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"Country Club" and Global City in Claudia Piñeiro's The Widows of Thursdays

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Abstract

My article links Henri Lefebore's theory of social space to Neil Brenner's insights into the global. By focusing on Claudia Piñeiro's novel The Widows of Thursdays (2005), I reflect on some of the transformations taking place in Buenos Aires, as the very wealthy and the emergent middle-class retreat into private luxury-living housing quarters, known as 'country clubs.' First, I link the global city of neoliberalism with institutions, urban plans, and discourses to address the former's role in the creation of social space. Second, an attentive examination of space challenges its assumed transparency to outline its concrete material, mental, and lived components. Third, by recognizing the role of rhythm and affect in our lived experience, I consider the place of the body's affective core in the construction and reconstruction of social space within neoliberalism. I then demonstrate that the country club's ties to the global city of neoliberalism mediates between political economy, the creation and reorganization of social space, and the body's affective states. In fact, as a satellite-district of the global city, the country club kits out a representational space in which social space, affect, and the body 'enable collective life to live' (Lefebvre).

Key Words: affect, body, global city, mediation, real-estate economy, rhythm, service industries, social space, transnational.

Set in Buenos Aires, *The Widows of Thursdays* (2005) functions as a time capsule and a fictional map of the so-called 'neoliberal miracle' imagined by the political elite and advanced by President Carlos Saúl Menem and his cabinet in the nineties. The title refers to a group of four women whose husbands meet on Thursdays to spend quality man-time. At the very beginning, the text introduces three of the husbands, whose electrocuted bodies float in a family pool. The year is 2001, and it is December, exactly the period when Argentina confronted one of its worst economic crises. From this frenzied point and backwards, the novel goes on to explore hyper-capitalism through the life experience of the resident members of *Altos de la Cascada* Country Club, a private, gated, and heavily guarded environment, located in the outskirts of Buenos Aires. ¹ The multivocal structure of the text combines several focalizing agents. Thus, readers get an overview of the history of the Country Club from the 1980s on, not necessarily in a chronological order, interspersed with a depiction of

its material aspects and a corporate chart of social interactions. Concurrently, the text locates the neighbourhood within the physical and societal changes occurring in Buenos Aires until the onset of the 2001 crisis. By this time, three of the husbands face dire straits and suspicion of foul play arises around the enigma of their death.

Fifteen years after its publication, Claudia Piñeiro's The Widows of Thursdays continues to enjoy the status of bestseller both in national and transnational markets, as publicized on the web. It has also been translated into some twenty languages and adapted into a film. ² On the media and in academia, the book has also elicited extensive consideration. The academic body of work draws on a diversity of theoretical sources and themes, yet most rely on notions of space even if indirectly. In fact, consumerism, segregation, violence, and identity in this research seem to rehearse a correlation between neoliberalism and its ills in terms of cause-effect, with space taking on the place of a container harbouring deficiencies (See Bezerra, Griesse, Plotnik, Raso, Rocha). This scholarship illuminates the urban, social, economic, and political failings represented in Piñeiro's novel, yet they do not lay bare the mediating role of space. My essay strives to tackle this drawback by establishing a bridge between Henri Lefebvre's tripartite conception of social space as physical, mental, and lived space and Neil Brenner's definition of global cities as sites of socioeconomic and institutional reorganization. The weight of my analysis, though, relies on Lefebvre.

As cited, the preceding focus on Piñeiro's novel posits consumer culture, inclusion-exclusion-segregation, violence, and identity, as mere consequences of neoliberalism. Yet, if we follow Lefebvre's State, Space, World: Selected Essays, a cause-effect analysis executes "an audacious leap from relations, which is to say, the "base" [in this case, neoliberalism], to superstructures, i. e. representations or ideology (216). However, as Lefebvre clarifies in The Production of Space, ideologies do not produce space (210). As a matter of fact, he says: "a mode of production is only affirmed as such and only merits this name if it has given rise to a space (and a social time) (State, Space, World 217). Space, then, is a construct that plays a concrete and functional mediating role between the "material" and concrete relations of production and the "immaterial" support of social relations (State, Space, World 212; 215-18). Thus, my paper contributes to the discussion of The Widows of Thursdays through an examination of social space, its organization, and global range. Such a corrective approach will unpack its empirically distinctive and analyzable mediating role between neoliberalism and its forms of affective control. Late capitalism will materialize, then, as a historical system whose political space overlaps with the characteristics of the economy, as these in turn effect our lived experiences, just as much as the physical and mental spaces we inhabit.³ By focusing on the processes involved in the establishment of a social space entwining the relations of production and social factors, I contest the idea of cause-consequence. As such, and through my attention to space, the country club and the global city join the list of highly surveyed representational spaces in Latino and Latin American cultural studies, going from the border (Brady); to the city (Lambright and Guerrero); to memory spaces (Trostel); to ruins (Edwards and Scorer), along other key sites.

The guiding construct of the global city warrants the study of social space in its mediating and matter-of-fact role between globalized capitalism and the institutional and ideological values which, to quote Lefebvre, enable collective life to live (State, Space, World 216). Since my focus lies on concrete mediators, it is important to underscore again that ideologies do not produce space: rather, they are in space, and of it. It is the forces of production and the relations of productions that produce space (Lefebvre The Production of Space, 210). Here, global city designates urban centres in national territories providing services to the producer, including financial, legal, real state, and other crucial services for structuring and managing the global economy (Parnreiter 6). This is part of the shift from productive to non-productive forms of investment - to real estate, stock-market speculation, derivative markets (Friedman 184). As such, the term 'producer' comprises transnational and other companies, which operate from these global nodes in A-rate towers and infrastructures purposefully built in highly desirable urban areas. More importantly, the idea of the global city speaks to the creation and dissemination of discourses and the development of institutions with the power to consolidate and re-shape social space.

In the case of Argentina, during Menem's administration there were widely disseminated campaigns to position Buenos Aires as a global city. These discourses extolled the success of urban projects in Berlin, London, and Paris, among other cities, and promoted the reconversion of key areas as per the 'Barcelona model' (Mattos 93–94; Prévôt Schapira; Ramírez 2). The area of Puerto Madero, with 170 acres of land stands as a paradigm for new forms of urban development. The project followed a Strategic Plan pursuant to the cooperation agreement between the Municipality of Buenos Aires and the Barcelona City Council (Ramírez 5). Incidentally, transnational capital also invested in this development consisting in highrise towers for corporate and residential use, 5-star hotels, entertainment firms, and high-end shops catering to the wealthy (Pírez 154; Ramírez 2).4 At a macro level, designs of this type respect a standard for urban organization initiated by institutions like the World Bank's Urban Management Programme and the United Nations Centre for Human Settlements, whose objective is to promote transnational global strategic planning of areas vital for selective urban developments (Parnreiter 20). This illustrates one of the way in which institutions participate in a contradictory reconfiguration of superimposed geographical scales, as Brenner judiciously remarks (n.p.). Simultaneously, these top-up principles help understand Lefebvre's schema for the reorganization of a homogenized, fragmented, and hierarchical social space as the city of global business and finances partakes in global capitalism.⁵ In and through the global city, we experience a wider and multiscale geopolitical transformation of global capitalism (Brenner n.p.). In this sense, Buenos Aires shares similarities with Europe as various para-state agencies and public-private partnerships of new date partake in the planning and coordination of investments for local mega-projects (Brenner n.p.). Although Brenner studies European cities, similar processes are present in Buenos Aires, as institutionally conceptualized and transnationally and locally structured, the global city banks on private investment and powerful private corporations, as well as government funding. Furthermore, as Pedro Pírez asserts, this evident bond of co-dependence only obeys the laws of the market (155). María Moreno Carranco also remarks how the discourse of the global city has been a tool used by the select few in power for the design of urban politics benefiting neoliberal economic agents (77).⁶ In fact, although the global city may take precedence as an urban development model allegedly supporting local and national economies, mainly it generates benefits for transnational capitalist elites (Moreno Carranco 85; Pírez 155).7 Moreover, the city-to-city competition generated by discourses and directives on the global city, have led some experts to consider the global city as a marketing strategy for the self-promotion of certain metropolises (Mattos 91; Kalandides and Pérez Negrete 33; Ramírez 2). In Brenner's words, cities are now less dependent on relatively auto-centric national economies, and, are rather more directly incorporated into transnational urban hierarchies and inter-urban networks (np). Besides, fragmentation through inter-city competition and hierarchization via the implementation of neoliberal urban models for development, creates inequality in terms of access to infrastructures and services, and promotes divisions among the users of the spaces of the city. As a deliberate neoliberal discourse, an institutionally led strategic planning model, a marketing tool, or all these together, cities engage with and create the global through local cultural configurations, as seen in Buenos Aires.

To this effect, and parallel with privatization reforms, discourses on modernization, and institutional mediation, the political, historical, and contextual peculiarities of Buenos Aires have aided in the neoliberal reorganization of urban space in the city. Deteriorating infrastructure and failing urban services, lack of earth and ground policies, flexibility of the law, clientelist dealings between politicians, architecture firms, and construction companies have enabled the implementation of a neoliberal logics for the strategic development of suburban areas (Janoschka 8; Pírez 155; Prévôt Schapira; Thuillier 256). In addition, passed during the military dictatorship, law 8912 for territorial organization and land use (1977), under the pretext of ecological concerns, prohibits zoning for residential inexpensive housing, or *loteo popular*, in the great periphery of the city (Thuillier 268). Thus, regulated [...] political strategies, as in this case,

can create competitive advantages for specific areas (Brenner n.p.). Far from solving social issues like insufficient housing or access to resources, neoliberal urban planning models have contributed to the consolidation of a distinctive metropolis of multiple geographies in which the global city generates zones of privilege that share boundaries with the destitute. As Maristella Svampa corroborates, many countries and gated communities are side-by-side impoverished neighbourhoods and shantytowns which drastically accentuates social contrasts (59). Taking advantage of these conditions, neoliberal reforms turned the nineties into the heyday for the growth of enclosed private neighbourhoods, tied to the global city via diverse concerns. Along with renewed urban infrastructures, nonproductive forms of investment by way of real estate projects encouraged local migration, i.e., deterritorialization and deurbanization. The wealthy, and emergent sectors of the middle-class attracted to the new forms of flexible employment created by capitalism, abandoned downtown and other areas of the city for the greater Buenos Aires (Svampa 57). Such a phenomenon has prompted Jesús Martín Barbero to conclude that: "globalization is not a mere expression of political economy, but the presence of mutations in the conditions in which people inhabit their world" (20). Thus, private gated communities operate not only as politico-economic enclaves for the global business elite, but withal provide the location where, as locals are called, porteños' imagined dreams of global belonging coexist with fears of the outer surrounding areas. No wonder the word 'fear,' and its synonyms, appears amply in Piñeiro's text, counting to 18 instances.

Concerning a fearful state of mind, insecurity indeed made hot headlines in Buenos Aires in the nineties. Parallel to the issues perused above, the second half of the decade was swamped with statements from editorials in La Nación and Clarín, and as enunciated by personalities such as President Menem, ministers in his cabinet, members of various parties, and additional public figures, disparaging insecurity (Cerruti 151-53).9 Widespread fear-mongering campaigns provided supplemental incentive for city migration to the outskirts of the city. The perception of heightened insecurity and a longing for a return to nature, encouraged mobility in an escalading process that fostered the real estate economy, as it promised to deliver a sense of communal living among equals. However, this socialization model privileges certain traditional neighbourhood traits, such as security and trust, while doing away with the more democratic qualities of social heterogeneity and diversity, as shown by Svampa (60). In the Country Club, the keen need for security mirrors the dynamics of demand and offer for such a service in the nineties. Figures from the Cámara Argentina de Empresas de Seguridad e Investigación, not including data from the informal sector, and up to 2000, speak of more than 1,300 private companies employing 98,000 guards (Hernández 40). Significantly, unlike the police, their key function consists in protecting private property, as

María Hernández pointedly remarks (40). Institutional agents, the media, urban planning, political, and financial sectors, and new forms of socialization, amongst other forces, come together to create an imprint on physical space, demonstrating the nexus between multilevel projects, architectural models, capitalist agents and agencies, and social space.

Claudia Piñeiro's The Widows of Thursdays engages with such momentous historical changes by fictionalizing citizens turned elite resident members of a country club. The narrative explicitly situates the city of Buenos Aires in the intersection of the global via the real estate economy, an industry of vital importance in the dissemination of globalization and the reorganization of the city. Not surprisingly, one of main characters in the novel, María Virginia Guevara, or Mavi, works as a real estate agent, thus representing the neoliberal service industry of flexible labour. Through Piñeiro's text, this new protagonist gets jolted into cultural prominence. It is worth noting, that among transnationally read novels from Latin America, The Widows of Thursdays might be one of the first to bestow a leading role to the realtor, a feature largely ignored by literary, and, conceivable, cultural scholarship on Latin America. 10 The lack of inquiry on the subject is unexpected, as research into the novel has scrutinized neoliberalism and its impacts on people's consumerist behaviours, attitudes, and practices. However, it must be said that the real estate economy as one of the institutions mediating between global flows and the transformation of urban space is a phenomenon that only lately began to be broached, and mainly within studies of urban development (Parnreiter 6). For good measure, only in recent years have real estate agencies started to play a substantial role in the economy of Latin American countries.

In the novel, then, a decisive role in the creation of the country club as a neoliberal space par excellence and as satellite-district to the global city goes to Mavi Guevara, as she is known professionally. She is a resident and member of Altos de la Cascada Country Club, whose land and property sales have aided in the development of the gated community, as well as had an impact on the social and physical environment. Starting with one of the concerns for Lefebvre's tripartite analysis of space, the concrete and physical layout of the development offers a perspective from which to connect it to the global city. As one of the first residents of the neighbourhood, Virginia has witnessed the changes in Buenos Aires and the surge of interest in Altos de la Cascada. Along a red log containing a general written record of infrastructure, demographic, social-class, and other shifts, Mavi keeps a card index. These tools not only work for spotting and assessing possible clients, but in addition, come to symbolize a general historical archive of members' businesses and careers, the market, and other fluctuations impinging on the success and failures of residents of the Country Club. In the nineties, the log chronicles the parity between the Argentine peso and the USA dollar, the exodus from the city, and real state speculation (35, 106). It is exactly in this period when Mavi advances in her career and decides to give a new face to her business by opening an office, "Mavi Guevara. Real Estate Agency," heretofore surreptitiously operated from her home (106). The realtor finds an inconspicuous chalet right beside *Altos de la Cascada*, which side by side with derelict buildings tells of the euphoria and the not yet met high expectations raised by the potential development of the areas close to the private neighboorhood.

The real estate agent's knowledge is pivotal for the mapping and configuration of physical space. The heavy investment of the narrative in the history and architectural design of the private neighbourhood entwines its materiality and temporality with neoliberal concerns. As representative of an ever-growing real estate economy and as resident member of the Country Club, Mavi epitomizes interests engaged in the building and growth of the large-scale gated neighbourhood. Active architectural intervention in the narrative corroborates Christof Parnreiter's hypothesis that the global city brings about the globalization of certain segments of the real estate market, simultaneously with vigorous changes in the physical configuration of local cities (7). In the text, the transformation of weekend country houses into permanent residences is wrought close to the nineties. At that time, Mavi and her family sell an inherited country house and, with an additional 15,000 USA dollars, purchase and remodel a bigger residence in the already expanding Altos de la Cascada Country Club (31-4). It is appropriate to reference Jonathan Friedman here, as the Country Club substantiates his thought that in periods of globalization, reality is fragmented into clusters of property rights than can be sold on the market (184). Hence, together with high standard housing, Mavi and her fellow Country Club members and residents purchase private security and other services and amenities. On top of that, they get access to enormous amounts of previous public lands. Specifically, upon reflecting on the beauty of the landscape around the golf course, focalization and narration localized in a narrating agency not easily embodied as Mavi, but intrinsically fused with her, alludes to the appropriation of swampland and its redevelopment into modern residences equipped with all sorts of amenities (83-6). The novel implies that furbished with green zones and a golf course whose proximity to any house increases it market value, former public lands supposedly protected for environmental reasons by law 8912, underwent a process of reconversion of enormous amounts of acreage to allow the development of high-end residences. Coincidentally, this is the same law that legitimized the development of country clubs. As Moreno Carranco explains for a different context, the modern idea of public space gives way to privatized, segregated, and controlled spaces (78). Mavi's awareness of the contextual circumstances surrounding the historical existence of the Country Club legitimizes her voice, focalization, and role as agent of change.

Relevant too for the physical markings of the terrain, is an alternate focalization and vocalization through a 'we' that recognizes Virginia/Mavi as a friend, and who also seems to voice the realtor's grasp of *Altos de la Cascada*. Indeed, the focus on Mavi's marketing strategies and her ability to canvass and size up potential clients underscores the place of the real estate agent in the narrative. Moreover, the narrating agency's disembodied voice, voice-over, or echo infuses the realtor's red handwritten archive and alphabetical card index with an aura of lore. So do the Country Club members, as on the foreclosure of her house, one of the residents insults Mavi by calling her 'envious sorceress' (65). Mavi's aura of power positions her as both mythical oracle and mediating agent of control able to seed out those who lose the status of elite. The narrating agency further grounds the real estate agent's expertise by testifying to Mavi's firsthand knowledge of the physical blueprint of Altos de la Cascada when she comments: "Virginia introduced a different business narrative. No one like her knew each house and its salient points. As well as their inadequacies. She was cognizant that streets here are not straight and parallel as in the city. She understood that their layout defies pre-established patterns" (63). In fact, only resident members know how to navigate the neighbourhood, and its labyrinthine roadway design featuring bird odonyms, and lacking sidewalks serves to create a sense of protection able to fend off danger. By contrasting the external realtors' faux pas to Mavi's firsthand knowledge of the physical blueprint of the Country Club, the narrating agency further legitimizes Mavi and the real estate economy's vision of sociability:

After showing three houses, any realtor would take east for west and end up calling security for help, as, despite retracing their steps, *Altos de la Cascada* would turn into a maze impossible to escape. *Altos de la Cascada* devours visitors' sense of direction, the same way that birds inevitably consume Hansel's breadcrumbs. Guests feel trapped in mirror-like roads featuring properties that look alike and different at the same time. Virginia, on the contrary, was able to move about eyes closed. (63)

For intruders or visitors, as Lefebvre comments, the homogeneous architectural and urbanistic space of modernity creates confusion and a sense of uneasiness (*The Production of Space* 200). In the novel, too, the elaborate street names and their blueprint, common to other country clubs, are enough to confuse common cognitive forms of orientation and constrain strangers from walking freely. Moreover, extra confusion can be experienced as walking is a class marker to identify house cleaners or trade persons (27).

The reverse of this situation is that members too experience their own movement restricted. Nothing, including the mall, cinema, or school is within walking distance from *Altos de la Cascada*. Coupled with their fear of the next-door inhabitants of the lower class sprawling of *Santa María de los Tigrecitos*, members are unable to traverse the city successfully without recourse to consumer products such as cars and GPS kits. ¹² No wonder Svampa asserts that country club members experience the in-between spaces in the immediacy of community gates as high-risk 'no-man's land'

zones where life is at stake (73). Their fast journeys also illustrate Barbero's insight that people tend to misrecognize most of a city only crossed by the inevitable journeys (24). Or, in Lefebvre's words, the repetitive gestures of only traversing and not visiting prove that "space commands bodies, prescribing or proscribing gestures, routes and distances to cover" (*The Production of Space* 143). In *Altos de la Cascada*, the values of the global city of business and comfort, combine to produce what Lefebvre calls rhythm, i.e., interactions between a place, a time, and an expenditure of energy or action/s (*Rhythmanalysis* 15), that lead, amidst other phenomena, to the deurbanization/ reterritorialization and fragmentation of contemporary Buenos Aires. ¹³

Concrete material space acts as a mediating force between citizens and their technological urban experience, and concurrently displays its temporality in architectural decisions that position the resident members of the Country Club as subjects of economic, cultural, and socio-political neoliberalism. Besides providing sleek and modern living, the meticulousness of practical design functions as a technology that further contributes to the impression of safety and wellbeing in an environment presented as normative and 'natural.' Following transnational standards, the neoliberal tendencies to homogenize commodified space justifies the periodic treatment of the golf course in Altos de la Cascada with insecticides and fertilizers; not to mention its annual resodding with "Penncross in the greens and Bermuda grass in the fairways," in addition to the very expensive irrigating systems and draining schemes needed for its upkeep (84-5). The golf course vindicates the destruction of the swamplands through mimicry that turns it into a sign for nature, comfort, and affluence able to generate income by attracting foreign and corporate users while providing an optimal setting for business dealings (86–7, 255). 14 Likewise, curb appeal validates drain realignments and the replacement of native fishes, algae, and tree species for non-native ones despite the negative impact on the population of native otters and ducks, as well subsequent flooding in Santa María de los Tigrecitos (83-4). Naturally, as invested members of the Country Club both the real estate agent and the disembodied narrating voice feel entitled to the zoning and appropriation of public space. Via the mediation of the real estate economy, the vast residential complex of Altos de la Cascada is birthed as a satellite-district of the global city, not only in terms of rationalized landscape, but as social space signifying neoliberal political, economic, and cultural constructs.

The physical creation and development of such an imagined world as *Altos de la Cascada* goes hand in hand with a mental, or conceptual plane in which governance as a mediating technology takes on a convening and structuring role, as surmised in Lefebvre. As mirror image of the global city, the corporate business model implemented in the gated neighbourhood respects high-standard building guidelines, urban zoning bylaws, high-quality services supply, infrastructure, financial levies for the

upkeep of the community, together with behavioural norms for resident members, inter alia. Mimesis through these distinct traits adds to the realism of the text, as in Buenos Aires contracts between real developers and purchasers of country club homes feature these same norms (Pírez 155). Such a structure provides a way of indigenizing the model to make the global local and vice-versa. Thus, Altos de la Cascada Country Club boasts an organizational chart with an Administrative Council on top in charge of implementing and updating rules with the help of its many boards. Among other bodies, these comprise the Technical Department, Security Commission, Commission for the Environment, Disciplinary Board, and Golf and Tennis Commissions. These committees oversee the regulation of visual pollution, management of pets, offenders, and penalties, and the breakup of residential areas from economic activities to name some of the most profusely featured in the novel. As mental conceptualizations outlining community living, sociability, and practical schemes defining globalization and distinctiveness, the organizational chart facilitates the political metamorphosis of citizens into resident members of a corporationlike world with no civic responsibility. Transactional and purchased rights substitute for the former. Altos de la Cascada's policies spell out a neoliberal logic replacing, as Svampa posits, modern democratic citizenship for a patrimonial citizenship (78). By the law of the market, this form of biopolitics becomes rightful, natural, and normal.

The introduction and acceptance of private forms of governance through statutes and bylaws designed by real estate developers displace and take over municipality rule. The text heightens such a reality by drawing attention to the flooding caused by the club's drainage rerouting as when the narrating agency comments that "after a couple of meetings between the municipality and our representatives, the issue got somehow settled. Blaming us would be like blaming the Province of Córdoba for flooding in Santa Fe, capital of the adjacent Province of Rosario" (85). The suggestion is that as an autonomous entity, the Country Club cannot be accountable for 'natural' calamities taking place beyond its limits in *Santa María de los Tigrecitos*. It appears as well that weak government control and corruption sanction such proceedings.

One unquestionably accepted technique for the implementation of governance directives lies in surveillance, which as a basic commodity to ensure security is a mandate of the various commissions. It turns out that the fear tied to the exodus from the city is still present. In *Altos de la Cascada*, surveillance cameras abound, and armed guards patrol the grounds 24 hours seven day a week. Congruently, the security personnel in the private gated neighbourhood ensue protocols for the inspection of documents, car trunks, and personal belongings of all workers both when they arrive and leave the Country Club, as most of these workers come from the lower-class settlement located nearby. Suspicion, violation of privacy, and the privation of work at any misgiving, and without compensation,

are the order of the day. An example from Piñeiro's text will suffice to exemplify the extent and social meaning of surveillance. The narrating agency recalls rumors attributing the decline in duck numbers to workers killing them for consumption. However, she immediately indicates that in view of security protocols it would be impossible to sneak out game across the gates (84). As an anecdote, she recounts a supposedly amusing event:

One day someone saw a caddy as he was about to toss a dead duck to the other side of the barbed wire. The man said he accidentally killed it when hitting a ball on hole 4. No one believed him. Though a cooking pan was missing, the woman on the other side of the wire did not ease the situation. The Commission for the Environment and the Golf Commission opened a case file against the caddy. (84)

In this episode, internal authorities in charge of safeguarding the rules act promptly. Although nothing else is said most likely the caddy is accused of theft or violation of private property, with the resulting loss of entry rights and work. While the tone of the narrating agency conveys scorn veiled as amusement, it denotes the fear that haunts the resident members as they continue to liken marginality to criminality. The subject of the saucepan might perchance be taken as an allusion to the infamous pan-banging, or 'cacerolazos,' of the nineties. Even if they were peaceful citizens' demonstrations for social change in which middle-class women played a significant role (Eltantawy 52), general perception might have downplayed their political tones through association with unruly behaviour by the lower class, as several commentators have noted. By despising and fearing those that living too in conditions of neoliberalism experiment its adverse side, the Country Club echoes capitalist social politics, its terms of engagement with labour, and as Svampa hypothesizes, psychological disaffection towards the 'Other' (75). The narrating agency's lack of empathy tells of rhythms and affective resonances that permeate the imagined self-governed and policed world of the Country Club.

It is this sort of new sociability and the concurrent deployment of energies to control and regulate it that helps the creation of rhythm, as well as the transmission of affect. As noted, the perception of heightened insecurity and longing for a return to nature encouraged mobility in an escalading process. In the nineties, the real estate economy promised to deliver a sense of communal living among equals sharing the same values and concerns in a place far from pollution, noise, criminality, and the rush of city life. Migration flows, and discoursive processes, however, cannot alone account for a sense of cohesion. Rather, this calls for other means equally related to the creation of social space. The capacity for rhythmic action and affective response referenced through the examples above brings me to the last part of this article. Physical space is as linked to mental or conceptual space as daily life is inextricably tied to these two

spheres. Daily life is experienced in and through our bodies. As Lefebvre explains in *The Production of Space*, "...each living body *is* space and *has* its space: it produces itself in space and it also produces that space" (170). This idea comes from the notion that bodies have the intrinsic capacity of generating and demarcating space and creating themselves via the establishment of networks and links along with their own motions and laws of space. Gestures express one of the aspects of the body's determination of space and should be taken in a broad sense, so that turning around may be considered a gesture that modifies a person's orientation and points of reference. For Lefebvre 'gesture' is preferable to 'behaviour,' for a gestural action has a goal or aim (174). That the qualification of space depends on the body denotes a dialectic interaction in as much as the body is also dependent by way of a multiplicity of networks on the socializing role of space (*The Production of Space* 191). As an example, Lefebvre brings to the fore the space of work to assert that this space is:

produced within the framework of a global society, and in accordance with that society's constitutive productions relations... it is thus the result, in the first place, of the (repetitive) gestures and (serial) actions of productive labour, but also – and increasingly - of the (technical and social) division of labour; the result therefore, too of the operation of markets (local, national and worldwide) and, lastly, of property relationships (the ownership and management of the means of productions). (*The Production of Space* 191)

The repetition of gestures and actions places the body in action in distinct social spaces, as is the case in the Country Club where resident members spend most of their time. ¹⁷

As many other researchers before and after him, in *The Production of Space* Lefebvre identifies the affective at the level of bodily, lived experience, specifically through the senses (224). Aligned with the practicosensory realm are notions of intensity, or strength of anticipation, tension, action, and flows, which mediate between the body and the experience of daily life (206). Along with these, Lefebvre's call for a science of rhythmanalysis bears on energetic forces include breathing, the heartbeat, thirst, hunger, the need for sleep, sexuality, fertility, social life, and thought (205). As such, this science envisions tasks examined in part in the field of clinical psychology under the umbrella term of affect.

Lisa Feldman Barrett and Eliza Bliss-Moreau report that the contemporary view in psychology is that affect is a basic, universal and irreducible property of the mind, central in phenomena such as emotion, attitudes, stereotyping and prejudice, verbal communication and negotiation strategies, judgment and decision-making, work motivation, and so forth (1, 4). No wonder Eric Shouse and others comment on the ubiquity of affect, although it probably would be more accurate to speak of its centrality to the conscious experience of the world around us, as Barrett and

Bliss-Moreau put it (5). As applied to daily life, the analysis of rhythm facilitates the study of affect, a term subsumed in Lefebvre's rhythm which comprises both body and mind. Affect, then, serves to deepen the connection of Lefebvre's body to his conception of social space. Moreover, such an approach contributes to ground the so called 'affective turn' in Latin American cultural work. So far, this research has consistently reduced affect to desire (Trigo) and 'emotional climate' (Arellano); 'structure of feeling,' success, and social aspiration (Caña Jiménez), or delimited it as emotion, perception, sensation, and feeling (Reber); while a few even use the word 'affectless' (Podalsky). 19 In contrast, if one accepts Shouse's idea that affect "plays and important role in determining the relationship between our bodies, our environment, and others, and the subjective experience that we feel/think as affect dissolves into experience," affect cannot be equated or reduced to emotion, feeling, prejudice, and the like. It is also because of this that the word 'affectless' does not make sense. Following Shouse, while emotions are the direct expression of affect, the two terms are not interchangeable. Core affect is realized by integrating incoming sensory information from the external world with homeostatic or self-regulatory measures to process energy, and interoceptive information from the body, such as heartbeat, respiration, and others, resulting in a mental state that can be used to safely navigate the world (Barrett and Bliss-Moreau 4). Thus, affect is central to our daily life. Thus, following Shouse, affect is an ability to affect and be affected, whilst emotion is the projection/display of feeling (n.p.).

Notwithstanding this grounding, Shouse's and Barrett and Bliss-Moreau's formulations require further analysis. Their preferred terms 'environment' and 'external world' seem to take space for granted, or as a concept lacking tensions, thus replicating views on space as reflected on research on neoliberalism in Piñeiro's novel. Lefebvre's call for the analysis of rhythms, alongside physical, and mental, or conceptual space, provides a comprehensive theory locating affect and the body in social space and warranting the fact that affect and the body do not exist in a void, but within specific socio-economic and political surroundings. Returning to rhythm, the spatial body which derives its material character from space, from the energy that is deployed and put to use there, relates to other bodies through interactions called rhythms (The Production of Space 195; 200). As Lefebvre clarifies in Rhythmanalysis, "everywhere where there is interaction between a place, a time and an expenditure of energy, there is rhythm" (15).²⁰ The analysis of affect in connection with rhythms would, hence, lay an innovative course to anchor the examination of the body and space in studies of Latin American literature and similar cultural artifacts existing beyond the controlled laboratory conditions of psychology.

The brief overview above lays the base for the examination of experiential bodily life in the Country Club. Being crucial to the conscious experience of the world around us, affect rivets the body to social space

and the contextual spaces or environments we inhabit. Thus, the images that surround us routinely influence our affective state, as Barrett and Bliss-Moreau have studied (4). In the previous section, I already touched upon the utilitarian value of nature in the initial planning and expansion of the *Altos de la Cascada*. In this segment, I touch on it again to probe the correlation between rhythms, affective states, and sensory information, as they help in the performance and repetition of daily life gestures in space. I look as well at some of the objects invested with affective resonance which aid members in the performance of gestures.

Not unlike the strategic displays of wildlife in each golf hole, or the street layout with bird plates, nature as epitomized by the gardens of the neighbourhood acquires attributes that add an affective dimension to the rapport between residents and the Country Club. In general terms, as Lefebvre notes, the productive activity of the living being constitutes a network of relations projected and simultaneously actualized by the living being as it acts within, in conjunction with, and upon, its spatial milieu (The Production of Space, 175). Gardens are as regulated as streets, sport facilities, buildings, and any other aspect of the socio-geography of the Country Club. Specifically, the production of aromas replicates a wider organizational model regulating life in the neighbourhood. Hence, smells in Altos de la Cascada serve to mark cyclical time. While the scent of star jasmines saturates the air in spring, the fragrance of recently mown and watered lawns impregnate the summer months; and always fresh pruned branches permeate autumn, while the aromatic smoke from eucalyptus logs in the fireplaces suffuses the winter season (29–30). The effects of such sensory surplus are best described by the narrating agency: "All gardens boast at least one-star jasmine plant, which flower in springtime ... That is why in spring the air is heavy and sweet. It can overpower people not used to it. By contrast, some of us experience a sort of addiction, fascination, or nostalgia, whereby when away, we wish to return to breathe the aroma of sweet flowers anew. As if it were impossible to draw breath anywhere else" (28-9). The impact of the scents on the senses translates into a policed bodily want that resident members crave and use to orient themselves with respects to time, space, and other people. Altos de la Cascada enacts through smell a feeling of well-being in a controlled 'natural' environment that also enables abilities to recognize non-members, who may feel dizzy or faint, as social 'Others.' Exposure to the experience of olfactory stimuli through the changes of seasons in an environment already laden with an auspicious appeal, can encourage the development of a positive affective state of well-being, much in the same way as the peculiarly confusing street layout succeeds in promoting a sense of security for the residents.

I must note that although Lefebvre considers subject-object relations, he reduces affect to emotion, thus making affect a corollary of rhythms. Incidentally, he argues that objects which are material [are] also "symbolic, and hence freighted with affect" (*The Production of Space*, 213). In

what follows, I will consider some objects in their relationship with gestures. As Barrett and Bliss-Moreau explain, even though affect is a feature of a person's response to a stimulus, it can be experienced as a property of the world which can act in stealth by directly translating into a so-called behavior (8). Instead of behaviour, I will write about gestures. First, in the case of the gardens, since the external stimuli of the flowers can be overburdening, the body learns, or can learn, to react positively to an environmental smell fraught with the capacity to perturb core affect negatively, as the narrating agency makes clear. Adapting occurs because stimuli can acquire a changed affective value and thus vary in a person's core affective state (Barrett and Bliss-Moreau 17).²¹ All in all, stimuli can acquire a different capacity to perturb core affect. In fact, very few objects and situations (and even fewer people), to quote Barrett and Bliss-Moreau, have the innate or intrinsic power to perturb another person's core affect. Instead, humans (like all living creatures) must learn what to approach and what to avoid, what to desire and what to ignore (17). Repetitive exposure to a stimulus promotes affective associative learning, which in turn call for gestures in a network of social interactions, such as the one felt in the gardens, and other places, by resident members. 22 A sensory stimulus whose evaluation can vary from overpowering to alluring, i.e., from negative to positive, tells of affective learning. In the novel, this would explain the speaker's body's readiness to react to the given circumstance of a known or changed environment through an impulse resembling yearning. Gardens then, are freighted with affect, not as depositories of emotions or symbolic linguistic value, as Lefebvre would say, but in a wider sense as a mediating push through which the body experiences time and social space.

In a Lefebvrian sense, the gardens and its plants are objects which arouse the senses in ways that call for a series of gestures and actions. Each season the inhabitants of the Country Club repeat the same gestures of planting or hiring gardeners -or rather "parkistas," since the gardens can be huge-- to renew the same smells. The specific plants and fragrances, whose intensity and fluctuations celebrate repetition, at the same time, revel in variation and change as no repetition is ever equal to the previous one. This process tips the balance of natural cyclical time towards the socially produced time of neoliberalism in a social space also produced by it. Extrapolating Lefebvre, through the repetition of gestures, the linear time of social action interferes with each season's natural cyclical time positioning the body within a rhythm imprinted on social space via the needs created by the social formation and its elements. The series of gestures and actions to create and recreate a natural environment consisting of gardens and smells qualifies space in the same way that via a multiplicity of networks space qualifies or fulfills a socializing role onto the body.

This is compellingly revealed through a network or relations leading to a cultural trend within the imagined world of the Country Club known as 'country woman.' Its elements include the adoption of a fashion style that suppresses the use of high heels and silk stockings for the free enjoyment of nature, and to ward off damage to the grass. Likewise, visual contamination is to be averted by hiding electric wires, water tanks, linen, and eschewing curtains that drag across the floor (27, 38). However, more importantly for the phenomenon of 'country woman' is the fact, as Mavi asserts, that even if they are all different, women in the Country Club share similar daily lives and habits. She provides complementary information by adding, "Yes, it is true that we live similar lives and go through similar experiences. Or that we do not experience certain things. In that we are similar" (38). The series of gestures accomplished for the intervention in the environment necessitate a network of social interactions that in turn take part in the socialization of the body not only through objects and rituals, but also through participation as elite members with privileged lives within the framework of a neoliberal global society, and in accordance with that society's constitutive productions relations, as Lefebvre contends.

Smells, visual, physical, and other stimuli are controlled with the same effectiveness that mandates the proscription of native fishes, algae, tree species, and other aspects in the Country Club. A highly controlled and imposed natural environment dependent on the rules of private governance is accepted and charged with positive value. One cannot but agree with Patricia Ticineto Clough's declaration that 'the production of normalization ... is a matter of the investment in, and the regulation of, a market-driven circulation of affect and attention (360). Such form of biopolitical control accounts in the context of neoliberalism for the desirability of surveillance, private policing, and the technological management of the environment under the pretense of safety and freedom to choose. The distinctively calculated visual and olfactory stamp of Altos de la Cascada, along with all its other characteristics, starts to look and feel like a brand to differentiate the place from similar ones. An exercise in indigenization, one might say, when faced with a standardized physical homogenization carried out in architectural design. It is a fact that the neighbourhood is divided into three zones, each of which must abide by a homogeneous aesthetic pattern as reflected on the houses' facade (28). Responding also to a logic of visualization relying on appeal as well as on cost efficiency, the Country Club conveys rhythms that engulf all senses.

Taken together, the objects and traits I have covered seem to support an imaginary linkage with outer worlds with which *Altos de la Cascada* feels kinship, and which might alleviate their current fleeting relationship with the city of Buenos Aires. This is suggested more clearly, for instance, when members experience extraneous events as their own. For instance, the new millennium Y2K panic, anxiety over Anthrax in letters, and the attack on the Twin Towers (11, 164). These imaginings and their concomitant actions partake of an imagined transnational affective intensity shared by bodies in *Altos de la Cascada* and far-off. ²³ Thus, affect is

bound with newfound interrelations in a social space in which migration and ideology alone cannot create a sense of cohesion. Imagined worlds coalesce with other imagined worlds and privileged bodies through affect and the series of gestures composing the rhythm and social spaces of neoliberalism. In the concrete way that previous criticism on the novel has not been able to provide, rhythmanalysis and the study of social space explain the politico-social basis for the appropriation and reordering of public space, the purchase of societal needs hitherto known as rights, the freedom to enjoy commodities, as well as the language and systemic violence explored by researchers of *The Widows of Thursdays*.

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Endnotes

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¹ I will indistinctly use *Altos de la Cascada* and Country Club to designate the private development. I will use 'members' and/or 'resident members' for its inhabitants.

 2 In 2015, \tilde{N} , Clarín's cultural magazine, counted an average sale of 250,000 books since 2005 and announced the circulation of 5,000 copies in celebration of its 10^{th} anniversary. The novel is considered a classic. See "Aniversario" and "A quince años." In 2009, Marcelo Piñeiro directed Las viudas de los jueves.

³ Space has an active role, as knowledge and action, in the establishment of socio-political systems. However, it is not purged of contradictions (*The Production of Space* 11). For instance, global neoliberalism is scalar and multifarious, and its spaces can be paradoxically productive both of privilege and inequality. In my essay I only draw attention to the wealthy elite and the emergent middle-class who can afford a gated community. The analysis of the constituent fields of space, physical, conceptual, and lived, do not purport to fragment space, but rather to clarify their interconnectedness. This paper continues my research into Lefebvre's triad. See Bermúdez Barrios.

⁴ For research on the developments on Puerto Madero (Buenos Aires), Santa Fe (México City) and Avenue Berrini (São Paulo), see also Kalandides and Pérez Negrete, Moreno Carranco, as well as Lima. It appears that competing urban planning models and discourses have shaped Latin American global cities, not excluding chaotic and unregulated methods, as several authors remark.

⁵ Sarlo remarks that XXI c. homogenization contrasts with XX century city differentiation. To stand out, the city used symbols such as the *Obelisco* and The Tour Eiffel, as well as logos and word signs, for example, 'the city that never sleeps' or 'the Mecca of cinema' (189–90). These emblems are still used. Indeed, the multiplicity of discourses on the city underwrites the coexistence of diverse and even contradictory representational models.

⁶ On the implementation of policies for massive support of neoliberal real estate privatization in Mexico City, see García Canclini (9).



⁷ In 2018, in a report by the Globalization and World Cities (GaWC) Research Network, the city of Buenos Aires received the classification of 'Alpha' city. Alpha stands for "a very important world city that links major economic regions and states into the world economy." For their taxonomy, the GaWC uses connectivity measures and levels of world city network-integration. See The World According to GaWC.

⁸ As critics remark, the Bureau of Land and Urbanism created in 1996, lacks real control.

⁹ As per Cerruti's interpretation, these discourses manipulated perceived images about an increment in crime and pinned the cause of insecurity and violence on the lack of responsibility and incivility of marginalized groups and on the weakness of the legal system (146).

Although Piñeiro's readers have been mainly exposed to her crime novels, her range is broad. This fact is underlined by Carolina Orloff of Charco Press, who in 2019 spoke of plans to reposition the writer's brand. See "Charco Snaps." As of 2021, Piñeiro also co-wrote with filmmaker Marcelo Piñeyro, the first installment of the Netflix original series *El reino*. In An important segment of the real estate market between 1991–2001, which corresponds to the narrated time in the novel, was allocated to gated projects for residential real estate of high standard, or "multiviviendas suntuosas". These undertakings made up 20% of all investment (Baer 352). As Mattos shows, this financial planning model has bolstered the stronghold of the real estate economy in the urban and metropolitan expansion, in as much as interurban competition for foreign investment has strengthened elitist and segregationist geographies (83, 91).

¹² Although considered an activity that adults often perform, Mavi appears to be the only resident who walks within the community. After all, she is one of the few working women in *Altos de la Cascada*, aside from maids, who are distinguishable by their uniforms. Otherwise, members use cars, motorcycles, quads, bicycles, golf carts, scooters, or rollers to move about in the gated neighbourhood and in between Country Clubs (27). Kids and workers alike cycle everywhere, and even nannies have access to golf carts for shopping and taking the kids to school (264, 269).

¹³ In *Rhythmanalysis*, rhythm includes a) repetition (of movements, ges-

tures, action, situations, differences); b) interferences of linear processes and cyclical processes; c) birth, growth, peak, then decline and end (15).

14 John Gledhill comments how even apparently more benign policies, and he at these that sould to "market" in disparate manufactor and "transmitted".

such as those that seek to "market" indigenous peoples and "unspoiled" ecological settings for cultural and ecological tourists reveal a deep logic of neoliberalization (342). I would go closer home to note such underpinnings even in higher education, where the marketability of universities is measured via national and world rankings. As of late, some provinces evaluate Canadian universities in accordance with externally imposed government performance assessments.

¹⁵ All projects concerned with space have the distinctive feature of embodying a sort of utopia (*The Production of Space 9*). Recent works on utopia,



such as the documentary *A Sinister Sect: Colonia Dignidad*, among others, would benefit from an analysis using Lefebvre's theories of social space. ¹⁶ In *The Production of Space* this determination appears to have three aspects: gestures, traces, and marks, of which the better developed is the term 'gesture.'

¹⁷ In *The Production of Space*, Lefebvre explains that we are confronted not by one social space but by many – indeed, by an unlimited multiplicity or uncountable set of social spaces ... they attain 'real' existence by virtue of networks and pathways, by virtue of bunches or clusters of relationships (86).

¹⁸ On this basis, Lefebvre proposes that rhythm analysis is more concrete and effective than psychoanalysis (*The Production of Space* 205).

¹⁹ In cultural studies, affect has been used to emphasize the power of many forms of media. I refer to a few recent articles from the fields of cinema and literature. For her use of affect as 'success,' Caña Jiménez relies on Ignacio Sánchez Prado's *Screening Neoliberalism: Transforming Mexican Cinema*, 1988–2012. As Moraña acknowledges, the term affect continues to defy concrete definitions (317). For a review of literature on affect, see her "Postscríptum. El afecto en la caja de herramientas."

²⁰ Due to page limitation, I will only speak of gestures. For the same reason, I am also choosing to concentrate on pleasurable actions and interactions, and will leave actions tied to resistance, criticism, and/or unexpected gestures, of which there are several examples in the novel, for another paper. Suffice it to say, that for Svampa, the market base of all social links in this type of micro-societies sooner or later interrupt the imagined sense of 'paradise' and substitutes 'practical collectivism' for theoretical individualism' (79).

²¹ I am extrapolating Barrett's and Bliss-Moreau's findings on how a "neutral" stimulus can acquire the capacity to perturb core affect (17). I am assuming that any stimulus can change or acquire a different value in a person's core affective state, provided it is paired across a number of experiences with other stimuli with the capacity to perturb core affect.

²² In a different context, this mechanism would explain the fright felt by riverains many years after World War II on seeing German bunkers on a beach along the coast of France (13).

²³ Another example is the privileging of English, used even for training dogs. English univocally enunciates social class distinction and provides a link to the global. When confronted with the fact that her son might be expelled [from Lakelands, the English school in the area], Mavi panics as she believes that "being barred from the school amounts to being cut-off from our world" (115).