

Borderization and Live Regime
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Hello, my name is Sayak Valencia. I am a professor of Cultural Studies at Colegio de la Frontera Norte.

Today I am going to present three themes that go in conversation with previous themes discussed in the Sawyer Seminar.

I am very grateful for the invitation and to be here with you and be part of these collective reflections and discussions.

The topic that I am presenting today is: Gore Capitalism, Borderization and Live Regimen. The talk will be divided in three parts: I will first reflect on what is Gore Capitalism today and how the concept can be extended to a different context than the one where the concept originated.

Ten years ago, when I first published the book, Gore Capitalism was used to shed light on the explicit violence perpetuated by the Mexican state, drug trafficking and the violence produced by dichotomized choreographies of gender.

The second theme of the talk will be the conceptualization of 'borderization' as a form of necropolitical governance that goes beyond geopolitics but that is atrociously verified in geopolitical logics.

Third, I will extend a reflection on 'Fascism 2.0', as a regressive sensibility, and its relations to what in other works, I have denominated as Live Regimen. In other words-- the governance and rentability of emotions through social media directed at political ends.

Ten years ago, when I first coined the term of Gore Capitalism from a trans-feminist perspective, it was reflecting upon violence in Mexico and the relationship between narco and the state.

I find that there are five critical axes that continue to operate and that intersect and construct the basis for a bloody neoliberalism. Not only in relation to the labor process, but also as a cultural and symbolic system that constructs and reaffirms post-colonial narratives and political fictions and hegemonies that are aligned with consumption, gender binaries, borders and migration.

These five axes are: First, the traces of colonialism evident in the classism and racism that permeates ex colonial countries of the Global South. Countries that are being re-colonized through borders and spatial partition.

The second axis is: machista masculinity and its alignment with nation-state projects which through the extension of certain privileges constructs a necropolitical masculinity.

It is very important to make this emphasis on a necropolitical masculinity as a distinctive masculinity that exhorts violence and constructs a certain labor. As a potential masculine machinery that is at service to the state and its political and economic cartography.

Third, we have economic precarization and an accompanied existentialism among populations. Primarily those linked to a breadwinning masculinity. There is hatred towards the poor, just for being poor and the degradation of labor and subsequently, forced migration of young and masculine subjects. Although not limited to those who are young and masculine.

The migrant profile has been diversified, primarily in the Tijuana border. We cannot longer talk about migrants as being homogeneous but rather we have to acknowledge different intersections. We have different gender, class, race and age intersections. The last axis has become evident in the increase of non-accompanied child migrants--which has been a political problem in the last three or four years.

Fourth, we have the frenetic acceptance of neoliberal ideals through the establishment of hyper-consumption as a space of restitution and of individual affirmation. This constructs a neoliberal capitalist subjectivity, thinking about theories put forward by Guttari and Rolnik that is characterized by the re-affirmation, spectacularization and glamorization of violence.

Fifth, we have the fragmentation of reality and the ascendancy of a psycho-political hyper-mediation, as a form of governance of the senses that is grounded on the pre-production of reality to re-elaborate visual and social consensus. This is not achieved through dialogue but through the dissemination 'fake news.' And through the rupturing of previous social contracts based on veracity. This serves as a governance strategy to disengage of any kind of political responsibility towards marginalized and vulnerable groups.

These five axes are critical given that they are materialized in our social realities. They constitute necropolitical governance techniques as conceptualized extensively by Achille Mbembe, as well as biopolitical governance techniques as conceptualized by Michael Foucault. As well as conceptualized in other contemporary reflections, like the one's provided by Laura Bazzicalupo.

As well as psycho-political forms of governance or a digital governmentality as conceptualized by Byung-Chul Han as well as myself and other theorists who have conceptualized this form of psycho-political governance and its data colonialism.

These three narratives of governance are constantly reproduced in a chain of meaning that produces a specific sensibility. I am going to talk about this specific chain of meaning that produces a specific sensibility and that makes use of biopolitical, necropolitical and psychopolitical techniques to organize populations and borders as we have seen them in their contemporary articulation.

I called this sensibility regressive given that violence, classism, machismo and racism are glamorized and constitute to a great extent contemporary audiovisual national and transnational

narratives that are transmitted by cultural industries, the media, social media and in the digital folklore.

These industries make invisible or make explicit, depending on each case, the atrocious material consequences of these narratives, to generate surplus value in an economic and symbolic sense, in certain niche markets that are activated by necro-economies.

These three elements: cultural industries, mass media and digital platforms are fundamental given that they distribute a regressive sensibility constructed upon different axes of domination such as: gender, class, and sexuality. These three arenas actualize the semiotic and discursive modes of production that we consume constantly in our everyday lives.

My hypothesis that I present is that, these three elements are the glue that unite material extraction through violence as a form of labor which I call Gore Capitalism. In this vein, state massacres towards vulnerable populations are a form of state desensitization to placate migration and increase global security budgets.

In this sense, I denominate this cynical exposition and necropolitical form of governance towards migration as 'snob capitalism'.

In other words, a form of governance that makes emotion profitable through the transmission of massacres in real time to certain populations.

I am going to begin to talk more precisely about the contemporary articulation of Gore capitalism. Some of you know that for the past years, my investigations have been centered around the articulation of neoliberalism in Mexico and what is known as necro economies.

Especially as linked to violence in Mexico and the relationship between drug trafficking and organized crime. As economic paradigms, but also as cultural, social, political and aesthetic paradigms.

I have tried to encompass these conjunctures under the concept of Gore capitalism. Gore capitalism is a concept that tries to signal blood spillage as a price to pay by ex-colonial countries who continue to align themselves with neoliberal logics which are increasingly more demanding and more exclusionary.

Gore Capitalism also describes the relationship between organized crime and the increasing percentage of dismembered bodies in Mexico.

This relationship is based on gender dichotomies as well as with racialized and classed segregation. And is also based on the predatory use of bodies.

All of this, through the usage of very explicit violence as a tool of necro empowerment.

In other words, a form of achieving success, economic empowerment and social respectability through the making of death and violence as a working tool.

In this sense, Gore Capitalism is an interpretation of neoliberal logics that are associated with entrepreneurialism. That in border geopolitics or Global south geopolitics, is articulated through the usage of expressive violence as a working tool that generates rapid wealth, socialization, and meaning to a segment of the population.

These populations as we have talked are predominantly masculine. These masculine subjects have sought to escape economic and existential precarity. And have sought to fulfill their social roles as breadwinners.

However, Gore capitalism is not only a criminal economy but rather, it reinforces certain logics and social choreographies in regard to gender and cis-hetero- patriarchal sexuality.

In this vein, the concept of Gore Capitalism is not reduced to the neoliberal exploitation of Global South economies but with the re alignment of post-colonial logics.

These logics are characterized by the humanization of certain populations that have as central actor a masculinized subject who is socially obliged to embed himself in these competitive logics to become a modern, legitimate, and civilized subject among his peers. Primarily, he adopts these logics to not lose his masculinized credentials given to him by a triumphant masculinity.

The concept of Gore Capitalism is theorized from trans-feminist perspective. Trans-feminism decenters 'the biological women' as *the* subject of feminism and extends the space for non-binary people and people who are not identified as women. Trans-feminism is a more intersectional feminism that considers different intersections of migration, race, class. Trans-feminism is rooted in social justice. Trans-feminism does not exclude trans people, but it also does not locate trans subjects as the * only* political subject.

Trans-feminism seeks to go beyond the essentialization of a political subject or the centering of a political subject over the other, rather, it seeks to form inter-generational and horizontal alliances across different social struggles.

This is a feminism that seeks social transformations and social justice. A feminism that demands justice and the eradication of violence towards women. A violence that has become more embedded and more visible both in the North and in the South.

In this vein, this necropolitical masculinity that the concept of Gore Capitalism critiques makes reference to gender and sexual codes that unfold within capitalism and that intersect with a racist matrix that is based on a necro modernity.

In other words, a matrix that constructs racialized subjects as contemporary monsters. I have conceptualized the relationship between post-colonialism, racism, machismo and necro labor through the concept of 'endriago subject.' Endriago referring to a monster that has animal and human features.

I take the term 'endriago' from Medieval literature, primarily from the XIII century knight novel entitled "Amadis de Gaula."

I take this figure from Medieval literature because from the decolonial perspective, the construction of the 'endriago' is based on a colonial optics that continues to be present in many territories that are considered to be ex colonies.

A colonial optics that is realigned in post-colonial capitalist territories through the economic re-colonization that is financed through new demands of production and a hyper-consumption.

In summary, the 'endriago subject' could be read as a conjunction of individuals who re-inscribe a capitalist subjectivity that emerges in global conditions of precarity and who subscribes to the demands inflicted by the masculine side of the gender binary.

In Mexico, the masculine side of the binary is based on economic respectability, indifference to danger, the devalorization of the feminine, the restoration of authority at whatever cost, the expression of violence of high and low intensity. These are embodied to achieve both economic and gender-based respectability

Given the capitalist and colonial narratives are rooted in a gender binary, aside from the violence exhorted by the 'endriago subject' another fundamental aspect of Gore Capitalism is the predatory usage of marginalized bodies. This includes, feminized, racialized, indigenous, neurodivergent and migrant bodies. In general, those who are excluded from the white patriarchal hegemonic masculinity.

Is worth mentioning that this violence resides in the quotidian. This is indexed by the increase in the killings of women and trans women in Mexico. In 2019, the rate was 9 women's killings a day and 50 rapes per day.

This violence towards the feminized other in Mexico is also distributed as a social milestone and a working tool--however problematic. It is also considered as a space of socialization, consumption and the construction of a cultural imagination that is rooted in the normalization of death.

I want to note that I am being schematic given the time limits of the talk, however I am happy to return and go further into these concepts during our discussion time. The purpose is to put these ideas in the table for further discussion.

To recapitulate, as I've said, the concept of Gore Capitalism comes from a trans feminist perspective and seeks to make explicit the alliance between a hetero-patriarchal military, capitalist and racist order and a necropolitical masculinity, as a form of governance generalized in the Mexican context.

However, extending beyond organized crime as an enterprise, and also extending beyond the Mexican context, as we have seen in contexts like Europe and the United States.

We have seen the expression of necropolitics, extraction and a form of general governance rooted in fear, terror and violence, not only confined to the Global South but present in other regions where necropolitics becomes more evident and more explicit.

In this vein, Gore Capitalism can be understood as a form of governance that is transposed to nations of Latin-America, but that is becoming increasingly evident in the geopolitics of the Global North.

For example, in the United States, we have seen this in the Trump administration with the establishment of concentration camps for migrant children. Or in Europe, in the extension of necropolitics towards migrants who are being let to die in real time. We saw this in March when refugees were being put into boats that were pushed back out, many migrants were killed in the borders of Greece and Italy.

These examples show us how the borderization of the contemporary world in its necro-administrative dimension is very lucrative and productive. It generates surplus value for drug cartels, organized crime but also to legal enterprises and governmental administrations who profit from direct and indirect violence and death.

These administrations commodify people and generate necro value by pushing them to the edge of death or by simply letting them die.

The capitals who are fed by these types of necro economies, are on the one hand, the illegal and informal economy who traffics people, and on the other hand, the legal version of this, is the trafficking of people in detention camps that are being morphed into enterprises.

These enterprises that are located in the United States are able to accumulate capital through the military-industrial complex, this dimension has been extensively theorized by Black theorists like Angela Davis. We can start a conversation around this theme.

I am going to conclude this section, by reaffirming that in Gore Capitalism people become commodified. Not only in terms of their labor and their body, but in the display of the dismembering of their bodies and the usage of explicit violence.

Where death and torture constitute forms of exploitation that are made profitable, both symbolically for cultural imaginaries that benefit from white supremacy and racism but also through the generation of surplus value and necro value for the military-industrial complex that manages the detention apparatus in the United States. As well as the generation of wealth from illegal enterprises who in Mexico profit from the detention and killing of people.

This leads me to the second part of the talk; I am now going to talk about the concept of borderization. Here in Tijuana where the global South begins, we see the expansion of a crude politics of migration rooted in a necropolitics, as we know this concept was extended by Achille Mbembe.

Necropolitics again refers to a form of governance of the population that lets die and massacres people.

In other words, necropolitics is a form of governance through massacres and death, as a form of continuum of colonial control that seeks to exterminate racialized populations who appear redundant to the neoliberal project.

Which in the contemporary period take the crude form of Gore of Capitalism--that which as I explained the explicit blood spillage is a price to pay for the people who reside in the Global South who continue to align with a neoliberalism that has become increasingly exclusionary.

In this sense, my hypothesis is that Gore Capitalism is a dystopian economy that is visible in the enterprises of organized crime present in the ex-colonies.

For instance, in Mexico this is evident in the enterprise of drug trafficking although not reduced to this example.

In the United States, this is evident in the necro administration of Trump and the reinforcement of borders between Mexico and the United States.

This borderization is disseminated through two modalities: One, the physical borderization materialized in the construction of the wall. And second, in the reinforcement of a hate discourse directed towards migrants of the Global South and migrants who reside in the United States.

In this sense, the work of death: the extermination of poor and racialized populations which are often labeled as minorities, have been part of the political cartography of the colonial modernity project which is materialized in geopolitical, spatial and territorial borders.

As mentioned by Sandro Mezzadra and Brett Nielson in a book entitled "The Border as Method," And here I quote: "In modernity, borders have played a constitutive role in the modes of production and in the organization of political subjectivities. Citizenship provides a primordial example in this, it's only necessary to reflect upon the critical relationship that exists between citizenship and work in the 20th Century to understand the modes in which the dyad figure of citizen-worker has been inscribed within national boundaries..."

For this reason and following the dyad of worker-citizen, reflecting upon the borderization of the world as a governance technology reinforces economically and politically authoritarian forms of government, and can help us to start thinking about migration as political project.

In other words, as a form of material and symbolic extraction within an international governance paradigm that connects a colonial dimension with fascism.

In both cases, racism is rectified as a technology of governance that allows the extraction of material and social capital through the inflection of violence towards marginalized populations from non-marginalized populations.

In this vein, the extension of nationalist narratives and discourses foments a rivalry and eliminates hospitality across communities for the purpose of conserving a national identity that hides colonial imaginaries.

In this argumentation, various countries of the West in Europe and in the United States ask themselves: Why did fascism make a comeback? Why have a politics of hate and cynicism become the common factors that characterize the leaders of the new global order?

Leaders like Donald Trump and Jair Bolsonaro are examples of the ascendancy of a Fascism 2.0 who in their tweets make political and personal declarations and given the fallacy of their declarations corrupt veracity in contemporary democracies.

To understand the coming to power of the ultra-conservative class who has appropriated critical discourses through the creation of alt right movements, the ultra -right with Internet, it's necessary to return to history books.

But not only the official history of the West that situate fascism in a single set of actors and historical period, in the conjuncture of the second World War II, in the axis of evil: Germany, Italy, Japan and the European Jew as target.

That is the localized story of Fascism in the West, however our times demand that we return to colonial history that continues to re- configure our realities in a very palpable way in our borders of the South.

To understand fascism 2.0 is necessary to look at the Global South through a colonial lens to comprehend that the return of fascism is not an anomaly of an otherwise democratic rule. Rather, it is the most pervasive continuation of racism, in other words of colonialism.

In these days, forms of coloniality are also present in its logarithmic forms in the form of data colonialism, as Mejias and Couldry have theorized.

What form does colonialism have today? From western epistemologies, what can be said about this new fascism?

How did we end up here?

The journey has been a long one and it has been marked by technological landmarks such as photography, film, TV, Internet and mobile phones that have accompanied the narratives of progress.

But there are two crucial elements that have made this possible and which have made possible the return of fanaticism.

One, the erasure of collective memory and second, the aestheticization of violence.

Both elements are crucial for the ascendancy of this new authoritarianism presented by the mass media and digital media as something that emerges spontaneously and out of the vacuum and out of context, and exception to democracy.

Nevertheless, those of us who have been born in ex colonial and/or border spaces and are racialized and sexualized subjects who are non-binary, migrants and undocumented know that this new ascendancy is not an exception to democratic rule. But rather is rooted in grand economic and political projects that have been existing since colonial times and that extend to our contemporary worlds.

Modes have been diversified and technologies have been upgraded. Three elements are essential for the re-emergence of colonial conservative thought. First, the popularization of white supremacy, second, the indiscriminate celebration of violent masculinity and third, the glorification of the hetero-patriarchal nation state that hide colonial imaginaries that are nativist, capitalist and engage in extraction and that are in direct opposition against anti-racist and feminist movements, sexual dissidents and migrants.

What relationship does the ascendancy of the Fascism 2.0 have with the usage of certain images propagated in the current digital folklore?

To delineate this relationship, I allude to the concept of Live Regimen and construct a theoretical bridge between a biopolitical regime as proposed by Michael Foucault which is centered around the administration of the life and longevity of the population. And the psychopolitical digital regime that exploits subjectivity and makes emotions profitable.

This to understand the transition from disciplinary forms of governance centered on LIFE to the psycho political forms of governance rooted in the psyche and subjectivity that is transmitted through LIVE streaming.

What is Live Regimen? This is the third part of the talk.

Live Regimen is a conceptualization that seeks to signal the change in sensibility brought about the cognitive mutation in form and content-- that is aligned to the distribution of regressive and conservative values.

Not limited to those ideals that are regressive and conservative as the purpose of the Live Regimen is to distribute ideas, in this instance, the ideas that are distributed happen to be regressive and conservative.

Live Regimen has the following characteristics. First, the visual erasure of the public and private divide. Second, the reification of non-duration time and the presentation of time as pure adrenaline and spontaneity. Third, the extreme aestheticization of violent images and their depoliticization.

This Live Regimen reconfigures our perceptive frames to hyper- stimulate us and maintain us in a never ending present devoid of a historical memory. A kind of embodiment of the society of

spectacle as warned by Dubord in the 1960's or a simulacra as warned by Jean Baudrillard in the 90's.

In Live Regimen, there are characteristics of the society of the spectacle and there is also the presence of simulation.

However, Live Regimen goes beyond as it is a form of psycho political digital governance, that has a more extensive reach as it is embedded in a logarithmic economy that makes information profitable in multiple ways.

Through digital capitalism and the selling of personal information to transnationals. This is understood as data colonialism as put forward by Mejias and Couldry who are studying this phenomenon.

This is also made profitable through the monetization of emotions, as we know from the conceptualization of affective capitalism and similar themes.

Nevertheless, what is important for us in our discussion is that this Live Regimen is a form of administration in which the gathering of data also aids in the strategic aim of ensuring the continued propagation of the system itself.

Programmer and Italian theorist Griziotti talks about this transition in governance, using words from Jaime del Val. The transition from an economic neoliberal regime based on financialization to what has been called platform capitalism. Live Regimen synthesizes the INternet with the OUTernet sensorially fracturing the boundaries between of Offline and ONline.

This has consequences for our concrete worlds because it spectralises the world and dictates our sympathy or apathy towards violent events. This also dictates how we produce and consume content of certain imaginaries and how we deem this content acceptable despite being grounded on polarized thought.

An example of this is images of people who have been assassinated in terrorist attacks. For instance, when victims have a phenotype that is understood as European and white and reside in nations of the core, this is understood as a terrorist attack. When people who have been assassinated reside in the Global South, images do not incite the same level of indignation, empathy or grief.

This discrepancy is related to the construction of social consensus where emotions are aligned to a political project that gives more or less coverage with more or less intensity to certain events.

That create a political and social consensus not given through dialogue but through digital folklore and through the bombarding of images. This obstructs any type of discussion. It's also true that this is not new but rather has been present since colonial times through the construction of images and imageries of the visual regimes and through the construction of a colonial lens.

We can discuss this further in the question and dialogue section.

If Life Regimen creates multi-millionaire industries and re-invents technological devices it also diffuses a neoliberal common sense.

The concept of neoliberal common sense is a concept put forward by Mexican theorist Irmgard Emmelhainz, presented in the 2016 book entitled, "The Neoliberal Reconversion of Mexico."

This neoliberal common-sense join with conservative agendas and spectralises the atrocious consequences of acts of violence committed against marginalized people. For example, the denial of the violent crimes committed under the Franco regime, with some people in Spain claiming that there was never a dictatorship. Or the example of Donald Trump when he has been questioned about the detention centers for children at the Mexico/US border.

In this sense, this dissemination and polarization of discourse through crafted images such as racist and sexist memes join the digital folklore to create disorientation and reinforce a regressive sensibility. This is because they put facts and reality in question and substitute them for personal beliefs and blinded political agendas to facilitate the return of more authoritarian regimes.

In this sense, comedic memes that circulate in social media may have a critical character. For example, the images most used by the Alt-right who does much of its indoctrination and pedagogy via the Internet.

The Alt-Right employs the image of a frog. In Spain they called it "Gustavo the frog" and in Mexico they called it "Rene the Frog." This is the frog from the Muppets. They use this image to disseminate racist and fascist content. And something here that I want to emphasize is how content is altered through the use of an otherwise known and amicable image that is familiar to us and used to promote content that goes against human rights. What happened here is that the creator of Pepe the Frog decided to sacrifice the character given that there was a discrepancy between the original values of the character and those presented by the alt right and so he decided to kill the character

In this sense, it's interesting to see how at the semiotic and technical level there a dissemination of content is but there is also an interpellation of those who are producing or consuming the content. That to say that the images don't have the signification that the Alt- Right movement wants to give them but rather that images have a political and social history that cannot be malleable for conservative ideals.

In this sense, Live Regimen creates contradictory messages, where the political extremes touch each other through aesthetic logics that are decontextualized. This produces confusion from audiences because it produces a system of equivalence where everything is worth the same. This vandalization of the image sense re valorizes the visual regimen, challenges the veracity of events and erases the collective and historical memory of certain populations.

Especially the collective memory of marginalized populations: Native Americans, African Americans, poor people, social Justice movements, feminist movements, LBTQ movements, disability justice movements and migrant rights movements

Live Regimen understood as the livestream government is then rooted in the fabrication and impersonation of reality to distort perception. This so our sensibility is reconstructed to perceive the Offline world or our concrete world with a mental architecture that is conformist, contradictory and depoliticized or politicized but in alliance with a conservative agenda

In other words, a mental architecture that is captured by ideas that are simple and appeal to emotions and individual desires instead of those that are geared towards social justice and collectivity. All of this created a regressive sensibility that distributes a life of many right(s).

In other words, a life that subscribes to Fascism 2.0 not as a grand ideology but as a reduction of conservative drives to what critical thought has defined as an authoritarian personality: a combination of frustration and fear and a lack of self-worth that leads to submission. As conceptualized by Enzo Traverzo in many of his works.

The life of right (s) is the appropriation of values that are good, beautiful and just that belong to the humanist project by conservative projects in conjunction with neoliberalism and religious conservatism. In this conjunction, extraction extends to dissident vocabulary and emancipatory projects. This is demonstrated by the racist and distorted usage of concepts from Frankfurt critical theory,

Or the contradictory and distorted usage from ultra- conservative movements of feminist discourses to make meaningless their demands and demonize feminists. This is the case with the concept of gender ideology.

Or for example, during this pandemic we have seen how COVID-19 deniers have gone to the streets to claim that their 'body is their choice'.

'My body is my choice' is one of the most representative political slogans of the feminist movement in favor of the self-determination of the body and in favor of the legalization of abortion, it's not a slogan about not wearing masks.

Another distortion coming from the Alt Right and the conservatist agenda is the appropriation of the " All Blacks Matter" slogan and its transformation to "All Lives Matter". Emptying the original message from its political signification and delegitimizing the demands made by Black social justice movements to not be brutally assassinated by the police. Deactivating their struggle through the appropriation of the slogan and its re-presentation of another message that is in direct opposition of defending Black lives.

For this matter, the life of the right is conscious that "that which is not named does not exist." What is essential in naming something is the creation of an intersubjective consensus that is grounded on critical discussion, reflection and a consensus regarding signification.

Contrary to the creation of consensus based on critical dialogue, there is a reliance on explicit aesthetics that shows instead of engaging in dialogue. It only shows and displays through the saturation of images and auditory stimulus.

Its content is either 'fun' or 'bloody' depending on bio, necro and psychopolitical ideals that sustain neoliberal and authoritarian discourses, and which popularize the delegitimization of critical discourses and demand the banalization of everything.

In a world of explicit aesthetics, the necropolitical and horizontal strategy of constructing places, images and symbols of memory presents a difficult circumstance given the appropriation of critical vocabularies coming from social justice movements. Nevertheless, the memory of insurgency is not only an anchor aimed towards restoring our lives and diverse lives of struggle but also serves as a lighthouse for younger generations so they can come back to our words.

This so we can be able to form meaning, affective relationships and inter-generational continuation in order to have a critical consensus that familiarizes the audience to an environment that is increasingly post-lexical and makes use of images that aestheticize the violence directed at our communities.

In this manner, the construction of a historical memory as a quotidian resistance practice connects with current struggles and creates co-narratives of meaning that are feminist, anti-capitalist and anti-racist and aligned with sexual and gender dissidence. Complex content to fight against an aestheticization that mobilizes affect and identification towards compliance or the defense of authoritarianism

In face of this, there are active alliances being built that align the OFFline world with the ONline world put forward by younger generations that produce a different digital alphabetization that is more just and intersectional. Digital alphabetizations that aim to articulate social justice struggles and aim to deactivate collective apathy.

I am going to give a few quick examples of how to deactivate from the Live Regimen.

Even though marginalize populations do not own the modes of production or the infrastructure to produce content as a state apparatus would have, marginalized populations have been able to create narratives of dissidence and resistance using social media.

Rooted in a sense of historical struggle to create and transform reality not only through the screen but also in concrete realities in a context that is saturated with precarity and violence. I am going to give a few examples.

An example of these anti-authoritarian and feminist narratives of resistance can be seen in recent protests in Chile. The icon of last year's protests was this little black dog name known as "El negro matapacos" who was jumping subway gates.

These can be also be seen in the Mapauche flag, that presents an alliance with life sustainability, indigenous peoples, and inter-specie lives and which is against neoliberal extraction.

We can also see this in the defeat of the Right administration of Macri in Argentina through political organization. We can also see this in the Marea Verde movement in Argentina that has

been extended across Latin America and across the globe whose goal is to demand the self-determination of the body. The green scarf that Marea Verde uses as symbol has become an inter-generational and international symbol.

Critical opposition to a regressive sensibility and conservative hetero patriarchal machismo is also present in the critical and non-reductionist discourse presented by parliamentary Bolivian women against the orchestrated coup d'état diffused by the media and mainstream social media and funded by the crypto religious fundamentalism of transnational neoliberal oligarchies.

In this sense, I would like to actualize these examples.

As we know in Chile the whole thing about jumping the Subway gates and being in disagreement with the price increase in public transportation unfolded a series of protests in public spaces that lasted since October of last year until March of this year. And then got interrupted given the pandemic. But now have returned to the streets and grounded in a sense of historical struggle have accomplished a plebiscite with the purpose of transforming a constitution that had been inherited from the Chilean dictatorship of Pinochet.

There has also been a transformation in Bolivia from grassroots Indigenous and feminist movements who were able to remove those plotting a coup and, through election, achieved the restoration of a more or less democratic order.

This was done through elections which gave the majority vote to the political party MAS (Socialist Movement). Nevertheless, what is important is not just the vote for MAS but the success in removing the neoliberal fundamentalist oligarchs that had come to power in Bolivia.

I am going to conclude in order to leave some time for observations, discussion and questions

Finally, I want to say that the reflections presented here are rooted in the necessity to dig deeper into possible and appropriate strategies to disrupt conceptual fossilizations. This done through epistemological creativity coming from the Global South but also through critical theory emerging from the Borderlands.

My hope with this talk is that I was able to articulate a taxonomy that helps us think about violence in a complex and de-colonial manner and to distance ourselves from the mere accumulation of knowledge surrounding violence, borders and conservatism. In general, the conservatist context that we currently live in, which is progressing or rather regressing in a rapid manner.

This talk is positioned within a political and epistemological compromise that does not seek to repeat Western thought that is based and operates within a sex/gender dichotomization and that criminalizes poor and racialized populations and positions them as incapable of producing knowledge.

I am going to finish here in order to open space for questions, discussion and dialogue.

But first, I want to extend my gratitude to the organizers for inviting me I find these spaces to be critical for discussion given the common realities that we share across the Borderlands. What happens in any of the two countries affects us both. Because the border is connected. The border is a system that holds very complex interrelationships. The border is a political atmosphere that does not end at the wall. The border does not begin in geopolitics, rather it connects a series of complex relationships. The border signal to us what is about to happen in the proximate future across the globe, not only in Mexico and the United States. The border presents a central paradigm for a political agenda. There is a borderization at the international level.

I conclude here. Thank you so much for your attention. I open the floor for questions.