

*Revolución es pasar de la representación a la verdad, digamos que es tirar el caparazón con el que te adornas y mostrarte con orgullo; convertir en explícita tu fragilidad, sacar a la luz el rencor de quien se ha quedado atrás o abajo, hacer aparecer la violencia latente.*¹

In 2003 the construction company Martinsa-Fadesa intended to build 2.000 houses, a hotel and a golf camp in the Delta de l'Ebre, facing the views of the Natural Park, in a polemic urbanistic operation which was reported due to its impact on the environment. Mirador del Ebro (literally "Viewpoint of the Ebro river") –the name given to it– was presented in a moment in which the real estate speculation economy was central in Spain. The logic of making profit out of burnt ground was, back then, almost hegemonic.

The Mirador took 125 hectares of la Palma, a peach trees field next to the Ebro River, in l'Aldea's municipal estate. The construction would in fact stop in 2008, but the privatization of communal ground was already done. The waste and land burning logics are the object of the third round of #projectedejectes, a project of projects in the framework of Ebrement 2016–17: an artistic collaboration built up upon the exploration of places across the territory which are in some way appealing to us. In this third episode, a forsaken place comes back to life in order to be analysed, from its origins to its current reality.



¹ *Revolution is to pass from representation to reality, let's say it is to throw away the shell with which you decorate yourself in order to proudly show yourself; to make your fragility explicit, to shed light on the rancor of those who were left behind or below, to bring up the latent violence.*

FADESA AS A CASE STUDY

Mirador del Ebro is today an image of decay and acculturation: of the distance between what that development model was supposed to breed... and what never came true. L'Aldea's town hall, who manages the land area and is therefore an accomplice in crime, has seen, since 2008, the termination of the construction works and its subsequent abandonment. From then on, the buildings have been looted and have suffered many occupation attempts, what took Martinsa-Fadesa to hire a private security service.

In 2008 the company announced state of insolvency and went bankrupt. The insolvency speeded up the stopping of the construction works, and despite l'Aldea's town hall's petition to bring the project to an end, there haven't been further actions. This makes the city council unable to give any occupation licence to the few owners who already payed for the houses and, furthermore, it perpetuates the picture of land burnt for nothing.

GOLF PANORÀMICA AND CALA MONTERO, OR THE MIRROR

Meanwhile: less than 40 km away from there, we find the Panoràmica Golf urbanization and the Panoràmica Golf Club. Because of its size, its facilities and geographic location, this touristic complex that begun to be built at the end of the 90's would probably be the most similar operating project, in case that the Mirador del Ebro would have been completed.

Alcossebre, Peníscola, and Vinaròs are the coastal towns where in the last 50 years Cala Montero Group has stolen ground in order to breed touristic predation. The Golf project was supposed to be the culmination of that process: an elite residential complex far away from the coastal massification that they provoke, to a great extent. The urbanization consists on private houses, as well as tourist apartments. However, a great part of the initial project has not been completed and many of the late constructions were not sold.

Gated communities like Panoràmica Golf have usually a surveillance service, restricted access, and might even be surrounded by walls. This kind of housing estates are considered to create discrimination, to induce fear to hypothetical dangers from the outside world, to create economic segregation, privatization of the spaces of common use, as well as a loss of the community life. Furthermore, besides its huge impact on the environment and its visual effect on the landscape, they barely benefit local economies, something that was supposed to come with the Mirador del Ebro. The offered entertainment, which could be a golf camp or some other sports facilities, usually belong to the sponsor company, who is normally also in charge of the management, as well as the commercial areas, restaurants, etc. The way gated communities are designed, its inhabitants do not need to leave or have any kind of relation with the outside.

In this case, Cala Montero Group is at the same time builder, promoter and manager of the housing. In the case of the Mirador, and according to l'Aldea's mayor declarations made last June, if the current owner (Banco Santander) would decide to have a closer look at the project, it could regain its touristic appeal and obtain new benefits. We don't know what Daniel Andreu understands by touristic appeal... but we do know that his politics do not correspond to 2017's reality.

LATENT VIOLENCE

Crematorio, a novel by Rafael Chirbes, puts into context the real estate bubble. He explains it as an example of original accumulation of capital, one of those economic cycles that make today's capitalist model work. Tourism, globalisation or imperialism (it depends on the epoch's aesthetics) are then used as a tool: to redraw the map of production, to conquer a cheaper market in seek for expansion.

Today's political momentum might be a "success" of the Services in the Internal Market Directive –also known as Bolkestein Directive– approved by the European Union in 2006: tourism as the economical monoculture in Southern Europe implies burning land and predatory real estate logics (in order to make it possible, since touristic equipments are needed). The same way that a qualified impoverished working class is needed to make it work. And here is where the Bologna Process comes in.

Bologna Process is the popular name of a series of policies to settle the so-called European Higher Education Area. Those policies eased, from its very beginning (1999), to elitize higher education; which is increasingly becoming limited to the higher incomes. Many also say that it implies the normalisation of precariousness in the labour market and employment. Many students consider also that the European Higher Education Area mercantilizes universities.

As an economic result, a majority of graduated people qualified but in debt, are constrained to work and unable to ever stop doing it. Their roles or conditions being not relevant at all because what actually is important is to pay the debt, the debt being decided as the general condition of life for the majority. It is almost not possible to live without contracting debts to study, as a mortgage or car, to healthcare. Welfare passed: welcome to debtfare. There is no such thing as social mobility anymore.

Once our subjectivity is configurated by debt, we survive indebt; paying it back is our responsibility. Work ethics do impede us to stop working. In terms of psychology, debt starts then as an external pressure but soon goes deeper and ends by being a moral power –the main weapons of which are responsibility and guilty, which can easily transform into objects of obsession.

You are responsible for your debts and guilty for the difficulties you will find during your life; a life read by the glasses of catholicism and neoliberalism, which you wear from the moment you were born, even if you didn't ask for it. Indebted converts into an unhappy conscience that makes of

guiltiness a way of life. Step by step, labour ceases to be a potentially pleasant or creative activity, to become a nightmare for the majority. The worker, a former graduated or not, works to pay his debt and muddle through, to keep being dispossessed of time, to keep consuming, to keep doing what you have to do.

In times of mercantilization of time, art has no place.

Future has no future.

But who should we blame? Who is *guilty*?

MEA CULPA, MEA CULPA, MEA MAXIMA CULPA

We always search for someone to put the blame on; we need to point out the engine that started the chain of cause and effect that led us to a situation we do not enjoy. We urge to find a responsible for that. The general rule nowadays is to blame oneself: this has happened to me because I sought it, or because I did something wrong - the symptom of an hegemonic culture limited by the illusion of domination and free choice of the decisions of our lives:

*Los problemas económicos son reducidos a problemas psíquicos ligados a un insuficiente dominio de si mismo y de relación con los demás. Esta filosofía de la libertad hace recaer la responsabilidad del cumplimiento de los objetivos únicamente en el individuo.*²

However, material conditions do have a certain importance when it comes to setting up our lives. Precisely, a product of the dysregulation of the labor market, the Precariat is another of the new subjectivities, as a result of the loss of security and labor stability in many sectors of the population. Migrants, young people with academic qualifications and no chances to work in their labour field, unemployed, single mothers, retired people with cuts on their subsidy. According what Guy Standing explains³, all of them share the perception of having lost control over their own work situation.

But this is not just about having jobs that are paid below the minimum wage, nor the normalization of having a totally vulnerable working position. Precariat workers have lost representation in labour unionism, access to state compensation, social benefits, and even their professional identities. Precarious jobs lack of social memory, and are often alienating and purely instrumental.

² *Economic problems are reduced to psychologic problems, tied to an insufficient control of oneself and to the lack of relational skills with the others. This philosophy of freedom makes the responsibility of accomplishing your own goals to fall strictly on the individual.*

Enrique Javier Díez-Gutiérrez. "La educación de la nueva subjetividad neoliberal". *Revista Iberoamericana de educación* vol. 63, num. 2 (2015), 166

³ Guy Standing, *The precariat. The new dangerous class* (London: Bloomsbury, 2011), 9–10

It will be necessary to observe the direction that this new social stratum takes, but it is true that for some, despite all, it is liberating not to have a horizon of stability, and behavior rules defined by labor identity. It is here where the potential strength of precariat as a social class or narrative resides: this release of certain social pressures and norms could reverse –if it is not already doing it– in new social models based no more on individualism and competition, but rather in conscious individualities of being part of a community, in cooperation, in collective ownership and non-property.

LOCUS SOLUS: WE ARE COLONY

*Els ebrencs no coneixem la nostra història col·lectiva. Si la tinguéssim present, sabríem que el període actual d'incertesa és producte d'una divisió administrativa que s'ha fet, al llarg de l'època contemporània, en contra dels nostres interessos amb l'objectiu de defensar polítiques alienes. Per això, la manca d'una organització política lligada a la terra ha fet possible la nostra davallada econòmica i social que, des del segle XIX fins a l'actualitat, no ha fet més que accelerar-se.*⁴

The name *Locus Solus* refers to the homonymus novel by French author Raymond Roussel, a *dérive* of the narrator and his guests through the gardens of his lonely mansion on the outskirts of Paris, where he shows them unbelievable objects and experiments with improbable stories and rocambolesque characters. We are also in a *dérive* through a particular garden, walking across our local history through unusual objects, failed experiments and horror stories that somehow have configured the Terres de l'Ebre colony.

Today, knocking at hell's door, we wonder if we can look at the landscape and pass over the capitalism's ruins. Or if there is any difference between a nuclear plant, les Casotes, Fadesa, la Sènia's industrial complex or a fascist monument. We question if it is wise for the Mayor to advertise a model of development already shown to be based on speculation, lie and destruction. If we are a colony.

And where do we want to go to.

⁴ *People from Terres de l'Ebre we don't know our own collective history. If we had it present, we would know that the current period of uncertainty is the product of an administrative division of the territory which has been made, through the contemporary era, against our interests, with the aim of defending aliene politics. Because of this, the absence of a political organisation focusing land issues made possible our economic and social fall which, from the XIXth century until now, has nothing else but increased.*

Josep Sánchez Cervelló quoted in: Miquel Àngel Pradilla Cardona, „Dinàmiques sociopolítiques i procés d'estandarització a les comarques de la diòcesi de Tortosa“, *Caplletra* 57 (2014), <http://www.raco.cat/index.php/Caplletra/article/viewFile/281649/381271>. (Consulted August the 31st 2017)

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