Apuntes 87, 27-58
ISSN: 0252-1865
eISSN: 2223-1757
doi:

Article received on ?
Final version approved for publication on ?

Stories out of Precarity: Territorial Relocations, Dispossession and Resistance in Santiago del Estero, Argentina

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Abstract. This paper addresses the issue of precarity based on the territorial relocation of populations in the city of Santiago del Estero, Argentina. A flexible methodology based on a multiple case analysis and discourse analysis was employed. Sixteen in-depth interviews with institutional agents and residents of the city were analyzed. Precarity emerged as the articulating category in the stories because of the configuration of mechanisms of power and the interposition of resistances and struggles. It is concluded that relocation creates a new precarity that should not only be understood as the deterioration of living conditions but also through its de-subjectivizing effects.

Keywords: Territories; mechanisms of power; tactics; discourse analysis; subjectivity.

Introduction

In recent years, population relocation policies have emerged as an important strategy employed by states to reorganize cities. These involve the displacement of working class neighborhoods to the peripheries, freeing up central spaces for—among other things—real estate speculation and leading to new and different forms of precarity (Avalle, De la Vega, & Hernández, 2009; Ferrero & Job, 2011). This article constitutes an analytical proposal focusing on how the precarity of displaced populations is configured as a result of housing policies implemented in the metropolitan area of Santiago del Estero, Argentina. The centrality of the concept of precarity lies in its being a category of analysis that emerged from the in-depth interviews carried out during the course of the research.[1]

The hypothesis of this study is that the category of precarity becomes an articulating concept with diverse significations: for cases of relocation of populations, precarity is a result of current forms of government (under neoliberal rationality); that is, precarity is no longer just a consequence of labor conditions. The displacement of populations increases the precarity of housing conditions and also configures new precarities in other areas of life.

Studies on the relocation of populations have paid little attention to the effectuation of precarity, and, in addition, tend to deal with large urban metropolitan areas. This study represents a contribution to this area of research, providing reflections based on housing relocation policies in a medium-sized Argentine city: namely, Santiago de Estero (SDE), located in the northeast of the country. Between 2001 and 2010, the city grew by almost 10 percent (INDEC, 2010),[2] primarily due to mass migration from rural areas to the city[3] driven by the economic transformation then taking place in Argentina. Santiago de Estero was not prepared to receive these

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1 This study was carried out as part of the project "Precarity, Governance of Life and Resistances. A Study of Political and Social Conflicts in the Last Decade in Argentina" under the direction of Dr. María Alejandra Ciuffolini, Área de Ciencias Sociales y Humanidades, Unidad Asociado al CONICET, Secretaría de Investigación, Universidad Católica de Córdoba. Financed and accredited by: Foncyt-PICT-2015-2242. For more information see: http://www.llanocordoba.com.ar

2 The population of the city according to INDEC (2010) is 252,192 (30% of the population of the province); together with La Banda and Zanjón, it constitutes the largest metropolitan area in the eponymous province (population: 360,923).

3 Population migration in the province of Santiago del Estero has distinctive characteristics; historically it was considered a "generator of manpower" for the provinces of the Argentine pampa, and it had its own seasonal internal migrants. These migrations had a strong influence on the city, shaping the creation of new neighborhoods. In addition, the province is characterized by a large rural population. In recent times, and as a result of economic changes, peasant families have been thrown off their lands and forced into the cities. The displacement of populations due to economic transformations has been analyzed by various authors, including Barbetta (2009), Bolsi and Madariaga (2006), De Dios (2010, 2012), and Paz and Jara (2012) .

migratory flows, which increased the population in areas of high housing precarity[4] within and outside the consolidated urban area, and, in turn, created a series of belts of poverty.

Faced with this situation and with Argentina's economic reactivation after the 2001 crisis, the three levels of government (national, provincial, and local) started to develop a variety of urban intervention policies centered on investment in infrastructure and social housing. One of the primary strategies implemented by the state was forced relocation[5] to different areas of the city. State intervention in relation to populations was carried out in a sustained but disorderly manner, leading to a process of suburbanization that left empty areas and created marginal belts which, paradoxically, were the product of the state intervention itself (Colucci, Santillán, & Caumo, 2005).

Far from undoing the conditions of housing precarity to which these populations were exposed, these policies actually perpetuated them and created other and different precarities. This indicates the unequal processes to which populations are subjected. Traditionally, precarity was studied in relation to labor flexibilization and its results (Lindenboim, Serino, & González, 2000; Crespo & Serrano, 2011; Cano, 2007; Domínguez, 2007; Salvia & Tissera, 2002). Nevertheless, the loss of hegemony of work as an organizing principle of the social world (Avalle, 2010; Ciuffolini, 2010), and the configuration of subjectivities, have led to the emergence of multiple and diverse precarities linked to the difficult conditions of survival of thousands of people.

Precarity is understood as the effectuation of power that articulates all dimensions of the lives of subjects (Araya, 2014; Zanin & Mattar, 2012). Conceiving precarity in this way implies the need to inquire into the diverse dimensions of precariousness and its agents, as well as mechanisms of power. Both Butler (2006, 2010) and Lorey (2016) provide theoretical tools to study precarity as a mode of governing subjects as carrying out the deploy-

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4 There is a vast bibliography on the conceptual difference between "*villa*" and "*asentamiento.*" In general, studies center on their respective spatial and population characteristics, their type of land occupation, and other aspects. For this study, we rely on the contributions of Cravino (2001) and Lekerman (2005) for whom *villas* originate primarily during periods of industrialization and migration from rural to urban areas, with irregular occupation of vacant urban land, creating a very irregular urban grid. In contrast, the emergence of *asentamientos* is linked primarily to the economic reconfiguration resulting from neoliberal policies. These are characterized by urban layouts that tend to be regular and planned, similar to the usual distribution of commercial lots on the land market.

5 We understand territorial relocation as the action of the state's displacement of popular sectors whose land tenure is precarious and relocation to housing complexes on the periphery (Ciuffolini & Scarponetti, 2011).

ment of diverse mechanisms.[6] These authors define precarity as the norm of neoliberal governance[7] which supposes the production of vulnerability, insecurity and still greater rates of scarcity.

These studies have illuminated our interviews and have inspired us to adopt this analytical category as the central focus of our work. Consequently, we understand precarity as the everyday manifestation of various mechanisms of power to which some populations are differentially exposed. To analyze the configuration of precarity, we analyze these mechanisms as well as the meanings that they take on in the narratives. We seek to discover the mechanisms through which power operates by creating precarity, but also to note the resistances and struggles that emerge to counter them.[8]

The rest of the article is organized as follows: we start with a detailed discussion of the theoretical proposal in which, on the one hand, we situate the analytical development of the relocations and, on the other, we explore the central concept in this work: precarity. We then present the particular characteristics our case study, the context of relocations in the city of SDE. In the third section, we describe the principal methodological decisions regarding the analysis of multiple cases and the analysis of discourse. In the fourth section we present an analysis of the data, discussing the accounts of precarity; in the first part, we analyze the state as the principal mechanism that configures precarity; and in the second, we individualize the resistances and struggles in which the subjects are engaged. Finally, we conclude the discussion by proposing that housing precarity emerges in the interviews as a de-subjectivizing process that is much broader than just the loss of a home; it refers to a process of dislocation of the subjects that changes their lifestyles and their social relations in the spheres of labor, neighborhood, community, and education. In response to the dispossession that leads to

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6 It should be noted that the authors worked together and that there are lines of continuity and contact between their theoretical approaches. At the same time, it is possible to find some differences in their perspectives. Thus, while Butler emphasizes both the condition of precarity as an ontological condition and the need to focus on the historical-social conditions that produce "precarity," Lorey details the tools that permit us to view precarity as a form of neoliberal governance, and emphasizes its link with governmentality. For the purposes of this study, we concentrate on the aspects in common that allow their contributions to be regarded as complementary.

7 Neoliberalism supposes a set of knowledge, mechanisms, and practices that this new type of rationality deploys by putting into play subjectivities (Gago, 2014). In essence, this is a new form of governance of the lives of subjects and social relations which has placed the emergence of different mechanisms as well as new subjectivities in center stage.

8 In this article we present an analysis of some of the data collected during our fieldwork. Other signifiers that emerged from this study are discussed in another of our articles: "El proceso de reconfiguración urbana en el área metropolitana de Santiago del Estero: estudio de casos múltiples a partir de la relocalización de asentamientos urbanos," *Estudios Demográficos y Urbanos* (in press), where we deal specifically with state intervention and urban (re)configuration.

the effectuation of precarity, the subjects generally respond with tactics that are poorly organized and familial. The primacy of tactics over more organized processes of struggle express both the introjection of individualistic mechanisms to deal with precarity, as well as resistance that could, in time, turn into collective processes of struggle.

1. Conceptual tools: precarity as the effectuation of the mechanism of relocation, resistances, and struggles

For several years, and as part of a broader project by the research team to which we belong,[9] we have been concentrating on public policies and the transformation of cities, given that policies act on populations and territories, organizing the forms of governing subjects. In particular, we are interested in analyzing the creation of inequality within the diverse forms of popular-sector housing and how these become the objects of attention of states principally through relocation policies.

This analytical focus is part of a much broader concern about what is happening on the international level, where relocations are extensively investigated by social studies.[10] This interest developed as a result of evermore frequent cases of voluntary or forced relocations around the world (with a predominance of the latter). Initially, much of the literature focused on cases of rural relocations, including Catullo (1986), who studied the case of the Salto Grande Dam, between Argentina and Uruguay, whose construction led to the forced relocation of 20,000 urban and rural inhabitants in both countries, and Barabás and Bartolomé (1992), who analyzed population displacements resulting from the construction of dams in Latin America (primarily in Brazil). Other rural case studies emphasize the importance of the World Bank—including the propagation of the terms "resettlement" or "involuntary resettlement"—in large-scale infrastructure project in "developing" countries (Rogers & Wilmsen, 2019).

In recent years, many studies have begun to concentrate on cases of resettlements linked to urban-housing and intraurban-displacement policies in various countries around the world. These include, among others, De Camargo Cavalheiro and Abiko (2015), on favela resettlements in

9 "El Llano en llamas" (http://www.llanocordoba.com.ar). The team's line of research is broader than that summarized here. In general terms, we focus on current social struggles and resistances, and on the study of the neoliberal rationality of the governments as applied to their populations.

10 Pioneering studies include Brown (1951) about 60,000 displaced in the Tennessee Valley in the United States; Fahim (1960) about relocations due to the construction of the Aswan Dam; and Scudder (1966) and Colson (1971) about population displacements in Africa (Barabás & Bartolomé, 1992).

Sao Paulo (Brazil); De La Puente Burlando (2015), on the resettlement of a community as a result of the expansion of the airport in Lima (Peru); Diwakar and Peter (2016) and Patel, Sliuzas and Mathur (2015), on India; Nikuze et al. (2019), on Rwanda; Spire, Bridonneau and Philifert (2017), on Ethiopia and Togo; Lelandais (2014), on Turkey; and Bogaert (2011), on Morocco. Some of these studies concentrate on the conditions of the individuals and communities involved before or during relocation, while others analyze the effect of the relocation after it took place.

Increasing information on these issues from around the world has made it possible to systematize situations, actions, results, problems, and social responses which revealed a wide range of contextual variations. Nevertheless, in recent times the relocation of populations has become an established practice employed by states to promote urban revaluation (Bogaert, 2011; Leary & McCarthy, 2013; Noorloos & Kloosterboer, 2018; Watt & Smets, 2017). In Latin America, this practice has become more common in recent years. In Argentina, studies have enabled a certain degree of systematization of relocations—which are also related to real estate speculation—throughout the country; Najman and Fainstein (2018) analyze the resettlement of populations from the banks of the Riachuelo in La Matanza; Brites (2016) problematizes spatial segregation resulting from this practice in Posadas; Marengo (2001) is perhaps one of the pioneers in studies of relocation resulting from neoliberalism in the city of Córdoba; and works such as those of Von Lücken (2008), Cervio (2015), and Elorza (2009), to mention just a few, analyze relocations of "*villas*"[11] in this city under the provincial program "Mi Casa, Mi Vida" (My House, My Life).

This program is central to the questions we asked as a research team in our analysis of public policies and the configuration of inequalities, with special attention to the relocation policies promoted by the provincial government of the city of Córdoba. The unequal distribution of land and housing and the social conflicts that these bring about have been explored in numerous publications; examples include Ciuffolini and Scarponetti (2011), Ciuffolini and Núñez (2011), Avalle et al. (2009), Saccucci (2017b), and Hernández (2018). As part of this analytical proposal we seek to understand developments in medium-sized cities, and, in this spirit, through our case study of Santiago del Estero we endeavor to describe both common and specific processes during periods of neoliberal government.

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11 Translator's note: see footnote 4.

The studies on relocations thus far mentioned concentrate on various aspects of the issue: clean-up and elimination of slums; forced eviction and expulsion; displacement; social programs for housing; and urban regeneration or renewal alongside planned relocation.[12] However, precarity has rarely been studied in relation to these processes.

Next, we will present the main theoretical tools that we employ to analyze precarity. It should be noted that this discussion does not pretend to be exhaustive in terms of all existing perspectives regarding the concept,[13] but rather reviews those theoretical approaches that have contributed to the comprehension/construction of the object, and in particular, those concepts that informed this study.

We are interested in the perspective of precarity because it is a conceptual construct that is new to the academic world, but in particular because of precarity's centrality in the social, economic, political, and cultural dynamics of Latin America. There is a vast literature—some of which we cited in the introduction—which deals with the issue of precarity; however, most of it approaches the concept in relation to the study of new labor conditions.

In the perspective that we propose here we bring together all these elements but organize them in a different manner, since we understand that neoliberalism involves a new form of governing subjects based on precarity. This includes the reconfigurations resulting from labor flexibilization but is not limited to them; on the contrary, precarity is a renewed characteristic of life today, of varying extent and expressions. In order to describe it and understand its configuration, it is necessary to understand its manifestations and particular content through concrete cases, and that is the challenge we set ourselves in this work.[14]

Butler and Lorey are therefore the central point of reference for this study due to the analytical strength of their reflections regarding precarity. According to Lorey, precarity is a neoliberal norm that governs and configures the lives of subjects and, at the same time, is unequally distributed among certain populations, leading to its intensification. To this end, mechanisms are deployed that distribute it unequally (Lorey, 2016). For Butler, precarity

12 For questions of space, we cannot cite all the authors that work on this topic, but—just to make it clear that no one was intentionally excluded—here are some other authors that work on this issue on the international level: Miranda (2019); Goetz (2012); Huchzermeyer (2011); Smart (2012); Buckley, Kallergis and Wainer (2016); and Doebele (1987).

13 For an in-depth discussion of the various theoretical approaches to the concept of "precarity" see Saccucci (2017a).

14 Authors such as Gil (2014), Díaz Cruz (2014), and Jornet Somoza (2016) adopt a similar perspective with the objective of understanding how we are governed in a neoliberal world and the importance that precarity takes on within it.

is a "politically induced condition in which certain populations suffer from failing social and economic networks of support more than others, and become differentially exposed to injury, violence, and death. Such populations are at heightened risk of disease, poverty, starvation, displacement, and exposure to violence without protection" (Butler, 2009, 25).

Butler's perspective provides a response to the question regarding what "precarity" is, but does not fully address the configuration of the process by which one existence is transformed into a life that is protected, and another into a life that is exposed. Lorey´s (2016, 2011) perspective complements the conceptual tools analyzed thus far and enables inquiry into the mechanisms through which precarity is configured. For this author, precarity represents both the condition and the effect of domination and should be studied as an instrument of government in neoliberal societies. It concerns the administration and management of uncertainly, exposure to danger, and the bodies and the modes of subjectivation. Thus, precarization implies living with the unpredictable, contingency, and exposure.

Although Lorey borrows many concepts from Butler, there is also a substantial difference. In order to understand the particularity of a mode of governing bodies and populations in the post-Fordist–neoliberal scenario, it is not enough to sustain that precarity is distributed unequally. On the contrary, this form of administration characterizes the welfare state, but does not currently represent it since the exposure to insecurity is not limited to those who are on the "periphery" of society, but rather is a new general characteristic of governing the population.

In this way, in order to understand precarity, Lorey proposes analytical tools spanning three dimensions: precariousness, precarity, and governmental precarization.[15] The dimension of "precariousness" is taken up by Butler and designated as a socio-ontological condition of life and of bodies. This is not an individual condition nor something that exists in itself; it is relational and shared with other precarious lives. Precariousness does not exist outside the social and the political and therefore is not independent from the second dimension, precarity, which "is to be considered as a category of order that denotes the effects of different political, social and legal compensations for a general precariousness. Precarity designates striating and segmenting precariousness as conditions of inequality […]" (Lorey, 2016).

In other words, this is a hierarchizing and classifying precarity that gives rise to a differential distribution among those that are constructed

15 For the purposes of this article, we concentrate on the first two dimensions proposed by Lorey.

as "others." In this way, "the process of normalizing precarization does not mean equality in insecurity, inequalities are not abolished" (Lorey, 2016). Neoliberal logic governs on the basis of hierarchized differences, ending inequality is not on the agenda.

Thus, Lorey's perspective allows for an improved understanding of the concept of precarity, its implications, and the unequal ways in which it is distributed. Nevertheless, this theoretical contribution still raises questions. If governing through insecurity is a general condition affecting the whole population, but, at the same time, it is administered in a particular manner in relation to certain sectors of the population, it is still necessary to discover how these processes are configured. Thus, inequality is not only a "starting point" but also an effectuation of power which it makes it necessary to discover the form taken on by these new inequalities. In other words, not only are inequalities abolished but new ones are configured.

To describe the configuration of precarity analyzed in this study, two clarifications are necessary: first, precarity is created as the manifestation of the deployment of mechanisms of power, which in turn are made up of a network of heterogeneous elements: discourses, institutions, architectural designs, regulatory decisions, laws, administrative measures, scientific pronouncements, philosophical and propositions (Foucault, 2014). Second, these mechanisms of power are deployed in the effectuation of precarity and are opposed by the subjects through resistances and struggles whose purpose is the creation of "spaces of freedom." It is important to note that the agency of subjects presupposes the possibility of resistances and struggles in the face of the deployment of power. This means the existence of a capacity to produce new spaces that express collective projects and "other" social relations.

In the case of resistances, these are expressed in evermore microscopic spaces where daily life is organized and where the neighborhood is the fundamental anchored space. For example, faced with the expulsion of popular sectors to the edges of the city, subjects resist evictions and occupy new spaces (ever-farther from the center of the city) to make into their own living spaces. Thus, in keeping with Merklen (2005) and Svampa (2005), we propose that politics is territorialized as territory is politicized by giving rise to alternative political forms to the dominant ones and to processes of organization that potentialize the possibilities for insubordination and resistance. Resistances should definitely not be understood as answers to the exercise of power; rather, they are evidence of the creative potential of subjects.

Struggles, for their part, should be understood as practices developed by subjects in the framework of an agonal dispute that presents itself as a

positional game. They directly challenge and oppose the deployment of mechanisms of power and the governing of bodies, populations, and territories. Consequently, struggles refer to the direct confrontation between various social subjects (De Certeau, 1996), to a moment of conflict when tensions leads to a challenge or dispute. Actions are planned methodically as a result of the perception of a conflictive scenario.

Thus, precarity can be understood as the effectuation of a mechanism of power to which resistances are opposed. This form of exercise of power is directly observable among the populations that are the targets of public housing policies in which the displacement of populations is the principal strategy.

To describe how the mechanisms of power operate in the effectuation of precarity, it is necessary to look at specific cases where this occurs. This is why we decided to work on relocation experiences in Argentina. Next, we describe the context in which these types of policies were implemented in the city of SDE.

2. The city of Santiago del Estero in the framework of relocations

The city of SDE is the capital of the province of the same name and is its most important political, administrative, financial, commercial, and service-providing center. Located in northeastern Argentina, SDE, together with La Banda (the contiguous city), has the highest levels of poverty and extreme poverty in the country, according to data from the first half of 2017. At that time, 45.4 percent of the population lived below the poverty line (17 percent higher than the regional and national averages), while 13.1 percent were below the extreme poverty line—more than the double the national level of 6.2 percent (Dirección Nacional de Asuntos Provinciales, 2017).[16]

The province's foremost economic and social characteristics include a low level of participation in the formal sector, low labor force salaries, and a high level of employment in the family labor category. In addition, the informal sector, public employment, and domestic service are very important in urban areas, as are subsistence activities and low levels of productivity in rural areas (Tasso & Zurita, 2013).

16 Poverty in the metropolitan area of Santiago del Estero-La Banda increased by 1.4 percent between the second half of 2016 and the first half of 2017; extreme poverty rose by 4.3 percent, which meant that this region had the worst levels in Argentina (Consejo Nacional de Coordinación de Políticas Sociales, 2018). It is estimated that given the changes that took place more recently, the levels of poverty and extreme poverty have increased in the region.

Given its economic structure, SDE province depends heavily on fiscal transfers from the central government.[17] This is evident primarily in the housing policies implemented in the city by provincial and national bodies between 2003 and 2015 (during the Kirchnerista governments). For example, in 2009, SDE had the fifth-highest per capita public expenditure of all provinces on housing and urban development (Capello & Galassi, 2011). Nevertheless, this investment in housing did not greatly impact the considerable housing deficit in the city. [18]

One of the strategies employed by the provincial government was to relocate populations to new housing complexes. These were people who lived in *asentamientos*, i.e. in areas with low market value. Generally, the *asentamientos* were characterized by precarious houses, access to self-managed services, and an irregular land tenure regime (or one whose legal validity was barely recognized). These people were relocated to new neighborhoods (or annexed to others) generally located on the periphery, where families were given a housing module and access to services. Nevertheless, the relocations are questioned by their inhabitants because of how far they are from the city center, the poor construction of the housing, and the diminutive size of the modules, and because of the new problems that arose as a result of the relocation (for example, the increase in crime or drug abuse), which created new forms of precarity.

While we prepared this study on the basis of various stories of relocation in SDE, we center on one of these to illustrate the processes to which we refer. In 2015, it was proposed that families living in the Almirante Brown

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17 According to Saltalamacchia (2012),"in the province there is no economic activity that does not depend on fiscal income administered by the governor, his ministers, and to a lesser degree, mayors [...] in this way, a kind of state is produced whose government holds the major sources of income: The Treasury" (2012, p. 11) (Translation by *Apuntes*). For Mancini (2014), what makes SDE different is that the administration of the provincial government and its resources constitutes a mechanism of power of great importance for the exercise of domination, given that the principal resource of the provincial economy, as well as the importance that the state plays within it, is the inflow of central government funds. For a historical review of the political-economic organization of the province see: Rossi (2007) and Tasso (2003, 2007), among others.

18 We do not wish to ignore the specific characteristics that make SDE a province with singular political processes. The province was governed in a personalistic manner by Carlos Juárez, interrupted only by military governments, from 1948 until 2004, when there was a federal intervention (though some years, he governed indirectly by naming personalities that reported directly to him). This period is known as "*El Juarismo*." Accused of corruption and human rights violations, Juárez and his wife (who was the governor at the time) were jailed. After a year of federal intervention, elections changed the face to politics in the province and led to greater involvement in national policies. Nevertheless, the particularity of *El Juarismo* in both the province and the city make SDE a region with unique political practices, both among dominant groups and popular sectors. This has been extensively analyzed by Vommaro and Quirós (2011), Godoy (2009, 2012), and Schnyder (2009, 2011), just to name a few.

neighborhood be evicted in order to expand the Pluvial Sur sewage system. The government's proposal included providing unfinished housing modules, without connections to water or electricity, on land devoid of any kind of urban layout, such as streets or sidewalks, in the Siglo XXI neighborhood. For the inhabitants (approximately 70 families) this meant abandoning land that they had occupied for more than 20 years, houses that overwhelmingly had reinforced concrete roofs, and access to services; in addition, they were located within the urban area, with transportation links to different areas of the city.

The population centered their demands on relocation to a site where they could enjoy the same conditions as those to which they currently had access; that is, they were unwilling to give up their houses for more precarious options. Without a population relocation order, in the face of police intimidation, and lacking an open channel of communication with the municipality and the provincial government, the unity of the families broke as each opted for different proposals offered by the state: some accepted the precarious housing (about 50 families), while others "held out" for better housing conditions and got them (they were relocated to completed housing in the original neighborhood, although these houses had structural problems).

3. Methodological decisions for the case of Santiago del Estero

For the purposes of this research, we carried out a study of several cases involving different processes of territorial relocation. This strategy entailed the selection of units of analysis based on both the relevance of the empirical evidence and the attainability of data to feed the theoretical dimensions. This meant choosing the cases that offered a series of particularities that challenge, broaden, and create new interpretations or conceptual frameworks. The cases, listed in Table 1, were selected on the basis of the following research question: how did the processes of territorial relocation in SDE come about?

These methodological decisions were also guided by the research hypothesis. Thus, we think that territorial relocation processes reconfigure the lives of the relocated subject on different levels. On the one hand, they affect them economically, since these are forced transfers that change their living conditions; and on the other, they affect them subjectively, leading to new everydaynesses and modes of interacting and signification.

Thus, in order to analyze precarity in the lifestyles of the subjects, we had to take certain methodological decisions in order to capture the signification of the concepts based on everyday experiences. Our proposal falls within a strategy of flexible design methodology (Vasilachis, 2006; Kornblit, 2007),

which allows for the transformation of methodological and epistemological decisions in accordance with what, in the "signification" of the object of study, is novel or difficult to grasp with available theoretical tools. For data collection or construction, we opted for in-depth interviews with the residents who were targeted by the public policies; with institutional actors linked to the inhabited area of the province of SDE; and with members of various institutions that were involved in the relocated neighborhoods. We chose to use in-depth interviews—one of several options—for various reasons. First, this approach was linked with our epistemic and political conviction regarding the importance of scientific research as a way of retrieving the voices of the subjects who are engaged in struggle, since this makes it possible to produce knowledge that recognizes "the other" and their know-how. Second, the personal interview, direct and unstructured, enables an exhaustive investigation by opening up the possibility for the interviewees to speak freely and express their motivations, beliefs, and feelings on the subject in detail (Mejía Navarrete, 2000).

It is clear that the phenomenon is not an observable and recordable event with its characteristics, limits, practices, etc., but rather a mode in which the discourse that emerges from the interviews is created and formed. Thus, the observable becomes a discursive space, and, more specifically within it, those aspects (words/categories, arguments, etc.) in common that appear. In this sense, the interviews are analyzed by seeking to visibilize the frameworks of intelligibility in the social sphere (Bitonte, 2005); that is, the play of language or the frameworks through which meaning or allusions are constructed.

The data analysis and interpretation strategy implies an epistemic position—and not only a technical one—that is inscribed in a semiosis and grammar intrinsic to the object of study, in such a way that the analytical tools for analyzing the discourse (Van Dijk, 2000; Howarth, 2005) allow us to articulate a theoretical discourse using the languages that emerge from analysis of the texts. Discourse analysis includes placing what is said in relation to what is not said, thus revealing what the subject says and does not say, both of which equally constitute meaning. This centers on the materiality of the text to understand how meanings and subjects constitute themselves and their interlocutors, as effects of meanings linked to networks of signification. In fact, the texts are not the final object of the explanation but the unit that allows access to the discourse.

To carry out this type of analysis, we use ATLAS.ti qualitative software, which allowed for coding and construction of categories based on the text of the interviews. The use of this tool allows us to explore the signification units from the texts and to unravel the semantic fields, thereby gaining an

understanding of the central concepts of every discursive formation and the lexical structure woven into each concrete historical moment corresponding to prevailing power relations. It constitutes a regime of enunciability and visibility of discursive and non-discursive practices (Avalle, Gallo, & Graglia, 2012).

Table 1 synthesizes the interviews on which the analysis is based:

Table 1
Interviews

Interview number	Date	Observations
1	10/31/17	Architect. Provincial Institute of Housing and Urban Affairs (Instituto Provincial de Vivienda y Urbanismo, IPVU).
2	10/31/17	Activist in a social organization.
3	10/31/17	Lawyer from the IPVU.
4	11/1/17	Lawyer. Construction firm.
5	11/1/17	Lawyer from the government of the province of SDE.
6	11/02/17	Former resident of the Almirante Brown neighborhood. Relocated to the Siglo XXI neighborhood.
7	11/2/17	Lawyer from the National Human Rights Secretariat (Secretaría de DD. HH. de la Nación) in SDE.
8	11/2/17	Former resident of the Almirante Brown neighborhood. Relocated to the Siglo XXI neighborhood.
9	11/2/17	Resident of the Almirante Brown neighborhood. Activist of Mocase – Vía Campesina.
10	11/3/17	Official from the Department of Anthropology, Faculty of Humanities, UNSE.
11	11/3/17	Official from the Sub-Secretariat for Municipal Planning, Municipality of SDE.
12	11/3/17	Resident of Aeropuerto neighborhood, associated with the Patio del Indio Froilán González.
13	11/4/17	Resident of La Banda. Member of the Movimiento Evita, which does work in various neighborhoods in the area.
14	11/4/17	Student at UNSE. Collaborates with the Tonocoté neighborhood.
15	11/6/17	CONICET Researcher. Works on institutional violence. Faculty of Humanities, UNSE.
16	11/6/17	Lawyer. Argentine Construction Chamber, SDE Delegation (Cámara Argentina de la Construcción, Delegación SDE).

Compiled by authors.

4. Stories out of precarity: notes about the mechanisms that bring it about

Precarity is the manifestation of the deployment of a variety of mechanisms of power. It is not a summation of individual situations or of the effects of "bad management or policies," but rather a structural characteristic that refers to a mode of governing populations that disproportionately affects popular sectors.

This is about exposure, contingency, and scarcity, all of which affect the subjects, crisscrossing their life histories, as lives marked by dispossession. In the various interviews , the idea of loss is constantly present and refers to what has been "snatched away," those minimum conditions of life that the subjects had been able to guarantee and that, as a result of the deployment of these mechanisms, they lose:

> And, well, then began the insanity that led people to start to **despair**, **afraid** that they were going to come and **throw them into the streets, without anything**. Well, other people, they started to **organize**, to say "No, people, wait, they can't come and throw us out like this, we have **rights** we can demand." Well, there were people who, no, who were afraid, other people, to be honest, that this suited because they lived farther back, let's say, people who had a very **precarious** house [...] they took them to a house that was too far north, close to the city cemetery. It is an area where they **didn't have** electricity, **didn't have** water, **didn't have**, still to this day they **don't have** a police presence [...] the houses where they took them, are houses made of durlock**,**[19] walls made of *durlock*, by the looks of it. Well, these people are people who benefitted from leaving, who had a house made of nylon, other people, not so, but the **fear** they felt made them decide to go. In these three days, people dismantled everything, they came, they moved them out with a municipal truck, **they left them and cast them aside** [...] And, well, the people who decided to go; of the 50 families, 20 of us stayed and, the majority, all the families who were left with a good house, most of them finished, some (...) property, which was, no title deeds which were provided by former governments (...) **the majority had everything completed**, house, reinforced concrete roofs, a finished kitchen, some had bathrooms, and who knows what else. And, well, the 20 of

19 Translator's note: a trademark name for a type of drywall.

> us didn't want to go where they wanted to take us, which was the Belén neighborhood, **no, no we didn't want to, we weren't willing**, because we saw that this wasn't for us, and the **area was very dangerous, we didn't want to** (6:2).[20]
>
> **ER2:** When it comes to the residents who moved to the modules, who went to Belén, do you know how they are doing?
>
> **EO1:** Well, the people in Belén, yes, we know something, because, as I said, an uncle went, and later her [*sic*] mother-in-law went, say, there… She always goes there on Sundays. Well, there, as I tell you, unfortunately… **it is sad** to see the kids how they are now, **it changed their lives a lot**, very much, but most of them **for the worse**. Because… as I told you, here you saw that the kids, it was like they **had a great future**, that's how it looked, and when you see them **today**, the way they are, the truth is that **it changed their lives a lot**. And the people who went to the modules, we hardly see them, but all in all, they are OK, it is a quiet area, they did have to do things, say, extend a little because **the modules were too small**. I think where **they took them**, later, they took other people who also **were evicted** from another place, I don't know if it was from the areas, I don't know if it was from the areas where they developed the riverfront, well, they **evicted them too** and **they took them** there, where those neighbors are. And those modules are also **unfinished** and, well, later they took them anyway.
>
> **EO2: They had no electricity** (13:47).

In these excerpts it is possible to perceive how communities undergo the loss of everything they were able to attain and which was fundamental for meeting their needs. Self-management in the production of habitat as a way of creating a city (a characteristic of Latin American societies due to the lack of state solutions and actions to guarantee rights) is what made possible the needed living conditions of these populations. They have survived through self-management—generally implemented by families and in some cases, collectively—that allowed them to resolve their housing needs, albeit in precarious ways.

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20 The codes at the end of the excerpt identify the interview. The first number refers to the interview (as indicated in Table 1) while the second number refers to the excerpt. For example, (7:1) means interview 7, quote 1. In the transcriptions the following symbols were used: (…) when the audio was unintelligible; (-) when there was an interruption by the interviewee or the interviewer; … when there were brief silences; [...] when cuts have been made to the text for analytical/expository reasons; ER: interviewer; EO: interviewee.

The state moves forward in the face of these community self-management processes through forced relocation. In references to relocations we found the frequent use of the verb *haber* ("have") in its negative sense—*no hay* ("there is no") *no había* ("there was no") —accompanied by indefinite pronouns such as "nothing" (*nada*). This grammatical use refers to a sense of loss, of that which the subjects were able to attain and that which they were dispossessed of due to state actions—housing quality, electricity, water, schools: there was no electricity, water, security. The sense of loss even emerges in relation to the future of their young people: "they had a great future" and "it's changed for the worse" are expressions linked to the process of relocation that appear in the discourse, marking a "before" and an "after" not only in their living conditions but also in their ways of being and their possibilities of planning for the future.

The characteristics of the neighborhoods created by the state for relocations are different than areas that have access to the resources necessary for life. This reveals the presence of a territorial organization that distributes and manages precarity. Thus, it is actions by the state itself that configure territories with value (with adequate living conditions) and depreciated territories (those characterized by having "nothing" (*nada*) that create difficult living circumstances. In the interviews, the state emerges as the principal mechanism of power that shapes precarity.

In this sense, precarity should be recognized in two ways. First, as a general mode of governing a population that entails leaving subjects exposed, in a situation in which they have to resolve all their needs on the market. And second, as unequal distribution expressed in the configuration of two types of territories by the state: territories with value, destined for public and private investment in infrastructure; and depreciated territories, characterized by a lack of such investment.

Therefore, in the discourse, we can see an opposition within what is called "appropriation-expropriation," which is particularly linked to the manifestation of the deployment of mechanisms of power. The first refers to the subjects' process of inhabiting (*habiter*) that, as Lefebvre points out, means "appropriation of something. Appropriation is not owning property, but the creation of a work, molding it, forming it, labeling as one's own. Habitation is appropriating a space"[21] (1971, p. 210). Appropriation supposes social processes of production of what is one's own, what is in common. In this way, a strong relationship between appropriation and signification is

21 All ttranslations from Spanish language sources are by *Apuntes*.

constructed, since all appropriated material is—at the same time—symbolic, give that one appropriates that which has/make sense (Mançano Fernandes, 2013). Thus, inhabiting is different than habitat, given that the latter puts the emphasis on resources and physical space, while inhabiting is focused on the social process of molding and signification.

In turn, expropriation refers to the destruction of appropriation, the negation of space that has been constructed and signified:

> but we **could not** give up on the house that **we built** with **so much sacrifice**, how many years over there, as we said, we **stopped** celebrating birthdays, we stopped buying something we wanted in order to finish it, in order to **try to live with dignity, live well**, and how are we going to go, from one day to the next, with our bags (…) No, I thought that if they wanted to throw us out, if they want to relocate us, at least [let it be][22] in the southern area, where we are living here, where the majority **had** their jobs, the kids **had** the whole school here, they **had** catechism, the church nearby and here there was everything from the life that we **had**, eh, if they wanted to throw us out, they should relocate us in the southern area, which is a neighborhood that **has everything**, **has** a school, **had** everything (6:6).

In this excerpt, the link between appropriation and signification— the impossibility of "throwing away" (*tirar*) what has been built with one's own hands—supposes a symbolic process that transcends mere habitat; rather, it is a broad process of production of habitat as inhabiting (*habiter*), and, at the same time, of the subject. This material appropriation of space encompasses the construction of the space for the development of life, community/neighborly/affective links, employment opportunities, spaces for learning, relaxation, and interacting with others. For this reason, eviction implies the loss not only of physical space, but also of these links and constructed spaces, of the means of subsistence themselves. Eviction thus brings about a process of de-subjectification that implies uprooting and expulsion from the place that has been constructed in common (Ciuffolini, 2011). Therefore, appropriation and subjectivation are part of the same process. The other side of this process is the act of dispossession, the snatching away of what has been constructed and signified in the pursuit of "living with dignity"; that is, the external and undesired action signifies the loss whose replacement is "nothing" (*la nada*).

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22 Inserted by translator for clarity.

At the same time, in this quote there emerges the idea of "sacrifice" as the path to which the "poor" are exposed in order to be able to have something—"have" in terms of its use value, the effort, the "endurance" (*aguante*) necessary for them to merit something that is outside the market mechanism. It is the maximum precarization of life, the total exposure that surrounds it, and, at the same time, that which has the power to improve it. In the account, a reciprocal and complex relationship is constructed between precarity and non-precarity, where the path from precarity to non-precarity demands the intensification of precarity as a condition of overcoming it. Self-sacrifice takes on the form of submitting to scarcity and its administration in order to convert it into "something" through its resignification (Saccucci, 2019).

Thus, in the interviews analyzed, precarity takes on two dimensions: the first is precarity as a life experience, as a preexisting condition that exposed its subjects to scarcity. Faced with this precarity, the subjects develop various strategies that enable survival. The second dimension of precarity refers to a new precarizing move, a effectuation of the dispossession that once again immerses the subjects in scarcity and exposure:

> **ER**: How do you perceive the (…) or what are the main issues in the neighborhoods? **EO**: well, there is **very little access to basic services**. In the neighborhoods that are not urbanized, people make arrangements to have basic services, **hauling** hose from the avenue… after, at the back you get this much (gestures to indicate only a little) water, but that's how you get water, let's say… or electricity, the same thing, each one **puts** a pole in front of the house and **hauls** electricity to the back and refrigerators, televisions keep shorting out… There are neighborhoods that **aren't urbanized at all**, that had urbanization programs where we don't know what happened to them… For example, there was the Programa de Mejoramiento Barrial[23] in La Católica, financed by the IDB, that, supposedly, I think it was in 2011, the second stage should have started, that is, when the second stage starts, the first is already finished… and there was only one paved street! Nothing more! And this program **was for people to have** gas, have water, have electricity, garbage pickup… to build a street drainage channel, street paving, and I don't know what else… now, today, they have just finished the street where the first stage ended, by now they should be two or three blocks further than where the first stage ended (10:7).

23 Translator's note: Program for Neighborhood Improvement.

This excerpt describes a characteristic already discussed: precarity as an "absence of." In this case, it refers to the absence of services that cuts across popular neighborhoods, whether or not they are relocated. The emphasis on the absence of services is linked with those conditions that make life more difficult, with the risk to which they are exposed. The word "nothing" (*nada*) is an articulator of the discourses, indicating the non-existence of the basic conditions that make life possible. This is not a perspective that emphasizes an evaluation of urban infrastructure and transportation to the city, but rather it points to the absence of life, where the resources that make it possible do not exist. Thus, the stories from the popular neighborhoods express the creation of unlivable territories. Insecurity of living conditions is an effect of precarity. This is expressed in the use of the present-continuous constructions[24] *van poniendo* and *van tirando,* in which the verbs are used to refer to the subject's daily practices for dealing with scarcity; those practices whose aim is to make life possible when facing the "absence of" (*ausencia de*). A duality is created in the discourse between "not having–we have" (*no tener–tenemos*). The "not having" is associated with water, not having payments for services, having nothing (*nada*). Here "having nothing" is related to a lack of guarantees for the rights of the subject that live in these areas. This is not only about an imaginary regarding the lack of service—the lack of access is linked to the lack of knowledge of these individuals as legal subjects. Thus, the "nothing" (*nada*) is closely related to not being seen, not being taken into consideration.

At the same time, when they become visible (in the role of recipients of assistance) through state actions (for example, in the previous quotation, through an *asentamiento* urbanization program, they are placed in a still-more precarious situation: the state response reinforces incompleteness, leaving efforts at urban improvements half done. Thus, what remains in the imaginary is what could be obtained (gas, water, electricity).

The state operates as a mechanism of power that effectuates precarity when it hierarchizes and creates inequalities in territories and populations. Throughout this section we have illustrated past and present realities (couched in expressions such as "everything"/"nothing" [*todo*/*nada*]) which are produced through state interventions and how these create new and different forms of precarity: from precariously self-constructed houses to inadequate housing that disarticulates preexisting social relations; from

24 Translator's note: used by interviewees to refer to the unauthorized connections they make from water pipes, electrical lines, etc. In Spanish the construction "ir (to go) + gerund" denotes gradual progression.

making a way of inhabiting one's own to expropriations transformed through access to habitat; from irregular access to goods and services to a real lack of access configured through the state. Nevertheless, in every relation of power there is opposition that resists; and in every dynamic of precarization, ways of subverting it emerge.

5. Resistances and struggles of subjects in the face of precarity

Faced with evictions, populations engage in resistances and struggles. The resistances do not take on an organized, articulated form, but are expressed in less structured, everyday forms; that is, tactics of the subjects in opposition to the deployment of mechanisms of power. These tactics reveal resistance activities on the part of the subjects; they are deployed in everyday life and express resignifications of the functioning of the mechanisms of power. These are not direct confrontations, but rather little-organized everyday practices that challenge the reproduction of the relations of power.

As De Certeau (1996) notes, tactics are everyday actions anchored in the importance of time and the possibilities that can result. That is, they depend on the ability of the subjects to take advantage of situations. Thus, the exercise of power itself implies the possibility of reinvention (Saccucci, 2019).

In addition, we also found, though to a lesser degree, processes of struggle that are organized to confront the operations of mechanisms that dispossess the subjects of their territories. These struggles are characterized as organized, collective processes that suppose the perception of a scenario of confrontation between parties. Below, we reflect on these meanings we find in our analysis of the interviews.

The resistances of subjects: tactics in face of dispossession

The production of habitat through self-management materializes the expectations of the subjects. The effort, the dedication invested in making the house habitable and the neighborhood livable, combine with a sense of "endurance" (*aguante*), of putting up with and facing the most adverse circumstances in order to make survival possible.

The processes of eviction have led to profound pressures, threats, and violence against the communities. In the stories told by the interviewees, a process of resistance emerges that is linked more with disorganized and family protest processes than with collective struggle. If attaining housing meant surviving the former precarious conditions, defending what they have built now pits them against new instances of defenselessness/exposure. Thus, the idea of "enduring" (*aguantar*) is characteristic of these stories. In

the interview below, police action in the eviction is linked to psychological threats and, faced with this, the possibility of "endurance" (*aguante*):

> Oh, the **tension** that we felt **was horrible**! Because the machinery arrived and was at the back of your house. Well, today unfortunately **the consequences** are the kids that are having **problems**, for example, her little one, another neighbor's kid too, who unfortunately **were affected psychologically**, how awful! And not only the pressure from the police, the machinery that arrived and pressured you here in front of your house, at the back of your house. We had this **pressure** recently. Very, **very stressful**, **very stressful**. And, well, some neighbors said: "Listen, **this is as far as I go, I am tapped out**," (laughter)… **the person who had the most endurance** was the one who ended up winning, here **it was the resistance of who endured the most**. The one who endured most was the one who ended up getting what they really wanted, fought for what they wanted: for us to be moved to another house, to leave one house and go to another house (6:15).

Those who managed to "endure" (*aguantar*), to resist these blows, are those who managed to save or negotiate their choice. This is resistance to a form of exercising power that dispossesses and deepens the precarity to which the subjects are exposed. In other words, "endurance" (*aguante*) is a resistance tactic that allows the subjects to defend their lives in a situation that is even more dispossessing, even including exposure to high levels of violence.

The wearing down, the fatigue, and the violence of the threats of eviction deeply permeated the subjects' decision-making, in that they started deciding individually to the extent that their "endurance" (*aguante*) allowed. In this way, the internal fissures between neighbors were the primary consequences of the evictions and the operations that accompanied them.

"Endurance" (*aguante*) does not refer to resigned and stoic sacrifice but rather to a tactic of resistance. This tactic is profoundly connected to the will to stay; to conserve and to defend that which represents much more than a dwelling. It involves the subjects reducing the precarity to which they have been historically exposed since they began defending the land.

The construction of housing through self-management builds another form of relationship with the land—a non-mercantile mode of land access that prioritizes its use value rather than its exchange value, and sees it as a place of shelter and protection for life rather than a profit-making enterprise. Consequently, these tactics imply the development of an "inhabiting" (*habiter*), a remaining that overcomes precarity through sacrifice. Thus,

inhabiting signifies appropriating, building something of one's own—something that the power of the body can produce and which is charged with meaning and personal value.

Therefore the tactic of "endurance" (*aguantar*) should be understood as the principal form taken on by the resistances analyzed. It refers to unorganized resistances by subjects who oppose dispossession through endurance of the violence to which they are exposed in order to conserve the space created.

The struggles against dispossession

In the discourses analyzed, we also find stories that describe various organizational experiences of struggle against dispossession. These are less frequent than the individual resistances, but they reflect experiences of retrieval of that which was snatched away. In general, these discourses are related to previous experiences of struggle against evictions, primarily in the rural sector. Indeed, these previous political experiences of some of the subjects were what made collective organization possible:

> Yes, the struggle was in Pinto in **2001**, during the **soy boom** that **large entrepreneurs** came along to harness… to **take away their lands**. We had something like five **evictions** in Pinto. They came, they evicted the families […] But the five times that there were evictions, police came with judges to knock over the houses and remove the families by force […] But **later we organized** and **retook the land again**. **We organized** and went and entered. And yes, it is hard work to build a house **once again**, but we did it (9:3).

This extract describes eviction processes carried out by large agrobusiness entrepreneurs in the locality of Pinto.[25] Faced with this dispossession, the organized communities together with the SDE Peasant Movement slowly recovered the lands and rebuilt their homes. This experience is remembered by one of the subjects of the current struggle in the city as an effort to establish its continuity. The previous action and the experience acquired through other past struggles explains the existence of some of the current processes of struggle against new dispossessions. Thus, "retaking again" (*volver a retomar*) refers to the vehement struggle against precarizing processes. As Mançano Fernandes (2008) observes, "the occupation of lands is knowledge constructed on the experiences of popular struggles against the hegemonic power of capital. It is a complex socio-spatial and political

25 Pinto is located 245 km from the city of SDE, very close to the extension of the agricultural frontier.

process, in which the resistance experiences of the landless are created and recreated […] The logic of this experience is constructed in practice and has as its constitutive components outrage and upheaval, need and interest, conscience and identity, experience and resistance" (pp. 337-338).

Beyond the particularities of the struggles (whether urban, peri-urban, or rural), contemporary occupations—or takeovers—of land are a manifestation not only of a concrete material need but also of knowledge constructed collectively during the history of popular struggle. In this sense, the struggles against precarity are based on shared everyday experiences. These are not conflictive processes organized spontaneously, disconnected from everyday practices, but, on the contrary, experiences of everyday life that allow for the creation of ties between neighbors that are fundamental for explaining later struggles:

> In the two years that we're here, we have learned a lot: **to acquire and share knowledge**. And what's best is that sometimes the comrades from the community kitchen, sit down and talk, share their problems, they tell you, the comrades who are here in the cement blocks, who had never gotten together, and each in their house and maybe they didn't know each other, didn't greet each other, but they are there, **chatting**, **laughing**, and this **is part of the struggle**, part of the organization. To see them in the garden, all sowing or sitting down to knit, a group making sweets, it's very motivating to be together. And they themselves sometimes say that they didn't know who the other person was, and didn't greet them. And sometimes they themselves say "**and today we are drinking *mate***." And these are the things that are valued. Well, if some day we have land problems and someone comes and says "this is mine," we already know how we will respond. **No one has to back down, we all have to go together**, if not, well, they also have an **experience**, from the place in the neighborhood where they had to leave because one said "compromise" and the other said "no compromise," and some stayed and the majority left…
>
> ER: And you all are talking about this?
>
> EO: They themselves say. "**If I build my house, I am not going to hand it over from one day to the next**" (9:6).

In this extract, we see how everyday life takes on a collective meaning through "encounters" among neighbors. When everyday life is no longer conceived of in an individual sense and starts to be lived collectively, it becomes politicized. The politization of the spaces of everyday life supposes

an expansion of the frontiers of politics, especially those spaces that were previously considered as belonging to the sphere of reproduction. Thus politics becomes territorialized, at the same time as territory is politicized (Merklen, 2005; Svampa, 2005). In this dynamic, territorially-based social organizations turn into spaces for the emergence of political projects and organizational processes that boost possibilities of insubordination and struggle.

The spaces for encounters among neighbors (community kitchens, "glass of milk" feeding programs, cooperative productive enterprises, among others) are organized as strategies for dealing with precarity. This "community in development" is the basis for practices of struggle against new attempts at dispossession, such as evictions. Thus, according to our analysis, the struggles against evictions could only be organized in those places where there had previously been experiences of community and of participation in other political processes of confrontation.

6. Final reflections

In this article, we have inquired into the manifestation of precarity in cases of territorial relocation in the city of Santiago del Estero, Argentina. We focused on the populations who were living in precarious locations and then relocated by the state to other territories, thereby reproducing these precarious conditions, but, at the same time, creating other and different forms of precarity (such as, for example, problems accessing basic services such as water and electricity). Below, we summarize what we see as the main contributions of this study.

First, through a discourse analysis, we identified the main characteristics of the stories of precarity, especially that linked to housing. This notion of precarity, fully set out in this study, emerges from analysis of the interviews and was the central concept that allowed us to enrich the relationship between the theory and the data, resulting in an extensive exploration of relocations.

Second, we shed light on how precarity manifests itself as a living condition to which some populations are subjected, in different ways, due to the deployment of various mechanisms of power. For the case analyzed, precarity is increased through the process of relocation carried out by the state. This paper refers to the theoretical-empirical link between the perspectives about precarity noted here, concepts from a Foucauldian perspective, and approaches related to forced relocations.

Third, this study provides an empirical insight into the characteristics of precarity in a specific case. This includes at least two separate components.

First, it enables us to see various possible manifestations of precarity. This in itself should be understood as a contribution since the concept of precarity presented here is much broader than that linked to the new labor regimes. Second, it provides information about the specific characteristics of precarity in an Argentine city with high levels of poverty.

Four, through our research we fill a gap in what is a "vacant" area in the social sciences: the study of processes of relocations carried out in the framework of a process of "urban renewal" in the specific case of SDE. We call this a vacant area since we have not been able to find previous research about this particular "phenomenon," in this concrete case. At the same time, we think that this contributes to analyses of the modes of governing in the province and the city in recent years (Vommaro & Quirós, 2011; Godoy, 2012; Tasso & Zurita, 2013; Capello & Galassi, 2011, and others cited above).

Five, our analysis concludes that there is a profound link between processes of dispossession that result from the deployment of mechanisms of power, and a de-subjectivation process. Two expressions of housing precarity emerge: one from the past, which is expressed in family histories in the search for decent housing, and one that concerns new processes of dispossession. These refer—in an initial approach—to the loss of a home constructed with their own hands, with the efforts and sacrifice of the family. In a more in-depth approach to the data, these new processes of dispossession are experienced by the subjects as losses, as a snatching away, which is not limited to just the loss of a home but has a much broader effect. The new dispossession puts them in a condition of precarity and exposure, and, at the same time, is a de-subjectivizing process. De-subjectivizing takes place when the subjects are uprooted, thrown out of the place that they constructed collectively since processes of appropriation are fractured. It signifies a profound shift in the subject's ways of life and a rupture of the configured social relations that make up a perceived "us." De-subjectivation is expressed in ideas such as the loss of a future and possible prospects since the subject has been dislocated.

Six, when it comes to the mechanisms of power, we found that the state is the principal producer of precarities, primarily through urban and housing policies. The development of these housing policies has configured unequal territories: on the one hand, valued territories marked for public and private investment; and, on the other, territories shaped by state actions that are depreciated, do not provide any basic services for the lives of the subjects, and plunge these subjects into precarity. Thus, the relationships that have historically been established between the state, capital, and popular sectors

change and (re)configure the city and, with it, labor and housing trajectories, and even the composition of subjectivity itself. The kinds of threats emanating from the state largely through the police expose the subjects to violence and defenselessness.

Finally, seven, the theoretical perspective presented here includes an analysis of resistances and struggles that the subjects use to oppose the deployment of mechanisms of power that deliver precarity in unequal ways. We found that resistances are the major form of opposition to these mechanisms; that is, individual or barely organized tactics that resignify the operation of the mechanisms. In contrast, struggles refer to organized and collective practices that are structured according to the perceived scenario of conflict, a positional game between various social subjects who are set against each other. In this sense, socio-communal activities have emerged as a central space in the life of the subjects, allowing them to react to the precarity to which they are exposed. At the same time, these collective experiences are recovered in the discourses as community supports that allow for a struggle in defense of the space that they themselves have created in the face of threats of evictions.

Clearly, the effectuation of housing precarity is related to de-subjectivizing processes; that is, the rupture of bonds, a subjectivity of fear and violence carried out by the state primarily through the police; and a disregard of the efforts and the "endurance" (*aguante*) of the inhabitants to reverse their conditions of precarity. These are de-subjectivizing processes that detach the subjects from their everydayness, and which are traversed by a set of conditions caused by relocation.

At the same time, there is a process of reattachment that generally does not involve struggle, but rather the putting into practice of tactics intended to generate margins of freedom and self-protection in those places where exposure and dispossession were brutal. These tactics involve microscopic and little-organized resistances that resignify the deployment of mechanisms of power and shape their effects. The primacy of tactics over more-organized processes of struggle express both the introjection of individualistic mechanisms to confront precarity, when a resistance can, with time, be converted into processes of struggle. Thus, housing precarity should not be understood only as the dispossession of housing but as an integral process that completely changes the subjects, their relationships, and lifestyles. In other words, drawing on the narrative of the subjects: they have lost the future, and the present is crisscrossed with precarity.

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