this resulted in unusual rising of the rivers that caused more damage to the ecosystem, affecting homes, and in nearby towns, both human and animal lives were lost (Deón, 2015). However, the process of construction did not cease.

The otherness, the different, the construction of the other and of one's own identity as a group was branded by fire. The residents carry the brand of that rise. The identities of the capital shield themselves with company structures. The devastation of the mountain is a process without identity, that carries the marks of the predation of global capitalism. The neighbors withstand the droughts, the risings, and the protests. Members of the Asamblea include the Environmental Coordinator and the Human Rights Coordinator of the Sierras Chicas[12], and as part of such the Coordinator for the Defense of Native Forests[13] and after various marches during 2017, they were able to stop the bill from being passed that would change the zoning of the forests into an agroindustrial area.

"We are the mountain that marches" one of the signs in the marches[14]. "At that time, we got the media to pay attention to us for five minutes, but afterwards we have to go back to our strategies", says Cotaimich. With provinces and municipalities carrying out *laissez faire* politics, with officials that often come from and sympathize with industries of thought like that of the Fundación Mediterránea, the territories and common goods are at the mercy of the ability of the social movements to establish disputes. Tensions are produced between territorialities in which opposing models of social organization faceoff between the global and the local, the logic of the capital between the logic of the common good, where the companies seek to impose an abstract temporality focused on the capitalist valuation, in clear opposition to the residents' own production of values of use (Composto & Navarro 2014).

5.1. Communication strategies of the Vecinos del Chavascate

The symbolic dispute of social movements as Vecinos del Chavascate should be donned with sufficient astuteness in order to dismantle *marketing* and advertising campaigns that go hand in hand with the complicity of the mass communication media.The linking with other provincial environmental defense movements, with institutions, with the university, with artists and popular singers are only some of the multiple communication strategies that residents carry out.

Figure 6. Locro.

Source: Vecinos del Chavascate Facebook page.

There is a "we" conception of life. The idea of a "we" with the tree, with the river. The townhall meetings have a perspective of respect for our connection with nature. A fortress itself, there is very strong material symbolic construction. We communicate from a type of public clandestineness. On the other hand, working together with other sectors of the University also allows having "the technicians on our side. (Cotaimich)

The disjointing of the populations is not an impediment to making the message common. "We seek to integrate the knowledge the primary inhabitants of the river valley have with university studies." In favor of defending the river and focusing on the religious culture of the indigenous populations, residents worked on audiovisual messages from the Pope's Laudato Sí Encyclical. "This way we managed for some residents to speak as if they were the most motivated activists of the Asamblea" (Cotaimich, 2017).

Chavascate is the non-official name of the river. Its translation speaks of "town and valley". Ticupil[15] is the name of the company, comprised of ex-state officials. The ambiguity of the name hides the appropriation of the Indian language and of the common natural goods (Llorens, Rodríguez & Pedrazzani, 2017). Both the State as well as the company call the river Agua de Oro or "Water of Gold"; for us, "water is gold", say the residents. For Ticupil, the gold is in the process of appropriation of the profits of the real estate project.

Close to the old cathedral, a large pot with meat and vegetable stew boils. The residents marched 7 kilometers (4 miles) from town. The march is part of the activities they carry out to keep the issue alive. The issuing of a newspaper, festivals, and handing out of flyers on the weekends with high tourist traffic are some of the various strategies that the Asamblea deploys. A tangled "we". Next to the chapel is a heterodoxic mix, hippies together with "the born and raised". Countrymen on horseback and college-educated people carry out informative conferences as

to the state of the struggle. Someone walks us and asks for a serving of meat and vegetable stew. Payment is voluntary and goes to financing the activities. The food and the proceeds symbolize a "we". They are just meters away from the fence of the private neighborhood and the land divided into lots. Individual units measured in dollars per square meter.

The identities are strengthened and weakened according to the logic of the dispute. The Vecinos with the presence of bodies in public places in the street, in the plazas, combine disjointed and tangled identities. "From an anthropological perspective, it is important to call attention to the location of all cultural practices, something rooted in the fact that culture is carried to places by bodies" (Escobar, 2010: 135). The capital is protected after the anonymity of an LLC (Limited Liability Company).

The struggle also takes place in virtual space. The Vecinos del Chavascate, institutionally or via its members make viable messages via Facebook or the different Whatsapp groups, for example. They disseminate information, not only about the struggle for Candonga, but also other social struggles for common goods. The resolutions of the Asamblea de Punilla Against the Highway[16], the advances of a collaborative map of protected areas, the denouncement of intentional forest fires, illegal clearing, the calls to march in the city, among other things.

The actions[17] not only have generated a construction of a "we" in defense of the water, the mountain and the environment, but also in their deployment are able to jeopardize the opposing world view represented in Ticupil. It seems they are not clear on that Reguillo (2017) statement, "[n]ot only is it about sharing pictures, videos and testimonies on the internet, but opening a whole in the walls of power, through which disobedient images filter that, in addition to generating visibility, obligate conventional media to modify their silencing routines".

6. Conclusions

In the arguments and coalitions of these collectives, there are stories of successful struggles as well as frustrated efforts. Both the Multisectorial and the Vecinos del Chavascate managed to articulate a multiplicity of experiences. Diverse trajectories and spatialities combine –middle and low classes and workers, migrants from different places, student groups, collectives, artists, rural production sectors, etc.-defending urban good living in one case, and common goods in the other. From here the territorial struggle, the communicative strategies and the non-innocent dialogues between different players and epistemes, with a grassroots and plural style, was fundamental to stop the real estate operations, dispute the neighborhood centers and the water cooperatives from the traditional parties; get the appropriation of a cultural center -La Piojera-, or engage the local sports and cultural clubs; achieve the recognition of areas as heritage, or defend protected areas of native forest; organize historic cultural tours or environmental tours; among a number of other activities that take the streets as space for the co-production of the public and the local.

From the information developed, the first reflection raised is: in these stories of struggle, community media and lateral communication networks become important tools in the argument for participative democratic practices and the conformation of the collective. The second, in the creation or re-emergence of forms of organization - neighborhood meetings, townhall meetings- as a way of putting the collective problems in the common public sphere, they transform into key players of political deliberation that stand up to the institutionalized forms of the state and of the political parties. All this experience indicates that the local and community forms of generating processes of participation, organization and communication can overflow and dislocate the representative democratic way of the modern west and its institutional framework of articulating the political realm. This brings us to a third reflection: a way of disputing the legitimacy of speculative real estate companies has been to report them and the institutions that protect them, indicating their impunity. In the strategies of confronting power, it is not only about fighting the imposition and the impunity, but rather also jointly building alternatives that transform reality. This shows the potential of the subordinated sectors to present and put into dialogue alternative forms of knowledge and collective construction. A fourth reflection is that the territorial movements and collectives that appeal to the local and community to be built should never stop thinking about and paying attention to their own practices and geometries so as not to fall into excluding localisms. The question as to how these local singularities can articulate into struggles and articulations beyond the local, in the face of projects of domination imposed worldwide is always a challenge. Fifth, the latter indicates that part of what is being disputed are the spatial and temporal imaginations and that can deploy alternative political projects and here the communication and the dialogue of knowledge plays a main role. Finally, and as a sixth reflection, the heterogeneity and multiplicity previously indicated allow us to focus on the problem of the co-production differential of spatiality that is resolved between the affirmative and that which excludes. If the notion of disjointed space can situate itself in proximity to the negativity considered from a spatialization subject to the "can you spot the difference game", that supposes a practice that seeks to distinguish itself from a thing defined as "other" –excluded, abject- "an exterior constitutive"; the notion of tangled aims to capture an understanding of the world as development, where the spatiality is interpreted in affirmative terms, causing the "recognition of space as the sphere of a coexisting multiplicity, space as a simultaneity of stories-until-now" (Massey 2008:88).

Notas

1. We understand social movements "as diverse forms of organization of social entities (classes, class factions or class alliances) immersed in social relationships of sociopolitical and cultural antagonism that given their configuration aim towards some type of anti-status-quo struggle" (Galafassi, 2006: 55). We focus on what they promote as social change-transformation. As Santos proposes (2001) we recognize that these diverse forms of organization manifest oppresions that did not come as object of study and discussion and, that although than can be recognized as articulated with the production relationships and social classes, theys surpass them and show mutiple asymetries in the social relations and those of varied intersectionalities that join in the struggles. For us it is key to recognize there the incomplete and multidimensional aspect of social relations, power relations and of collective action meanings that make the heterogeneity of social movements, and the multiple and varied spatialities that they make possible.

2. We make reference to the neoliberal sphere in terms of ways of thinking and political-economic practices focused on promoting the abilities and the entreprenural freedoms of the individuals according to an institutional framework that promotes the rights of private property, strong free markets and free trade. And where the State creates and preserves this framework in favor of development of these practices (Harvey, 2007). It presupposes particular conceptions of the human being, as well as social, political and cognoscitive conceptions. As Smith (n/y) proposes, the economy of the free market is exaulted, state functions are deregulated, especially those referring to social suport and support of social reproduction. And given the focus on private property, social resources are privatized. It goes beyond public policies and economy, also producing spatialities functional to their reproduction. In the experiences of struggles that we refer to here, in analytical terms we are interested in focusing on the contesting and creative in the face of the advance of formal real estate markets and the eviction processes that they cause.

3. Its official presentation was held at the Colegio Nacional de Monserrat (free, public pre-universitary education institution belonging to the Universidad Nacional de Córdoba), place where young reformists of the ´18 had carried out the first actions in opoosition to the Catholic universitary conservative education system.

4. You can recognize various events like the Seattle WTO Protests (1999) that boycoted the denominated millenial round of the World Trade Organization, the 15-M Movement, Occupy Wall Street, the Chilean Student Movement and the #YoSoy132 (México), among others.

5. Legal discourses are one of the evasive forms of the appropriation of spaces. In the case of Candonga, related with capitals coming from the monocultivation of soy (Llorens, Pedrazzani, Rodriguez; 2017)

6. Said projects were approved in the calls of the Secretary of Science and Technology of the Universidad Nacional de Córdoba, found in the Department of Geography and that have made possible the joint venture from 2010 to today (2018).

7. Although they were made invisible, said community currently claims the right to its culture and identity.

8. Images used belong to: https://es-la.facebook.com/pages/category/Community/Vecinos-del-Chavascate-179457278896995/ y https://www.facebook.com/Club-social-y-deportivo-Agua-de-Oro-664293650315662/

9. Law No. 9814: http://web2.cba.gov.ar/web/leyes.nsf/85a69a561f9ea43d03257234006a8594/603dce7a084735f10325777c006cce5f?OpenDocument

10. See: https://www.unc.edu.ar/sites/default/files/INFORME_AGUA_DE_ORO_Barchuk_et_al.pdf

11. Interview of Valeria Cotaimich, 2017. Member of the Vecinos del Chavascate. Rodríguez Nazer, Interviewer.

12. See: https://es-la.facebook.com/c.a.d.h.sierras-chicas/

13. See: https://es-la.facebook.com/coord.ley.bosques.cba/

14. April 2017, The residents of Chavascate march as part of the Coordinadora en Defensa del Bosque Nativo (CoDeBoNa). They call for the rejection of a law that would permit agriculture and livestock in native wooded areas. https://www.lavoz.com.ar/ciudadanos/masiva-y-diversa-marcha-en-defensa-del-bosque-nativo

15. For more information see https://striptease-delpoder.com/2015/05/dueno-de-la-voz-del-interior-clarin-implicado-en-una-causa-de-abuso/#.W14k48Inapo
http://www.lavoz.com.ar/ciudadanos/suspenden-un-mes-mas-las-obras-en-dos-loteos-cerca-de-la-capilla-de-candonga
http://www.cba24n.com.ar/content/vecinos-de-candonga-se-oponen-emprendimiento-inmobiliario

16. See: https://www.facebook.com/notes/unidos-por-el-monte/carta-abierta-comunicado-de-las-asambleas-de-punilla-a-la-opini%C3%B3n-p%C3%BAblica/606359366398969/

17. See: https://latinta.com.ar/2017/09/vecinos-chavascate-diez-anos-luchando-vida/

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