CRITICAL PROPOSALS
IN SOCIAL WORK

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PROPUESTAS CRÍTICAS
EN TRABAJO SOCIAL

FACULTAD DE
CIENCIAS
SOCIALES
UNIVERSIDAD DE CHILE

CONTENTS

Editorial

Struggles for Redistribution and Recognition

More than a year ago we decided to dedicate this issue to the debates and reflections related to the Struggles for Redistribution and Recognition. It was a fundamental theme in the conceptual argumentation that supported the proposal for the creation of our Department of Social Work at the University of Chile, and it reflected very well the bet we want to make, in terms of understanding the social from those two problematic knots that overlap and reinforce each other. On the one hand, the redistribution axis, which emphasizes issues such as the concentration of wealth and the reinforcement of the structural mechanisms that produce and reproduce inequality and poverty, and which proposes a profound restructuring of the relations of production; on the other hand, the axis of recognition, referring to the production of subjectivities of rejection, discrimination, stigma and humiliation of those who carry differences or dissent from the imposed canon of normality, proposing, in its transformation-oriented version, a profound deconstruction of injustices to address subjective needs in addition to material ones (Fraser, 2011) . I say 'on the one hand' and 'on the other hand' only for analytical purposes, since we know very well that redistribution and recognition operate as a mutual tension that in Fraser's proposal for transformation do not make 'zero sum', but rather form a coalition.

In Chile we have experienced this struggle for redistribution and recognition decades ago, from the tireless work of social, student, feminist, native peoples, contaminated territories movements, among many others, reaching a boiling point in October 2019. The 'revolt' put in common - made common sense -, the unfair distribution of wealth and the lack of recognition and respect for anti-neoliberal identities. The clamor for a new constitution seemed to promise us that new Chile where the foundations of a new 'social pact' would be laid. Undoubtedly, much has happened since those epic moments when it seemed certain that 'neoliberalism was born and died in Chile' (Hiner et al., 2021). The rejection of the proposed new Political Constitution, after the vote last September 4, places us once again in a moment of high uncertainty. There is still no clarity on how the political forces will be organized to respond to the challenges of

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redistribution and recognition, which underlay the proposal for a new Constitution. The only thing we can be clear about at this moment is that the demands are still there and that we will have to find new ways to make them visible, and at the same time continue to fight for dignified and just living conditions in the times to come.

In this issue, we bring together different papers that provide diverse perspectives to delve into the debates on redistribution and recognition from different angles: aging, incarceration, indebtedness, violence and injustice, and the (in)capacity of States to provide what is necessary for social actors to care for and look after themselves, age with dignity, access health and social security, live in sustainable territories, experience psychosocial reparation or make ends meet with peace of mind. The articles presented in this issue unravel several of these issues by making a detailed analysis of certain spaces where the limitations of States and various actors to address the crisis of redistribution and recognition are strongly evidenced. The perspectives of Esperanza Gómez-Hernández (Colombia), Elefteria Neila (Greece), Lorena Gallardo (Spain), Abel Soto and Luis Vargas (Chile), Guillermo Sanhueza (United States), Fernanda Ponce and Ignacio Godoy (Chile), Tatenda Nhapi (South Africa), Santos Allendes and Lorena Pérez (Chile), Javiera Delgadillo and Fabiola Miranda (Chile), and Lorena Pezoa (Chile) are in dialogue here. As a backdrop to these discussions, we share in this issue an unpublished text with first-person voice by Axel Honneth, written in the context of the interview conducted by the magazine Soziologiemagazin and originally published in German. We have translated, in order to make available both in Spanish and English, this text of great relevance for the debates on redistribution and recognition at the present time. In addition, we accompany this edition with two interviews linked to sensitive issues regarding these debates: Mariela Serey and Carlos Andrade (Chile) talk about the crisis of care; and Haydee Chamorro and Natalí Sánchez (Peru) discuss how to build a critical view of aging in our Latin American societies. Finally, we make available the reviews of two unmissable books to enter the discussion on redistribution and recognition from social work: New Political Agendas for Social Work (Mel Gray and Stephen Webb, 2020), and Dissenting Social Work. Critical Theory, Resistance and Pandemic (Paul Michael Garrett, 2021).

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We hope you enjoy these readings and that they are a contribution to continuing to nurture a critical imagination, even in times of setbacks and crisis.

Gianinna Muñoz - Arce,
Editor in Chief
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ARTICLE

Colonized Territories, Interculturality and Social Work

Territorios colonizados, Interculturalidad y Trabajo Social

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How to cite

Abstract

The incorporation of the territorial in approaching social problems has been increasing in Social Work due to its relationship with the historical, political, economic and cultural constitution. Territory is no longer another geographical dimension in the analysis of social reality, but instead embodied and made explicit in the materializations, symbols and relationships of those who inhabit it. To incorporate the historicity of the territories is to ask oneself about the implications of colonization, the established power pattern and its

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actualization with colonial modernity that is reproduced in existentiality and in the institutions that support it. It is impossible for the processes of social transformation to achieve their purpose while coloniality is reproduced in the social order that naturalizes it and makes it imperceptible or unquestionable. Territorial decoloniality is the detachment from the colonial matrix. Social Work can contribute so that intervention considers other forms of knowledge, other ways of inhabiting and living in the territories. These are the reflections that are presented in this paper. It arises from the research shared with colleagues from Social Work whom for several years questioned Social Work's ethical commitment in contemporary times. The objective is to highlight the importance of colonization as a determining element in the historical constitution of territories, whose coloniality needs to be investigated in biographies, contexts and daily life. Collectives, towns, communities and organizations try to change and improve their daily lives. Interculturality is an inevitable fact of the relationship that can become a transformation and liberation project. From its ethic, Social Work must contribute to the decoloniality of the territories as it compromises life and dignity in a significant way.

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Resumen

La incorporación de lo territorial en el abordaje de los problemas sociales ha ido en aumento en Trabajo Social por su relación con la constitución histórica, política, económica y cultural de estos. El territorio no es una dimensión geográfica más en los análisis de realidad social, sino que se corporaliza y explicita en materializaciones, simbologías y relacionamientos de quienes le habitan. Incorporar la historicidad de los territorios es preguntarse por las implicaciones de la colonización, el patrón de poder instaurado y su actualización con la modernidad colonial, reproducida en la existencialidad y en las instituciones en que se soporta. Es imposible que los procesos de transformación social logren su cometido mientras la colonialidad se reproduzca en el orden social que les naturaliza, hace imperceptibles e incuestionables. La descolonialidad territorial es desprendimiento de la matriz colonial y Trabajo Social puede aportar para que la intervención se abra a otros saberes, otras formas de habitar y vivir en los territorios. Esta es la reflexión epistemológica que se presenta en este escrito. Surge de la investigación compartida con colegas de Trabajo Social, con quienes por varios años nos preguntamos por el Trabajo Social y su compromiso ético en la contemporaneidad. El objetivo es destacar la importancia de la colonización

como elemento determinante en la constitución histórica de los territorios, cuya colonialidad es menester indagar en las biografías, los contextos y las cotidianidades. Los colectivos, pueblos, comunidades y organizaciones intentan cambiar y mejorar su diario vivir. La Interculturalidad es un hecho inevitable de relacionamiento que puede constituirse en proyecto de transformación y liberación. Desde su ética, Trabajo Social debe contribuir a la descolonialidad de los territorios, pues compromete la vida y su dignificación.

Introduction

This epistemological reflection arises because during the years 2016-2019 several colleagues from Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Germany, India and Lithuania set a task of formulating a research route that would allow an inquiry into daily professional and academic scenarios about human and social training, research and interculturality . From the perspective of assuming the need for Intercultural Social Work, we introduced the colonial question as part of our reflections. With each meeting, the need to situate the debate of the colonial and decolonial motivated me to write about the insistence we expressed to address colonization, not as a past fact, but as an imperial practice of expansion validated only very recently. However, the evidence of current social problems seemed to depotentiate this discussion and that is why, for the meeting in India, I proposed to write about the reason for our insistence on incorporating the history of colonization, its legacies in the analysis of reality in social problems and, therefore, the need to situate and embody them in territories, because although colonization is a practice of all times in world history, it does not necessarily develop in the same way in each territory.

Therefore, it became necessary to situate the reflection from our own places of life, linking the territorial with the social and professional. The starting point for linking is in social problems, because they have comprised much of the analysis in the social sciences. The Americans Paul Horton and Gerald Leslie in 1955 provided a classic

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[2] Research project "Intercultural Social Work from Individual and Social Perspectives in Diverse Contexts" (2016-2019).

[3] The terms "decolonial" and "decolonial" are used interchangeably because they indicate a political positioning that seeks to differentiate itself from "de-colonization", i.e. the physical withdrawal of the colonizers in different territories of the planet, and which tends to be confused with the very process of independence, considered historical moments of the cessation of colonization. Precisely this is what is being challenged. Decoloniality or decoloniality follow the same path, so it is not an anglicism. There is also a political stance involved in that to decolonize is not to get rid of all of modernity but of its colonial side, that is, the side that increases the victims of this civilization, the epistemic violence and the extermination and invisibilization of other worlds, beings, peoples and communities in the world.

definition of the sociology of problems, translated by Francisco M. Suárez (1989, p.1) as "a condition that affects a significantly considerable number of people, in a way considered inconvenient and believed to be corrected by collective social action". Because it affects people it is undesirable, can be solved by collective action, and is sought to be modified over time in accordance with standards or expectations.

Social problems, their relationship with society, politics and public policies, denote circumstances and situations that condition, but it is required that the actors recognize their existence and mobilize in the face of that reality accepted and recognized by broader audiences (Valcarce, 2005). Due to their broad nature and institutional capacity, the approach to the problems is in dispute with the idea of social reality used to determine their methodology. Likewise, it is considered that they are strongly related to the social order, therefore control, regulation and institutional discipline to address the problems are inscribed within the possibilities of this instituted order (Gonnet, 2015).

With regard to the definitions of the social problem and its methodology, there is the privilege of the expert, who takes up these issues of the public or social groups, but draws new debates that show the need to situate them in their affectation to the socially desired quality of life (Lauer, 1976). This means that it is the people themselves who must define the ideal quality of life and the professional will be the one to identify those situations that are incompatible with this ideal in order to improve his or her intervention.

In Social Work, the debates on the social problem, its definition, the contexts that give rise to it and the methodologies for its intervention, would merit a state of the art. The social problem refers to

> *(...) a situation of imbalance, maladjustment, disorganization or lack of harmony, or an abnormal situation that requires a drastic reformulation. Social problems are a product of the contradictions of the social system in force and are expressed in the material conditions of the population's life; they constitute the disturbing issues that occur within a society and in relation to which there is an awareness of the need to find solutions (Montoya et al., 2002, p.106).*

Problematizing the very idea of social problems, as a tool to make notions and schemes of the naturalized perception of these problems explicit and to define them in another sense, is a necessity for the intervention to be politically and strategically grounded (Weber Suardiaz, 2010). It also entails questioning the social intervention assumed from the

professional specificity, as a field or social space of analysis and operational reference of social action in which institutions, social services and professionals intervene in the contexts in which the social is produced. Therefore, they need to be extensively theorized, contextualized and methodologically reflected upon based on the history of Social Work itself, its political, paradigmatic and methodological positions, which make this process a conflictive and even contradictory moment, but fundamentally pluralistic (Estrada, 2011).

When it comes to the relationship between problem and policy, it is necessary to review the intervention in social reality, since it implies the articulation between knowledge and action from a perspective of totality that faces the fragmentation in the apprehension of the social question as a negative effect of capitalism and the absorption of the State in this same system. Situational planning gives clues to insist on situations as manifestations of the social question and interactions between different dimensions, where objective and subjective expressions converge in spaces of particularity (Cavalleri, 2008).

In short, the approach to social problems is influenced by temporality, historicity, the magnitude of their impact, the confluence of contextual dimensions, epistemological paradigms and, of course, the conception or idea of well-being, or good living that prevails as a value in social and human life.

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With regard to territory, social movements have been making a profound claim on the importance of the territorial. Critical physical geography and social sciences have responded to this demand. Conceptually, it has moved from the territory as a geographical space with geological, vegetal and animal properties to the whole human, social and environmental relationship that is dynamic in time and space (Llanos Hernández, 2010). This has implied opening up to other disciplines and to the interdisciplinary, qualifying the analysis of natural, environmental, cultural, economic and political reality.

In Social Work, the relationship between social problems and territory has always existed when referring to the neighborhood, the sidewalk, the country, the region and its inhabitants, but it has been revitalized in the epistemological approach as a natural geophysical space, with resources for development and as an anchorage in which material life is reproduced and, therefore, articulates the whole social issue (Massa, 2019). Thus, the territory has gone from being a support for population settlement to become a common scenario in which cultural elements converge, marking group relationships which, in the political order, promote harmonious relations, but also disputes and conflicts over land ownership and use

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For several decades, territorial debates have been centered on the urban and the rural. In the former, social problems are related to public spaces, territorialities and the provision of services and goods for collective use to consolidate cities at the technical, urban and social levels (Quinteros, 2020). In the latter, the emphasis has been on land ownership, community, production, triggers of violence, its resolution and, mainly, community and social organization around agricultural production (Díaz Angarita, 2017). For their part, inter-institutional dynamics have been relevant to channel the intervention with the populations; hence, the state, private and community presence are combined in common objectives related to the achievement of development, citizenship and welfare. These three categories being quite controversial, the important role of territory as a social construction stands out, where geography constitutes spaces for social processes that transform environments and people, who constitute identities associated with the very symbolism of the territory, its languages and materializations (Romero et al., 2013).

Simultaneously, it has had an impact on social intervention in diverse territorial contexts with deep social inequalities. As reflections on social problems based on social diversities, gender, generation, intergenerational, migratory and border identities, the human-nature relationship and the struggles for the defense of territories based on ancestral and the right to a dignified life in the city gain strength, the issues of public, private, public policy and organization, among other issues, generate different valuations on the territorial (Zambrano, 2010; Testa, 2013; García García, 2018; Suárez Manrique et al., 2019; Lozano and Zapata, 2021).

In summary, these and many other studies of territory have diversified their geospatial, population, socio-political, environmental approach with other epistemological currents coming from environmental ecology, critical geography, political ontology and territories of difference, among others. For this reason, articulating social problems to territorial enclaves is very pertinent because no problematic situation is excluded from the dominant logics in these and the interconnections must be described and analyzed in correspondence with contextual and biographical temporalities.

This link between social problems and territories has been a concern of critical thinkers in Latin America and the Caribbean in relation to their historical character linked to colonization. For several decades it has been argued that social problems, their expression, magnitude and incidence, correspond in a broad sense to historical issues related to the geopolitics of world power and the maintenance of a colonial pattern established through colonization, sustained in the institutional framework over

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the centuries and reproduced in everyday life through the colonial matrix. Although the immediacy of social problems would seem to correspond to phenomena that are equally immediate or have a short history, the decolonial option insists that colonization in itself is not a phenomenon of the past, nor is it overcome by the withdrawal of those who have taken possession of territories. In fact, cartography and travelers' accounts played a very important role in documenting and facilitating the advance of colonialism in the world, and the very expansion of modernity would not have been possible without them. However, what matters is that this colonialist practice was naturalized with the idea of an emancipated Europe that could emancipate the other peoples of the world, which also validated the hierarchical classification of peoples and civilizations. Colonization encrypted in evangelization took the form of evangelizing coloniality that consolidated the idea of progress, first in the metaphysical world and then on the earthly plane. As a result, development as a social paradigm remains valid.

Therefore, in order to strengthen critical thinking, it is necessary to situate colonization as a practice of domination, dispossession and coloniality in concrete territories whose biodiversity, history, temporality and social life continue to be affected by violent practices of acculturation, exploitation and suggestive induction to self-acculturation that, in time, becomes naturalized as if it were a legacy of its own; precisely, with colonization the history of the colonizer is transferred, not in its totality, but in what is required for colonization to be effective. Its epistemology is to know about the world, social life, the idea of the human and even the ways of changing and transforming the conditions of living. For this, the precepts, moral virtues and behaviors are the object of reflection, standardization and ethical normalization with regulation in their applications.

Colonization is visible, but coloniality is almost always not perceptible, due to the naturalization it acquires in its hegemony as a civilizing project. Critical contributions have existed for centuries and in current movements they are directed towards territorial decoloniality because it is a matter of a shared good life not deserved by only a few. In these searches, intercultural relations take place with many tensions between life and territory projections, conflicting and in dispute for power over society and human beings. For this reason, it will be necessary to consider the coloniality of social problems as part of the coloniality of territories. Likewise, to identify in the critical interculturality the possibilities for the decoloniality of social problems and therefore of territories or the detachment of colonial rationalities by those decolonial traces that are insurging the different forms of domination, towards other senses and possible worlds, to live in dignifying conditions and achieve good living. Intercultural and Decolonial

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Social Work has been committing itself to the challenges posed in the forging of life in the territories from other conditions, as is shown in the following sections.

Colonized territories and colonial rationalities

In order to address the relationship between colonization and coloniality, it is necessary to differentiate the former as a fact from which the continuous process of colonialism derives and the result of which is coloniality. Situating it in America, it is pertinent to start from the fact that it is the second largest continent on Earth. It has an area of 43,316,000 km2 and a population of 1,041,034,000 inhabitants. It is made up of three major regions (north, center and south). Latin America and the Caribbean comprise the central and southern regions. It has an area of 22,222,000 km2, with 650,000,000 inhabitants, 20 countries and 7 dependencies.

According to official history, until three decades ago, America owed its existence to accidental events from the 15th century (1492), related to European travelers and explorers, among them Christopher Columbus and Amerigo Vespucci, who are said to have discovered these lands. Regarding Latin America, it is said that its name is an ethnic concept of the 19th century as part of the French hegemony. Likewise, exploration, conquest and colonization are recorded at the beginning of the continent's history, after the European arrival. This whole story is questioned when the reflection is placed on the fact that America is the result of invention, not discovery (O'Gorman, 1995). In the historical records, the colonization of America occurred between the XV-XVII centuries. There, a political (viceroyalty), economic (precious metals, slave labor, land ownership, tax system), social (racial social hierarchy, social services provided by the church) and cultural (western civilization) structure was established.

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Latin America was configured at the end of the 19th century, to differentiate it from the Saxon America of the North. It was a French invention that had influence, at that time, in the region. "Latin America is not a subcontinent but the political project of the Creole-mestizo elites" (Mignolo, 2005). With the wars of independence, from 1790 decolonization took place, when the Creole leaders, or heroes of the homeland, fought for emancipation from the Spanish and Portuguese yoke, being supported at that time by France and England. Although there was a change in political power with the nation-state and the emergence of the bourgeoisie, the class hierarchy was consolidated and the economic and cultural structure left by the colony was not modified (Guerra Vilaboy, 1997).

At the dawn of the twentieth century, different social issues came to light and raised questions to the established order with its modernizing effervescence. Racism, ancestral identities, peasant, indigenous and Afro territorial struggles, the recovery of the nominal forms of calling the ancestral territories Abya Yala, Tawantinsuyu and Anáhuac, the territorial dimension as a symbolic and embodied spatiality, as well as the illegitimate annexation of the Americas by the United States, and the recovery of the territorial dimension as a symbolic and embodied spatiality, the illegitimate and undue annexation of territories and the existence even in the 20th century of colonies dependent on European and North American metropolises, among others, opened debates on the prevalence of colonialism in modernity and its contemporaneity. While colonization is the fact, colonialism is the process that continues and gives it validity.

From what was stated by Jürgen Osterhammel and Jan C. Jansen (2019) in their study on the history, forms and effects of colonialism, it can be inferred that in America the process of colonization of territories has been in force in the last five centuries and has been presented in different forms, with different effects and variably located in the geography of the region. The first form of colonialism through massive individual migration from the metropolis and the forced migration of slaves was carried out with the modality of insertion into the various existing multiethnic societies, which meant that some original societies remained culturally intact. The second form of frontier colonization or frontier expansion has been eminently economic, not so much to establish colonies, but to transfer factors of production such as labor and capital to places where natural resources abound. The third form of colonization by settlement overseas is characterized by the creation of small population centers, territorially and socially separated from the local population, creating an economic system of servitude with the relentless displacement of the original population. The appropriation of the best indigenous lands took place with the support of the State of the time and once the native population was annihilated as a work force, it was extended to the forced importation of slaves for the plantations. The fourth form has been colonization through wars of conquest as a prolonged process after initial contacts that resorted to military control and colonial domination, creating a layer of local Creole population that self-reproduced demographically. As a result, settlements have occurred on already existing territories, maintaining the existence of colonies of domination, with the implantation of mixed urban society, colonies of settlement under military protection and with government practices outside the colonized, but close to the new population groups created within by colonialism

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Colonized territories are thus configured, i.e., those that, regardless of their geographic magnitude, have been converted into an object of possession and dominion by a group that takes them for settlement or appropriation of their natural and human contents. Modern colonization, from the critical geography, was born from its imperial power and wars of conquest and trade, as well as from the established racial hierarchies (Machado Aráoz, 2015). This produces a geopolitical division in which peripheral societies are placed at the service of the metropolis, establishing relations of otherness based on the foreignness of the other, with an expectation of extensive acculturation, all justified in the awareness of the fulfillment of a universal mission

> *(...) As a contribution to a divine plan to be executed among the pagans, as a secular mandate for colonialism to "civilize" the "barbarians" or "savages", as a "white man's privileged burden", etc. is always adduced as reasons for the conviction of one's own cultural superiority (Osterhammel and Jansen, 2019, p.15).*

It will always be important to insist that the European empire was established on the basis of different forms of relationships that transformed life in the territories, but whose historical shame was the justification of dispossession, violence and the killing of more than 50% of the original population, in the face of which genocide is not recognized and reparations have not even been attempted (Cuervo Álvarez, 2016).

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Although postcolonialism as an academic category corresponds more to the decade of the eighties in the twentieth century, postcolonization, that is, the physical expulsion of Europeans after independence brought expectations in terms of configuring a social, economic, political and cultural order according to the emancipatory canons that were part of the intra-European phenomenon since the sixteenth century or second modernity and its revolutions. It was inspiring for the Americans, in line with the reflection of European history. Thus, until the end of the 20th century and from this canonical history, the social problems of the Latin American and Caribbean region were analyzed in correspondence with the post-colonization era and were analyzed as weaknesses in the consolidation of the nation-state, backwardness and dependence in economic, scientific and technological matters, as well as resistance to the modernization of institutions. Social problems derived from the difficulties of democracy and power conflicts in the domination of the territories that make up the nation-state. Development as an elusive goal due to the negative impact of science, the exploitation of nature and living conditions, as well as the longing to achieve the good life and social welfare, when access to social services and social security are increasingly privatized and

education, science, technology do not seem to be in line with the economy, have been a substantial part of the meetings, seminars and debates of Social Work. At the same time, there is a great mobilization coming from the diversities, who demand transformations, fulfillment of rights and opportunities to live in freedom in their territories.

Undoubtedly, the 1980s and 1990s bring other questions to the postcolonial era, in contexts characterized by the supposed end of colonies, the loss of the centrality of Europe, the acceptance of developed and underdeveloped peoples, the naturalization of the existence of the Third World and the historical and cultural invisibility of the colonized in the representations that the colonial metropolises have constructed as knowledge, as well as the creation of the East as a cognitive and cultural projection of what constitutes the West. The orientalism of Edward Said in 1990 and the subaltern studies of South Asia, North America and Latin America, prompted the need to review the writing of imperial and post-imperial history, questioned bourgeois and leftist nationalism and the articulations between the state, the nation and the modern project (Dube, 1999; Silva Echeto, 2016) whose main result has been the permanence in the subaltern condition, both of peoples and territories, by the hegemonic prevalence of the West that is imposed with Eurocentrism.

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Colonial legacies emerged in their critical analysis from the existence of neocolonial practices in globalization, whose political and economic power continue the plundering and provoke dependence through methods that benefit the invader (Macías Chávez, 2015). Spain does not withdraw completely, France, England, Holland, the United States and Germany, among others, follow century after century. The arrival of postmodernism, the decline of socialism and the fracture of the Soviet bloc, the growing territorial disputes of the East and West blocs in different parts of the world, detonated the intra-European crisis of modernity. The commemoration of the 500th anniversary of the discovery of America in 1992 triggered historical social critique, led by the indigenous movement with the slogan Nothing to celebrate! as opposed to a yearly custom of celebrating October 12 as an emblem of the Hispanic holiday. The large mobilizations in Latin America and Europe opened the colonial wound "it is a day of genocide and colonization", pointed out Fernando Chávez Pérez, general coordinator of the New Peru Movement (Peñacoba, 2017). Marches, uprisings and social mobilization against this celebration made visible the diversity of sectors, groups and collectives with claims in addition to gender, environmental, cultural, social, ancestral, among others. The protests were against a history marked by pain and dispossession in which the processes of emancipation, transformation and liberation were unfinished if not frustrated.

On the premise that contemporary problems derived from the expansion of capitalism, feudalistic practices in the exercise of power, the prevalence of cognitive privilege by centers of knowledge in the metropolis and their reproduction with internal colonialism, the deepening impoverishment, the dispossession of knowledge and territories, the social inequalities resulting from injustices increased by different types of exclusion, and the use of military force and violence to maintain the status quo, were what led a large number of activists and intellectuals to seek the support of a large number of activists and intellectuals. Social inequalities resulting from injustices increased by different types of exclusion and the use of military force and violence to maintain the status quo, were what led a large number of activists and critical intellectuals in the region towards social reflection with other fields of analysis linked to Latin American critical reason. Among these, the need to review in depth universal history and its relationship with American, Latin American and Caribbean historiography, the establishment of modernity as a civilizing and emancipatory project within the colonial logic, the connection of capitalism with modernity and the production of reproducing subjects of colonized subjectivities, among others, and as colonial legacies, which led to a review of how power operates in territorial contexts and under different strategies, techniques and devices (Castro Gómez quoted by Grupo de Estudios Sobre Decolonialidad, GESCO, 2012).

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Criticism has been forceful in affirming that as long as colonial legacies persist, any transformation process will be exposed to conflict, violence and invisibility, because the coloniality of power permeates even progressive forms of government, the reproduction of capitalism and the co-optation of labor and all possible forms of economy; human subjection to racialized superiority and the desire for whiteness is not only an ethnic problem, but is related to all people who, living in the territories, are exposed to or live in line with this social classification; likewise, the domination, exploitation, commodification and deterioration of terrestrial ecosystems (Quijano, 2014). Colonization, therefore, is not a past moment, because with it a colonial pattern of power is established that allows the production, reproduction and permanent updating or modernization of colonial logics, both for those who impose them and for those who suffer them and those who validate them.

Freeing oneself from social problems requires delving into their knowledge and situating them within processes of colonization that have marked biographies and territorial contexts with the coloniality of power and its continuities, not only in the political and economic spheres, but in matters of human existence, controlled and reproduced through social, cultural and territorial relations that constitute what we call the structuring of

the Latin American and its objective, subjective and material dimensions (Quintero, 2010). It requires reviewing society and subjects around five basic spheres of control, domination and conflict identified by Aníbal Quijano (1992): work; subjectivity/ intersubjectivity; sex and human reproduction; authority and relations with nature.

Intercultural Territories for the Decoloniality of Life

Any colonized territory is subject to coloniality; it inscribes its social problems within the same logics of reality established by the civilizing model of those who colonized it. Basically, its historical development, political structure of government, economic and cultural model are inherited. The variations in its development arise from the internal struggles in the territories of the surviving peoples, collectives and communities that adapt or resist. Many, from the recognized ancestry, re-exist because they re-edit, recreate and transform their cultures in order not to perish, almost always inscribed in the forms of mobilization and in the daily life from which they fight for territorial justice in accordance with their diversities. Modernity, as a civilizing project, engenders its own social problems in its logics of incessant reproduction. Dismantling this colonial pattern of power established more than five centuries ago is a very long task; however, it is possible to overcome this coloniality if we dare to make other analyses of the social, its problems and to dimension social intervention in the perspective of the decoloniality of the territories.

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In this sense, the social manifestations, the protagonists and the demands shown in movements of society in recent decades, show that territorial struggles have other meanings. Territory expands and becomes part of those who inhabit it, it spirals from the body itself to nearby environments and to mother earth. It invites unseen solidarities because it is marching for the restitution of ties and bonds that were broken in their sacred and holistic nature. Thus, the dissident territories have their validity because the mobilization is at a constant rhythm in daily life, it moves towards the public to claim other dialogues, not necessarily whose epicenter is with the State, rather, it dispenses with it because they have lost confidence in that modern civilizing project and in the institutionality that sustained it. They reject, as Natalia Sierra (2018) mentions, the sacrificial symbolic mandate for the territories of Abya Yala; they seek to free themselves from modern normativity and recover lost dignity.

It is then a vital force entrenched in living well in a different way without feeling the shame of backwardness. They try to distance themselves more and more from the dependence on the State and the market that acts to promote development, which is nothing more than a ghost that continues to develop global capitalism rooted in national

states (Quijano, 2000). It means in turn to escape from the mercantile logic of life in which work is instrumentalized in dependent and servile employment, where knowledge is extended to the school of life where knowledge in dialogue has meaning and value, as well as respect for the cosmovisions and spiritualities that take up the ethical principle of biocentrism in accordance with different planes and expressions of existence.

On this path towards territorial decoloniality, there is a need to understand interculturality as the basis of societal relations in which power struggles converge over the prevalence of the territorial way of life. The relationship between humans is only one of the components of interculturality, although it has been central so far, precisely because if we assume that culture is the heritage of humanity, each collective, group, community or people builds its cultural legacies and tries to protect and teach them. However, interculturality is not only a relationship between cultures, but also powers at stake in the dispute over a model of society, of human being and of community. Therefore, territories have always been constituted from intercultural relations and this in itself does not necessarily make them exemplary. The question of reflection is about the scope of this intercultural relationship and its possibilities to move towards the decoloniality of the territories. It implies committing ourselves to respect the faces of diversity, their spiritualities and religiosities; their particular ways of grouping together as families and collectively; the meanings of life and the way they relate to nature and planetary life, as well as critically reviewing the rationalities about what happens in the world and, particularly, their ways of being and acting in everyday life.

Intercultural territories merit the construction of relationships between human beings and all expressions of life on earth whose vitality can reconfigure the materialization of living in uncolonized spatialities, geographies and temporalities. It is also possible for economic exchanges to constitute projects to eliminate the toxicity of the earth, to heal the body, to grow food whose seeds are outside the agrochemical market. Intercultural territories are more than the harmonious relationship of people, cultures and their protagonists; they are rather about restoring the harmonization of the material with the spiritual, returning their sacred character in those places that should be protected and not available for exploitation, urbanization or monoculture production (Gómez Montañez, 2015). Likewise, from critical interculturality, territories are defended from capitalism and its commodification of life and the importance of cosmovisions that are legacies is renewed, both for rural and urban areas, only that it moves away from development and progress as the ultimate goal of society.

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Critical interculturality requires several keys to make it possible in the territories:

1)   To found another type of otherness with whom we relate. Recognition of the other as different from the self (Dussel, 1995), because in this relationship there are axiological (good/bad, inferior/superior/love/hate), praxeological (I adopt their values/assimilate the other, submission to the other/submission of the other) and epistemic (I know or ignore the identity of the other) representations and imaginaries (Todorov, 2005). Colonized peoples carry the weight of inferiorization in their subjectivity. Colonizing peoples carry assumptions of spiritual and material superiority

2)   Respect the existence of diversities and their identities. To recover them in history with their contributions to humanity. Multicultural policies have allowed access to social services and political representation and have promoted cultural diversity. But when their demands challenge the interests of the dominant capitalist, state and elite classes, they are violently attacked through banishment, violence, ethnic cleansing and the curtailment of development

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3)   Advocate for cultural symmetry, incorporating the critique of cultural legacies. With culture, rights are claimed. Many norms today allow for prior consultation for mining operations. But this recognition is subject to the unquestionable values of modern Western culture. Conflicts are often generated between communities and diverse peoples over the privileges of recognition. This must be reviewed within coloniality (Polo Santillán, 2016). The greatest risk is the whitening, or transfer of external asymmetry to the interior of cultures. Interaction between cultures should occur without fear of colonization (Fornet Betancourt, 2003).

4)   Denounce the forms of racism that lead to the inferiorization of human beings, communities, peoples and civilizations (Quijano, 1999). We have overcome the enslavement of Africans and the indigenous peoples preserve their reserves, but their ways of life are considered unproductive for the capitalist system and for national development projects. The white mestizo society hides its racist ideas, wants to resemble the colonizers and imitate their lifestyles.

5)   Promote intercultural dialogue. Beyond what Unesco (2017) proposes as simple exchanges of cultures to preserve peace, intercultural dialogue is an action and ethical imprint to stop the destruction and colonization of humanity and life. The colonized peoples still struggle to achieve a pleasant life, to preserve their ancestry. They offer

the best to tourists. They resist international cooperation that wants to continue colonization with aid. Sometimes they are essentialists in preserving their cultures, but it is also because of the criminalization of their cultural practices and the misuse of their territories (Bautista Revelo et al., 2018). More and more elders in the communities are dying without being able to teach their knowledge. Identities are reconfigured all the time, because they migrate to the city or to another country. They persist in demanding respect and differentiated treatment and overcoming structural inequality.

Territorial decoloniality implies, then, delving into their historical, biographical and contextual narratives that transgress coloniality. It is about going beyond the simple control of the geographical physical space and drawing other maps with the geographies in which the communal, life and identities materialize within power relations that configure and reconfigure them (Jabardo Pereda, 2018); likewise, decapitalize the meaning of the economic and return it to its social niche. Recover the sacred meaning of the land and of the vital elements. To return the feminine principle of life stolen by the patriarchalization of the world. To restore the usurped symbols. Basically, interculturality must allow us to build territory from other ways of learning and educating ourselves, to live socially, to heal ourselves, to live in community and to transgress the unjust systems in which we live.

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By way of final reflections. Challenges for Social Work

As has been raised throughout this text, incorporating the historical component of colonization and coloniality, inscribed in the bodies, places, biographies and contexts of those who from the territories advocate intercultural territorialities for the transformation of their links with the land, nature and thus the improvement of their living conditions, as well as the inscription of social problems as part of the colonial pattern of power that is territorialized and lived in the modern capitalist world, patriarchal, racist and globalized, poses many challenges for Social Work in the perspective of Interculturalizing and decolonizing the territories, since as expressed by colleague Gianinna Muñoz-Arce (2018), the territories are not only scenarios where the social occurs, but they are lived spaces that demand first-hand an interdisciplinary approach, because the first thing is to realize our incomplitude. In this sense, Social Work must follow the path of indisciplinarity within what has been forged as a discipline. Include the principle of knowledge as belonging to society, rather than disciplinary property, and therefore, it should be built with those who share the moments of life that social intervention provokes.

In this sense, it is pertinent to consider that social problems in the territories have a historical component that allows us to analyze them beyond what at first glance we identify as deficiencies, lack of education, organization or desire to get ahead. Rather, to address the problems that are undoubtedly present, as part of their becoming, interdependent of unjust social systems that historically have generated solutions aimed at controlling, stopping conflicts and maintaining peace, even at the cost of exclusion, or of inclusion that contains the protest, but maintains the dependent, subaltern and colonial status.

Likewise, a great task opens up for the human beings that inhabit the territories. It consists of assuming our existence is impacted by colonial modernity that, even so, preserves ancestralities and diversities present in our origins and identities, because they inhabit us and must be made conscious. This will allow spiritualities and all their symbolism and materiality to have due importance in the intervention.

As Social Workers we have professional identities that are the fruit of the relationships we establish, the paradigmatic imprints that are forged with research and training, as well as with the practices of professional practice. These have been constituted and institutionalized with the foundational history of the profession and are made explicit in the territorial actions undertaken in the territories. It justifies, then, to reinterpret these identities often forged with colonial legacies that are reproduced in social intervention (Gómez-Hernández, 2018).

Now, if knowing is the act of knowing about the lives of "others" because they are of interest to us, epistemology, i.e., the foundations, principles and methods with which knowledge is generated, must be reviewed. The people with whom we intervene have ancestral, millenary, centenary knowledge and "knowledge is related to and forms an integral part of the construction and organization of the modern world-system which, at the same time, is still colonial" (Walsh, 2005, p.41). In this sense, validity is not necessarily determined by the origin of these, but in a common context of coloniality of knowledge, pluralism becomes the starting point for intercultural dialogue, and with it, the possibilities of discerning, discussing and building appropriate and situated knowledge in those contexts in which, in turn, proposals for territorial transformation are constituted.

Theoretically, Social Work has in its favor the contribution of the social sciences for the analysis of social realities. However, Social Work must build theories based on the broad experience it has in social issues. It is necessary to overcome Eurocentrism, because it keeps us subject to universal explanations that do not allow us to engage in

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situated dialogues. Eurocentrism is not at all the citation or reference of knowledge coming from Europe or North America; Eurocentrism is the granting of validity and authority to a single place of enunciation with criteria of absolute truth. Indeed, the centers of power that constitute the geopolitics of knowledge in the world are indeed located in these geographies, but they must be located as part of the colonialism and coloniality in which they are inscribed. The decoloniality of knowledge will only be possible if we situate them in their contexts of origin and in their temporalities, just as we should situate our knowledge, rooting it in our contexts, geographies and temporalities. Only in this way will critical intercultural dialogue be possible between different epistemes that think of their action in the transformation of the world. Otherwise, we will simply reproduce universal theories and waste time systematizing to validate what has already been written without generating new, different knowledge.

Methodologically, we have insisted that our role as social workers is not to save anyone, because we must all free ourselves from our colonial burdens. But we can adjust our methods of territorial intervention to the particularities of the groups with whom we work. We have implemented critical interculturality as a methodology and we have learned from other forms of community work. Learning that cultural legacy that many diverse peoples and collectives have used to communicate, organize, generate cohesive practices, mobilize politically to claim their rights and live according to their meanings of life, we have also learned that we need to reflect on our professional ethos, that it is important to become part of what we research, of the territories and the people with whom we work, but it is even more important to root ourselves in these social, cultural and political struggles as part of a larger horizon of liberations that attempt to transmodernize society.

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From an ethical perspective, it is important to strengthen the principle of respect for a dignified life, based on the right to be culturally different without contempt of any kind, but more than anything else, to bet on an ethic that promotes the possibility of contributing to society as part of a larger framework of life. Beyond recognition, intercultural dialogue must be committed to the struggle and overcoming of social inequality, racism and all the multiple violences of unjust and colonizing social systems (Gómez et al., 2020). Ethics must bet on another type of humanism, more biocentric, because at the end of the day, the native peoples have been insisting on it throughout these centuries. We are part of the planet, not superior to it, and this simple and profound saying cannot continue to be trivialized by those thinkers who, although critical, are deeply anthropocentric and arrogant with science and technology. It is enough for the earth to shake a little and all our pride will be shattered.

These debates need to be deepened in universities and training centers. It will be convenient to insist on the fact that critical interculturality allows us to move towards decoloniality. Therefore, Decolonial Intercultural Social Work brings us closer to projects and processes of transformative and liberating scope. Therefore, I would like to end by taking up a phrase of the Argentine professor Francisco Ramallo (2014), who emphasizes that history and its teaching must be decolonized, because it is necessary to denaturalize reality and think that other worlds may be possible. He says that there is a hegemonic history that dominates, but that another one can be built as a tool for liberation and humanization. For this, it would be necessary to retake the pluriversal historical narratives. "Our proposals from the decolonial turn and our classroom practices are aimed at feeling and thinking that when one teaches history, one is teaching that changing the world is possible" (Ramallo, 2014, p.54).

Intending the decoloniality of territories makes it possible for colonial legacies to be visible in the analysis of social problems intrinsically linked to the territories. These are unresolved legacies, which act through power in three areas: the materialization of relationships and their objects, the subjectivity and spirituality of human beings, and intersubjectivity in their relationships. They are relevant for Social Work, because they allow us to see that, in addition to the material (socioeconomic) classification to which we are accustomed with diagnoses, there is also an underlying (cultural) classification of populations and this generates a social status. If we are aware of this situation, we could recognize social heterogeneity, human diversities and their claims, revealing the faces of those who face multiple exclusions due to capitalism, racism, xenophobia, patriarchalism and homophobia, which are in force century after century. From Social Work we have the opportunity to make interculturality a critical perspective of what we are, especially, to be aware of the colonizer within us and to assume that the reproduction of the current world and its injustices can be changed, because there are possibilities to live well and to remake the territories in another way.

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ARTICLE

Housing policies for asylum seekers and refugees: social workers' views on control and resistance

Políticas de vivienda para solicitantes de asilo y refugiados: opiniones de los trabajadores sociales sobre el control y la resistencia

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How to cite

Abstract

Since 2015, Greece has been one of the main host countries for many thousands from the Middle East who have been forced to leave their countries for political reasons. In this context, social workers have been at the forefront of responding to refugee and asylum seekers' needs, facing limits to their work due to the neoliberal approach underpinning housing policies. This article discusses social workers' views about the housing policies for refugees and asylum seekers in Greece as part of a policy of power enforcement at the micro and macro

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levels. For this purpose, the findings of a qualitative study consisting of semi-structured interviews with 16 social work practitioners from non-governmental organizations serving asylum seeker and refugee populations in Greece are discussed. Thematic analysis of data highlighted work overload along with limited training and support. At the same time, it was found that social workers do not comprehend housing policies for asylum seekers and refugees as policies which encourage integration, but rather contribute to a regime of control and exclusion. Although attempts of professional resistance against the housing policy framework at an individual level were identified, collective action over these repressive practices seems to be absent according to the participants' accounts. The study constitutes an effort to provide an insight into Social Work practice and the difficulties professionals face being a part of a social control policy, problematizing managerialism as well as the anti-immigrant rhetoric underlying housing policies for refugees and asylum seekers in Greece. The article concludes by proposing that political analysis and involvement with service user groups, labor groups and collectivities' groups need to come to the fore in order to address these challenges and to stand against any oppressive practice.

Resumen

Desde 2015, Grecia ha sido uno de los principales países de acogida para miles de personas de Oriente Medio que se han visto obligadas a abandonar sus países por razones políticas. En este contexto, las/os trabajadores sociales han estado en primera línea para responder a las necesidades de los refugiados y solicitantes de asilo, enfrentándose a los límites de su trabajo debido al enfoque neoliberal que sustenta las políticas de vivienda. Este artículo analiza las opiniones de las/os trabajadores sociales sobre las políticas de vivienda para los refugiados y los solicitantes de asilo en Grecia como parte de una política de imposición del poder a nivel micro y macro. Para ello, se discuten los resultados de un estudio cualitativo consistente en entrevistas semiestructuradas con 16 profesionales del trabajo social de organizaciones no gubernamentales que atienden a la población de solicitantes de asilo y refugiados en Grecia. El análisis temático de los datos puso de manifiesto la sobrecarga de trabajo junto con una formación y un apoyo limitados. Al mismo tiempo, se descubrió que los trabajadores sociales no entienden las políticas de vivienda para los solicitantes de asilo y los refugiados como políticas que fomentan la integración, sino que contribuyen a un régimen de control y exclusión. Aunque se identificaron intentos de resistencia

profesional contra el marco de la política de vivienda a nivel individual, las acciones colectivas de resistencia al control y a las prácticas represivas parecen estar ausentes según los relatos de los participantes. El estudio constituye un esfuerzo por proporcionar una visión de la práctica del Trabajo Social y de las dificultades a las que se enfrentan los profesionales al formar parte de una política de control social, problematizando el gerencialismo así como la retórica anti-inmigrante que subyace en las políticas de vivienda para los refugiados y solicitantes de asilo en Grecia. El artículo concluye proponiendo que el análisis político y la implicación con los grupos de usuarios de los servicios, los grupos de trabajadores y los grupos de colectividades deben pasar a primer plano para hacer frente a estos retos y a cualquier práctica opresiva.

Introduction

The war zone situation in the Middle East, based on political and economic interests, has led a huge number of citizens, in order to escape death, to flee their country of origin in order to reach a safe environment. While migration flows from the Middle East to Europe because of the current state of war have been a common phenomenon for many years, 2015 saw the biggest forced immigration influx since World War II, with millions of people seeking asylum in European countries (Peters,2017). Approximately, 861,630 arrivals were recorded in Greece in 2015 (UNHCR, 2021). The closure of the Balkan Route which took place in 2016, resulted in more than 46,000 people being trapped within the Greek territory, which, due to its geographical location, became one of the host countries for asylum seekers (Amnesty International, 2016). It is worth mentioning that these numbers illustrate only the officially registered arrivals in Greece and the actual number of those who crossed through the country remains unknown. The Greek state, being a short-term host country for moving populations, was unprepared for settling on a permanent hosting policy framework in order to support this massive arrival of people (Kourachanis, 2018). As a result, the housing policies, implemented primarily in alienated hotspots, are being questioned for whether they target asylum seekers' integration and autonomy or are part of a control policy of a state which feels threatened of "the other".

This paper draws on a qualitative study based on social workers' critical views on the current housing policy framework for asylum seekers and refugees in Greece, based on findings from 16 semi-structured interviews with social workers who work in asylum seeker and refugee housing schemes in Greece. A further significant question

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of the research relates to the challenges social workers face in these settings and how they perceive the housing policy framework for asylum seekers and refugees, as it is implemented in Greece. The first part of the paper reviews the housing policy framework for asylum seekers and refugees in Greece. Then, Social Work practice with asylum seekers and refugees in Greece is described. The second part of the study seeks to investigate the experiences of SWs in order to draw conclusions in relation to SW practice in similar settings. Following a description of the research methodology, social workers' views of the housing policy framework for asylum seekers and refugees and their experiences in this sector are discussed. Although the findings specifically relate to the Greek context, the same challenges and experiences in asylum seeker and refugee housing schemes may be of concern in other countries as well. For that reason, this study can provide a direction for further research, contributing to the debate between European countries according to the asylum seeker and refugee housing policy framework in each country, investigating at the same time the SW role in this sector.

Asylum seeker housing policies in Greece: An overview

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In order to provide an insight regarding the hosting policy framework in Greece, some clarifications are needed. Firstly, hosting policy in Greece is based on the rationale of public-private partnership (with a significant number of private initiatives). Most of the housing programs (except housing in camps which are completely coordinated by the Greek ministry) are led and implemented by European and International actors (UN) and funded by the EU. Nevertheless, most of them follow a coordination policy with the Ministry of Migration and do not operate completely independently. In light of the above, it becomes clear that we cannot talk about a consistent hosting policy design, rather a mixture of distinct interventions by different actors that were developed to address emergencies rather than being a part of a holistic hosting policy framework.

This study adopts a critical perspective, where privatization and marketization attempts in social services must be criticized, while the role of social work is to address social and structural issues (Payne, 2017). Following this approach, the public-private partnership model (and the public sector withdrawal) raises questions as to whether it can provide a permanent social integration framework for asylum seekers and refugees.

ARTICLE

The case of the refugee camps

Refugee camps have gained the interest of scholars, both in terms of their moral significance and their diversity. As an effect of the ongoing political conflicts in Middle East, Greek islands have been part of a broader situation prevailing in the Mediterranean area, creating a framework for the geopolitical and biopolitical management of refugees (Hughes, Issaias & Drakoulidis, 2018).

Hotspots were established in Greece in 2015 and initially functioned as reception and identification centers and as a temporary accommodation for the asylum seeker population. However, due to the lack of political care, most asylum seekers have been trapped on the islands for two or three years, in accommodation centers whose number is disproportionate to the actual number that can be hosted (CNN GREECE, 2020). According to Amnesty International in a 2018 report, asylum seekers struggle with unsafe living conditions, including unsanitary conditions and physical violence, including violence based on gender (Amnesty International, 2018).

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Generally, the establishment of this housing policy reflected the paradigm of a more general policy observed by the European Union, based on the view of a Europe "Fortress" against anything that is not considered to express the "European" ideal (Thomas, 2014). The way reception and housing policies are drawn reflect party politics, as well as an anti-immigrant rhetoric which has been produced by the growth of a right-wing constituency in Europe as a whole. In this context, camps and hotspots reflect a housing policy which consists of the political position of the government in relation to the management of the refugee population in the Greek islands. Furthermore, their function reflects a cost-effective short-term solution, which is consolidated over time. Their consolidation mainly operates within the framework of a generalized political and "European" indifference towards the future of this vulnerable population.

The case of accommodation schemes

In order to manage the huge asylum seekers' inflow and to decongest the migrant flows into the islands, the UN operated the Emergency Support to Integration and Accommodation (ESTIA) program. ESTIA program started its operation in the middle of 2016, as a continuance of the Accommodation and Relocation Program, operated by UNHCR in 2015, ESTIA is located in mainland Greece. The program captured an important amount of asylum seekers, reaching by September 2020 21,616 beneficiaries (UNHCR 2020a). The ESTIA program was developed through the collaboration of the UNHCR

with the Greek Government and implemented mainly by a series of NGOs (national or international). One of the main elements is the targeting of social support toward the most vulnerable populations. According to an accommodation update of July 2020, more than 1 in 4 residents have at least one of the vulnerabilities that make them eligible for the accommodation scheme (disability, severe health problem, single parent household) (UNHCR, 2020b).

In 2019 the Greek Ministry of Migration Policy announced the gradual termination of accommodation to beneficiaries of international protection living in refugee camps and accommodation programs. Realizing the danger of a massive refugee homelessness flow, and as a means to appease the protest movement that had begun to form, in the middle of 2019, HELIOS program started its operation. HELIOS program, implemented by IOM (coordinated with the Greek Ministry of Migration and Asylum) and funded by EC. In this program, beneficiaries become responsible for finding accommodation and presenting a valid lease agreement and then, HELIOS contributes to cover rental and move–in costs by refunding the beneficiary, depending on household size (IOM, 2020).

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While they attempted to be a part of a social integration strategy, accommodation schemes were unable to be linked with broader integration policies. The reasons for this are multiple and referred not only to the program's design, but also to structural barriers of Greek society. Field studies have shown that the ESTIA program holds an inadequate exit strategy, failing to prepare beneficiaries for their social autonomy (Kourachanis, 2018). Moreover, the fact that the ESTIA program targets mainly vulnerable groups of people (Law 4375/2016 and Law 4540/2018) has as a result the reproduction of a residual model of crisis management. The subject becomes co-responsible (or responsible) to overcome the structural obstacles (lack of language, racist behaviors, lack of employment opportunities, unfair living conditions) and to become socially independent. HELIOS program holds a similar way of thinking. While it sets out to empower beneficiaries towards social integration and autotomy in a more adequate way than ESTIA, it does not take into account severe socioeconomical factors such as language barriers or the refugee's lack of money (the beneficiary must cover the costs and, through payment receipt, he is refunded by IOM).

In light of the above, the question that should be raised is if a housing policy by itself can support vulnerable groups becoming socially independent. As the United Nations Research Institute for Social Development (1994:6) notes *"It is intellectually easy and often politically expedient to assume that grave problems of poverty and injustice can*

be alleviated through including people formerly excluded from certain activities or benefits. Yet, in many cases, the existing pattern of development itself may be unviable or unjust". The structural barriers asylum seekers and refugees face in Greece are numerous: the infrastructure of the housing system, the geographic location of the housing facility and the inadequate access to the social services hinder the integration process.

Social Work practice with asylum seekers and refugees in Greece

As Gray, Collett van Rooyen, Rennie & Gaha (2002: 101) note *«when we talk about policy we are talking about the way in which social workers engage with, or are influenced by, social policy in their practice».* This policy may be related to housing, education or unemployment and impacts differently on our work with service users depending on the context in which we are working (working for the government or in an NGO for example).

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Within this context, Social Policy in each country echoes their sociopolitical system ideology and the government, NGOs and other organizations reproduce such ideologies. Firstly, the anti-immigration rhetoric which has taken place in almost all of Europe in the last decade cultivated anti-social policies for asylum seekers (Thomas, 2014). Moreover, the state's lack of interest to develop a holistic integration framework for asylum seekers and refugees, leaving private initiatives such as NGO's to fulfil this role, reflects the neoliberal construct where the welfare state is replaced by social welfare packages for increasingly restricted populations (Kourachanis, 2018). Palley (2018), emphasizing neoliberalism's attack on the welfare state, clarifies that neoliberalism does not focus on the welfare state's eradication, but its shrinkage, turning it into a center of profitability. The attack on the welfare state aims at privatizing, eliminating rights, reducing the size and changing the character of the welfare state, as well as replacing universal benefits with means of strict control over the provision of welfare services (Palley, 2018). All the above does not leave the Social Work profession unaffected, but raises concerns about the capacities and the restrictions social workers face in developing interventions which promote social change (Teloni, Dedotsi & Telonis, 2020).

The literature review showed that not only in Europe but worldwide, Social Work practice with asylum seekers and refugees is seen as demanding and challenging (Robinson, 2014; Bringer, Nadan & Ajzenstadt, 2020). Further research abroad investigating

Social Work practice highlighted overload, limited training and support, increased managerialism and alienation (Carey, 2008; Robinson, 2014). In Greece, the situation does not differ. In a recent study which evaluated ESTIA implementation in Greece, Kourachanis (2018) showed that because of the country's lack of experience in social integration for asylum seekers and the subsequent lack of a skilled labor force in this field, staff experienced high levels of burn out. In spite of the challenges social workers face, attempts to stand in solidarity with refugees cannot be called into question. On 15th of April 2019, due to the announcement of the ministerial decision on refugees exiting the accommodation schemes, the NGO workers union (among them many social workers) went on strike (and protested as well) in order to condemn the government's decision, as well as NGO's decision to implement this action (Konstantopoulos, 2019). Moreover, solidarity protests have also taken place. NGO workers in Lesvos on 22 February 2020 took part in the protest against anti-immigrant rhetoric (3Points Magazine, 2020). These are only two examples of the broader social action of social workers. However, being part of an action network may have unpredictable outcomes, leading to redundancies.

In light of the above, it becomes clear that a significant number of social workers, despite the risks, tend to acquire political involvement and resistance to any exclusionary policy (Gray et al, 2002; Pentaraki, 2018; Bringer et al, 2020). Social workers, though they face a "double struggle" supporting their labor rights and service users as well, develop actions of resistance and remain committed to social justice and human rights advocacy. As Vickers (2015:667) notes *«Under capitalism, social work can help facilitate social change, through political education, building alliances between oppressed groups, and helping people to cope with the alienation and exploitation caused by capitalism while they struggle to change oppressive structures».*

Methods

The main questions guiding the research process were a) what are the social workers' views about the current housing policy framework for asylum seekers and refugees and the way housing programs are designed? and b) how do social workers view their role within this context and what are the main challenges they face? The study was conducted on a sample of sixteen social workers who work in asylum seeker and refugee housing schemes in Greece. Given that there is limited literature on the practice of social work with asylum seekers in Greece, the present research attempts to be part of a debate towards new directions in social work practice.

In order to examine the study's questions, qualitative research methods were developed. The only selection criteria for the participants was to be employed at the specific time of the interview in housing schemes for refugees and asylum seekers. As a social worker who was practicing in this era (in a refugee camp), I had the opportunity to approach other colleagues who were working in the same sector. I decided to approach colleagues from different NGO's with which I had a distant professional relationship, mostly through referral pathways. Firstly, I conducted them through phone, pointing out my intent of doing a study regarding SW practice in housing schemes for asylum seekers and refugees. The social workers who responded in a positive way received through their email two forms, a paper explaining the purpose of the study and the consent form. The interview took place after work and via phone. The participant recruitment was achieved through snowball sampling method. While some scholars argue that this method does not allow the researchers to calculate the representativeness of the sample (Heckathorn, Semaan, Broadhead & Hughes, 2002), it is an effective means of seeking participants from a specialist field.

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The interview procedure lasted two months (January -February 2020). Due to the fact it was a time period prior to Covid-19 and the interviews were conducted through phone, no special measures were taken. Most of the interviewees were working in ESTIA accommodation programs as "case workers" (N=10), while some were working in hotspots located in Greek islands as well as on the mainland (N=6) as "child protection officers" or "protection officers". All of the professionals who were interviewed were employed by NGO's.

This study constitutes self-funded research which is based on my work experience and my initial motivation to investigate if the SW practice in this sector bears similarities with the challenges and the ethical dilemmas social workers face every day. It is not part of a thesis or a broader research project. The interview guide questions were equally formulated through literature and my professional experience. At this point, it should be noted that this position of an insider-researcher appears to be very challenging. The position of the insider-researcher is not referred to an independent variable but to a continuous interaction between them and the research. Insider knowledge may contribute to the formation of the topic or to the methodology used (Suwankhong & Liamputtong, 2015 to Finefter-Rosenbuh, 2017:2). Other researchers claim that this

may lead to a position of strength: for instance, knowing what to ask the participants or relating to issues of current relevance (Bridges, 2001 to Finefter-Rosenbuh, 2017:2). However, self-reflection and a reflexive approach are both a necessary prerequisite regarding the research process (Darwin Holmes, 2020). Researchers must be able to identify their views as well as their influence on the design and data analysis procedure (May & Perry, 2017 to Darwin Holmes, 2020:2). As an effect, researchers need to acknowledge their own presence in the formation of knowledge and to critically self-evaluate their positionality.

It is worth mentioning that the research study did not receive ethical approval by any institution. Despite this, the study was conducted by adopting the Social Work ethics code that governs the Greek Social Work Association[2] . According to Tsiolis (2014), a main ethical aspect refers to the importance of informed and free consent. For that reason, prior to the interview the participants were informed about the study's purposes and gave their written consent which ensured their anonymity, giving at the same time the option to withdraw from the study at any time. No incentive to participate was offered, and it was made clear that their participation in the research was voluntary. Furthermore, anonymity and confidentiality issues were addressed. For that reason, any personal identifiable information, such as camp and NGO names were redacted. Moreover, it was made clear that in case the findings were presented to a wider audience, they would not contain their names or any other identifying characteristics.

Participants were asked semi-structured interview questions regarding their views according to the housing policy framework for refugees in Greece and the challenges that are faced in their practice. Every interview was digitally recorded and transcribed verbatim. Through coding and systematic review of the re-occurring patterns, potential themes were identified (Liamputtong, 2013). The findings were thematically analyzed by using inductive codes. Thematic analysis refers to the procedure where the researcher systematically identifies, organizes and comprehends reoccurring themes and patterns within the data (Braun & Clarke, 2012). Some of the themes emerged directly from the data while others were theory-informed. As Braun & Clarke (2012:61) note *"through coding, the researcher uses the findings of previous studies as a lens to raise awareness to his scientific ability, helping him recognize patterns within the data. Thus, some of the codes which are produced emerged from participants' quotes while others emerge from the theoretical framework of the study"*.

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[2] For further information on the Ethics Code that governs the Greek Social Work Association, please see here: https://www.skle.gr/index.php/el/xrisima-arxeia/nomothesia/itemlist/category/97-askisi-epaggelmatos-koinonikoy-leitourgoy

Participants profile

In order to collect demographic data, a small-scale questionnaire was developed. Data collection showed that most of the interviewees were women (N= 13), a fact that was anticipated given the perceptions of female dominance within the profession. Moreover, the average years of social work experience was 2 and a half, and the participants' average age was twenty-nine years old. All social workers were front line practitioners. Eight out of sixteen social workers held a postgraduate degree. The average working time in the same organization-employment (when the interview was conducted) was approximately one year.

Results and Discussion

The findings present a picture of social workers' views on the current hosting policy framework in Greece, as well as the challenges they face in their everyday working life. Social workers expressed concerns as to whether the housing policy framework encourages asylum seeker integration or contributes to a regime of control and exclusion. Also, it was found that the professionals deal with high levels of frustration, work overload along with limited training and support. The findings are presented by focusing on a) professionals' views about the current housing policy framework for asylum seekers and refugees and the way housing programs are designed, and b) how they view their role within this context and the main challenges they face.

Undoubtedly, the 1980s and 1990s bring other questions to the postcolonial era, in contexts characterized by the supposed end of colonies, the loss of the centrality of Europe, the acceptance of developed and underdeveloped peoples, the naturalization of the existence of the Third World and the historical and cultural invisibility of the colonized in the representations that the colonial metropolises have constructed as knowledge, as well as the creation of the East as a cognitive and cultural projection of what constitutes the West. The orientalism of Edward Said in 1990 and the subaltern studies of South Asia, North America and Latin America, prompted the need to review the writing of imperial and post-imperial history, questioned bourgeois and leftist nationalism and the articulations between the state, the nation and the modern project (Dube, 1999; Silva Echeto, 2016) whose main result has been the permanence in the

subaltern condition, both of peoples and territories, by the hegemonic prevalence of the West that is imposed with Eurocentrism.

Housing policies as a tool for the reproduction of social control

Participants reflected on how they perceive the implemented housing policies for asylum seekers and whether they think these policies affect their practice. Most social workers, both in camps and the ESTIA program, perceived the housing policies as quite traumatic for those they served, citing elements of oppressive practice through the social work.

Their living conditions in the camp make their mental health worse and clearly our intervention is affected{..}many people they are asking how much they will stay here … it is difficult for them and for us as well, there are times that I feel that I do crisis management within a crisis (Social Worker, Refugee Camp, 13)

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If we do not find someone for more than 10 days, we invade the house, because they rent it to others, I do not agree with that, but I cannot refuse to do it (to invade the house). Sometimes our role is derogatory, for example to attend a disinfection, there are apartments with bad hygiene conditions, or you will do a home visit as a police officer to see if they are there, anyone who is staying there (except a beneficiary). You try to do it as politely as possible you know. But I disagree with all that. The thing is that you cannot refuse if there are others who follow this line. They will ask «why will you not go? (Social Worker, Accommodation Program, 12)

The policies pursued towards these people are punishable if someone breaks the rules. It is not to punish but to work with others and not to impose. The refugee sector has begun to wear me down (Social Worker, Accommodation Program, 14)

Through the experts above, the social work practices which are developed, especially in the ESTIA program, are perceived by the social workers as punishing and antithetical to the principles of the social work profession. These narratives highlight the unsuccessful role of the housing policies to support and integrate these vulnerable groups into the society. This failure might be related to two events. Firstly, it can be linked with the state's lack of interest to establish a holistic integration framework, leaving the voluntary

sector to fulfil this role (Kourachanis, 2018). Second, the housing policies which are carried out represent the dominant discourse regarding the immigrant 'threat', thus these practices of control and punishment rely on this rationale. As Pallister-Wilkins (2016) stresses, humanitarian actors, operating on the basis of dominant enforcement procedures, echo a system of exclusion. Within this context, front line social workers are frequently caught between the discourses of care and control (Ferguson and Woodward, 2009) and face limits on the capacity to resist any oppressive practice (Briskman, 2009; Strier & Bershtling, 2016). Also, the findings showed that, while most social workers seemed to stand against some duties their organization had reinforced, they reported feeling powerless to oppose the administration's guidelines. This is quite important if we consider that most of the social workers claimed not to have participated in any labor union or activist group, neither had they had the appropriate support to stand against any practice they considered as oppressive.

Social work practice in accommodation settings for asylum seekers and refugees: what are the main challenges professionals highlighted?

Questioning the working conditions: work overload, lack of training and devaluation of the professional role

Social work plays an integral role in assisting asylum seekers and refugees in Greece, both in social departments and hotspots. Although tasks and roles seem to differ in the two working environments, there seem to be some commonalities regarding the working conditions. Most of the social workers described their working conditions as challenging without adequate supervision or training provided:

It is impossible to work with 100 beneficiaries …we do not get any supervision, whatever we learn, we learn it by other colleagues. At first, I did not know what to do (Social worker, Refugee Camp, 1)

As a social worker I work on a regular basis with 60 beneficiaries. Every social worker is responsible for 22 apartments, we are like the contact person of these people hosted there. Some apartments host 6 single men, which means 6 different cases. As you understand we cannot focus on every case as much as we need to{..}I feel my work is all about number and reports (Social Worker, Accommodation Program, 10)

Two main themes that emerged from the analysis were the work overload and the

lack of adequate support from the management, as well as the lack of supervision. This finding is quite crucial if we consider that half of the participants had one year of experience, while a third were working more than 2 years. The fact of an unskilled labor force in the refugee field is illustrated in other studies as well (Kourachanis, 2018). As discussed above, older colleagues were the main source of training and support for the newly qualified workers. These shortages in social worker expertise and training entail a significant risk for implementing oppressive policies without even noticing it, and generally, to come to practice without a critical view and analysis. Another dimension professionals highlighted was the focus on the reporting of their daily work. This focus on managerialism and on quantitative reports reflects the neoliberal attack on Social Work's critical role (Hyslop, 2016; Payne, 2017; Weinberg & Banks, 2019).

Furthermore, a number of the participants linked their work overload with a low sense of reward and an increased possibility of resignation:

All the employees are about 25 to 35 years old. This is not irrelevant. Whoever is older cannot afford the pressure (Social Worker, Refugee Camp, 16)

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Burnout and the sense of frustration constitute a common experience that professionals encounter when they work directly with asylum seekers (Austen, 2016). In light of the above considerations, increased managerialism and lack of training constitute the main challenges social workers confront in daily practice. Furthermore, working conditions are considered a factor that contributes to professionals' or other colleagues' early resignation from the organization. As a social worker (16) from the camp mentioned, newly qualified social workers may be perceived more resilient to remain in the same work position for a longer period of time than an older professional (with greater work experience).

"People consider us part of what is happening": Social Workers' views on refugee evictions

Another professional challenge that emerged from the analysis was the exit of the recognized refugees from the accommodation schemes. This parameter is considered particularly important because, in the ESTIA program, social workers are the contact persons who inform the family about their exit from the program. Through their answers, it showed that most of them were opposed to the ministerial decision on refugee evictions:

It is not planned what they will do when they leave the program, how will they live? We must tell them that they will leave, why us and not those in charge? People consider us part of what is happening (Social Worker, Accommodation Program, 10)

In contrast to camps, in the ESTIA program social workers are defined as the persons who announce to the people the decision of their eviction from the program. This increases the stress of professionals as they are forced to report the potential homelessness to people with whom they have developed a long-term professional relationship. Most social workers condemned the ministerial decision to evict refugees from the ESTIA program, stressing the program's inefficiency in terms of promoting the successful integration and autonomy of asylum seekers. Though most social workers did not refuse to implement this decision, some social workers tried through their role to defend the beneficiaries:

We were told that it is our responsibility to inform the families about the forthcoming exit from the program{..}.it was very difficult because I had worked with them for a year {..} In order to protect them I lied in my report about their vulnerability {..}though that way I felt like I took their side (Social Worker, Accommodation Program, 12)

This finding is extremely important because it stands with Social Work's commitment to social justice and human rights advocacy (Payne, 2017; Scherr, 2015 to Heilmann & Roßkopf, 2021:24; Marmo, Pardasani & Vincent, 2021). Although professionals are in danger of coming into conflict with the management of their organization, they choose to defend the service user, protecting them and their rights. These narratives agree with other studies which showed that, despite the risk of losing their job or being targeted by the management, social workers decide to resist any unjust practice and stand against any exclusionary policy (Gray et al, 2002; Strier & Breshtling, 2016; Pentaraki, 2018; Weinberg & Banks, 2019).

Social integration failure: refugee's choice or policies' effect?

Since the majority of the respondents seem to highlight the unsuccessful role of the Greek housing policy design to support and integrate these vulnerable groups into society, a significant question that was raised was how professionals perceived integration as a process and who, according to them, is responsible for asylum seekers' integration to the

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Greek society (asylum seekers, the government or both?). A significant portion of social workers seemed to view asylum seekers' behavior as a part of the successive integration plan. While respondents seemingly seem to consider the inefficacy of integration of refugees as an outcome of the failure of the programs developed by state or non-state actors, controversial beliefs about the responsibility of asylum seekers regarding their integration emerged:

NGO's did not start their operation having standard guidelines and they have not clarified their role yet. These made service users more vulnerable and more demanding towards us. In other countries, where the integration programs have strict rules, they comply with (Social Worker, Accommodation Program, 8)

The programs that have been run are not adapted to the needs of people. Even if there is housing or financial support, they do not really help them. There are service users who rest on us and constantly ask us for things (Social Worker, Refugee Camp, 7)

These social workers' illustrations place more emphasis upon asylum seekers taking responsibility and seeing service users' behavior as an additional factor for their prevention of being integrated and not as a policy effect. Similar views are mirrored in the 'culturization' frame which uses refugees' culture as a factor which influences the way they interact with difficulties (van der Haar, 2015). These perspectives tend to stand in favor of an individualistic rationale rather than providing a critical analysis to social problems' construction. As an effect, these discourses echo the neoliberal rationality which focuses on the individual, promoting service user blame (Choudhury, 2017; Morley, Macfarlane & Ablett, 2017; Weinberg & Banks,2019). Furthermore, the preponderant discourse produced by the dominant system is a factor that influences social workers' views towards asylum seekers and refugees (Masocha, 2013). To this effect, these social workers' reflections which are seen above, may be affected by these variables. The absence of critical thinking concerning the impact of structural causes and power relations on trust building with the service user, could entail the risk of blame culture reproduction. Taking this stance, social workers need to acknowledge the impact of restrictive policies (and the power relations which are reproduced in this context) during their everyday practice (Farmer, 2017; Birger & Nadan ,2021).

Based on the above, it becomes clear that the practice of social workers with asylum seekers in Greece, influenced by the prevailing ideas for surveillance and control which are indicated in the public policy agenda, is in conflict with the moral values

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that the profession stands for. Most of the participants discussed facing high levels of frustration, a low sense of reward, work overload and limited support. Additionally, while they view Greek hosting policy design as a policy which contributes to a regime of control and exclusion, some controversial beliefs according to individual responsibility came to light raising questions on social workers' capacity to deal with the underlying neoliberal rationality within the Social Work practice.

However, a significant finding of the study is how social workers deal with duties which were perceived as controversial or repressive. While most social workers seemed to stand against some duties their organization had reinforced, they reported feeling powerless to oppose the administration's guidelines. Others, such as a social worker from the accommodation program (12) reported that they attempted to resist at the individual level by bending the structural rules of the organization. However, collective actions of resisting control and repressive practices seem to be absent. Despite that, it is crucial that a significant number of social workers, even if not a member of an activist or labor group, tend to remain committed to an anti-oppressive approach and human rights advocacy.

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Social work in a system that produces and reproduces inequalities and segregation will not be able to easily form a relationship of trust with the service user and support them to bring real changes in their life. For that reason, one of the main duties of social work is to promote the transformation of the structural and institutional policy framework. Resistance actions can be expressed through multiple ways. Self-reflection on practitioners' prejudices and the need to develop anti-oppressive practices through forums which promote reflective group discussion could constitute some of these actions (Anis & Turtiainen, 2021). Furthermore, resistance can be expressed through 'illegal actions', such as supporting undocumented migrants to gain political and social rights (Jonsson & Kamali, 2019). But the most important for social workers is to cultivate a collective stance and action towards any form of oppression. Participation in employee groups or unions, activist groups or service user groups are some of the actions that need to be developed in social work practice with asylum seekers and refugees. In Greece, unfortunately, these attempts are not so wide, though are starting to be extended in recent years. Last but not least, as mentioned above, front line worker support and defense in actions of resistance when they refuse to cooperate with antithetical practices is crucial. Related to this, professional bodies of social work must play a significant role in advocacy actions as well as in promoting the participation of social workers in the decision-making process for social policy.

Conclusion

This study explored social workers' views on housing policies for asylum seekers and refugees in Greece, as well as their practices within the accommodation schemes. The results of the research showed that social workers face demanding working conditions and ethical dilemmas which contradict the ethics of their profession. Most of them seem to view Greek hosting policy design as contributing to a regime of control and exclusion. However, some controversial beliefs according to individual responsibility when it comes to the integration process came to light, raising questions about social workers' capacity to deal with the underlying neoliberal rationality within Social Work practice. Despite that, a significant number of interviewees mentioned their intent to resist NGO's oppressive guidelines. Nevertheless, any action of resistance remained at the individual level. Research findings have shown that Social work practice with asylum seekers and refugees faces two major threats: the first one refers to the neoliberal (segregating) rationality in which social work adopts managerial elements and becomes responsible for setting vulnerability criteria; the second one refers to the anti-immigrant rhetoric which reinforces policies of control and surveillance, resulting, as Agamben claims, in asylum seekers' exclusion. Practitioners' voices in the policy making process are vital and the role of the professional body of social work on the defense of the social worker's actions of resistance needs to come to the fore. In taking this stance, social work needs to be active in the development of practices to resist neo-liberal and anti-immigrant policies that favor control and to develop collective actions along with labor unions and service user groups.

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ARTICLE

Gerontological social work and ethnic diversity: a reflection from the case of the Aymara and Mapuche communities in Chile

Trabajo social gerontológico y diversidad étnica: una reflexión desde el caso de las comunidades Aymara y Mapuche en Chile

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How to cite

Abstract

Emphasizing cultural diversity in the aging process -at individual and social level- has become in recent years a trend and at the same time a necessity in social gerontology and Gerontological Social Work. In this line, the objective of this article is to analyze the possible differences and at the same time similarities of the process of successful aging of the two most populous native ethnic groups in

Chile: Mapuche people and Aymara people; to describe the cultural practices of the interviewed indigenous elderly people and analyze the relationship between successful aging and ethno-cultural identity, and to deepen the practical and theoretical applications of the knowledge/cosmovision of the indigenous peoples in Chilean social work. To account for these objectives, the results of a quantitative and transactional study with the participation of 569 indigenous elderly people living in rural areas of the regions of Arica and Parinacota and La Araucanía are presented. The Successful Aging Inventory (Troutman et al., 2011), a questionnaire on indigenous cultural practices and Phinney's (1992) Ethnic Identity Multigroup Scale (EIEM) were applied through a structured interview. Descriptive and bivariate analyses and correlations were performed through the IMB-SPSS program, version 25. The results indicate a process of successful aging for both native peoples; in addition, a high maintenance of indigenous cultural practices is observed as well as a positive and significant correlation between successful aging and ethnic identity. From the discipline of Social Work, the need for greater specialization in the subject of aging is evident, through new methodologies, within the framework of an ethics of convergence, which is a mediating bridge between a dialogic and conflictive ethics, thus allowing progress towards an intercultural ethics.

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Resumen

Enfatizar en la diversidad cultural en el proceso del envejecimiento – a nivel individual y social- se ha transformado en los últimos años en una tendencia y a la vez en una necesidad desde la gerontología social y desde el Trabajo Social Gerontológico. En esta línea, el objetivo de este artículo es analizar las posibles diferencias y a la vez similitudes del proceso de envejecimiento exitoso de las dos etnias originarias más populosas de Chile: pueblo Mapuche y pueblo Aymara; describir las prácticas culturales de las personas mayores indígenas entrevistadas analizando la relación entre envejecimiento con éxito e identidad étnico-cultural, y profundizar en las aplicaciones prácticas y teóricas del conocimiento/cosmovisión de los pueblos indígenas en el trabajo social chileno. Para dar cuenta de estos objetivos se presentan los resultados de un estudio cuantitativo y transaccional donde participaron 569 personas mayores indígenas que viven en zonas rurales de las regiones de Arica y Parinacota y La Araucanía. Se aplicó a través de una entrevista estructurada el Inventario de Envejecimiento con Éxito (Troutman et al., 2011), un cuestionario sobre prácticas culturales indígenas y la

Escala de Identidad Étnica Multigrupo (EIEM) de Phinney (1992). Se realizaron análisis descriptivos, bivariados y correlaciones a través del programa IMB-SPSS, versión 25. Los resultados indican un proceso de envejecimiento con éxito para ambos pueblos originarios, además se advierte una alta mantención de las prácticas culturales indígenas y, finalmente, se observa una correlación positiva y significativa entre envejecimiento con éxito e identidad étnica. Desde la disciplina de Trabajo Social se evidencia la necesidad de una mayor especialización en la temática del envejecimiento, a través de nuevas metodologías, en el marco de una ética de la convergencia, que es un puente mediador entre una ética dialógica y conflictiva, permitiendo con ello avanzar hacia una ética intercultural.

Introduction

Emphasizing cultural diversity in the aging process -at the individual and social level- has become in recent years a trend and at the same time a necessity in social gerontology (Cosco et al., 2014; Lewis, 2011; Torres, 2019). In this sense, gerontological social work seeks to enhance practical, empirical knowledge and the theoretical construction of models from ethnic diversity, giving special relevance to the original indigenous peoples (Gallardo-Peralta et al., 2019; Guzmán, 2011;).

The most recent data indicate that 9.5% of the population in Chile is indigenous, that is, 1,694,870 people identify as belonging to or being descendants of indigenous peoples. Ten indigenous ethnic groups are recognized: Mapuche people (84.8%), Aymara people (6.6%), Diaguita people (4%) with the rest distributed among the Atacameño, Quechua, Colla, Changos, Kaweshkar, Rapa Nui and Yamana peoples. In general, indigenous people have an unfavorable social outlook. In terms of education, they have a higher illiteracy rate, equivalent to 4.5%, versus 3.5% in the non-indigenous population; this value increases to 8% in rural areas and is more acute in the population over 60 years of age (13.6%). In the economic sphere, the average household income of indigenous people is 582,819 pesos, well below that of non-indigenous people (794,396 pesos). There is also an inequality gap in internet access, with 69.4% of indigenous people using the internet versus 72.2% of non-indigenous people. Finally, the background of poverty and social exclusion is higher in the indigenous population (CASEN, 2017).

The historical position of indigenous peoples in the framework of the national State has been asymmetrical (Millaleo, 2019); despite the fact that they have had a presence

in this region since pre-Columbian times, their social and cultural management of the natural and human environment has undergone changes over time. These collectivities have had to suffer a harsh interaction with political entities that often surpassed them in power, subordinating their ways of life and culture (González, 2020), in addition to being the object of segregation, homogenization, assimilation, integration and exclusion policies. Nevertheless, they maintain their demands for socioeconomic and cultural justice (Cáceres, 2019).

Delving into this line, the various studies on indigenous elderly people in Chile indicate contradictory results; on the one hand, they alert us to a situation of social vulnerability in the elderly, and on the other, they show us how their customs or cultural traditions act as protective resources and promoters in old age. Research confirms several risk factors: greater dependence in the areas of mental functions and communication (Mella et al., 2003), worse perception of health-related quality of life (Vargas, 2014), and prevalence of depressive symptoms, mainly in women (Gallardo-Peralta et al., 2015).

In an opposite sense, indigenous older people show high levels of community participation through various cultural practices. Thus Wright (2015) states that indigenous Aymara elders are socially and occupationally integrated in their community. They have a system of social and economic organization of the Aymara community inclusive for all family members (from birth to death), in which older men and women continue to actively participate in the social and symbolic reproduction of the community (Gavilán, 2002). The same applies to the Mapuche people, given that older people are valued for the knowledge they have attained in life; therefore, the community appreciates the orientations of the elders and actively integrates them in their symbolic and cultural reproduction (Mella et al. 2003). Recently research by Gallardo-Peralta and Sánchez- Moreno (2019) shows how the Aymara reported a lower incidence of physical pain, less dependence on medical treatment and a high physical capacity to continue working over the age of 60, which could be explained by an active and healthier lifestyle from a nutritional point of view.

Undoubtedly, there is ambivalence about the aging process of indigenous communities, that is, the confrontation between risk factors versus their protective factors. In this line, we would like to highlight the resilience of Chilean indigenous peoples, who have sought various forms of adaptation to political, economic, social and cultural contexts that have sometimes been adverse to the maintenance of their cultural traditions. Precisely, Olivi (2011, p. 246) states that "the historical perspective allows evidencing a high level of resilience (...) understood, in this field, as the capacity of indigenous communities

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to adapt to changes and to re-formulate their reproduction strategies in dynamic and conflictive contexts".

In Chile, theoretical and empirical advances in the field of gerontological social work and indigenous communities are scarce, so investigating demographic and social transformations, such as aging, is a great challenge for Social Work, considering that there are a number of complexities associated with the phenomenon, which is characterized by being multidimensional, contingent and accelerated (Vergara et al., 2018).

However, within the various models of social gerontology, in our country the model of successful aging has been applied to the native peoples: Aymara and Mapuche (see Gallardo-Peralta et al., 2022).

Figure 1. Model of Aging Successfully

Source: Own elaboration based on Troutman, Nies, Small and Bates (2011).

The successful aging model (Rowe and Kahn, 1997) is related to a holistic view of the process of successful aging (Fernández-Ballesteros et al., 2010; Kleineidam et al., 2018) by incorporating subjective and objective aspects (Kok et al., 2017) and various dimensions of functionality (physical, cognitive, psychological and social).

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In addition, the model considers how this functionality enables older people to adapt to new conditions that are a result of the aging process (Cheng, 2014). Currently, we are faced with various multidimensional proposals whose axes transcend the notion of functionality and broaden its horizon by incorporating areas such as gerotranscendence and spirituality (Cosco et al., 2014; Kim and Park, 2017). In this context, successful aging can be defined as successfully adapting to the physical and functional changes of aging by explicitly incorporating the experience of a spiritual connection and/or a sense of purpose in life (Flood, 2005).

The successful aging perspective examines the personal and social resources that enable one to successfully resist, cope with, and adapt to aging. Following on from this premise, Jopp et al. (2015) assert that it is a model that emphasizes the positive characteristics of aging over the disadvantages and recognizes the efforts invested during the life course (Nimrod and Ben-Shem, 2015). Elaborating on this line, Bowling and Iliffe (2006) posit that older people's competencies enable success in the performance of their functioning. These competencies are: sense of control over life or self-efficacy, effective coping strategies, adaptation, self-esteem and goals.

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In this sense, the objective of this presentation is to analyze the possible differences and at the same time similarities in the process of successful aging of the two most populous native ethnic groups in Chile: Mapuche and Aymara, to describe the cultural practices of the indigenous elderly interviewed and to analyze the relationship between successful aging and ethno-cultural identity. Also, to deepen the practical and theoretical applications of indigenous knowledge/cosmovision in Chilean social work

Methodology

Design and participants

A quantitative, transactional study was conducted including 800 elderly people living in the Arica and Parinacota and La Araucanía regions of Chile, from which 569 declared themselves indigenous (corresponding to 71% of the total sample). This is a non-probabilistic and availability-based sample. Nevertheless, the sample obtained adequately reflects the sociodemographic characteristics of the population over 60 years of age living in rural areas in the aforementioned regions. According to data from the Socioeconomic Characterization Survey (CASEN, 2017) in rural areas of the region of

Arica and Parinacota 2,877 elderly people were censused, applying 311 questionnaires. Meanwhile, in the region of La Araucanía, 73,221 elderly people live in rural areas, with 489 interviewed.

Although the sampling was not random, a sample with quotas by sex, ethnicity and place of residence (municipal or rural areas) was used in order to draw valid inferences about the population. It is necessary to indicate that the sample selection criteria were to be 60 years of age or older, without cognitive impairment and residing in rural areas.

According to Table 1, the general characteristics of the sample are: 50.3% are women, 45% are between 60 and 69 years old, 57% are married or have a partner (cohabiting) and 66% have incomplete basic education.

Table 1. Main characteristics of the participants

Variable	Categories	Sample Aymara (n=201)	Sample Mapuche (n=368)	Frequency n(%)
Gender	Women	106(53%)	180(49%)	286(50,3%)
	Men	95(47%)	188(51%)	283(49,7%)
Age	60-69 years old	97(48&)	162(44%)	259(45%)
	70-79 years old	75(37%)	134(36%)	209(37%)
	Over 80 years old	29(15%)	72(20%)	101(18%)
Marital Status	Married or cohabiting	120(60%)	202(55%)	322(57%)
	Single	23(11%)	54(15%)	77(13%)
	Widowed	45(22%)	96(26%)	141(25%)
	Divorced, separated	13(7%)	16(4%)	29(5%)
Residence	North (Arica and Parinacota Region)	201(100%)	0	201(35%)
	South (La Araucanía Region)	0	368(100%)	368(65%)
Education	Basic education incomplete	127(63%)	250(68%)	377(66%)
	Basic edication	49(24%)	76(21%)	125(22%)
	Baccalaureate or technical professional education	21(10%)	39(10%)	60(11%)
	Higher education	4(3%)	3(1%)	7(1%)

Source: Own elaboration

Instruments

Successful Aging. The Successful Aging Inventory (SAI) of Troutman et al. (2011) was applied. It has 20 items and uses a Likert-type scale: (0) strongly disagree to (4) strongly agree, for statements such as "I have been able to cope with the changes that have happened to my body as I have aged" or "I am good at thinking of new ways to solve problems". The SAI has five dimensions: functional performance mechanisms, intrapsychic factors, gerotranscendence, spirituality, and life purpose/satisfaction. The values for the different dimensions are summed and a score ranging from 0 to 80 is obtained. Higher scores indicate successful aging. In specific terms, scores from 0 to 25 indicate unsuccessful aging, scores from 26 to 53 suggest moderately successful aging, and scores from 54 to 80 indicate successful aging. It has been validated in Chilean elderly people (Gallardo-Peralta et al., 2017). The internal consistency index of the overall questionnaire (Cronbach's alpha) was 0.90.

Indigenous cultural practices. A questionnaire was constructed on the maintenance, in terms of frequency, of certain indigenous cultural practices. These can be divided into the following sections: (a) understanding and use of the native language and transmission, through teaching, of the native language to close relatives; (b) participation in religious festivities or indigenous ceremonies, such as indigenous New Year, marriages and funerals. In addition, they were asked if they have exercised leadership or participated in the organization of these festivities; (c) they were asked if in case of feeling sick they resort to the cultural health agent or "indigenous doctor"; use medicinal herbs and/or ointments for massages; and prepare infusions with medicinal herbs. They were also asked if they have influenced any woman in the family to have a traditional birth with a midwife from the community; (d) finally, we assessed the transmission of these indigenous cultural practices to close relatives such as children and grandchildren.

Ethnic identity. Phinney's (1992) Multigroup Ethnic Identity Scale (EIEM) was used. This is an internationally used scale for the assessment of ethnic identity. The original version has 14 items and the responses are evaluated on a Likert scale, ranging from strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (5) for statements such as "I am happy to be a member of my ethnic group". In this study we will use the short 12-item version that has been validated in Spanish by Esteban (2010). It is composed of three dimensions: a) affirmation (sense of belonging to the ethnic group), b) exploration (search for information, knowledge and relevant experiences about the ethnic group) and, c) ethnic behaviors (knowledge and participation in group activities). The internal consistency index of the general questionnaire (Cronbach's alpha) was 0.89.

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Procedure

The questionnaire was applied through personal interview by professionals in the area of social sciences- mainly social workers and psychologists- between the months of August and November 2017. Some terms from different native languages are included, such as: *MachacMara* or *We Tripantu* (indigenous new year); marriages or *mafun,* funerals or *Eluwun* ceremony, *yatiri or machi* (indigenous doctor), among others. This research is part of the FONDECYT Regular 1170493 project, therefore, the Ethics Committee of the Universidad de Tarapacá supervised and approved the ethical aspects of the study. All procedures performed in studies with human participants were carried out in accordance with the 1964 Helsinki declaration and the regulations established in ILO Convention 169 (indigenous communities).

Data analysis

Descriptive, bivariate and correlational analyses were performed. First, means are compared (Student's t-test for independent samples) for the construct successful aging between Mapuche and Aymara. Second, frequency distributions are shown for the cultural practices maintained by Mapuche and Aymara elders. Finally, Pearson correlations were calculated to analyze the association between ethnic identity and the process of successful aging. Data analysis was performed through the IMB-SPSS program, version 25.

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Results

The results for the process of successful aging (Table 2) would indicate that indigenous, Mapuche and Aymara older persons are aging successfully. Also, the results show that there are no statistically significant differences between these communities in the process of aging successfully.

Table 2. Differences in successful aging, according to ethnicity

Variable	Categories	Media	*t*	g.l	*p*
Successful aging	Aymara	64.65	-.402	567	.25
	Mapuche	65.03			

Source: own elaboration

The results for cultural practices (Table 3) indicate in general terms a high maintenance in both indigenous communities, highlighting the use or understanding of the native language in most of the interviewees (≥75%). More than half of those interviewed have taught or are teaching their language within their family (children, grandchildren) and celebrate the indigenous new year (*Wue Tripantu or Machac Mara*).

In general, the Mapuche people maintain to a greater extent cultural practices related to religious ceremonies or rituals. Thus, 39% participated in marriages with indigenous rituals, 73% attended more indigenous funerals and 44% have had a greater possibility of leading or organizing an indigenous ceremony.

In medical practices, it is noted that the Aymara people have more medical practices in case of illness. Sixty-nine percent consume medicinal herbs and 68% prepare traditional infusions. But the Mapuche have a stronger preference (28%) for a traditional birth, through an indigenous midwife (*pvñeñelche*).

It is noted that the Mapuche tend to maintain to a greater extent the transmission of their cultural practices within their families: 66% to their children and 56% to their grandchildren.

Table 3. Cultural Practices by Indigenous Community

Cultural practices	Mapuche %(n)	Aymara %(n)
Native language (Mapudungun and Aymara)		
Speak or understand your native language	75%(276)	75.6%(152)
Has taught or teaches the native language	48.1%(177)	52.7%(106)
Indigenous festivals or ceremonies		
Indigenous New Year	64.7%(283)	56.7%(114)
Marriages with indigenous rituals	39.1%(144)	25.3%(104)
Funerals with indigenous ritual	72.6%(267)	58.7%(118)
You have led or organized an indigenous ceremony	43.5%(160)	35.3%(71)
Indigenous medical practices		
Attends indigenous doctor	35.1%(129)	41.3%(83)
Uses medicinal herbs	39.1% (144)	69.2%(139)
Prepares natural infusions	53.3%(196)	69.2%(137)
Influenced family members to give birth to indigenous children	28.3%(104)	18.3%(83)
Cultural transmission		
Passed on cultural practices to CHILDREN	66.3%(244)	42.9%(114)
Has transmitted her cultural practices to GRANDchildren	56.3%(207)	44.3%(89)

Source: own elaboration

In Table 4 we observe that ethnic identity, in its three dimensions - affirmation, exploration and behavior - are positively and statistically significantly related to the successful aging construct.

Table 4. Pearson correlations of the main variables of the study.

	Media	Standard deviation	1	2	3	4
1. Successful Aging	64.90	10.8	-	,270**	,299**	,334**
2. Ethnic affirmation	21.76	3.79		-	,708**	,648**
3. Ethnic elaboration	19.73	3.32			-	,680**
4. Ethnic behavior	7.84	2.06				-

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (bilateral)

Source: Own elaboration.

Discusión

The objectives of this work were to analyze the differences and at the same time similarities in the process of successful aging of Mapuche and Aymara elders, the results of which indicate a successful aging for both native peoples. In this study we assessed the process of successful aging from the proposal of Flood (2005, currently Troutman) through a model composed of five dimensions: functional performance mechanism, intrapsychic factors, gerotranscendence, spirituality and life purpose/ satisfaction, specifically, how these domains adapt to the new conditions of the elderly. These findings have been previously investigated and deepened (Gallardo-Peralta and Sánchez-Moreno, 2019; Gallardo-Peralta et al., 2022), demonstrating the importance of indigenous older people's psychosocial resources for good aging: social support networks, resilience, lifestyles, social organization around family and community, among others.

In this proposal we have focused on cultural practices, the results of which are positive as they show a high frequency in their maintenance. These results are relevant in order to understand that the cultural matrix and even the indigenous cultural identity are highly determined by the maintenance of the native language (Gundermann et al., 2007; Lagos, 2012; Salas, 1985).

Also noteworthy is the high percentage of elderly people who attend indigenous funerals. The burial ceremony (eluwün) of the dead constitutes a central element in the

analysis of the cultural identity of indigenous peoples; for these communities death is a positive experience since it implies the prolongation of earthly life, therefore, it is a process linked to transcendence (Andrade et al., 2018; Carrasco, 1998; Rojas, 2016). For the Aymara People death means the renewal of life, that is, "the life that proceeds from death"; this applies in the world of men and nature in general (van Kessel, 2001).

Of the medical practices, especially in the Aymara People, the traditions of using medicinal herbs for ointments, massages and also for preparing infusions are maintained. These results should be interpreted in the advances of intercultural health policies that the Ministry of Health has been developing (Gavilán et al., 2018) that allows a complementary use of allopathic health together with indigenous cultural practices and that have an impact on a better psychosocial well-being of indigenous elderly people (Gallardo-Peralta et al., 2019).

Finally, the strong cultural ethnic identity in Mapuche and Aymara older people, through the processes of affirmation, exploration and behavior has a positive relationship with the process of aging successfully. This element comes to confirm the importance of strengthening social policies with an ethnically sensitive approach, since cultural practices enhance old age, so it is of utmost importance to promote and incorporate them in the design of policies.

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Now, from an ethical point of view, the ultimate goal of social work is to enable good choices in accordance with the values of each person, that is, to provide people with full autonomy, including "the right to fail" (Salcedo, 2015). Therefore, its mission is to collaborate with the State and civil society, through the formulation and implementation of social policies that allow for activating social processes that facilitate the subjects to act with full autonomy; at this point it is relevant to consider intercultural ethics (Maliandi, 2006), which constitutes a space of convergence that allows for recognizing diversity, establishing an intercultural dialogue and the search for an intercultural convergence/encounter.

Reflections for Gerontological Social Work

It is proposed that social work makes its disciplinary contribution in its different levels of approach (covering family, group, community-territorial and organizational) and deploying multiple strategies, such as intersectoriality, promotion of rights, participation of the elderly in different social spaces, as well as articulation with social actors and work with social and community networks, among others (González, 2017).

Social work is a practice-based profession and an academic discipline that promotes social change and development, social cohesion, and the empowerment and liberation of people. The principles of social justice, human rights, collective responsibility and respect for diversities are fundamental to social work. Underpinned by social work theories, social sciences, humanities, and indigenous knowledge, social work engages people and structures to address life challenges and improve well-being. The above definition can be amplified at the national and/or regional level (International Federation of Social Work, 2014, n/p).

From Social Work we recognize indigenous knowledge as one of the elements that shape the discipline. However, in Chile, cultural ethnicity is not explicitly incorporated as a necessary perspective - like gender, for example - in the process of social intervention.

When we speak of ethnicity in old age we refer not only to a sociological classification or category, but also to a differentiating principle of the aging process. In other words, Mapuche and Aymara elderly people age differently, due to their life experiences and trajectories, worldview and traditions, and above all, due to the adverse historical processes they have faced throughout their lives.

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Various indicators of well-being, such as health, income and economic security, point to a more precarious situation for older indigenous people; in contrast, other cultural/symbolic aspects would act as protective mechanisms for good aging. We refer to their indigenous cultural practices, such as an active lifestyle (maintaining productive activities), a healthier diet (consumption of natural foods and little industrially processed food), their resilience (which may be associated with their worldview) and community participation/integration. Likewise, as we have seen in this work, having a consolidated cultural identity

In this sense, social interventions in gerontological social work should strengthen ethnic-cultural sensitivity, i.e., as Guzman (2011) suggests, it implies a refusal of homogeneous treatment for all subjects of social intervention and uncovers the oppressive relationships experienced by these social groups. In this sense, cultural differences and ethnicity are highlighted above other factors. It is based on the idea of the recognition of values, cultural needs and differences among the native peoples living in Chile. Social work bases its principles on: valuing cultural differences, positive development of minority identities, affirmative actions and empowerment.

In this way, ethnicity is an element that should be reinforced in applied social research and should even have a special implication in social policies on old age. From the social sciences, we must strengthen critical methodologies that are attentive to cultural contexts; perhaps this challenge should be faced from mixed methodologies and from interdisciplinary perspectives. The scarcity of studies that specifically analyze the indigenous condition in the aging process in Chile is striking. On the other hand, from the social policies, we do not want to detract from the various efforts of CONADI in policies oriented towards positive discrimination, but the policies still treat the elderly as a homogeneous group and not from the interculturality, diversity and heterogeneity that characterizes them.

Conclusions

Chile is facing a rapid population aging in a context of profound socioeconomic, gender and urban-rural inequality among the elderly, which poses multiple challenges to society that must be faced as soon as possible (Albala, 2020). If the ethnicity variable is added to the above, the situation seems to become more complex, since our country has historically developed from cultural homogeneity, marginalizing indigenous peoples (Cáceres, 2019).

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As noted above, it is of vital importance to strengthen public policies aimed at the elderly, with an ethnically sensitive approach, incorporating cultural practices that enhance old age. Although it is true that since 1990, with the return to democracy, the Chilean State has made an important effort to recognize the identity of the native peoples and to guide the formulation of public policies with an inclusive approach, this effort is still not enough, and the main obstacle to achieving this is excessive centralization and the persistence of a homogenizing approach that does not respect the richness of the interculturality and heterogeneity that characterizes Chilean society.

In spite of this context, when analyzing the aging process of the native peoples, Mapuche and Aymara, it is possible to distinguish the high maintenance of cultural practices, understanding that ethnicity can be stronger than acculturation processes. It is recognized that both ethnic groups age differently in terms of the maintenance of their cultural practices and that these practices have an impact on the perception of well-being, hence the data confirm a positive and significant correlation between successful aging and ethnic identity.

Gerontological Social Work should seek to strengthen the sensitive ethnic approach, in addition to the recognition and joint work with the subjects themselves (elderly people),

which tends to promote their participation and empowerment by strengthening spaces for social and political representation in the sector's own organizations (González, 2017). It should be recognized that Social Work in Latin America, including Chile, has failed the indigenous peoples in aspects such as: imposition of frameworks of interpretation of social reality from the "dominant society", either by ignoring the relevance of ethnic-cultural diversity or by the lack of awareness of the unequal power relations between professional and user. Along with this, the great debt of Social Work in contexts of indigenous peoples is the development and implementation of models of social intervention that take into account this diversity; as indicated by Martínez et al. (2006), there is a lack of an ideology committed to diversity.

A relevant edge, at the moment of reviewing the work of Social Work in intervening in the different realities, particularly with the elderly of different indigenous peoples who co-inhabit Chilean society in particular, and Latin America in general, is intercultural ethics, which invites us to establish dialogue as an intercultural bridge between the institutions, the professional work of Social Work and the users. As a space for reflective exchange, this can lead us to build an ethic that guides our way of intervening, and with this we can formulate and implement appropriate social policies, relevant to different groups, achieving the welfare of individuals and better living conditions.

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ARTICLE

Get out of prison in Chile: uneven territorial concentrations and municipal absence

Salir de la cárcel en Chile: concentraciones territoriales dispares y ausencia municipal

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Abstract

This article critically analyzes the return process of people who have been deprived of liberty to their communes of origin once they leave prison, emphasizing the diverse needs and multiple barriers they face to reintegrate into society, in the midst of an apparent invisibility in terms of municipal support. To do this, we use a quantitative methodology that combines administrative data provided by the Chilean Gendarmerie and population data from the National Institute of Statistics (both for 2016). Then, for each of the country's communes, release rates

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from prison were calculated, generating a ranking of communes that receive a proportionally greater number of ex-prisoners. Among the 30 municipalities with highest rates, their respective websites were reviewed and each of these municipalities was contacted by telephone, in order to find out what services were available for people leaving prison. Our results show that i) the return of former inmates occurs disproportionately by communes in the country (it is not a homogeneous phenomenon) ii) the vast majority of municipalities with higher concentrations did not have programs to support the return of former inmates (neighbors who return) to their territories and that iii) the invisibility of this phenomenon (concentrations of people who return from prison) can have negative impacts both for the social integration of those returning and for social cohesion in the territories.

Introduction

Latin America in general, and Chile in particular, are regions where inequality has been a persistent and problematic social characteristic (Shardgrodsky & Freira, 2021), a phenomenon that has undoubtedly contributed to the complex situation of crime and violence in the region (Bergman & Fondevila, 2021). Thus, it is not surprising that also in the case of Chile, public opinion polls place crime and drug trafficking as one of the most important concerns of citizens (Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas de Chile, INE, 2021).

As a response to address crime, it is common to invoke "more prison" without adequate consideration of the social causes of crime and, moreover, without taking into account the fact that every person sent to prison will eventually be released (Petersilia, 2003) and will do so more disadvantaged than when they entered, to the extent that they do not have an adequate process of support during and after their sentence (National Institute of Human Rights of Chile, INDH, 2013; Villagra, 2008). Today, Chile ranks in the middle of the region in terms of its incarceration rate, reaching 210 persons deprived of liberty per 100,000 inhabitants (International Centre for Prison Studies, 2021).

In a context of high inequality, as is the case in Latin America, it is undoubtedly necessary to ask why people end up in prison, inquiring into the social causes of crime and the ways in which it is produced (Sozzo, in Gómez & Proaño, 2012). This is not in contrast, however, to the need to look more closely at the reintegration of those who have been incarcerated, as this can break the vicious circle of criminal recidivism and thus contribute to a safer society through tertiary crime prevention (Peirce & Marmolejo, 2016). Likewise, each person who is released from prison and manages to reintegrate in a comprehensive manner constitutes a significant saving for the country in terms of lower victimization, reduced spending on criminal prosecution and, likewise, less incarceration.

Although international literature has emphasized the importance of the local context in reintegration (Harding et al., 2011; Mears et al., 2008; Kubrin and Stewart, 2006), few empirical studies in Chile have inquired about it. For example, it is not well known where people return once they leave prison, how concentrated they remain in certain territories, or how involved municipalities are in this process. Thus, in this article we assembled and analyzed data from various sources, generating prison release rates for each commune in the country, elaborating a communal ranking and analyzing whether there were initiatives to support the processes of return to the community for incarcerated persons, emphasizing the 30 communes with the highest rates.

Leaving Prison and Returning to the Community

First of all, it is necessary to clarify that returning –the mere act of leaving prison— is not the same as social reintegration. Returning involves the physical return of individuals who were once in conflict with the justice[1] to life in freedom, after the end of the process of deprivation of liberty, being a prerequisite for reinsertion. In this sense, return is merely related to the fact that, at some point, the sentence will end and unless someone dies inside the prisons, the vast majority of those who are currently deprived of liberty will leave the prisons (Sanhueza, 2014; Petersilia, 2011).

Reintegration, on the other hand, implies a full social integration of subjects who, after a criminal act, served a custodial sentence, in a variety of areas, including finding employment, having a decent place to live, accessing health benefits in a timely manner, counting on the recognition and acceptance by the society that receives them, and full freedom with respect to the exercise of social, civil and political rights (Villagra, 2008).

[2] The past temporality of the conflict with the law is established, since the completion of the sentence and release from prison implies the end of the custodial sanction, and therefore, the end of the conflict that originated the sanction. Calling those who leave the different penitentiary centers as "persons in conflict with the law" implies that they continue in this situation.

This definition requires that not only the subjects assume both their duties and their rights, but that society itself is willing to grant such rights and ask for accountability with respect to such duties, in a framework of non-discrimination and stigmatization (Western et al., 2015).

In this sense, although it is often argued that it is the individual who was deprived of liberty who bears most of the responsibility for his or her reintegration, it is no less true that the process of social reintegration upon release from prison is rather full of obstacles and barriers -regulatory, stigmatization, discrimination for employment, administrative requirements, etc.- than of facilitating elements of the process (Western et al., 2015; INDH, 2013).

However, in the same way, the intervention focused on the reintegration of individuals who were once in conflict with the law is not only the responsibility of intrapenitentiary instances, but requires consideration and concern from different actors outside the prison system, including the role of private enterprise and local governments (Western et al., 2015; Sanhueza, 2014).

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In this understanding, postpenitentiary intervention contemplates undertaking not only isolated social initiatives after the prison return process, but the mobilization in itself of a complete intervention system that begins to operate in this process. Here reference is made to the joining of forces of the three actors comprising society as a whole, i.e., the public sector, civil society and the private sector, also understanding that in Chile in particular (in Latin America in general) social benefits tend to be articulated equally in the joint work of these actors (Villagra, 2008).

These post-prison intervention systems must contemplate the coverage of the wide range of psychosocial needs of the population leaving prison, which in most cases were present even before entering the prisons themselves (Petersilia, 2011). Among these issues, the following can be highlighted:

a. Education and employment. Regarding education and employment, it has been shown in different contexts and previous research experiences, that by itself it cannot ensure the social reintegration of the population in conflict with justice (Pantoja, 2010); however, its consideration in addition to being beneficial in intramural contexts to maintain order and facilitate the processes of resocialization, allows these subjects to obtain by lawful means economic resources that allow them to meet their needs without

having to repeat criminal behavior to obtain them (Esteban et al., 2014). Along the same lines, employment is strongly related to the criminal records of the post-penitentiary population, since part of the intervention strategy should contemplate the elimination of these records, in order to reduce the possibilities of exclusion from the labor market based on the presence of these (Carnevale, 2016).

b. Health and mental health. Estimates (mainly in studies conducted in the United States) show that more than 50% of the prison population has some medical need for mental health care. In this understanding, most of the penal units lack preparation processes regarding the continuity of medical treatment in post-penitentiary instances, even assuming that these could never exist in intramural instances (La Vigne et al., 2004). This situation highlights the importance, attributed not only by the subjects themselves, but also rescued in different previous research instances, regarding the relationship between the lack of medical care and the likelihood of relapse and even increase substance use after release, and even of reoffending in criminal behavior (Sanhueza, 2014).

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c. Treatment for licit (alcohol) and illicit (drugs) substance use. Assuming that there are intervention programs focused on therapeutic rehabilitation for the consumption of both licit and illicit addictive substances in intramural instances, providing such instances in postpenitentiary contexts increases the likelihood of reducing recidivism in cases where criminal acts are associated with obtaining economic resources to sustain consumption (Droppelmann, 2010). However, it is not enough in this sense to provide intervention only in the area of consumption as an individual element, but it is also necessary to work on the ecological sphere of the returnees, in order to minimize contact with peers who maintain active consumption (who were probably once part of their social networks).

d. Intervention with the subject's ecological sphere. Although there is little research that supports the relationship between the ecological environment of the subjects and the likelihood of recidivism, there is some evidence that the likelihood of individuals returning to crime increases when they return to economically disadvantaged and socially segregated neighborhoods, where there is also a lower chance of finding a job (Sanhueza et al., in press; La Vigne et al., 2004).

A particular aspect that is becoming increasingly problematic is the process of return to the community by persons deprived of liberty as they leave prison. This stage is key in social reintegration processes (Larroulet et al., 2019). In this sense, there is limited systematic empirical evidence on the magnitude, concentration and covariates associated with the return to the community of former inmates (Sanhueza, 2014).

Characteristics of the Chilean prison system

Although Mertz (2015) points out that the Chilean prison system seems to enjoy a certain good reputation in Latin America -in the sense that control of prisons is in state hands and escapes are minimal- when it is compared with the reality of more developed countries, its precariousness is exposed. Thus, for example, Chilean prisons face a series of historical deficiencies related to overcrowding and overcrowding (especially critical in regions III, V and VII); absence of adequate legal assistance; lack of minimum conditions to meet basic needs such as food or medical care (Sánchez and Piñol, 2015); poor infrastructure conditions (Supreme Court, 2017); violence and aggression between inmates (Sanhueza et al., 2020); institutional mistreatment of inmates by officials (INDH, 2013); poor access to reinsertion programs (Espinoza et al., 2014); and the absence of a criminal execution law that regulates -from a normative point of view- prison life (Castro et al., 2020; Arriagada and Rochow, 2015).

As a result, a very unfavorable context is generated to aspire to the social reintegration of incarcerated persons, where current estimates indicate that Chile reaches between 42 or 50% recidivism depending on the study considered (Fundación Paz Ciudadana, 2013; Gendarmería de Chile, 2013). Empirical evidence from other countries points to the importance of institutional contexts in future recidivism (i.e. Auty and Liebling, 2020). Thus, reducing recidivism has become one of the main challenges facing the prison system and society (INDH, 2013; Fundación Paz Ciudadana, 2013; Gendarmería de Chile, 2013).

Additionally, the Chilean prison system not only suffers from operational problems and performs poorly in terms of reinsertion, but it is also an expensive system to maintain. According to estimates by Fundación Paz Ciudadana (2016), incarceration -only considering the expenditure represented by Gendarmería- represents an annual cost for Chile that exceeds 430 billion pesos (about 550 million dollars), an amount that has been growing at an annual rate of over 10% for almost every year since 2006 to date.

Currently, there are about 39,000 people deprived of liberty in Chile (Gendarmería, 2021), divided between accused (30%) and convicted (70%), with men representing about 92% of the prison population (mostly convicted of property crimes), and women about 8% (most of them convicted of drug offenses).

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According to a study on social exclusion of persons deprived of liberty (Fundación Paz Ciudadana, 2016), this population has social disadvantages in a variety of areas with respect to the general population, including educational levels, income, work, health and social participation. It is also noted that many of these disadvantageous conditions have been accumulated since childhood and that, taken together, they constitute overlapping disadvantages that have severely limited the development of these people and the exercise of their rights.

Likewise, two out of every three people imprisoned in Chile are under 35 years old and 86% of them did not complete high school in freedom (versus 54.3% of the general population) (Fundación Paz Ciudadana, 2016). Likewise, two out of every three inmates have left their parents' home before the age of 18. The start of crime is registered early (more than two thirds report having committed their first crime as minors) and nearly half report having spent time in a juvenile home (Fundación Paz Ciudadana, 2016). Thus, individuals with severe accumulated social disadvantages (León-Mayer et al., 2014; Wacquant, 2001) are sent to serve their sentences in a precarious prison system, which offers little chance of reversing criminal trajectories.

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Post-penitentiary policies in Chile?

In Chile, as has been pointed out for some years now, social reinsertion has been showing several shortcomings (Castro et al., 2020). In this sense, although the social reintegration policy aims to be a relevant and effective response, it is still very recent in its implementation and support for former inmates returning to their communities is incipient. This Public Policy on Social Reintegration arose in 2017 as a State response to generate programs that facilitate the social reintegration of people who have broken the law and thus move towards reducing recidivism.

Although many of the previous initiatives in terms of public policies on security had been focused more on the repression of crime than on reintegration, this policy seems innovative in that it seeks to reduce recidivism and reintegrate the convicted person into society, betting on public safety because "a person who manages to reintegrate into his community, is also an investment in public safety and social inclusion" (Ministry of Justice, 2018, p.1).

Thus, the Public Policy for Social Reinsertion becomes a strategic element not only because it comes to humanely address the situation of persons deprived of liberty but, at the same time, it is a contribution to tertiary crime prevention and the improvement of public safety.

Another noteworthy aspect of this policy was the strong idea that social reintegration was not the sole responsibility of the Ministry of Justice and/or the Gendarmería de Chile. In this sense, a noteworthy point in the design of this policy was the joint work between public, private and civil society actors who, through the Advisory Committee for Social Reinsertion, debated and reflected on how to effectively reinsert convicted persons. Finally, the Reintegration Policy aims to make reintegration a State perspective, strengthening programs supported by national and comparative empirical evidence to reintegrate former inmates into society.

The purpose of the Back to Start Program (VAE) was to "contribute to the reintegration of people who have broken the law, by developing a comprehensive and standardized municipal management model to address the process of transition to the community of people currently under the control of Gendarmería" (Secretaría Regional Ministerial, SEREMI, de Justicia y Derechos Humanos, 2018).

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In terms of organic, The VAE was managed by the SEREMI of Justice and Human Rights of the Metropolitan Region and was funded with resources from the Regional Government. It also involved the Intendancy of Santiago, the Undersecretariat of Justice, Gendarmería de Chile and the Metropolitan Regional Council. It operated in partnership with 10 municipalities in the metropolitan region that had the highest number of people leaving prison in a given year. It works through the installation, in each municipality, of a team of professionals who must first train 100 municipal officials and attend to 40 former inmates referred from Gendarmería de Chile.

Beyond this punctual initiative, however, Zúñiga (2019) has pointed out a problem that seems fundamental -not solved- of the current penitentiary policy: although the objective of the social reinsertion policy is noble (the full social integration of people who have been deprived of liberty), and that the current policy mentions adult education as a fundamental axis of it, the educational programs that operate inside prisons -and from which their students are expected to learn and transform themselves- are nested within a context where basic rights for the development of people are transgressed, as there are precarious conditions of habitability and "control relations that validate violence" (Zúñiga, 2019, p. 37).

It is, then, in the midst of this institutional precariousness that encompasses accumulated poverty and exclusion (in "aggregate" and also longitudinal terms) that those deprived of liberty, once they have served their sentences, are released (returned) to territorial contexts that are poorly prepared to meet their multiple needs. Clarifying where they return to, in what concentration they do so and what municipal support exists when this process occurs are the central motivations of this article.

Methodology

Our main research objective was to identify the Chilean communes with the highest rates of prison discharge and to contrast, at the same time, whether the municipalities where they returned had (or did not have) local reinsertion support programs for people leaving prison.

To answer our research objective, we obtained and assembled the number of releases from the prison system due to completion of sentence (administrative data provided by the Gendarmería de Chile itself) for each commune in the country, adjusting them by the estimated communal population for the year of such release (according to INE data), We then analyzed the communes with the highest rates in terms of whether their municipalities had initiatives to support the social reinsertion processes of people who leave prison (and return, therefore, as neighbors, to their neighborhoods).

Those who are released from prison after serving their sentence will return to live somewhere in the free environment. In Chile, the Gendarmería has information on where people return to once they leave prison. For ethical reasons, the exact address to which people return was not given to us in this study; only the commune where they lived. Thus, our analyses considered who left prison (anonymized) and to which communes they did so.

The analysis of administrative data provided by Gendarmería focused on releases (persons deprived of liberty serving their sentence) from the prison system for 2016, in conjunction with population projections available from the National Institute of Statistics, where the communal population by commune was estimated for that same year. In this way, release rates per 100,000 inhabitants were obtained for each of the country's municipalities.

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The year 2016 was chosen as a good year for a baseline, considering that this was the year immediately prior to the elaboration of the National Social Reinsertion Policy (2017), serving, therefore, as a natural baseline that in the future, once the national reinsertion policy (with a strong declared emphasis on local reinsertion) was implemented, could serve as a before-after comparison point. In this article, for reasons of space, logistics and relevance, the results are presented in detail only for the 32 municipalities in the country with the highest exit rates, which represent slightly less than 10% of the country's municipalities.

The methodology of contrasting only through checking the website and phoning the municipality is justified to the extent that these two procedures would be relatively similar to those that a person would try to follow after leaving prison. In this sense, our strategies were purposely similar to those that a person coming out of prison and seeking help in the municipality would try to carry out: telephone and/or search the internet (municipal website) to find information on available benefits or supports.

It should be emphasized that, in terms of ethical considerations, this article was constructed on the basis of anonymized information provided by Gendarmería de Chile; that is, no name, no particular address, no type of crime or any other individual data was given or revealed by the institution to the responsible researcher; the data were given without direct or indirect identifiers, only grouped at the commune level.

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Results

Release rates by communes

Thanks to administrative data provided by Gendarmería de Chile, added to the total population projection estimated by the National Institute of Statistics, it was possible to estimate a release rate from the prison system for each commune in the country. Table 1 (below) shows the 32 communes in order from highest to lowest, in terms of their prison release rates, which are adjusted to the communal population estimated for 2016.

Table 1: prison system release rate by commune in the country

Ranking	Municipality / Commune	Number of prison discharges 2016	Muestra communal population 2016 (INE)	Discharge prison rate by municipality
1	VALPARAÍSO	599	295.731	203
2	IQUIQUE	365	199.629	183
3	ALTO HOSPICIO	210	118.413	177
4	CARTAGENA	30	20.396	147
5	LOS ANDES	89	68.401	130
6	LO ESPEJO	156	120.145	130
7	SAN ANTONIO	123	97.136	127
8	LA CALERA	68	55.343	123
9	SAN FELIPE	91	74.337	122
10	LA PINTANA	253	213.702	118
11	VALDIVIA	195	169.735	115
12	COQUIMBO	277	236.799	117
13	QUINTERO	31	28.124	110
14	CASTRO	53	49.068	108
15	LA GRANJA	155	143.558	108
16	CALDERA	19	17.830	107
17	OSORNO	165	157.855	105
18	TOCOPILLA	29	27.807	104
19	LIMACHE	46	45.709	101
20	VIÑA DEL MAR	324	325.195	100
21	RANCAGUA	235	234.048	100
22	P. AGUIRRE CERDA	122	122.462	100
23	ANTOFAGASTA	375	384.065	98
24	SAN JOAQUÍN	97	104.588	93
25	QUILLOTA	86	93.633	92
26	LA SERENA	196	216.874	90
27	EL QUISCO	12	13.359	90
28	OVALLE	108	121.868	89
29	CURICO	129	145.344	89
30	CHAÑARAL	12	13.698	88
31	RENGO	54	61.700	88
32	RENCA	129	152.399	85

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Source: Own elaboration, based on data published by INE (2016) and administrative records of Gendarmería.

The rate of exits from the prison system shows important communal variations in terms of the magnitude of those leaving prison. In the Metropolitan Region, rates soar in communes in the western sector such as Lo Espejo (130) and Pedro Aguirre Cerda (100), while in the southern part of the capital the areas with the highest concentrations were La Pintana (118) and La Granja (108); in other parts of the metropolitan area, San Joaquín (93), Renca (85), Recoleta (83) and San Ramón (82) show higher figures.

In the regions, meanwhile, rates soar in the large urban centers of almost all of northern Chile, such as Arica (164), Antofagasta (98), Iquique (183), Coquimbo (117) and La Serena (90); to which should be added high rates in medium-sized urban communities such as Alto Hospicio (177) or Tocopilla (104).

In the central zone of the country, high rates appear in medium-sized or small communes of the interior V region such as La Calera (123), Los Andes (130) or San Felipe (122); of the coast of the V region such as Cartagena (147) or San Antonio (127); to this are added high rates in the large urban center of the VI region such as Rancagua (100) being, by far, the highest rate in the zone the commune-city of Valparaíso (203).

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In the south, meanwhile, the commune-city of Valdivia (115) and the Chiloé town of Castro (108) are among those with the highest rates. All of these communes exceed - when adjusted by communal population - the figures for many communes even in the Metropolitan Region itself, traditionally associated with "crime and delinquency".

Analysis of municipal supply in social reintegration (32 municipalities with higher rates).

In order to contrast the 'demand' for returning to the communes of residence (expressed through the prison system's release rates for 2016), we ordered the country's communes from highest to lowest prison release rates. Then, we selected the 32 communes with the highest rates and checked the municipal offer of each of these through: i) a website review; and ii) a phone call to each municipality to inquire about the existence of support programs (or coordination of already existing initiatives) to support the processes of return to the community by former inmates (prisoner reentry support programs).

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Table 2: Municipalities with higher rates of prisoner reentry (2016) v/s support initiatives.

Ranking	Municipality / Commune	Prison Prison Rate	Web support program	Telephone support program
1	VALPARAÍSO	203	NO	SI
2	IQUIQUE	183	NO	NO
3	ALTO HOSPICIO	177	NO	NO
4	CARTAGENA	147	NO	--
5	LOS ANDES	130	NO	NO
6	LO ESPEJO	130	NO	NO
7	SAN ANTONIO	127	NO	SI
8	LA CALERA	123	NO	SI
9	SAN FELIPE	122	NO	SI
10	LA PINTANA	118	NO	NO
11	VALDIVIA	115	NO	NO
12	COQUIMBO	117	NO	NO
13	QUINTERO	110	NO	--
14	CASTRO	108	NO	NO
15	LA GRANJA	108	NO	NO
16	CALDERA	107	NO	NO
17	OSORNO	105	NO	NO
18	TOCOPILLA	104	NO	--
19	LIMACHE	101	NO	NO
20	VIÑA DEL MAR	100	NO	NO
21	RANCAGUA	100	NO	NO
22	P. AGUIRRE CERDA	100	NO	NO
23	ANTOFAGASTA	98	NO	--
24	SAN JOAQUÍN	93	NO	NO
25	QUILLOTA	92	NO	SI
26	LA SERENA	90	NO	NO
27	EL QUISCO	90	NO	--
28	OVALLE	89	NO	NO
29	CURICO	89	SI	--
30	CHAÑARAL	88	NO	NO
31	RENGO	88	SI	SI
32	RENCA	85	NO	NO

Source: Own elaboration, based on data published by INE (2016) and administrative records of Gendarmería

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According to the information obtained in this follow-up, it can be mentioned that, for that period, the vast majority of the municipalities consulted did not have a Social Reinsertion program as such. Only 2 of the 32 websites reviewed (approximately 6%) had a banner, link or link (clearly identifiable) that talked about social reintegration and/or support for people leaving prison. By telephone, it was possible to learn that in 6 of the 32 municipalities (approximately 19% of the municipalities with the highest rates) there were programs or initiatives to assist people leaving prison, although with different methodologies, procedures and intervention approaches. In the remaining municipalities, according to the information we were able to gather from our two methodologies (telephone calls and visits to the municipal website), there were no initiatives aimed at serving this segment of the population.

The experience and informal information provided by prison officials and staff personnel (mainly social workers and psychologists) on the issue of the return of former inmates, tells us that those who arrive to the territories from prison do so, in general, to poorer and segregated neighborhoods (populations) that are known. In other words, they do not return only to a "commune" but to certain neighborhoods, which would aggravate the problem of concentration and the possibilities of service provision.

One point that reaffirms this possibility is that our previous statistical analyses (not shown here) included the calculation of correlations between number of people released from prison and percentage of communal population in poverty (by income), finding neither significant nor high correlations. This suggests that, by taking the unit of aggregation of "commune" the possible effect disappears, but not at the level of more limited territories (neighborhoods) within the same commune.

On the other hand, the vast majority of the municipalities consulted mentioned that information on possible social reinsertion programs should be consulted directly with the Prison Service, since "they are responsible for providing this type of guidance and support to people who have served or are about to serve their prison sentence" (official who answered the call in one of the municipalities). Although it would perhaps merit a separate study, in several telephone calls municipal officials attributed the function of orienting people after release solely to the Gendarmería.

For those (few) municipalities that had a post-prison program or support, it was largely a local entity's own implementation. This means that the support that the vast majority of municipalities provide to people who have served a prison sentence is not centralized or regional in origin, but corresponds to local government initiatives, with municipal

resources (human and financial). In this sense, where there is some support, it tends to be labor-related, as in the case of Quillota, where there is a task force composed of three professionals who help them find work and provide psychosocial support in the transition after leaving prison. Another example is what is done in the commune of La Pintana, where there is a unit that works on the reinsertion of people who have been in prison, focusing on legal aspects and the elimination of criminal records.

Discussion and Conclusions

In this article we wanted to make visible the process of leaving prison and the gap we detected between the needs of those who return and the services available to them. To this end, we constructed an indicator that estimates not only the rough numbers, but also the concentration (through a discharge prison exit rate) of formerly incarcerated individuals returning to various communities in the country, many of which were already quite disadvantaged according to indicators of poverty and social exclusion. These communities receive every year an influx of people who have been in conflict with the law, having a variety of social needs, too: from securing a safe place to sleep; getting (and maintaining) a job to generate income; to accessing to social and health services that meet their physical and mental needs (including treatment for addictions), among others.

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Our results show that, despite being a necessary condition for achieving effective social reintegration at the local level (Villagra, 2008), municipal support for the return of former inmates still constitutes a pending debt for the vast majority of Chilean municipalities, particularly for those with the highest concentrations of former inmates returning as neighbors. In the United States, for example, they have begun to speak of returning citizens instead of ex-prisoners to emphasize the need for community support for reinsertion (Kenemore, 2020; Bowman and Eli, 2020; Cohen, 2019).

In line with the expectations is that the discharge rates from prison are not uniform and that, therefore, the expected impact of such return will be differential. Likewise, when analyzing the existence of programmatic offer in the communes with higher rates, we found that only in 6 of the 32 communes analyzed there was a special support program, evidencing the imbalance between the multiple challenges imposed by the prisoner reentry phenomenon (Sanhueza, 2014) and the invisibility of the phenomenon at the municipal level to address them.

According to our inquiry, apparently there would be no coordination or communications between the prison service (Gendarmería) and the municipalities at the moment when a person is going to leave prison. Although this absence may be due to legitimate concerns for the confidentiality of individuals and the desire not to stigmatize, we believe that, given the fragility of the situation of a person leaving prison and his or her multiple needs, this lack of systemic communication is something that could be worked on and improved, taking care, of course, of the confidentiality of the people involved in the process.

However, this article must be seen in the context of some limitations. First, the rates of release from the prison system calculated here do not consider those individuals serving sentences in the so-called 'open system' (non-custodial sentences) but who undoubtedly contribute to what Wacquant (2001) would call a symbiosis between the ghetto and the prison. A second limitation has to do with the fact that this study only included in its estimates those who are released from prison after serving their sentence; therefore, it does not take into account those who are serving their sentence in a free environment, or those who are on parole or those who have been indicted. In other words, there is a possibility that we are even underestimating the phenomenon in the municipalities that already receive a higher concentration of former inmates.

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Our findings emphasize the need to make visible the situation of those who have committed crimes and are serving sentences in prisons, reviewing the relationship between prison and society that has been built -especially from the narratives that emphasize merely the "individualistic" explanations of crime- in the light of generating real possibilities of reintegration in the long term. Likewise, we think that the (usually) ignored social causes of crime and the deep problems of inequality that affect Chilean society and the Latin American region in general (Sozzo, in Gómez & Proaño, 2012) should be discussed, considering that prison is a reflection of the society that is built around it.

Now, in terms of some public policy implications derived from this work, we dare to suggest initiatives in three areas: i) at the territorial level: look at good practices, such as, for example, the case of Valparaíso, the commune-city with the highest rate of prison releases and which is one of the few municipalities in the country that has been systematically and historically working to support reinsertion; ii) at the level of inter-systemic coordination, we suggest improving coordination and communication between Gendarmería and the municipalities, especially those with higher rates; and iii) at the

level of other relevant actors, it is necessary to add and coordinate contributions from new non-state actors such as businesses, social leaders and other civil society organizations that can join in supporting the return of former inmates to their communities.

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Enhancing older persons welfare before, during and after the COVID-19 crisis- Z i m b a b w e , Lesotho and Eswatini perspectives

Mejorar el bienestar de las personas mayores antes, durante y después de la crisis del COVID-19 - Perspectivas de Zimbabwe, Lesotho y Eswatini

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Abstract

The embedding of robust approaches for ageing in national development agendas has been made more urgent by COVID 19. The article explores these three countries' social protection domains of in offering an enabling environment for older persons' dignity and enhanced social functioning before, during and hopefully after the COVID-19 pandemic. Secondary sources of data including review of policy and research documents are used. The article also suggests pathways by which frontline social workers can contribute to galvanising older persons safeguarding and welfare in COVID-19 pandemic milieu., and offers some reflections on social workers' challenges.

Resumen

La incorporación de enfoques sólidos para el envejecimiento en las agendas nacionales de desarrollo se ha hecho más urgente con el COVID-19. El artículo explora los ámbitos de protección social de estos tres países para ofrecer un entorno propicio para la dignidad de las personas mayores y un mejor funcionamiento social antes, durante y, con suerte, después de la pandemia de COVID-19. Se utilizan fuentes secundarias de datos que incluyen la revisión de documentos de política e investigación. El artículo también sugiere vías por las que los trabajadores sociales de primera línea pueden contribuir a impulsar la salvaguarda y el bienestar de las personas mayores en el entorno de la pandemia de COVID-19, y ofrece algunas reflexiones sobre los retos de los trabajadores sociales.

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Introduction

The central question this article addresses is how before, during and post COVID-19 pandemic social security systems harnessing in Zimbabwe, Eswatini and Lesotho result in robust older persons centred social safety nets. Certainly Leach, MacGregor, Scoones and Wilkinson (2021) outline that attention to structural drivers and conditions aids in understanding COVID's onset, its unfolding in different regions plus uneven ways people and places have been affected.

Focus on these three countries was motivated by how they all aspire to pursue a socio-economic trajectory for them to attain middle income countries status. It is therefore crucial that in the milieu of COVID-19, knowledge is generated on social security perspectives that cushion older persons navigate this crisis. Generating knowledge on the situation of older people is crucial as it allows development of innovative and robust policies that can be more responsive to the ever changing needs of older persons. It also helps deconstruct piecemeal and fragmentary social policies when targeting older people. Murphy's (2018) postulations justifies this research problem. It is important to highlight that 2021 – 2030 is the UN's Decade of Healthy Ageing a global collaboration bringing together governments, civil society, international agencies, professionals, academia, the media and the private sector to improve the lives of older people, their families, and the communities in which they live.

This strategy aligns and integrated into the UN's 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), with one of its core universal principles being "leave no one behind" (LNOB). Undeniably, aging issues intersect all 17 SDGs, especially SDG 3, regarding "Good Health and Well-being", which aims to "ensure healthy lives and promote well-being for all at all ages." The UN strategy provides "every human being regardless of age, an opportunity to fulfil their potential with dignity and equality,". According to Murphy (2018) SDGs include general goals applicable to everyone including "ending poverty, in all its forms, everywhere" and "reducing inequality". However, Murphy comments that particular emphasis is on tackling specific groups marginalisation such as children, women and girls, people with disabilities and older people to reduce their well-recognised disadvantages. Furthermore, as observed by Lloyd-Sherlock, et al. (2020) a weak public health infrastructure, lack of gerontological expertise at all health system levels and limited trust in government result in a conundrum in COVID-19 mitigation endeavours. Accordingly, different constituencies must collectively think of solutions, particularly social service responses dealing with the psychosocial effects and exacerbation of inequality resulting from COVID-19 (Rasool 2020).

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Given the foregoing, the SDGs framework insisting on Leaving No Oner Behind (LNOB) will be the framework for interrogating duty bearers as the state, social workers and Departments of Social Service. LNOB principles insist on development work responses ensuring equality and equity in participation, access, ownership and resources utilisation and the benefits of development, targeting that the furthest behind are reached first and those at risk, do not fall behind (UNDP 2020). This subject is discussed in more detail in this article, in which I argue the importance of sufficiently articulating the concept's theoretical underpinnings and empirical application in order to generate relevant lessons for older persons safeguarding before and after the COVID-19 pandemic. Furthermore, reflecting about social workers' challenges in this context is critical to reflect on how the navigating of COVID-19 induced social protection challenges and their impacts to frontline social work interventions for enhancing older persons functioning.

Context of Eswatini, Zimbabwe and Lesotho

In this section I provide the socio-economic trajectory of Eswatini, Lesotho and Zimbabwe. Firstly, Eswatini population according to the Population and Housing Census 2017, is 1,093,238 made of 531,111 males (48.6 per cent) and 562,127 females (51.4 per cent) (Madzingira, 2019).

Eswatini's human development index in 2019 was classified as a middle human development country rated 138 out of 187 countries (World Bank Eswatini Country Team, 2020). Furthermore, its HIV/AIDS prevalence remains the highest globally at 27.2% among adults between the ages 15–49 years (Madzingira, 2019). In Nhlangano, in the south of Eswatini the illegal farming of cannabis is a risk many grandmothers are ready to take (Dewa 2021).

Through National Multi Sectoral HIV and AIDS Strategic Framework (NSF) 2018–2022, Eswatini aims significantly reducing both new infections and mortality through super-fast tracking the responses.

As for Zimbabwe, economic instability characterised by an already spiralling currency was exacerbated by COVID-19 arrival (Scoones, 2021). Before the COVID–19 pandemic, Zimbabwe's economy was already in recession, contracting by 6.0% in 2019. Output fell because of economic instability and the removal of subsidies on maize meal,

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2 Leave no one behind (LNOB) is the central, transformative promise of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development and its Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). It represents the unequivocal commitment of all UN Member States to eradicate poverty in all its forms, end discrimination and exclusion, and reduce the inequalities and vulnerabilities that leave people behind and undermine the potential of individuals and of humanity as a whole

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fuel, and electricity prices; suppressed foreign exchange earnings; and excessive money creation. The onset of the COVID–19 pandemic and continued drought led to 10% contraction in real GDP in 2020. Inflation soared, averaging 622.8% in 2020, up from 226.9% in 2019.After a 10-year hiatus Zimbabwe reintroduced its own currency in 2019 and has been battling high inflation and shortages of foreign currency to food. In 2019 the local unit was pegged at parity to the U.S. dollar, but plunged to 84.6 against the greenback, This has proved particularly devastating for urbanites many already living from hand-to-mouth whilst working in multiple informal sector jobs (Ndlovu, 2021).

In March 2019, just after the droughts induced by El Niño weather pattern Cyclone Idai also hit Zimbabwe causing floods mainly affecting the eastern and southern provinces, (Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, 2021). In November 2020, Government of Zimbabwe (GoZ) adopted the National Development Strategy (NDS) 2021 – 2025 towards driving inclusivity and sustainable economic growth vital towards the country's Vision 2030 and SDGs achievement.

Finally, Lesotho is a small country landlocked within South Africa and in 2016 the country's population was enumerated at 2 million with more than two-thirds living in rural areas. Classified by the World Bank as a lower-middle-income economy, Lesotho had a per capita GDP in 2018 of $1,401 (Boko, Raju, & Younger, 2021). The effects of ageing in Lesotho are gendered hence different needs and challenges between men and women especially the effect of feminization of ageing. The inherently patriarchal system in Lesotho results in significant socio-economic differences between men and women often leaving older women as witchcraft accusations victims and denied rights to their inheritance (Ministry of Social Development and Help Age International, 2014).

The Lesotho government allocates 7 percent from the national budget to social protection programmes as school meals, older persons' pensions, child grants and public works (Boko, Raju, & Younger, 2021). High HIV prevalence rate (25.6 percent: 30.4 percent for women and 20.8 for men) characterises Lesotho and more than 250,000 orphaned children require care most having lost their parents to AIDS. Lesotho's life expectancy stands at 49 years. As the major livelihood source for 80 percent of the population living in rural areas, agriculture contributes 7 percent of GDP. Lesotho has a 27.3 percent poverty rate based on the international poverty line of US$1.90 per person per day. Lesotho is ranked 165/189 on the Human Development Index.

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Conceptual framework

To begin with, examining interactions between breakdown of social contract, poverty, vulnerability, social functioning, dignity, life cycle, older people, social security for older people, among other concepts, need theoretical exploration. Reflecting on available literature, social protection scholarship deeply concerned with universal social welfare targeting requires a detailed understanding of the crucial elements of social security targeting process. Despite gerontology is in its infancy across Africa, population ageing, and the social benefits and problems associated with this process are getting growing recognition (Ministry of Social Development and Help Age International, 2014).

Of particular significance in this regard is Barrantes' (2020) assertions that Global South countries base their social protection provision on negative narratives around poverty and the "deserving and undeserving poor". This approach challenges us as a society to change the very roots of mainstream (neoliberal) anti-poverty policies. According to Barrantes, than focusing on inclusive lifecycle systems, service delivery systems are being instead fragmented by Global South countries. Schubert (2020) wades into this debate by insisting that a convincing political argument is that because everybody will benefit once, he or she has reached a certain age, universal social pensions enjoy public support. According to Schubert (2020) in poor countries people aged above 60 or even 70 is below 10 percent a universal OAG is expensive but affordable, whilst a universal child grant would also be popular but not affordable as children are up to 50 percent of the total population.

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Another perspective is provided by Leach et.al (2021) who forthrightly emphasise that COVID-19 intensifies fragilities in health and wellbeing, food, sustainable livelihoods, resilient ecologies, resource access, employment, trade, finance, inclusive governance, citizen rights systems. UNRISD further observes this however is a complex concept which relates to questions of dis¬tribution and redistribution of privileges and re¬sources based on moral, political values and normative frameworks (United Nations Research Institute for Social Development, 2021).

In Noyoo's (2017) analysis as human rights do not diminish with ageing many aspects of a person's life are threatened if age is relied on as a proxy for competency and functional well-being. These include basic rights of independence, security, and dignity. Certainly, social welfare services as articulated by Noyoo (2017) are the arteries delivering well-being to older persons towards ensuring maintenance of an acceptable living standard defined by policies ensuring fulfilment of older persons rights as guaranteed by the constitution. In the same vein Schubert insists irrespective of a country's poverty status

in establishing social assistance arguably Old Age Grants [OAGs] are most appropriate.

Henceforth, too few African countries have any form of non-contributory or 'social' pension. As posited by Noyoo (2017) this is despite evidence from South Africa, Lesotho and Botswana showing that non-contributory or 'social' pension is a practical and affordable way of tackling poverty, and HIV and AIDS impacts reduction. Schubert (2018) further goes on to state that a technical argument is that universal categorical programs avoid exclusion and inclusion errors associated with means testing.

With the COVID-19 coupled with limited gerontological expertise reduced further by illness, these challenges are further exacerbated (Lloyd-Sherlock , et al. 2020). Henceforth, COVID-19 eruption is a timely reminder of the structural faultiness and fragility of health care and social services delivery systems globally.

Furthermore, Dafuleya (2020) notes the Southern Africa region has state social assistance deficits and non-state initiatives have been inadequately filling this gap. As observed by Dafuleya, in countries that finance their own social assistance the reach of the emergency assistance extends to all the citizens that require it but countries with weak social assistance fail to reach all the citizens that require it.

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On the same note using the life-cycle approach Schubert (2018) contends children, the elderly and a host of other "vulnerable groups" need to protection against life-cycle risks by establishing categorical cash transfer programs. In the same vein Ansell et.al (2019) note cash transfers to older people create empowerment and autonomy for a group previously highly dependent on younger family members. Given this theoretical background, it can be asserted that recognising older persons social security and dignity emerges out of a particular history and socio-political and economic context; hence, the next section closely examines the Zimbabwe, Eswatini and Lesotho context.

Results

The following section outlines dominant narratives emerging from the three countries of how older persons navigate socio-economic barriers to guarantee their access to social security before and during COVID-19.

Results

The following section outlines dominant narratives emerging from the three countries of how older persons navigate socio-economic barriers to guarantee their access to social security before and during COVID-19.

Zimbabwe

According to HelpAge, older people in Zimbabwe are estimated to be 760 000 or six percent of the population. Furthermore, Zimbabwe's health system faces a plethora of challenges including a lack of mostly financial resources and a host of institutional and governance issues all of which render service delivery problematic. Furthermore, in June 2020 the Centre for Community Development Solutions (CCDS) supported by Help Age International conducted a rapid needs assessment in northern and eastern Zimbabwe. The purpose of this assessment by CCDS and Help Age (2020) was to enable CCDS to adapt its programming and provide advocacy messages to humanitarian partners and the government. According to Help Age (2020) 79% of older people interviewed during the rapid needs' assessment indicated that they could not afford protective materials such as face masks to prevent them from contracting COVID-19, and 68% of those 70+ said they have difficulty accessing medicines.

 The health system is beset by periodic strikes by health workers over remuneration, low morale among the workers and poor working conditions (UNCT 2020). In public health care systems analysis, it must be noted that health care workers numbers, quality and capability as a ratio of the population is low. Chitambara (2020) stated that in 2016 the World Health Organisation (WHO) noted Zimbabwe had a skilled health professionals' density (per 10 000 population) of 12,7 which pointed to a huge deficit. Zimbabwe's health spending for 2022 is only US$74 per capita (per person), which is way below the recommended US$209 per capita health spending for the Southern Africa Development Community, and the Global average of US$1 080 per person per year (Sibanda 2022).

According to Muzarabani (2022) United Kingdom's National Health Services (NHS) revealed Zimbabwe as second after Nigeria in terms of health professionals numbers working in the UK. NHS considers Zimbabwe as one of its biggest exporters of labour in the health sector and in 2021, 4 780 medical professionals reportedly left for the UK (Muzarabani 2022).

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Furthermore, surveys indicate that nearly 500,000 households have at least one member who lost their job in 2020, causing many to fall into poverty and worsening the plight of the existing poor. Urban households suffered most economically (World Bank Zimbabwe country Programme, 2021). Zimbabwe's macroeconomic situation has remained highly volatile, exacerbated by the war in Ukraine and its negative impacts on the availability and prices of key commodities such as fuel, wheat, cooking oil, and fertilizer. As a result, annual inflation, as reported by ZIMSTAT, stood at 191.6 percent in June. According to Kairiza (2022) figures from the Zimbabwe National Statistics Agency (Zimstat) show that the cost of living for a family of six in June soared to ZW$110 550 (US$297) from ZW$14 041 (US$38) for monthly expenses . Pensioners have scoffed at the $10 000 (US$15) once-off grocery voucher offered by National Social Security Authority (NSSA), describing it as a mockery to a lifetime of service and dedicated contribution to the development of the country (Buwerimwe 2022).

As noted by Scoones (2021) since WHO's approval of Chinese Sinopharm vaccine Zimbabwe's vaccination drive has been in full swing. To contextualise the obtaining social security gaps, Mlope (2020) reported that the Social Welfare minister indicated that government had by end of 2020 only managed to pay about 202 000 vulnerable people out of the targeted one million for the monthly $180 Zimbabwe dollars (which is approximately 4 US dollars) cushioning allowance. The minister stated that treasury is yet to release the needed funds to support the programme and the Mhlope (2020) reported that in May 2020 the minister stated government had paid 201 000 people the $180 cushioning allowance, despite having promised to increase the money to $300.According to Mlope (2020), the minister stated the government's awareness that the promised grant had been eroded by inflation and that the slow pace in paying the allowance to the vulnerable was because treasury had not yet availed the necessary funds. However, older persons lack the technological savvy to flawlessly access mobile based social safety nets brokered by the government.

Eswatini

According to Schubert (2020), the total population is made up of 7% of older persons. With regard to drivers of poverty, it is estimated that 35,349 households suffer from extreme poverty. Approximately 15,446 are poor because of conjunctural poverty caused by unemployment or underemployment where households have able-bodied adults without no access to productive employment (Schubert, 2020). The extreme poverty of the other 19,903 households is structural as it is related to the structure of the household

where there are few or no able-bodied adult household members (Schubert, 2018). HIV and AIDS and other causal factors have resulted in deaths of breadwinners leaving grandparents who are too old to work and orphans who are too young (Schubert, 2018).

In terms of older people social services provision, once all Eswatini citizens have reached 60 years they are supposed to be provided with OAG. As UNICEF Eswatini Country Office (2018) observes the OAG is by far the biggest social cash transfer programme in Eswatini with a reach of 70,000 individuals out of a population of 1.1 million (6.4 percent) and Lesotho's goes to 80,000 out of a population of 2.1 million (3.8 percent) (Freeland, 2020).

The universal OAG costs in Eswatini, have been increased such that other programs have been crowded out leaving no funds for programs tailored to reach extremely needy households without older people. The cost explosion of the OAG seems not able to be tamed by policymakers. Thus, Eswatini social assistance system for distributing its meagre resources to a large extent to non☐poor households, leaves no money to close serious social protection coverage gaps (Schubert 2020).

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A state of Emergency towards containing COVID-19 was declared by Eswatini on March 17, 2020. Parliament passed a budget supporting the COVID-19 response and National Disaster Management Agency (NDMA) activation. For addressing vulnerability and poverty, the Department of Social Welfare (DSW) partnered by key stakeholders is mandated for comprehensive, integrated and equitable social welfare services provision. The OAG provision is one such DSW social security programme targeting all Eswatini citizens once they have reached the age of 60 years. With 69,697 beneficiaries and monthly transfers of E400 per beneficiary, the OAG is by far Eswatini's biggest social cash transfer programme (UNICEF 2018). Government's OAG adoption was towards mitigating escalating plight of the destitute older persons largely as an indirect HIV& AIDS consequence. Loss of remittances from young family members and the increasing phenomenon of older persons being orphaned children care-givers coupled with chronic drought conditions in certain parts of Eswatini were key variables that informed the OAG policy response (Schubert, 2020).

Significantly, the monthly (but paid quarterly) allowance for the OAG was increased from SZL 400 to SZL 500 (SZL 100 currently equals approx. USD 7.01) in early 2020 to cushion older persons from the hardships and suffering caused by the COVID-19 pandemic, among other challenges (Rijkenburg , 2020). On the same note Dhemba (2021) observes the inadequacy of the revised OAG monthly allowance to cushion older persons against Covid-19 induced hardships. This is because OAG amount

payment is not grounded on the household size of the older person, notwithstanding the many older persons in Eswatini looking after orphaned grandchildren. Older persons receiving grants are also the breadwinners in their households, because of the high levels of unemployment in the country. Apparently, many Eswatini households with older persons have the OAG as the only income source inhibiting older persons to rise above poverty and vulnerability.

Finally, it is commendable that in terms of COVAX vaccine roll out the government has provided on-site registration for older persons without access to smartphones thus unable register online. This registration is conducted prior to vaccination (Kumani 2021).

Lesotho

7.85 per cent of its population above the age of 70. Perceptions of Basotho toward older persons have changed over time. Traditionally, Basotho respect for older persons was underpinned by how they were perceived to be closer to God, and/or would soon be gods (Balimo). As a highly Christian society, this factor was reinforced by the doctrine linking respect for older persons to blessings from God (Ministry of Social Development and Help Age International, 2014).

Lesotho has an extensive public social protection portfolio—a mix of social assistance and insurance programs, several with a long history. While incomplete in their span, these programs are aimed at covering different risks to income or consumption and provide benefits at different points in the individual's life cycle. All Lesotho citizens aged over 70 years have entitlement to a monthly pension benefit of 550 Lesotho Maloti (LSL)(US$40). While eligible persons' coverage is approximately 100 per cent, it is estimated that many more benefit indirectly (ILO 2016). The Lesotho Policy for Older Persons advocates for older persons' rights protection and realisation by giving directions on the most effective approaches to dealing with their challenges (Ngozwana 2019).

Government of Lesotho has a distinguished history of traditional social support systems and within sub-Saharan Africa established itself as a pioneer of formal social protection programmes. To achieve this, the National Strategic Development Plan (NSPS) for 2012□2017 included a significant emphasis on social protection towards reduction of vulnerabilities. The NSPS is structured around four key life□course stages (pregnancy and early childhood; school age and youth; working age, and old age), (Government of the Kingdom of Lesotho 2014).

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Under each of the life-course stages the NSPS outlines an implementation plan towards core programmes addressing vulnerabilities throughout the life-course. The proportion of Lesotho older people is higher than in other sub-Saharan African countries spurred by young people's outmigration and a demographic transition towards an older society (Granvik 2016). Many Basotho are resident in South Africa as migrant workers in the mines, domestic and industrial sectors (every month over 60 percent of Basotho households access remittances from South Africa) (World Bank 2020). Remittances by over 400,000 Basotho working in South Africa had declined as migrants returned home due to job losses and COVID-19 lockdowns, increasing remittances dependent households' vulnerability (17 per cent of households) (UNICEF Lesotho, 2020).

While the M700 (50 US dollars) monthly pension might present as insignificant, money often goes a long way in cushioning older people from poverty and economic deprivation. Eswatini and Lesotho's pension transfers value has increased faster than inflation (they are now USD25/month and USD42/month respectively). In Lesotho the pension sufficiently allows older people to exercise economic influence beyond the household as employers, lenders and key members of savings groups (Ansell, et al. 2019). However, Ngozwana (2019) critiques the older persons policy for Lesotho by noting its silence on how older adults should be empowered to cope with, adapt and adjust to changes in times of disruption.

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Method

The article makes a case study approach grounded on secondary sources of information. Against this backdrop the central research question was how does these three Southern African countries' social security strategies compare to pandemic responses to protect livelihoods especially in regards to the generosity of, comprehensiveness of and eligibility for older persons? The desk review is based on peer reviewed articles and other reports in English providing qualitative and quantitative evidence on older persons circumstances pre and post COVID-19 in the three southern Africa countries. A search term strategy was used to obtain papers from online databases like African Journals Online and specific filters were used to include reports, research studies that were relevant to the thematic and geographical areas covered in the targeting older persons lived experiences.

In reviewing documents related to older persons reliance was made on discourse analysis of evaluations, research studies commissioned by state and none state actors and scholarly journal articles produced between 2015-2022. Local and national government bodies generated discourses and policy documents are important artefacts as state actors significantly shape or advance certain viewpoints and values regarding citizens' lives.

According to Makore-Ncube and Al-Maiyah (2021) the written language presentation of older persons encodes ideas and assumptions constituting the prevailing culture and ideologies surrounding their lives. Henceforth, discourse analysis and artefacts evaluation are useful in identifying the construction of a certain phenomenon or reality, like framing older persons social security, and its envisioning in society, in policy, and practice (Makore-Ncube & Al-Maiyah, 2021).

The discourse analysis included published peer-reviewed articles, official government documents, World Health Organization (WHO), United Nations (UN)/non-governmental organisational (NGO) documents/evaluation, technical, programmatic and funding support reports and academic publications retrieved from various journals and internet sources. These studies and reports were of the timeline of years between 2015-2022 for the purpose of comparing the obtaining situation for older persons before and during pandemic. The themes I focused on were on social security approaches targeting older persons in the context of intractable socio-economic challenges, natural climate disasters and as of 2020, the COVID-19 pandemic. I conclude by reflecting about my main learnings and proposing

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Towards robust social security mechanisms for older persons

The LNOB framework sharpens our insight into mainstreaming of older persons best interests during and after the COVID -19 pandemic. The inadequacy of social security element of responses targeting older persons cushioning during COVID-19 pandemic here prompts us to ask how claims of commitments for older persons cushioning by the three countries are operationalised. I posit that robust social security dominated by donor programming be deconstructed and replaced by harnessing of local resources. Zimbabwe for example is agro based and government has been initiating a rural households agricultural inputs support scheme, Pfumvudza for the desired outcomes of food security. Chikwati(2022) reports that at least 2,6 million small-scale farming households signed into Pfumvudza/Intwasa, the conservation-agriculture system under

the climate proofed Presidential Inputs Scheme Programme, for this farming season.

Thus, robustness of social security schemes needs not to encompass only cash transfers but provide a holistic targeted approach ranging from livelihoods support to capacitating communities tackle aspects as climate change and rural to urban migration. In that way older people are better cushioned from socio-economic shocks. LNOB reframed my analysis of dearth of dynamic robust older persons social security programmes with few viable cash transfers programmes being predominantly donor driven hence lack long term sustainability. Since their onset in early 2000s Eswatini and Lesotho old age pensions are and have been fully funded by the two governments. They are genuinely home-grown responses to the particular challenges faced in the two countries as they emerged from autochthonous political processes (Freelander 2020). Fast‐growing OAG costs emanate from the growing number of older persons combined with the growing costs per person. Eswatini OAG funds were ringfenced since it was a flagship social assistance program of the country and as additional government funding for social assistance was not forthcoming, the OAG started to crowd out other social assistance programs as Public Assistance, Child Welfare, Foster Children, and Handicapped Children (Schubert, 2020).

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This article endorses the call by Schubert (2020) for a systemic and needs‐oriented approach not focused on a single program but considers an ensemble of programs, ensuring that all most pressing social needs are covered. This approach provides fuller insight to human rights requisites of universalism by insisting that a country's overall arrangement of social protection be universalistic, not just a single program (Schubert 2020). However, arguably cash transfers programmes' disadvantage is reinforcing dependency syndrome where communities then fail to be imaginative in designing own sustainable grassroots and community based social safety nets that do not have to exclusively rely on state and none state actors. Henceforth, social security programmes must aspire to be transformative acting as a vector for overcoming structural inequalities in society (United Nations Research Institute for Social Development (UNRISD, 2016). Freeland's (2020) assertions reinforce these observations as he highlights that the much higher place on the political agenda for the pensions in Eswatini and Lesotho, manifested by increased transfers value pensioners demand, and usually get a yearly Cost-of-Living Adjustment. Similarly, at one stage, untimely payments of pensions by Eswatini resulted in its parliament's closure until the situation was resolved. However, in Zimbabwe old age and other state administered social welfare payments are erratic and currently have limited coverage.

Eswatini's DSW is navigating threats impacting negatively its operations and professional service delivery especially with regard to older persons. However, it is commendable as Freeland (2020) observes that rights-based life-course entitlement programme implementation enhances the programme's expansion and commencement of other life-course programmes. Lesotho and Eswatini now implement government funded child-oriented programmes alongside old age pensions and Eswatini has a disability benefit (Freeland, 2020).

As for Zimbabwe the pandemic's effects on every economic sector and all segments of society including older persons has been through differential impacts dependent on age group, gender, disabilities, socio-economic status, geographic location (United Nations Country Team Zimbabwe 2020). A robust social protection system cushions older persons from further poverty exposure and justifies increased public expenditure for social protection provision for poor and vulnerable groups.

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The role of social workers

Apart from the above, the paper argues that examining social security responsiveness to older persons in Lesotho, Zimbabwe and Eswatini needs to be extended and be more grounded and dynamic. In a world of serial and simultaneous crises where countless certainties are shattered, many people are beginning to question the principles and values our societies are founded upon. Current debates have wider scope: diving deep into our broken relation with nature; governments' failure to protect their populations or denial of basic democratic and human rights; migrants falling between the cracks; informal workers without fundamental labour rights, social protection or just wages (Hujo and Kempf 2021).

Through their repertoire of skills, social workers are positioned to capture changing structures, processes and conditions underpinning older persons adaptation to COVID-19 impacts. The other task is for social workers to direct attention regarding gaps of COVID-19 impacts adaptation practices implemented by state and none state actors so that policy makers can take corrective action. To contextualise this in Zimbabwe it is reported that under 11 Government-led programmes like the Basic Education Assistance Module (BEAM), the Food Deficit Mitigation Strategy (FDMS),

the Harmonised Social Cash Transfer (HSCT), and the Health Assistance Programme more than 4 million individuals received social protection support among other social support interventions (Matabvu 2022). However, this data is not disaggregated to illustrate how many older persons or children were targeted.

Moyo (2021) cites Priscilla Gavi, executive director of a non-governmental organisation HelpAge Zimbabwe's indications of old-age poverty pervasiveness and how as of July 2021, approximately 713,000 people were over age 65 in Zimbabwe. Of these, 80 % live in abject poverty with no source of income, no resources to fall back on, no medical insurance and no pension. Currently, cost of living implies that a family of six requires US$363 for meeting monthly requirements (Vinga 2022).

As for Eswatini, urban livelihood zones are reportedly showing increased acute food insecurity. The Lubombo reaching 35% and Shiselweni Peri-urban areas and Lubombo Plateau present with highest proportion (45%) of households classified in crisis with over 90,000 people (40%) requiring urgent assistance. Limited livelihood opportunities, high food prices and the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic are the key drivers of acute food insecurity in the urban areas (Integrated Food Security Phase Classification 2021). Thus, social workers need to commission applied action research studies to empirically verify intensity of this intractable urban poverty and how it impacts the vulnerable like older persons.

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This allows reflection on how these practices like repertoire of social security programmes are formed and reproduced, negotiated and contested between social groups, and how they become institutionalised. As an illustration, Zimbabwean and Eswatini social worker could advocate so that their national governments benchmark social protection as Lesotho has endeavoured to do. According to World Bank (2021) Lesotho's significant social protection programs investments exhibits Lesotho Government's commitment to protecting vulnerable groups. Over the last 20 years, Lesotho has sought to develop and scale up a lifecycle approach to social protection programming. As a result, Lesotho now ranks highest among any African country and twice that of its neighbours (6.4 percent) on social protection spending as a share of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) (World Bank 2021). Related to this is the challenge for social workers to identify constraints and opportunities within such complex social security arrangements in order to institute shifts in practices towards robust social security approaches adaptation.

On the same note, this resonates with The Global Agenda 2020-2030 commitments anchored active participation of all voices, particularly the marginalized, as being core for social work and social development and is essential to co-design and co-build inclusive social transformation (International Association of Schools of Social Work, International Council on Social Welfare, and International Federation of Social Workers) IASSW, ICSW, and IFSW 2020).

Conclusion

This article begun by reflecting on the contexts and key reasons perpetuating the sub-Saharan Africa conundrum on older persons welfare and COVID-19 mitigation. After conducting documentary analysis, I established that in order to overcome this gridlock, research and advocacy strengthens policies focusing on robust older persons social security in line with global standards. Research limitations were on the grounds that there is a paucity of more up to date data and empirical research studies on older persons in the three countries. The question of whether and how exactly social security and older persons' welfare are connected, and which robust mechanisms can be incrementally targeted to reinforce older persons welfare and dignity, should feature prominently on the agenda of future social work research. In the current climate of food insecurity, poverty, and social exclusion, on the part of social workers imaginative intervention methods towards older persons' resilience fosters transformative and empowering practice agenda. This certainly guarantees during and post COVID-19 older persons benefit from the SDGs mantra of 'LNOB.'

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ARTICLE

The moral frictions of money in social intervention: The case of the Familias Program.

Las fricciones morales del dinero en la intervención social: El caso del Programa Familias

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How to cite

Abstract

This article explores the moral frictions that have permeated the discussion on the "money of the poor in Chile", based on the analysis of the confrontations that arise between the moral repertoires that the interveners deploy to justify the delivery of economic benefits to the beneficiary families of the Familias Program. In order to do so, we retake the findings of an investigation on the social meanings assigned by the interveners to the economic transfers. Our results reveal three frictions: first, we explore the tension between understanding money as a right

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to assistance and/or as a merit. Second, the frictions around the ownership of the transferred money, and finally, we discuss the frictions that occur in the definition of the uses that families should give to the transferred money. We argue the relevance of observing how the decisions of the implementers regarding transfers are not neutral, but respond to certain moral repertoires about how families should behave in order to justify their participation in the program.

Resumen

Este articulo explora las fricciones morales que han impregnado la discusión sobre el "dinero de los pobres en Chile", a partir del análisis de las confrontaciones que surgen entre los repertorios morales que los/los interventores despliegan para justificar la entrega de beneficios económicos a las familias beneficiarias del Programa Familias. Para ello, retomamos los hallazgos de una investigación sobre los significados sociales que los/as interventores les asignaban a las transferencias económicas. Nuestros resultados dan cuenta de tres fricciones: primero, exploramos la tensión entre entender el dinero como derecho a la asistencia y/o como mérito. En segundo lugar, las fricciones en torno a la pertenencia de los dineros transferidos, y finalmente, discutimos sobre las fricciones que se producen en la definición de los usos que las familias deben darle al dinero transferido. Sostenemos la relevancia de observar cómo las decisiones de los implementadores en materia de transferencia no son neutras, sino que responden a determinados repertorios morales sobre cómo las familias deberían comportarse para justificar su participación en el programa.

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ARTICLE

Introduction

The money of the poor is a "morally dangerous currency" according to Viviana Zelizer in her text The Social Meaning of Money (2011). This idea seeks to show how the meanings associated with the money transferred to the poor are not morally neutral, but rather how their definitions reflect historical disputes that have sought to define the ways in which social assistance is constructed, the methods of supervision/control in the delivery of money and the limits between these currencies and other types of services and benefits. To exemplify this idea, the author refers to three controversies that have shaped the discussion on welfare programs in the history of the United States: first, who is the most suitable institution to grant aid -public assistance or private assistance-; second, to whom the aid should be directed -individuals or households-; and third, the type of economic support to be provided -money or in-kind-. The response to each of these controversies activates a series of frameworks of meaning about the relationship between poverty and money. The different actors involved in these economic transactions (beneficiaries, interveners and public policies) assign multiple values to the money of the poor, which are not necessarily consistent with each other, the sociologist points out.

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The objective of this article is to explore the moral disputes that have permeated the discussion on the money of the poor in Chile, based on the analysis of the moral frictions that provoke the allocation of monetary benefits to poor households. For this purpose, we will analyze the accounts of a number of professionals working in the implementation of the "Families Program". In this program, a series of monetary benefits are assigned to participating households according to a series of requirements established by the program. In this article we argue that the decision of whether or not to assign monetary transfers to households is not exclusively based on public policy frameworks, but also involves a series of moral judgments - not necessarily consistent with each other - that the interveners make about how families should behave in order to legitimize their participation in the Program. In this sense, the idea of friction seeks to account for the tensions between the different frameworks of meaning used by the actors to make decisions about money (Ossandon, 2012).

Thus, observing the moral frictions that occur in intervention processes is relevant, considering the effects they cause in households participating in Conditional Cash Transfer Programs (hereafter CCTPs) (Ramírez, 2018). Several studies (Lasch, 2019; Hornes, 2016; 2020) have given an account of how professionals modify the courses

of action of the intervention processes based on their moralities and subjectivities. Specifically, some works loran to show the ethics of merit (Brown, 2016; Handler, 2003) and the care roles assigned to women mothers (Gabrinetti et al., 2019; Dapuez et al., 2017) are re-signified from the moral frames of the implementers of the PTMCs, which directly affects the allocations of the money transferred. In this sense, the aforementioned works visualize how the money transferred by the State to families living in poverty is associated with a set of diverse and contradictory social meanings, which have a direct impact on the intervention.

In order to respond to this objective, this article is structured around five points. First, the CCTs will be briefly presented, to then contextualize the Families Program. Second, the concept of moral frictions in the framework of social studies of economics will be addressed. Third, the methodological strategy based on the thematic analysis of semi-structured interviews will be presented. Fourth, we will present the results based on three moral frictions, referring to the access, use and ownership of cash transfers. Finally, we will present the conclusions of this work, projecting reflections that may contribute to think about the current scenario of social policy in the country.

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The Families Program, a conditional cash transfer experience in Chile

Cash transfers constitute a paradigm shift in Latin American social policy. If during much of the 20th century social policy in the region focused on combating poverty through transfers of goods and services, since the 1990s the policy of transferring money directly to families began to be implemented (Vargas and Socias, 2016). The assumption of CCTs is that, by transferring money with certain conditionalities, families can change their education and health behaviors (Guabloche and Sanchez, 2011). These new behaviors could change the destiny of their children, favoring the overcoming of their situation of vulnerability (Gabrinetti et al., 2019).

Within this regional scenario, Chile began to implement the Families Program, an initiative that is part of the Security and Opportunities Subsystem, one of the pillars of Chilean social policy. Its origin dates back to 2012, being the result of the methodological reformulation process of the former Ethical Family Income Program, which in turn originated in replacement of Chile Solidario (Vargas and Socias, 2016; Economic Commission for Latin America, and the Caribbean, ECLAC, 2016). Currently,

the program is aimed at families within the most vulnerable 40% of the population -according to the Social Household Registry-, and has as its foundational objective, as its predecessor versions, the overcoming of poverty (ECLAC, 2016, Library of the National Congress of Chile, BNC, 2012).

To achieve the objective, the Program carries out two strategies: psychosocial accompaniment, and the delivery of cash transfers. The former, are carried out by professionals called "family support", who must help the user families to achieve higher levels of well-being, understanding that the socioeconomic situation in which they find themselves is problematic and undesirable (ECLAC, 2016; Ministry of Social Development, MIDESO, 2016; BNC, 2012). For this, they develop together with the families an intervention plan, focused on developing personal capacities and skills that allow them to learn to solve their situation of vulnerability by themselves (ECLAC, 2016; MIDESO, 2016; BNC, 2012). In consideration of such objectives, transfers conditioned to the modification of certain behaviors and transfers without conditionality are contemplated. There are four of them: Base Bonus, Social Protection Bonus, Healthy Control Bonus, and School Attendance Bonus

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Table 1: Type of program transfers

Transfers	Conditionality	Objective	Monetary amount
Social Protection Bonus	No	Supplemental income	17.000
Base Bonus	No	Supplemental income	X*
School Attendance Bonus	Yes	Promoting children's schooling	6.000**
Healthy Control Bonus	Yes	Reinforce medical control of children	6.000***

Note: *Amount that varies according to the poverty line. ** Amount granted for each child under six years of age in the household. *** idem. Source: own elaboration

Fuente: Elaboración propia

As the table shows, the Bono Base and Bono Protección do not have conditionality. Their objective is to supplement autonomous income to alleviate the experience of extreme poverty (MIDESO, 2016; BNC, 2012). On the other hand, the Bono Asistencia Escolar, and the Bono Control Sano, correspond to a type of transfers that seek to condition families to perform certain actions in health and education matters (Castro Serrano et al., 2016; BCN, 2012), such as promoting children's attendance and keeping children's medical check-ups up to date.

In the delivery of these transfers to the families using the program, the Family Supporters play a facilitating role. Although the arrival of the vouchers generates great expectations in households, many do not meet the requirements to access them, such as being located under the 40% most vulnerable of the population according to the social registry of households (Allendes, 2021). Faced with this scenario, Family Supporters favor families by modifying the diagnostic information recorded in the selection instruments, so that they can access monetary benefits (Allendes, 2021). This intervention practice referred to as filtering (Trepowski, et al., 2019) is very common in countries where a residual welfare regime prevails. By focusing social benefits on groups that meet certain characteristics of poverty and/or vulnerability, modifying information is a strategy of both interveners and user families to facilitate access to the benefits offered by the state (Contreras and Figueroa, 2018). In other words, family supporters do not limit themselves to applying intervention instruments, but also modify the courses of intervention based on moral precepts, such as the mandate of solidarity and support for user families.

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Money as a moral category for the analysis of social interventions

In order to analyze the moral frictions that are activated in the act of transferring money to families living in poverty, we resorted to certain premises proposed by the economic sociologist Viviana Zelizer, who in her book "The Social Meanings of Money" proposes a new way of conceiving money and particularly of referring to its link with social relations. For her, and unlike Marx, Weber and Simmel, money is not a means of rationalizing social relations, but an instrument that creates social relations. In this sense, Zelizer (2008; 2011) rejects the idea that money is a unique and homogeneous instrument for mercantile exchange, and proposes a conception of money as a multiple, versatile instrument, full of social content. To support this premise, the author suggests that in social relations money is subjected to a process of marking. That is to say, the

actors "mark" money according to the social relations in which they are inserted. In this way, money becomes qualitatively differentiated, attaining different meanings and uses, which do not necessarily have to be of a mercantile nature, but whose meanings will depend on the logics and frames of reference present in social ties.

This reading transformed the ways in which the study of money was approached from the Social Sciences, assigning greater relevance to the economic actors. In this sense, there is no discussion about what the economic is in terms of something given, but rather it is proposed that the economic is something produced and signified by the actors (Ossandon, 2019). From this approach, the economy is no longer understood as a sphere self-regulated by its own laws, but rather seeks to account for how the different social actors produce, calculate and represent economic practices (Dufy and Weber, 2009).

Now, the study of the relationship between money and economic morality is not new, and in past decades economic sociology has shown that both money and other market instruments are closely linked to human values, particularly when it comes to establishing monetary equivalents to the morally sacred (Zelizer, 2011). In this sense, morality exists in the actions, experiences and representations that people attribute to it. Thus, morality will be understood as a system of transfers, exchanges, valuations and calculations governed by notions of right, wrong, good and bad (Minn, 2016).

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From this reading, the idea of moral friction seeks to account for the tensions that result from conjugating the different logics that shape economic activity. When making economic decisions, actors are faced with a series of tensions that arise from multiple symbolic frameworks (Ossandón, 2012). In agreement with Alexander et al. (2018) we consider that there is no univocal morality, but that actors operate in multiple and mutable moral frameworks, which are not necessarily unitary or static. In this sense, we seek to explore how the actors, in this case, the implementers, assign social and moral meanings to money, which have direct consequences in the space of the intervention, with the user families being the main ones affected.

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Observing the frictions in the intervention space requires the assumption that various moral repertoires are conjugated in this space, which are not necessarily visible to the economic actors, nor are they consistent with each other. These repertoires respond, on the one hand, to the intervention models of social programs, but also to the socioeconomic contexts in which they are inserted. In a context of financialization of social life and the use of economic tools as a mode of government, intervention processes tend to develop in a contradictory and paradoxical manner (Pérez-Roa, 2022). The beneficiaries of the programs are forced to occupy a position in the social space, constructing themselves as guarantor subjects of their actions, assuming the costs and risks of a flexible and financialized economy. These readings have direct effects on the intervention processes that are carried out as they convey a perception that "certain" economic behaviors performed by "certain" groups should be the focus of the transformation to be carried out.
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n this sense, the space of social intervention is understood as a privileged place to observe moral frictions. Carolina Rojas (2019), in her ethnographic work, describes everyday scenes in which social workers seek to guide families towards a "good use" of their economic resources: eating "properly", "investing" in a business and in children's education, are expenses considered as "acceptable", as opposed to expenses meant as superfluous, such as cell phones and clothing. This narrative was observed in a recent research on the place of women in financial education strategies in Chile (Pérez-Roa et al., 2021) where the interveners emphasized the importance of women users learning to "reduce expenses", control their consumption impulses and develop saving behaviors. For the interveners, in these small changes in economic behavior, lay the possibility

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of improving the economic well-being of the clients. Despite the fact that most of the users of these programs were heads of household and their average income did not exceed the extreme poverty threshold, the interveners insisted on the importance of controlling spending as a method of overcoming poverty. In this sense, the authors show how moral judgments predominate even over the observation of the structuring factors of the household. In the words of Montgomerie and Tepe-Belfrage (2016), the presence of these judgments speaks of the interveners as moral agents, who think of poverty in terms of a moral condition, which can even be overcome by incorporating new personal dispositions in the economic sphere.

Methodology

The ideas presented in this article respond to a re-reading of the research results presented in the thesis "Family, money, and social programs: Exploring the social meanings of money transferred to families living in poverty" (Allendes, 2021) carried out under the auspices of the Socioeconomic Relations and Social Struggles Nucleus of the Department of Social Work and the Family Sphere of the Millennium Nucleus Center Authority and Asymmetries of Power. From this work, the main social meanings that the implementers of the Family Program associated to the monetary transfers were identified and described, which were denominated as: Support Money, Female Money, Deserved Money and Family Money. Although these results constitute contributions to the discussion on the social significance of money in Chilean social policy, they did not allow us to account for the tensions between these frameworks, nor the prescriptive potential they had for interventionist action. For this reason, the authors decided to review the empirical material in order to account for the impact that moral frictions can have on professional practice.

At the sample level, 7 professionals were interviewed who at that time were working or had ever worked in the Families Program as Family Supporters, who, in the framework of this article, are called "implementers". In order to reach them, a non-probabilistic or "snowball" sampling was used (Martinéz and Salgado, 2012). The sample is characterized by its diversity in terms of gender, professions and territoriality. It should be noted that the number of interviewees was subject to a saturation criterion (Morse, 1995). In other words, the search for possible participants was stopped when what was heard, discussed and reflected upon did not provide new information for the objectives of the study. In addition, actions were taken to ensure ethical participation in the

study, such as making the objectives of the study explicit in each of the interviews, and safeguarding the identities of the participants (names were changed for the purposes of this publication).

Table 2: Characterization of Family Supporters interviewed

Interviewees	Occupation	Gender	Years of program years of practice	Territory
Alejandro	Sociologist	Men	8 years	Estación Central
Andrés	Public Administrator	Men	6 years	Puente Alto
Claudio	Social Worker	Men	2 years	Lo Espejo
María	Social Worker	Women	6 years	San Bernardo
Javiera	Social Worker	Women	5 years	San Bernardo
Pedro	Sociologist	Men	7 years	San Bernardo
Valentina	Public Administrator	Women	1 year	Colina

Source: own elaboration

The information production techniques used correspond to semi-structured interviews (Diaz-Bravo et al., 2013). In addition, in order to achieve a better understanding of the information produced, a documentary analysis of the program was developed, in order to provide context and perspective to the individuals' accounts (Valles, 1999; Atkinsin and Coffey, 2004). Among the texts consulted were official documents of the Families Program, laws and reports from international institutions on the development of CCTs in Chile. Both the information produced through interviews and the documents consulted were analyzed using the thematic content analysis technique. This is an analysis method that aims to identify and classify the elements that constitute themes within the data (Guest et al., 2011). Following the line proposed by this method, an analysis strategy was developed that consisted of three moments: 1) the information collected was subjected to a "floating reading"; 2) the information was analyzed on the basis of in vivo coding (Corbin, 2010); and 3) the in vivo codes were regrouped into thematic families, according to their similarities and differences (Ryan and Bernard, 2003).

Moral Frictions in the cash transfer processes of the Families Program

-Do families have the right to public money: between the right to assistance, and individual responsibility.

In consideration of the precariousness experienced by user families, the Program's normative line states that the purpose of the monetary bonds is to assist them against uncertainty and alleviate their problems in the economic sphere. However, it is emphasized that this economic support is of a transitory nature, since the objective of the Program is that families take responsibility and are able to articulate strategies that allow them to solve their economic precariousness situation by themselves. In this way, supposedly, they would generate tools that in the long term would allow them to overcome poverty. In consideration of this, the Family Supporters place a predominant value on individual responsibility, using it as a criterion to facilitate access to transfers accessory to the Program, such as the Support for your Work Plan voucher. However, the moral repertoire associated with individual responsibility is confronted with the values of assistance, which are also present in the interviewees' accounts.

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Many of the beneficiary families have only income from informal activities, a situation that leads them to face a series of economic problems. During the home visits, Javiera (AF, San Bernardo) observed that the families obtain money from their work in free fairs and the provision of services: "they took money from the fairs, from informal jobs, they were 'coleros', or many heads of families who provided some services to other neighbors, cleaning.... Some of them are trying to become SMEs" (references to the interview). For the auditor, this type of income has led the families to become involved in a subsistence economy: "living in a subsistence economy, on a day-to-day basis... there is no projection of monthly expenses, but rather on a day-to-day basis. On a day-to-day basis, with what they earn () they buy daily items, food. For her part, Valentina (AF, Colina) mentions that there are cases where this informal money has difficulties even to ensure subsistence economy; "with so little money it is difficult, it was difficult, we manage to eat just enough". In other words, the money obtained from informal activities prevents families from projecting themselves economically over time, as well as making it difficult to finance basic food needs.

In view of this situation, the Family Supporters state that the vouchers must be a guarantee to ensure subsistence and solve emerging problems. María (AF, San Bernardo) points

However, the Family Supporters explain in their reports that the economic assistance provided by the vouchers is of a transitory nature, since it is expected that the families will be able to take charge of solving their economic problems on their own. This is supported by the fact that the only voucher that is guaranteed for the entire intervention process is the Bono Protección, which also decreases in amount as the intervention progresses over a period of two years. In this regard, Valentina (AF, Colina) explains that "it is 17,000 pesos at the beginning, which is debited from the beneficiary's Rut account, an amount which then decreases a little". María (AF, San Bernardo) is aware of this situation and of the moral mandate of responsibility, and in her contacts with the families she reminds them that "they do not have to depend only on the voucher to live". For his part, Andrés (AF, Puente Alto) says he believes in the idea that "families are the subject of change", since they are the ones in charge of developing actions that will allow them to overcome their economic difficulties. This has led him to believe that the success of the program does not lie in the transfer of economic resources, but in the personal willingness of the families to face their situation; "all the inputs, all the tools, all the transfers, but if the families do not want to do it, and do not commit themselves, we are not going to achieve it". For the interveners, the voucher would be a temporary help that the program is responsible for providing to the families, but it does not guarantee that the beneficiary families will overcome their economic problems. What is supposed to allow them to achieve greater wellbeing is personal commitment and an economic development of individual and independent responsibility.

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The relevance that the Family Supporters give to this value of "individual responsibility" is considerable, since it even constitutes a criterion for determining access to accessory transfers to the program, as in the case of the "Support for your Work Plan" voucher. Pedro (AF, San Bernardo) mentions that in order to select the beneficiaries of this money, "they look for a profile that is more motivated, that shows greater responsibility, or that you know that he/she is going to attend the training, that he/she is going to ask you questions and respond to the process until the end". In this line of argument, Claudio (AF, Lo Espejo) differentiates the benefits that are delivered based on personal merit and those that correspond to attendance:

> *Then the lazy could not participate in the program (Support to your Work Plan), because that is the first filter. The matrix of the program already removed those people, and would give the resources to those who make an effort, there are other policies for the lazy; the family subsidy, the municipal subsidy, the discount in the bills, the basket, there is the social assistance.*

The implementers test the supposed economic responsibility shown by the families, benefiting those who fit their moral prescriptions and excluding from the benefits those who distance themselves from them. That is to say, the moral judgment made on the degree of motivation and personal commitment allows the Family Supporters to determine which families have access to the transfers linked to merit (Apoyo tu Plan Laboral), and which will be limited to receiving the bonuses linked to assistance. In this sense, it is not responsible behavior that ensures access to the money corresponding to the Apoyo a tu Plan Laboral initiative, but rather the assessment that Family Supporters make of such behavior.

In summary, although there is a sense of social assistance associated with the vouchers, which is enhanced from the Program's normative line, this is confronted with the idea of individual responsibility present in the stories. The latter contrasts with the sense of economic support as a right to which all families participating in the program are entitled, and suggests that access to certain monetary transfers should be mediated by the evaluation of the level of individual responsibility of the families. In this sense, access to social benefits (monetary as in this case) would not necessarily be guaranteed, but would be mediated by the evaluation made by the Family Supporters of the "virtues" of the families in terms of responsibility. This professional disposition is directly related to the programmatic lines of the PTMCs, which are related to the idea that subjects have to assume responsibility for socially produced problems (Ortiz, 2014; Boga, 2018), understanding poverty as a matter to be processed and dealt with individually (Ortiz, 2014). For this reason, the prevailing vision in the accounts of the participants states that, in a context marked by economic difficulty, users have to take advantage of the opportunities offered by the program, understanding that they are momentary, and that the gravitating factor is to learn to manage economic resources on their own (Hopp and Lijterman, 2018). Those families that are evaluated positively in these terms gain access to greater monetary transfers for the duration of the intervention.

-Who owns the public money: between individual and family ownership of the money received?

The wait for the arrival of the bonuses is not only accompanied by high expectations in the households, but also by a series of family conflicts regarding the distribution of this money among the members of the household. According to the families, they usually call on Family Support to help resolve this tension. To this end, the professionals try to persuade the families based on two arguments that seek to combine the objectives of the program with the moral precepts of what a family "should be": the first one states that

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the bonus money should be administered by the person who is in charge of managing the household economy. The second one states that it does not matter to whom the voucher belongs, or the amount that supposedly should correspond to each member, because the program understands that this is a family money, therefore, it should be oriented to solve the economic problems of the family, covering the economic costs of domestic life, and not to benefit a particular individual. In this sense, the resolution of the dilemma involves identifying the legitimate owners of the program's cash transfers, for which the Family Supports friction the value of individual property present in certain households, with the values of family solidarity that the program supposedly promotes.

However, intervening with the family does not necessarily mean working with a family. Within households there are extended family groups, each of which has different budgets and is burdened with its own conflicts. For Javiera (AF, San Bernardo), families live under the premise of "living together, but not so together", which implies concerns about the ownership of the bonds: "how do they distribute the bond, if they have to share it or not". On the other hand, Pedro (AF, San Bernardo) reports that to a large extent family tensions are marked by the demand for money made by young women to their mothers: "they say (to their mothers) I get a bonus for healthy control, he is my son, so I get the bonus". According to Pedro, these young mothers justify their demands by the fact that they are the mothers of children living at home, and that they are recipients of some of the vouchers transferred by the Program, particularly the Healthy Child Control voucher and the School Attendance Voucher. On the other hand, María (AF San Bernardo) comments that a significant number of the grandmothers who are heads of household do not comply with this imposition, since they say that "they live here, and I feed them, so I should have this money, finally I buy the children's snacks, I buy the milk for them". In other words, for the grandmothers, this type of voucher is money that comes to compensate economically the person who has been in charge of the children's expenses, whether or not the mother is the child's mother.

The interveners mediate these situations by arguing that it is "fair" that the bonus is received and administered by the person who is in charge of the administration of the household economy, since it is generally the person who "pays for the electricity, water and food", which is why the person who administers the budget and keeps the expenses should also administer the bonus. They support this conviction on the basis of two arguments: first, they recognize that the role of managing the household economy generally falls on the head of household, who in this role "watches over the welfare of all". In other words, for the Family Supporters, the money transferred by the program

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goes directly to the benefit of the families, and not to the members in their particularity, which is why, regardless of whether it is the grandmother or the mother of the children, the money should be transferred to those who have the role of managing the budget and keeping the expenses. Secondly, they consider the individual use of the money given to them to be illegitimate. In this sense, Pedro (AF, San Bernardo) points out:

> *These conflicts speak of the somewhat bad dynamics of the families, harmful, because the functioning of the monetary transfers is not oriented towards distribution, but rather the causes are to increase the income of the family group. So it is not that the control of the healthy child touches the child, but it is supposed to improve the situation of the families, but many members do not understand it that way, and prefer to share everything.*

According to what has been said, it is possible to observe that families are negatively evaluated, in moral terms, within which there is a dispute as to which individual becomes the owner of the bonus. According to Pedro, for those who intervene, the bonus is not oriented to be distributed, but to improve the economic life of the family as a whole. Javiera (AF, San Bernardo) mentions that in her work as a support worker she constantly invites families not to get involved in a dispute over the distribution of the bonus money, making it clear that, despite the practicality of the strategy of dividing the money according to the number of members, this is a practice that is not in line with the objectives of the program: "if you want to divide the money it is up to you, but it is not the meaning of the bonus, it is not that you get this, and you get that". "I find it 'pulled by the fuses'.

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In summary, for Family Supporters, the delivery of cash transfers to households has to reinforce the demands of family life that the Program advocates, such as maintaining a joint budget, and managing money according to the demands of the household, and not of individuals. By stating that the vouchers are public money aimed at families living in poverty, it is understood that those who should use them are those members who are concerned about the welfare of the family group. Furthermore, it is emphasized that this programmatic provision should not bother anyone, because the money is intended to be a contribution to the reproduction of domestic life, and not to benefit a particular individual. In this way, a moral standard linked to family solidarity is defended, where those who can access and manage the program's monetary benefits are those who act in favor of the economic reproduction of the household. Thus, for the Family Supporters,

those who do not make the family a priority in their economic decisions would be excluded from the administration of the vouchers. This is how the moral principles linked to family life are superimposed on the defense of individuality that is raised by some members of the user families.

-What should public money be used for? Between investment and fruitless spending.

The way in which families use the money transferred by the Program is an evident moral friction ground for Family Supporters. The fact that certain expenditures are made at the expense of others is considered by professionals as a bad practice of those who participate as users/public of the intervention. What is expected is that families use the money transferred by the program to finance specific actions, such as, for example, investment in enterprises, financing of work tools, house payments, among others. These judgments are based on the exaltation of the value of the money as an investment by the Family Supporters. All uses of money that are not oriented to the generation of future resources, which allow families to subsist and provide an answer to their economic problems, are considered by the implementers as a mere expense that does not bring major benefits.

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For the implementers, the economic precariousness experienced by the families participating in the program demands that the money transferred to them by the Program be used in a concrete way. That is, to invest in activities and goods that bring economic benefits that will allow them, in the future, to increase their welfare:

> *With the arrival of the bonds the idea is that you enhance your welfare, and we manage to leave concrete actions. Concretely, with the bonds we can build things that maybe today you have pending, maybe you want to pay for a course, maybe you want to pay the driver's license, you can save the bonds and pay the license. Save for your home, help your daughter invest. We have families in which their daughter or son has a business venture (Andrés, AF, Puente Alto).*

These "concrete" uses can be varied, including savings for housing, payment of pending expenses or investment in undertakings. The assumption is that these bonds will constitute an economic support to the extent that they are used in productive actions. In this sense, according to those who intervene, it is argued that the base bond

cannot have an unfruitful utility. In this regard, Pedro (PA, San Bernardo) mentions that, if the program is responsible for providing the money and inputs, it is the responsibility of the families to turn these resources into an opportunity to overcome their economic situation: "if FOSIS (Solidarity and Social Investment Fund) finances the machine, the material, and you save that money. It gives you that plus, you can invest in fabric, and the investment does not come from you, so you have to dedicate yourself only to producing". From this logic, it turns out that the success of the intervention will depend on the productive use that the families make of the transfers.

On the contrary, the use of the money for fruitless expenses, which do not bring benefits in the future, is questioned. María (AF, San Bernardo) refers to those expenses that are used "to buy the children a cell phone, a television, or to buy them clothes, sneakers, it happens, I have visualized it, and it should not be done". For his part, Claudio (AF, Peñalolén) says that it is common to hear how his colleagues judge the use that families are making of the vouchers: "oh, but you didn't see the TV that was bought, and he didn't fix the roof". In other words, it is negatively evaluated that families use the monetary benefits of the program to buy consumer goods that do not allow them to increase their income in the future and use them to satisfy needs related to relaxation and enjoyment.

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In this sense, judgments about investment and fruitless spending, install within the accounts of Family Supporters a conception about the good and bad use of monetary transfers, which hinders the intervention processes. Both the instruments and the programmatic guidelines of the policies have an implicit focus, which is the intervention in the family economy. In relation to this, it is observed, as already demonstrated (Peréz Roa and Troncoso, 2019), a tendency to moralize the economic behavior of households, evaluating and judging practices based on a normative axis prior to the intervention itself. The fact that these judgments are present in professional actions not only devalues the knowledge and actions of the subjects, but also hinders the effectiveness of the programs themselves in overcoming poverty problems (Villareal, 2007). The predominance of certain moral judgments translates into a narrow conception of the context of precariousness and the economic behaviors associated with them.

In summary, in the account of the Family Supporters it is possible to observe a tendency to promote the investment of the Program's cash transfers. This means that households should use this money to invest in activities and goods that allow them to generate future income, thus ensuring the increase of their economic welfare. Therefore, in their accounts, the ideas of investment are confronted with the unfruitful use of the money, morally

evaluating in negative terms those households that use the program's money for the purchase of consumer goods that satisfy leisure needs. This friction is striking, considering the low monetary value of the vouchers transferred by the program, which could hardly generate substantial changes in the productivity line, as stated by the implementers.

Conclusions

The article analyzed three moral frictions present in the practices of the Familias Program implementers: 1) Friction in the access to the transfers, where the values of the right to assistance and individual responsibility are disputed; 2) Friction in the owner subject of the program bonds, the tension between the figure of the individual and the family; and 3) Friction in the expected use of the bonds, the moral dispute between the values of investment and their unfruitful use. In each of these moral frictions, the Apoyos Familiares made the moral repertoires linked to individual responsibility, family solidarity and investment prevail, which had direct effects on the allocation of monetary resources in the households that participated in the social intervention. This is observed in that the beneficiaries of the monetary resources end up being those families and individuals whose behaviors adjust to the values that the Family Supporters define as legitimate and pertinent. In this sense, it is confirmed that the money that the Chilean State transfers to families living in poverty is not neutral, but is marked by a series of moral prescriptions, from which the interveners preform the intervening action.

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The values on the basis of which the Family Supporters resolve the frictions are related to a moral order typical of societies that have experienced a neoliberal turn in social policy, as is the case of Chile. The first friction manages to evidence an individualizing vision of poverty, which postulates that in order to achieve better levels of well-being individuals have to demonstrate greater responsibility regarding their economic performance (Viana & Silva, 2018). On the other hand, the friction over who is the subject owner of the vouchers, accounts for the relevance assumed by the value of family reciprocity in social intervention. Seeing the family as the main breadwinner of society, the State has reduced its support to a series of aids that allow families to assume their "responsibilities" in terms of social reproduction (Marre and Román, 2016). In this sense, the Program's monetary transfers are thought of as money oriented to the reproduction of the family group, which requires families to act as a kind of "small welfare state" (Cooper, 2017). In other words, Family Supporters direct their intervening action according to moral values present in the repertoire of the neoliberal discourse of politics, which speaks about how the moral frictions of money are situated in a given social political order.

Finally, the results presented in this article are relevant in a national context where the excesses of the prevailing socioeconomic model have become evident. The predominance of values such as "individual responsibility" and "investment" in the moral frictions of intervention, requires families to increase their personal performance in order to access social benefits. This is worrisome not only because it limits access, but also because the success of social policy is subject to the individual performance of families. In this sense, observing the frictions between the moral repertoires used by the implementers allows us to question the scope of the intervening action in the reproduction of normative frameworks characteristic of the neoliberal turn of social policy, providing greater tools to (re)think the values that are at the basis of social programs that seek to address the problems associated with poverty in Chile.

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Care centers for victims of sexual crimes in Chile: Tensions and challenges in an interprofessional intervention

Centros de atención a víctimas de delitos sexuales en Chile: Tensiones y desafíos en una intervención interprofesional

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How to cite

Abstract

The treatment, handling and intervention of sexual violence against women in Chile shows that there is still a long way to go in terms of the recognition of this issue by the State. In this context, this article seeks to analyse how an expertise is configured within this field of interprofessional intervention offered by the National Service for Women and Gender Equity (SERNAMEG). To this end, the practices and discourses of the professionals who work in or have worked within this space have been studied. In particular, the experience of the professional

teams of the Centres for the Attention and Reparation of Victims/Survivors of Sexual Violence (CVS) of the Metropolitan and Valparaíso Regions is presented. The results reveal that one of the main mechanisms of state intervention in this area is sustained thanks to the individual and collective commitment of its professionals, with self-management being a significant element in the technical specialisation of its professionals, and on the other hand, it is this self-management which has been constituted as a resource that has allowed this intervention programme to be maintained almost ten years after its creation.

Resumen

La gestión, tratamiento e intervención de las violencias sexuales para mujeres en Chile da cuenta de un camino aún por recorrer en materia de reconocimiento de esta problemática por parte del Estado. En este contexto, este artículo busca analizar cómo se configura una expertise dentro de este campo de intervención interprofesional ofrecido por el Servicio Nacional de la Mujer y la Equidad de género (SERNAMEG). Para ello, se han relevado las prácticas y discursos de los/as profesionales que trabajan o han trabajado al interior de este espacio. Particularmente, se presenta la experiencia de los equipos profesionales de los Centros de Atención y Reparación de Víctimas/Sobrevivientes de Violencia Sexual (CVS) de la Región Metropolitana y de Valparaíso. Se devela desde los resultados que uno de los principales dispositivos de intervención estatal en la materia se sostiene gracias al compromiso individual y colectivo de sus profesionales, siendo la autogestión un elemento de importancia en la especialización técnica de sus profesionales, y, por otra parte, que es dicha autogestión la que se ha constituido como un recurso que ha permitido que este programa de intervención se mantenga, a casi diez años de su creación.

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Introduction

Violence against women is the subject of legal and political regulation in various national and international contexts. It has also become a subject of debate and controversy, and surveys and/or polls by public authorities, prevention campaigns and the creation of support mechanisms have become increasingly recurrent, which have gradually brought together a series of institutional and non-institutional actors. Also, legislation has been created in different contexts, however, we still know little about the extent of the phenomenon with regard to a specific type of violence against women in Chile, such as sexual violence.

According to data from the Chilean Prosecutor's Office (2021), complaints for sexual crimes in the last five years have tended to an increase of approximately 5,000 complaints per year, which has been particularly exposed in the pandemic context by COVID-19 (Calazans et al., 2021), a situation that hindered access to institutional spaces for complaints due to mandatory confinement, lack of resources, among other factors (Organization of American States, OAS, 2020). However, it should be remembered that these data are the clearest expression of violence against women, since within those, sexual violence is scarcely reported, constituting a so-called "black figure", which according to the Ministry of Health, MINSAL (2016) could amount to approximately 75% of the aggressions.

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In this sense, this article seeks to contribute to the production of knowledge in relation to the approach to sexual violence based on the role played by the actors implementing public policy. In this case, we understand the intervening professionals as units and subsets that participate in the delivery of care to women who have experienced situations of sexual violence through the Centers for Attention and Reparation to Victims/Survivors of Sexual Violence, also called Sexual Violence Centers (CVS), of the National Service for Women and Gender Equity (SERNAMEG). We are interested in the work space of the professionals, since the usual practices give rise to a series of dynamics (Geertz, 1989) that shape the institutions, the practices of the intervening professional teams generate a know-how and also articulate repertoires of action, constituting a field (Bourdieu, 1987). Making their practices and discourses visible leads us to know, on the one hand, this work of proximity with the subjects, but also how a professional expertise is built by the creation of an interdisciplinary knowledge from their daily actions (Dubois, 2020).

Sexual violence: A road still to travel

Sexual violence is a social fact that has been problematized by different social actors, particularly feminist movements, who have promoted its discussion in national and international forums (Calazans et al., 2021). Groups that, through different forms of mobilization, have brought to the political arena the need for intervention by the State. This type of violence has been recognized by transnational agendas as a serious violation of human rights (United Nations Development Fund for Women, UNIFEM, 2003; World Health Organization, WHO, 2013). For its part, feminist academia has recognized that both sexual crimes and extreme forms of violence, such as femicide/feminicide, are some of the most serious forms of appropriation of feminized bodies in our continent, especially in countries that experienced processes of establishment of a "fierce globalized neoliberalism" (Segato, 2013, p.14) in recent decades. However, despite being faced with a form of violence that is socially and legally punished, there is a semantic condensation that has led to invisibilize the structural discussion around gender violence (Cáceres, 2016), mainly due to the public treatment given to the issue, approaching it from a sensationalist approach and reduced to the private space.

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Together with this, such invisibilization - read in terms of recognition, insofar as undermining or denying it by the State towards the victims - implies a certain "epistemic blindness", insofar as the mere seeing or looking does not imply a full knowledge, let alone a recognition of the other or of a studied reality (Morales, 2017). From this perspective, the invisibility of certain subjects or certain realities "cannot designate here some cognitive facts, but has to mean rather a social state of affairs" (Honneth, 2011, p.167).

However, despite being a problem recognized by different power actors, there is little discussion about what it means to intervene in the area of sexual violence, and what are the challenges for people who interact daily with users affected by this type of crime. Studies have pointed out that this issue has been pigeonholed at the level of public safety and planning through the action of the Public Ministry (Galaz, 2020), obviating fundamental aspects such as inter-institutional and interdisciplinary coordination in interventions (Garcés, 2019), among others, even though sexual violence is a multifactorial, complex phenomenon, which presents diverse expressions and that for its effective understanding and approach must integrate views that allow mobilizing tools for the protection of violations

However, considering some of the nuances mobilized by this social problem, it is necessary to look at different aspects that account for the way in which spaces for intervention in sexual violence have been configured, and how they have become relevant actors in terms of vulnerability and victim management (Miranda-Pérez et al., 2022).

Intervention in sexual violence: Between institutional changes and the contribution of (inter)professional teams.

Since the 1970s, feminist movements began the debate on the notion of violence and participated in defining violence exercised by men against women as a particular form of inequality. Researchers from these movements insisted on the need to speak from the point of view of women and to account for their views and perspectives on violence (Radford & Russell, 1992; Corrin, 1997). Using the slogan that the private is political and taking an interest in women's daily lives, they contributed to denounce different types of violence (Hall, 2015), emphasizing those relegated to the private space, such as sexual and marital violence (Romito, 1997; Smyth, 2002), highlighting them as one of the fundamental mechanisms of social control exercised against them.

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Thus, being interested in sexual violence in Chile implies a multilevel work, being relevant to look at the processes of professionalization of intervention in sexual violence, occurring at the structural level, but also in the daily dynamics within organizations, which leads to the construction of a professional identity by the teams (Abbott, 1991; Scott, 2008; Greenwood et al., 2002). In turn, the organizational culture of institutions dedicated to sexual violence intervention has shed light on how the State is discursively constructed (Abrams et al., 2015) in relation to the approach to sexual violence, which have been influenced by changes in advertising, social and technological changes and regulatory frameworks (Zucker, 1987), generating the entry of new actors or their internal mobility (Greenwood et al., 2002).

Interventions in sexual violence, like other areas of intervention with victims, are increasingly characterized by the confluence of different professions that address the idea of a common problem (Muñoz-Arce, 2014). The possibility of collaborative work to carry out interventions is possible due to the combination of various elements, with the institutional mandate, organizational characteristics and personal characteristics of those who intervene gaining special relevance (Andrade,

2021). Thus, disciplinary divisions have gradually been reconfigured according to the treatment of the problem subject to intervention, including technical elements more anchored in the practical tasks that are developed with respect to the area or need that arises in the field (Couturier, 2002).

Consequently, this area of intervention has required the interweaving of different ways of reacting and different knowledge that have made it possible to respond to a complex problem such as sexual violence. Interprofessional approaches have made it possible to observe and treat this problem from a systemic complexity, for which, through different tools, the victims have been made visible. Accordingly, it has also been understood that the social problem is not only manageable from a punitive approach where the success of justice is achieved only through the conviction of the aggressor, but also by integrating how to guide and accompany the victims, where the relational axis between the interveners and the subjects implies the construction of an expert rapport (Couturier, 2002). From there, the confluence of interdisciplinary knowledge helps interventions to be more effective in terms of results, but implies a necessary over-investment, which is based on the construction of rigorous methodologies that not only require a common sense, but also a scientific basis. Thus, these spaces of interdisciplinary professional intervention propose to consider the complexity, often neglected, of the phenomena with which we work (Couturier & Dumas-Laverdière, 2008); and it is in this sense that the meeting of different disciplines allows to move from macro views (the general treatment of violence), to a particular object (such as sexual violence).

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The Centers for Sexual Violence (CVS)

The Care and Reparation Centers for Women Victims/Survivors of Sexual Violence, also called Sexual Violence Centers (CVS), were created in 2013 and are part of the "Reparation in Sexual Violence" component of the programmatic offer of the National Service for Women and Gender Equity. In the national territory there are three CVS with regional scope located in the commune of Santiago (Metropolitan Region), Valparaíso (Valparaíso Region) and Concepción (Bío-Bío Region). These three centers were created under a "pilot" scheme; however, to date, the offer has not been expanded nationwide.

According to SERNAMEG (2019), the objective of the CVSs is to provide care to women victims/survivors of sexual violence, whether perpetrated by strangers or acquaintances. To this end, it is proposed to provide reparative psychotherapeutic care in sexual violence to women over 18 years of age and to provide guidance, counseling and

legal representation to women victims/survivors who require it. It is also proposed to activate and articulate primary and intersectoral networks to contribute to the restitution of the rights of women victims/survivors of sexual violence served by the program, and to promote articulation between strategic sectors to improve the response to care, protection, reparation and punishment of sexual violence against women in the territory covered by the program.

This mechanism is implemented through private, non-profit foundations, which are responsible for the technical, administrative and budgetary (administration of financial resources) for the implementation and execution of the mechanism, and are the counterpart of the Regional and National Directorate of SERNAMEG. The executing agency (Foundations) has the function of advising and technically accompanying the device, maintaining the proper functioning of the infrastructure and security conditions of the place where the device is developed, and managing the teams that are part of the CVS, carrying out all the processes and stages of people management. It is possible to affirm, then, that the work of the National Service for Women and Gender Equity in sexual violence is delegated to a private institution to take charge of a problem for which the former has a legal mandate, whose role is that of piloting or central administration through the delivery of technical guidance and the transfer of financial resources.

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Three main types of accompaniment are provided by a "dupla" composed of a social worker and a psychologist; or a "triad" composed of a social worker, psychologist and lawyer, in the event that the woman survivor of violence decides to prosecute the case. This intervention takes place only if the victim/survivor of violence voluntarily agrees to receive care and meets a series of requirements, such as lack of problematic drug use, lack of symptoms associated with a serious mental health disorder, among others (SERNAMEG, 2019).

Methodology

This research, of qualitative type, aims to account for how spaces of interventive knowledge are built around the treatment of sexual violence. To do so, it adopts a phenomenological approach (Fuster, 2019) that intends to know the experiences of sexual violence interveners, through their own stories and histories, in order to understand the dynamics of the context.

We seek to answer the following general questions: What elements are present in the construction of an interdisciplinary knowledge that seeks to provide intervention responses to women who come to the Centers for Attention and Reparation to Victims/Survivors of

Sexual Violence of SERNAMEG? and What are the attitudes and daily arrangements that allow the professional teams that attend to victims of sexual crimes in this device to intervene?

It is assumed that disciplinary divisions are not so significant in the practical composition of the intervention. The professional teams jointly build a know-how where the confluence of disciplines is necessary for the accompaniment of the victims. However, the daily arrangements that give way to a specialized intervention in this area is highly conditioned by institutional factors, such as low budgets and lack of infrastructure, which conflicts with the needs of the intervention teams, but causes more adverse effects on the users of the centers (CVS).

To address the study of this problem, the research adopts a hermeneutic methodological solution, in that it seeks to analyze the commitment of the actors involved in the main state response to sexual violence, specifically, the professional teams of the Sexual Violence Centers, based on their context in political, social and geographic terms regarding their interactions and interpretations of the phenomenon (Cárcamo, 2005).

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In terms of methodological design, individual in-depth and semi-structured interviews were carried out with the objective of accessing the interpretations, experiences and meanings of the actors involved with the problem in question (Ruíz, 1996). In order to know the ways in which professionals interact with the system, we inquired about the motivations and visions of the problem, the characteristics of their work and team dynamics, as well as inter-institutional relationships. Due to the nature of the in-depth interviews conducted, the topics mentioned were flexible in relation to the themes that emerged from the conversation, taking into account the different senses and meanings of our participants in a comprehensive manner, in order to interpret the ways in which they classify and experience the world (Taylor & Bogdan, 1987).

These interviews were conducted during the year 2021 (September - December), through virtual connection means due to the context of COVID-19. A large part of our sample accepted to conduct remote interviews, either because an important part of their work was re-configured to the telework modality and/or because it was a safer device to avoid contagion. This implied having to make the fieldwork more flexible to the needs of our informants (Miranda-Pérez et al., 2022), allowing contact through information technologies, with the interviews being conducted from the zoom platform.

In relation to the sample of this research, access to certain people who are key to enter the field of study is intended and other participants are contacted through the technique known as "snowball" (Corral, 2015). Due to the characteristics of the field, it was essential to have key informants who could give us access to the participants, who were sometimes reluctant to participate due to high workloads, so this type of sampling allowed us to have a better rapport with the employees. For the selection of the sample, three selection criteria were considered (Glasser & Strauss, 1967): profession, territory and work institution; thus constituting a sample of 4 social workers, 4 lawyers, 2 psychologists and 1 psychiatrist, who were working or had worked in the Sexual Violence Centers of the Metropolitan Region and the Valparaíso Region. It is worth mentioning that 91% of the sample was composed of people who identified themselves as women, which was not intentional, but reflects the composition of the sexual violence intervention mechanisms.

All interviews were conducted after the acceptance of informed consent by the participants, in which the purposes of the research and the protection of their identity were made explicit. It is worth mentioning that talking about the daily work of the professional teams in highly complex issues, such as sexual violence, may imply an approach to the emotions, impressions and sensations of the informants, which requires an ethical reflection on the care of the researchers and the participants (Henríquez et al., 2021).

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In terms of information review, a thematic analysis (Mieles et al., 2012) was conducted due to our interest in investigating the experience of the professional teams on the recognition of gender-based violence. This type of analysis allows us to gather what has been said and the way in which the life, professional and militant trajectories that cross that understanding of the phenomenon are intertwined (Riessman, 2008). Based on this, the information was regrouped according to categories that allowed us to describe and organize the information gathered in the interviews and constitute the findings. The first is associated with the way in which the social environment and subjectivities allow the construction and problematization of the phenomenon of violence for professionals. Secondly, we analyze those aspects that mobilize the interveners to face the problem and how they commit themselves to it. Finally, we inquire about the conditions and characteristics of their work.

1.- Acting in the face of naturalization: tensions of recognition

Violence against women is the result of a patriarchal historical device and, therefore, the approach from public policies cannot be carried out from an individual and independent approach, but must aim to address the link between historical production conditions and intersubjective relations (Arensburg & Lewin, 2014).

Following Honneth (2009), it is possible to affirm that sexual violence is constituted as a form of non-recognition that impacts on the intersubjective conformation of women, since it has consequences on the dimensions of self-confidence, self-respect and self-esteem, since the institutions that are linked to this form of violation are multiple, among them, the family, the State and society.

When analyzing these premises in the Program of Attention and Reparation to Victims/Survivors of Sexual Violence, we see that the weak recognition of rights, at different scales, impacts the way in which interventions are designed and structured in various dimensions. On the other hand, this institutional lack of recognition shapes the repertoires of action of the actors who participate in the interventions, influencing their motivations, decisions and actions. Professionals are aware of the difficulty of intervening in this area and problematize the naturalization of the historical oppression of feminized bodies:

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> *Historically women have been in this plane of subordination with respect to everything in general, and I think that one of the most powerful expressions, so to speak, not in a positive key, but negative, is violence on women's bodies.... and well, some feminists speak of the body as territory and it is precisely the place of tension and conflict, where hegemonic discourses are somehow constructed, where the private is permanently discussed as a place of the public, where certain hierarchies are also constructed and I believe that in this sense sexual violence is one of the most explicit, naturalized expressions. (Interview with Social Worker A, Sexual Violence Center, 2021)*

In the words of Segato (2013), this naturalization of violence becomes a "smokescreen", a "smokescreen" that makes it difficult to see the structural problem that underlies them, reproducing androcentric patterns, prejudices and discriminations in discourse and action (Antony, 2021) Returning to what was stated by Cáceres (2016), the media

treatment has contributed to the invisibility of the core discussion on violence, since it generates a sensationalist semantic condensation that replicates historical roles of subordination, as stated in the preceding quote.

Following this line, the approach to violence constitutes a challenge for the cognitive validation of the problem in the social and political sphere, having effects on interventions. As Morales (2017) notes, alluding to "epistemic blindness", the fact that an issue is visible does not imply a performative transformation of reality. Thus, the recognition of the problem studied has been mediated by various factors that call into question the public commitment to transform the trajectories of women victims of violence. Despite these obstacles, the professional teams daily adapt their strategies individually and collectively, through constant and self-managed professional training, to achieve highly specialized and interdisciplinary knowledge. These strategies are motivated by the unrestricted commitment to the defense of human rights and the eradication of all forms of violence.

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2.- Gestating a militant expertise

Public interventions on sexual violence - particularly Sexual Violence Centers - are configured as instruments of redistribution and recognition of justice, not at the margin of ethical-political conflicts (Honneth, 2007) for the women who intervene, since the State is also a figure that reproduces patterns of oppression and violence, so the intervention goes beyond the limits of the traditional setting of individual attention, to move to the political decision by the workers to recover the autonomy of the victims/survivors:

> *(From the) Social Work we are an agency of control, in general, for these women... and I think, instead of doing this invisible exercise that is to contain, to resignify, what we should do is to appropriate the rage so to speak, or get angry together with the women for what has happened to them, and go out to the street to leave the anger. (Interview with Social Worker A, Sexual Violence Center, 2021).*

Following Abbot (1991), they build a "professional identity" marked by know-how and by actions of resistance to the traditional dynamics of bureaucracy and management (Dubois, 2020). Returning to Honneth (1997), we can affirm that this professional identity constructed by the intervention teams contributes to the process of recognition of women victims/survivors of sexual violence, insofar as the anger involved in intervening in violence and the desire to "get angry with women" becomes an action

of resistance (Honneth, 1997) and militant commitment. It is configured, then, a moral responsibility, where the experience of rights violation could be interpreted as something that also concerns the collective (Morales, 2017).

From this position, the sexual violence interveners organize their actions, building through daily practices an expertise with a high interdisciplinary component that is inescapably crossed by life experience, by what they call the "patriarchal wound" and by the learning that arises from the practice itself in contexts of explicit violence and transgressions to women's rights:

> *There are facts that intersect with the life of the professional, one of the motivations in all the professionals I have come across and who work in sexual violence or sexual health supporting women, is that we all have like a wound and we want to dedicate ourselves to this to heal that wound and to be able to help the rest to heal their wound (...) but that often intersects with the wound that one has, and sometimes that becomes a bit complex. (Interview with Lawyer B, Sexual Violence Center, 2021)*

However, this construction of identity reflects the absence of state capacities to respond to the magnitude of the problem of violence, i.e., faced with the limited and precarious actions of the State, it is the professional teams themselves who respond within their capacities. In this framework, the communication between disciplines - mainly Social Work, Psychology and Law - allows the construction of a specialized knowledge of interdisciplinary origin for the approach to sexual violence, knowledge that does not come from normative or formal indications, but is built in the heat of the practice itself.

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SWe maintain that a militant expertise is generated, since the people who intervene -mainly women-, manage to give a high level response to the people who access these centers; expertise based on a moral commitment that transcends what is formally established in their work commitments. Actions that are sustained in the collective work carried out in the interventions, beyond the individual discipline of each professional, in the confluence of these towards a "common problem" (Muñoz-Arce, 2014, p.20). This expertise of which we speak is not something planned by the professionals, but rather arises due to the lack of state resources in terms of addressing violence from the State:

> *They are not the conditions we should (have), our salary is also quite low for a specialized program, that is, professionals should earn much more, lawyers too, me too, and we earn money that does not fit the level of specialization that the program asks of you in terms of curriculum, and that is what all of us have in terms of the investment we have made in our career, with specific studies to provide support in this specialty. And this is not reflected in the salary either (Interview with Psychologist C, Sexual Violence Center, 2021).*

3.- Caring and management: Dynamics in tension

The relationships and interactions that occur within the Sexual Violence Centers (CVS) show a logic of transversal action with other devices that address issues of social vulnerability, in which these issues are associated to a question of "interpersonal help" (Rojas, 2019, p.49) rather than to a professional action. In the light of the above, the work that takes place in these centers, under the awareness of the social role they have, makes us verify from the approaches of Abbott (1991) and Scott (2008), that the identities that are generated within the CVS are related to the link they have as actors and subjects living within a patriarchal structure. This makes them configure themselves from a strong personal and collective commitment where their experience, as women who have also been subjected to oppression, resurfaces as a claim that is embodied in the actions that are deployed in their interventions. From there it is observed that their actions are not composed of a completely rational logic, but are situated in the paradox of a systematic and planned action, but at the same time close, with trust, affection and reciprocity. These components are finally delegated to the interveners:

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> *The Women's Centers and the CVSs, function strictly under the commitment of the people who work in these teams, because there is a commitment to the theme, to the eradication of violence against women, because they are super disciplined teams, they are super self-demanding teams, We coordinators are also self-demanding, because we are interested in the lives of women and dissidents, that they have a dignified accompaniment, but I feel that this is the most honest explanation because not for money, not for conditions either, we do much more than what is said, we do a very good quality job. (Interview with Psychologist C, Sexual Violence Center, 2021).*

It is from Hall's (2015) perspective that we have tried to capture a daily voice of women who act from a scarce recognition of their work. As they indicate, this is implemented with few resources, in conditions of exploitation and low valuation, given that it is inserted within the care economy in the framework of a neoliberal logic that limits, but demands. It is a role that is assumed, and is, in spite of itself, little recognized, since it is not considered as fundamental by the actors who derive the resources, but at the same time, expects results based on the moral commitment of the interveners in the face of acts of serious violation of rights. The logic of self-demand replicates how institutions perpetuate patterns of sexual division of labor, giving little value to care, assumed within the reproductive activities, where this device is inserted.

Conclusions

The eradication of violence against women is one of the main challenges in the search for a just and egalitarian society, since these practices imply a serious violation of human rights and an attack on human dignity. Among all forms of violence against women, sexual violence is one of the most explicit and has followed a long path for its visibility and treatment, not without debates and conceptual disputes that have undoubtedly had an impact on the configuration of intervention responses.

Sexual violence is not only an imposed act that lacks consent, but also social, cultural and political practices associated with the appropriation of women's bodies (Segato, 2013). In this context, the State is not only presented as responsible for prevention, treatment, and even punishment for aggressors, but is also considered as an instance that reproduces and legitimizes unequal structures in terms of women's rights (Sagot, 2020), because despite the discursive dimension, it approaches the problem from a private and individual perspective, stripping the collective and structural component of violence. Although the State has assumed formal commitments in terms of recognition, this does not match with practical efforts to promote the right to a life free of violence. The above is crystallized in brief strategies that delegate responsibility to the professional teams that intervene in sexual crimes and other forms of violence, basing the management of victims on these teams - mainly composed of women.

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Thus, professionals in this field of intervention act in a highly specialized manner, in a constant interdisciplinary dialogue, and face precariousness with collective grouping strategies that go beyond the limits of the care setting. These daily practices result in the construction of a militant knowledge, full of self-management, affectivity and resistance in a particularly complex space, in which intervention intersects the field of care and social management. These forms of work, characterized by interdisciplinarity and self-management, come to question institutionalism, since it becomes necessary for it to provide adequate conditions for the realization of collaborative work (Andrade, 2021).

We glimpse a change in the rules of the game of the neoliberal State (Bolstanski and Chiapello, 2002) in relation to the treatment of vulnerabilities, which bets on the introduction of devices that guarantee greater social justice but at the expense of professional teams, i.e., the new spirit of capitalism demands an adaptation in the logics of social intervention, which stands for professional teams as a field of resistance

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based on self-management and high commitment of the teams. In this way, a high moral commitment and technical expertise is required for its deployment, but which nevertheless rests on the high demands on professional teams, which daily intervene in complex conditions, with little state support, as we have seen in the case studied.

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Redistribution and Recognition of care: its transformative power in a university context

Redistribución y reconocimiento de los cuidados: su potencia transformadora en contexto universitario

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How to cite

Abstract

The recognition and redistribution of care is a question of justice, since it reproduces inequalities and oppressions. However, there is a transformative power present in care -emerging from the critique of the sexual division of labor, the invisibilization of interdependence and the accumulation of wealth as a horizon- that tensions, resists and transforms the organization of care in different spaces, including universities. This article proposes a first conceptual approach

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to care in the university context from the contributions of care policies with a gender perspective and feminist perspectives, in order to build university care systems that reinforce existing actions and collaborate in the organization of the projected ones, in a structured way and with a political and ethical support. Along with this, it will be proposed that social workers can actively contribute to the installation of care systems in universities.

Resumen

El reconocimiento y redistribución de los cuidados es una cuestión de justicia, toda vez que en ellos se reproducen desigualdades y opresiones. No obstante, hay una potencia transformadora presente en los cuidados -que emerge de la crítica a la división sexual del trabajo, la invisibilización de la interdependencia y la acumulación de riqueza como horizonte-, que tensiona, resiste y transforma la organización del cuidado en distintos espacios, incluidas las universidades. En este artículo se propone un primer acercamiento conceptual a los cuidados en contexto universitario, desde los aportes de las políticas de cuidados con perspectiva de género y perspectivas feministas, para construir sistemas universitarios de cuidados que refuercen las acciones que ya existen y colaboren en la organización de las proyectadas, de manera estructurada y con un sustento político y ético. Junto con esto, se planteará que trabajadoras/es sociales pueden contribuir activamente en la instalación de sistemas de cuidado en las universidades

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Introduction

The opening of gender directorates and offices in Chilean universities, which emerge as a result of the feminist student mobilization throughout the country in 2018, has allowed the gradual installation of gender policies that are initially proposed from three strategic lines: institutionalization, training and research and eradication of gender violence, which are suggested by the Gender Equality Commission of the Council of Rectors of Chilean Universities (CRUCH). The reflections that served as an impulse to write this article arose in the process of construction of the gender policy at the Universidad Metropolitana de Ciencias de la Educación (UMCE) located in Santiago, Chile. UMCE is currently developing a strategic line of action on care in the university context. This initiative was developed from the results of the Diagnosis of Gender Relations at UMCE, conducted by the Gender and Equity Observatory, which warns that it is appropriate to channel the care needs of the university community from an institutional response.

In coherence with the above, this article aims to contribute in that direction through the discussion of some proposals or orientations from the feminism of Fraser (1995), Carrasco (2013), Tronto (2013) and Federici (2013), but also from care policies with a gender perspective of Batthayány (2015; 2021), Aguirre and Ferrari (2014), Pautassi (2007), or Madrigal and Tejada (2020), among other authors, that allow progress in the construction of university care systems contemplating four aspects: lines of intervention, measures for care, target populations and relevant actors, in order to organize in the first instance an institutional response, in which workers and social workers in their official or academic performance can contribute.

Redistribution and recognition of care as a matter of justice

It is complex to define what justice is without resorting to injustices, particularly when the expectation is to reflect on aspects that affect everyday life, and not exclusively on conceptual abstractions. Justice is not experienced directly, "on the other hand we do experience injustice directly, and only through it we get an idea of what justice is, (...) justice is the overcoming of injustice" (Fraser, 2012, p.1), placing injustice at the center as an experience is linked to the approach of "subject as positionality: incardinated, contextual and socially and affectively interdependent" (Cubillos and Zarallo, 2021, p.21) which questions the universality of abstract principles as the only referent, betting

on "a situated ethics that conceives a different relational order: one that contemplates the impacts of an interwoven power matrix and visualizes an autonomous moral subject, but interdependent, endowed with reason, but also with sensitivity" (Cubillos and Zarallo, 2021, p.26).

Fraser (1995) points out that it is necessary to distinguish analytically two dimensions of justice, redistribution, oriented to economic aspects, and recognition, linked to cultural issues, in order to analyze different solutions and effects. However, "economic injustice and cultural injustice are usually intertwined to the point of dialectically reinforcing each other" (Fraser, 1995, p.6). Subsequently, the author complements what has been pointed out with the dimension of representation corresponding to political injustice, that is, exclusion from decision-making (Fraser, 2015). The challenge is, then, to advance in redistribution, recognition and political representation in the area of care, so that it is society as a whole that assumes the organization of care, and not only women, leaving the tension of managing it to households (Carrasco, 2013).

The redistribution and recognition of care is part of the demands for justice, and even more, it is a call for life in a broad sense, which can go in a different direction from neoliberalism (Tronto, 2013) and conservative discourses. From its unfair distribution and scarce recognition emerges a component of resistance, since, despite all the obstacles, care sustains links, not only in families, but also in groups of friends, communities, institutions, in the defense of nature, in small gestures and in actions of greater scope, it is present outside and even within its commodification. There is a possibility in their redistribution and recognition to turn the socioeconomic and cultural organization towards life, sprouting a subversive component when it discomforts, resists or transforms the current organization of work - traversed by sexual division and precariousness - (Federici, 2013), the accumulation of wealth as a horizon (Carrasco, 2013) and the invisibilization of interdependence (Tronto, 2013). It is not a matter of romanticizing care, but of recognizing that it can have the power to transform individualism (de la Aldea, 2019) and the patriarchal order, and for this, advancing in representation is indispensable (Fraser, 2015; Rodríguez, 2021a).

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The transformative power of care

Care becomes a transformative power that modifies the questioned sexual division of labor, making interdependence in social relations visible and highlighting the aspiration to give a central place to the sustainability of life.

The demands and actions aimed at overcoming the sexual division of labor are aimed at socializing care in different spaces, such as families, the community and the labor

market, pushing for a new form of organization of care.

As Federici (2013) argues, domestic work is eminently performed by women, thanks to a naturalization that explains the relationship between women and domestic work, which also justifies the absence of wages. For the author, both the non-wage-earning reproductive sphere and the wage-earning productive sphere are within capitalism, consequently, women, beyond the wage, are part "of the framework of capitalist relations, because we have never been outside them" (Federici, 2013, p.40).

In recent decades women have massively entered the labor market, although this has meant for a sector of them an improvement in their conditions and a deployment of life projects "what awaits the vast majority of women is something else: precarious, poorly paid work (...) and of course the bulk of women's paid work is decidedly not liberating" (Arruzza et al., 2019, p.96), consequently, the fulfillment of women's economic autonomy in the current labor market is questionable.

Added to this precariousness, care work in the domestic space has not been redistributed with men, on the contrary, it has meant strenuous double workdays, therefore, "achieving a second job has never freed us from the first. Double employment has only meant for women to have even less time and energy to fight against both" (Federici, 2013, p.56); on the one hand, against the obligatory and naturalization of care work, and on the other, against precariousness in the labor market, both issues closely linked to the sexual division of labor. In Latin America, women spend "on average between one-fifth and one-third of their daily or weekly time on unpaid domestic and care work, while in the case of men this proportion is around 10%" (Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean, ECLAC, 2017, p.30).

But care does not only take place in the domestic space; the conceptualization of care circuits by Guimarães (2019) is a contribution to understanding this. The author distinguishes between three types of care circuits: profession, obligation and assistance. The first covers paid work associated with care, the second covers care in the family context, and the last covers care developed in community relations, for example, among neighbors in the same neighborhood. This last circuit makes it possible to visualize care arrangements associated with solidarity and mutual support. As can be seen, care goes beyond the public/private divide, developing in both spaces.

According to Tronto (2013), the division between public and private space negatively affects the valuation of care in the theory of democracy. In this binomial, care is associated with the private sphere, a place where those who would be dependent are located, and in opposition to this, the public sphere, a space accessible to those who would be independent. In addition, these spheres are hierarchically organized, with the public sphere being more highly valued. The author states that the inclusion of

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those excluded from citizenship - for reasons of race, gender, among others - implies a step from the absence of citizenship and dependence to the acquisition of citizenship and independence, and it is in this assumption where she notices a problem, since it obscures the fact that all human beings are interdependent, since we depend on the care of others, to different degrees, for example, throughout life. Tronto (2013) aims to overcome the dependent/independent dichotomy to think of a democracy that includes care as part of this interdependence inherent to the human condition, and therefore, as a collective responsibility of society.

Despite the various social relationships established in care, the invisivilization of interdependence is linked to the assumption of an individual who is built according to his or her personal merits, which is not innocuous. The meritocratic promise, of dubious result, pushes towards disproportionate demands and self-demands that are accompanied by frustrations and guilt for not achieving the ideals of success. Consequently, pains on the personal level, but also an incentive to justify various social injustices based on the independent/dependent duality, as if dependence lies in lack of personal effort (Fraser and Gordon, 2015).

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Faced with the invisibilization of interdependence, "it is they, care, with their ethical power, that lead us to the recognition of the fragile and vulnerable human condition" (de la Aldea, 2019, p.40). This recognition favors the involvement in social life, between conflicts and convergences, in order to meet and take care of ourselves.

Therefore, it is intended to value interdependence as bonds of reciprocity (Carosio, 2014) in a between that finds us, which requires "observing reality with a non-dualistic consciousness that recognizes the interrelation, the weft of union that bathes human behaviors. The complementary opposites give-receive are aspects of the same" (de la Aldea, 2019, p.15). In relation to the above, dependence to develop daily survival activities would not be the only condition to require care (Tronto, 2013), since "we are all interdependent social beings in need of care" (Carosio, 2014, p.26).

Consequently, care is not possible from social isolation, interdependence appears as a condition for life, and life as an end in itself, therefore, considering it as a right is relevant, being Pautassi (2007) a reference in this matter. The author raises the proposal of care as the right to care, to be cared for and to self-care, a triad that reinforces a conceptualization of care in different directions that are woven in "a complex network that sustains life" (Tronto, 2013).

The ultimate meaning of the aspiration to prioritize care is to give a central place to life, which implies questioning the value we place on it and the socioeconomic organization that conditions it. A contribution in this direction is the concept of sustainability of life coined from feminist economics, "which aims to integrate the different processes that have as their objective the life of people" (Carrasco et al., 2011, p.60). This implies the recognition of interdependence -among humans-, and of eco-dependence,

making explicit that human existence is impossible without nature, that we are part of it (Carrasco, 2021). The sustainability of life requires care, but this collides with the capitalist system, since,

> *the objective of the space of capitalist mercantile production is the obtaining of profit, on the contrary, the objective of the space of care is the well-being of people. Two absolutely irreconcilable contrary objectives. The choice is to opt for one of them and put the other at their service (Carrasco, 2013, p.51).*

In this sense, the unlimited accumulation of wealth is a nonsense for the sustainability of life, which puts humans and nature in the place of means, as inexhaustible instruments for the enrichment of a small sector of the population.

With all of the above, the transformative power of care proposes a horizon towards which to advance and at the same time is a transformative action, which opens the reflection on the why and how to address care in the university context.

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Towards a university care system with a gender perspective

Reviewing some experiences in Chilean universities, it is noticed that the issue is poorly developed, however, there are measures for care in a disintegrated way: nursery services, pre and post natal leave -as part of the national labor law-, parental and marental leave for students, maternity and paternity guidance services, among others, generally associated with the role of mother and father of young children. It is also important to mention that the University of Chile has a policy linked to care with a focus on work-family reconciliation with social co-responsibility (Universidad de Chile, 2019) that coordinates care measures in the indicated line, giving a normative and theoretical referential framework that is positioned from the gender perspective, complementing national and university regulations.

A university institutional response should consider national legislation and public policies for its planning, and, together with this, observe the experiences in regional public policies. At the national level, there are care measures that are already part of labor legislation or policies aimed at children, the elderly or people with disabilities. At the regional level, there are Latin American experiences of countries that have created

care systems such as the Sistema de Cuidados in Uruguay or the Red de Cuido in Costa Rica, so there are experiences to draw inspiration from when thinking about building care systems for universities.

Considering the regional experience, it is important to keep in mind some aspects involved in the construction of the Uruguayan Care System, raised by Aguirre and Ferrari (2014): a) context in which the system emerges, political context, public policies, social pacts and the relationship between care policies and gender equality; b) information and knowledge to make a diagnosis focused on care; c) actors involved for the construction of the system; d) the concept of care and interpretative frameworks; e) target population; and f) perception of actors after the construction process has started.

Continuing with Aguirre and Ferrari (2014), in their analysis of the Uruguayan process they distinguish between actors with formal decision-making power, actors of interest and actors of context. In this case, the first were the government and its ministries, the second, civil society, companies, think tanks and universities, and the third, mainly international organizations, including the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA), the United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women (UN Women) and the International Labor Organization (ILO). Keeping proportions in mind, this distinction between actors is applicable to the university context.

Another relevant reference is what Sánchez-Anconchea and Martínez (2018) call the policy architecture, which is organized based on four components: funding, providers, benefits and eligibility. The first refers to budget, the second to those who grant the benefits, whether the public, private or mixed sector; the third component involves defining what those benefits will be -of time, monetary transfers or services-, and finally, establishing criteria for selecting the target population, either with universality or targeting criteria.

However, in the understanding that establishing a university care system is an incipient idea, it is considered that in the first instance it is relevant to propose as an initial step: a) defining lines of intervention; b) making explicit possible care measures; c) specifying the target population; and d) identifying relevant actors. By working from these four aspects, the construction of an institutional response in this area can begin from a gender perspective, which considers modifying the sexual division of labor

(Batthayány, 2021), valuing interdependence (Tronto, 2013) and prioritizing care, questioning unlimited enrichment (Carrasco, 2013). Once this first step is organized in a participatory manner with the university community, it is suggested to advance to the so-called policy architecture (Sanchez-Anconchea and Martinez, 2018).

Returning to this first step, the proposal is that the dimensions of care - self-care, co-care, socio-care and eco-care - should predominate (Madrigal and Tejada, 2020), as lines of intervention to organize what would be a university care system to which different units and members of the university - relevant actors - contribute with their work, through measures for care - time, services and others - aimed at target groups - chosen with criteria of focalization or universality.

The organization of a system based on these lines of intervention makes it possible to weave with the threads of care, since without them there is a risk of making a sum of the parts, of programs or actions aimed at different target populations, and not a web of situated actions that integrate the different experiences and needs, as a fabric with a common meaning, the sustainability of life (Carrasco, 2013).

All the measures for care that have already been taken in universities are important contributions, however, there is a need for them to be addressed from a perspective that considers work-family reconciliation with social co-responsibility, and at the same time, goes beyond this, hence the relevance of distinguishing lines of intervention in care.

Care and its dimensions: possible lines of intervention from universities

For Fischer and Tronto, care is defined as:

> *an activity that includes everything we do to repair, maintain and continue our 'world' so that we can live in it as well as possible. That world includes our bodies, ourselves, and our environment, all of which we seek to weave together into a complex web that sustains life. (1990, in Tronto, 2013, p.38)*

This definition allows addressing care in a broad sense, however, a central aspect is that care implies actions that are part of a complex network that sustains life. In coherence with this, Madrigal and Tejada (2020) identify four dimensions of care to analyze the relationship between care and masculinities in Central America, in the context of the

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pandemic, which have an analytical distinction, but are closely related in everyday life.

These dimensions are the following:

Self-care: understood as caring for oneself in order to live for oneself and to be able to care for others. At this point, the authors point out how complex the privatization of the conditions for self-care becomes, both because of the satisfaction of the needs of those who lack income and because they have to bear the weight of discourses that blame them for this dissatisfaction. Self-care is closely related to the following three dimensions, in terms of conditions -socio-care-, and links -co-care-, which are intertwined, this being one dimension of an interweaving.

Co-care: involves interpersonal relationships in the development of life-sustaining activities in the family, domestic and community spheres; thus, co-care involves dynamic relationships of interdependence both in terms of the care given and the care received. The authors stress the need for co-responsibility in caregiving, particularly given the low participation of men in caregiving.

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Sociocare: refers to the provision of decent and sufficient conditions for care that will enhance co-responsibility between men and women. For the authors, this involves the State directly, generally through social protection systems, employment policies or other support services under the ministries of health and education.

Eco-care: this is seen as care for the planet that sustains us. The authors highlight the importance of making visible "the expropriation, extraction and annihilation of large corporate conglomerates" (Madrigal and Tejada, 2020, p.121), going beyond discourses focused on individual or collective responsibility behaviors.

These dimensions are a way of schematizing the care that can be considered to organize a university system. For these purposes, it is appropriate to think of these analytical dimensions as interrelated lines of intervention, and that for planning and implementation purposes, in each of them different measures for care are grouped together, with a scope limited to the context and social function of the universities.

Along with this, it is proposed to consider in the lines of co-care and socio-care the concerns and occupations regarding coexistence, in the sense of caring and being cared for in "dynamic relationships of interdependence" (Madrigal and Tejada, 2020) and the responsibility of the institution to provide conditions for coexistence. In the

documentary study by Wilker et al. (2020) on educational policies in Chile and the province of Santiago between 1991-2019, it is stated that in schools there is a clear relationship between care and good coexistence, however, in universities coexistence has been a little developed area, being relevant its approach for the organization of the community, the teaching-learning processes and the construction of democratic spaces, especially in initial teacher training careers, regarding its impact on the school system (UMCE, 2020). The care in coexistence is also related to the care of work teams, in this sense it seeks to target the university community as a whole.

Despite the need to concretize actions, it should not be forgotten that the interweaving of these four lines of intervention is linked to critical views of the organization of care -the sexual division of labor, the invisibilization of interdependence and the prioritization of wealth accumulation instead of life-. As examples for the university context regarding self-care, university spaces are an opportunity to reflect on imperatives of individual success linked to production (de la Aldea, 2019) or cultural mandates of masculinity that distance males from caring for themselves and others (Madrigal and Tejada, 2020); "duties to be" that hinder social bonds (critical reflections that are a contribution when this makes transformations possible or helps to make one's own limits visible, not so when new behavioral imperatives are created), in this way, spaces such as the classroom or psychosocial services are opportunities to open up these questionings. Regarding co-care (Madrigal and Tejada, 2020), this can be linked to the approach of team care and coexistence without gender bias that includes the participation of the community -especially men-, in these concerns and occupations. Regarding socio-care (Madrigal and Tejada, 2020), to have a gender and people development policy for the reconciliation of work and family with social co-responsibility, resulting in concrete measures to care. And finally, to sustain life in a broad sense, it is urgent to rethink the meaning of the economy, caring for the ecosystem is essential, which collides with the accumulation of wealth as a goal, being universities a space for eco-care (Madrigal and Tejada, 2020) from the production of knowledge in this area, but also from the implementation of measures within the institution.

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Some key measures to promote a system of care at the university

To realize the ethical-political aspirations of redistribution and recognition of care that cross the lines of intervention, it is necessary to plan and implement measures for care that give them shape, in order to favorably affect the material conditions and symbolic aspects of daily life. These measures would serve as a hinge between the lines of intervention and the satisfaction of care needs.

In order to classify these measures, which make it possible to implement a care system,

distinctions and emphases in terms of care policies are used. According to Batthayány (2015), time to care policies -work permits-, cash for care policies -transfers-, and caregiving services are the most applied in the countries of the region .. In the case of the Uruguayan Care System, the target population included people who care for those who, due to health reasons or stage of life, cannot carry out their daily activities for survival without support, incorporating both unpaid and paid care work. Being one of the concerns for paid work "the working conditions, remuneration and formalization of male and female workers in the sector" (Aguirre and Ferrari, 2014, p.43).

In addition, it is relevant to consider social infrastructure, understood as a resource of special interest, as it makes visible the importance of having infrastructure "that reduces the burden of domestic work as part of unpaid care (drinking water, electricity, public transportation systems)" (Muñoz, 2017, p.26).

And finally, maintaining the gender perspective in care systems, as mentioned by Rodríguez (2021b):

> *All advances in the expansion and management of care services must be kept on alert in order to operate in a transformative sense. Keep in mind the objective of social and gender co-responsibility. National care systems cannot be sustained, once again, on the exclusive work of women. (p.89-90).*

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Thinking about a university response implies managing the care measures dictated at the national level and at the same time adopting others of an institutional nature, which, through different channels, contribute to their redistribution and recognition. In coherence with the above, six types of care measures will be mentioned:

*- **Time measures:*** time is a variable inherent to any action and, therefore, to work, in this case care work, consequently, the time to care becomes a precious resource. Thus, all kinds of work and academic leaves that grant time to care are along these lines: pre and postnatal marental and parental leave, leave for medical leave for children, elderly or injured people, etc. But also time for self-care, respecting acquired labor rights such as bereavement days, vacation periods and working hours. Time for co-care in the care of teams, for example, holding weekly meetings, making joint agreements, defining roles and functions, having spaces for reflection and recreation.

2 Batthayány, en el módulo 5 del curso Sistemas y políticas de cuidado en América Latina de la Especialidad de Políticas de cuidados con perspectiva de género-CLACSO 2020-2021, refiere a otras dos políticas de cuidados: sobre condiciones laborales de las personas cuidadoras y políticas de transformación cultural. Ambas son una referencia para la clasificación de medidas para los cuidados.

- Monetary transfer measures: this refers to an amount of money granted to purchase care services in the market or to meet the needs of caregivers to carry out daily activities. This point is complex to implement from the universities for budgetary reasons, however, there are cases in which by obligation of the labor law it is appropriate to do so.

Service measures: these involve actions for the care itself. Services may be provided directly by the state or by private companies through state subsidies, as well as by civil society institutions or community organizations. For example, early childhood education -which as an educational process is associated with care- is a highly demanded service, and there are experiences in Chile of agreements between universities and the National Board of Kindergartens (JUNJI) to provide formal education to children of student mothers and fathers. Care services for students linked to self-care, such as guidance on parenting/parenting, sexual and reproductive education, support for academic insertion and mental health care. Services for co-care, for example, risk prevention training for work teams, conflict resolution instances that affect coexistence, administrative procedures in cases of abuse of power - impunity is a problem in order to care for coexistence -, gender violence prevention workshops, among other services for co-care. On the other hand, in the eco-care dimension: recycling services, generation of knowledge on sustainable energy, teaching courses on ecosystem care; are examples of services for the university community or knowledge made available to society for eco-care.

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- Social infrastructure measures for the care it is necessary to have certain infrastructure that provides material conditions for public use. In the context of the university, this can be seen in breastfeeding and changing rooms, ramps and elevators, improvements in lighting, maintenance of green areas, installation of bicycle racks - as an incentive for clean means of transportation - which, as they become normalized, become part of the daily space. In this aspect, schools of art, geography or architecture have a lot to contribute.

- Measures to improve the working conditions of care workers: in the case of universities, for example, cleaning work. Improving working conditions contributes in terms of income redistribution and at the same time in the recognition of this socially undervalued but indispensable work. Care is not only feminized, but also racialized and

stratified by social class (Carrasco, 2021) and this is reflected in cleaning services.

- Cultural change measures: the measures outlined above can become merely practical and weak if they are not accompanied by cultural changes, running the risk of being easily disinstalled. Consequently, cultural change makes the difference between one-off modifications and transformations.

In order to build a care system, in addition to the proposal of measures, it is necessary to define target populations and relevant actors, which will possibly be marked by diversity, one of the challenges being to generate a work network where the different positions and emphases complement each other.

Every measure is aimed at a target population chosen with criteria of universality or focalization, depending on its meaning. In some cases it will be aimed at the entire community with certain nuances depending on the status, for example, in the cultural change measures, while in others it will depend on two eligibility variables, as in the nursery services in agreement with JUNJI aimed at children of student mothers or fathers, with the requirements being the filial bond and the status, or in other cases, it will be some physical disability that makes it necessary to define preferential parking lots. Thus, there are multiple possibilities and it will depend on the needs established in each context, hence the importance of building participatory processes that give relevance and legitimacy to the definition of target populations.

Following Aguirre and Ferrari (2014) and Batthayány (2015), three actors are identified: formal decision-making, interest and context. The first ones, refer to entities that are part of the decision-making structure, for example, in this case, university governments, rector's offices, boards of directors and directorates, among others, however, for a system to give positive results it must have the community, being a priority to generate binding participation mechanisms, with special consideration of those who will live a direct effect as a consequence of the decisions taken, regarding the importance of representation (Fraser, 2015; Rodríguez, 2021a).

In relation to the above, a second classification are the stakeholders, composed of those specific groups united by approaches, demands and experiences associated with care issues in the university context. For example, centers of studies on inclusion, gender or sustainability, groups of people with disabilities, animal groups, workers' associations or unions.

Finally, the context actors would be organizations around the university such as the Ministries of Education, Health, Labor, Women and Gender Equality, among others, or inter-university spaces, in the Chilean case, instances such as the Consortium of

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Universities of the State of Chile (CUECH) or the Council of Rectors of Chilean Universities (CRUCH).

In addition, it is essential to build a care system that involves an internal and external network, which considers the gender direction, transversality office, direction of student affairs, direction of people development, study centers, careers, student groups - federations or assemblies -, extension units, among others, and maintain coordination with the external network, National Board of Kindergartens, National Disability Service, Ministry of Women and Gender Equity, Ministry of Environment, social organizations or other contextual actors identified in each space.

It is possible that an organizational structure that gives rise to a driving council of the system may be required, however, it will depend on each university the organizational structure that is considered relevant and the changes in the institutional framework that it entails.

To recapitulate, with all that has been pointed out, it is proposed to understand care as the framework of actions that welcome and make life flourish in different lines of intervention -self-care, co-care, socio-care and eco-care-, through measures of time, services, infrastructure, monetary transfers, working conditions in the area of paid domestic work and cultural changes, which requires the participatory definition of the target populations, involving in the planning and implementation of the system the relevant actors of each space, so that we find ourselves in a university community that takes care of itself.

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Conclusions

Implementing measures for care can be functional to neoliberalism and also to the conservative discourse, therefore, it is relevant to make visible that the transformative power of care is experienced when it enables social interventions aimed at redistribution and recognition. But it should not be forgotten that it is a problem of social injustice, therefore, it requires the participation of those who are affected and affected by it, being the political representation (Fraser, 2015; Rodríguez, 2021a) indispensable for the satisfaction of needs in a relevant and contextualized way.

Universities can propose to be relevant actors for transformations that give space to care: in the internal functioning of institutions, in the training of future teachers and professionals and in raising a public voice in this regard. In this article, the aim was to contribute to the first aspect mentioned through the construction of a university care system.

Two challenges can be seen in this pretension: first, to make visible and coordinate the existing actions; and then, to project others jointly among the different units of the universities, without falling into a sum of unconnected issues. In order to facilitate this, it is hoped that what has been developed around lines of intervention, care measures, target populations and relevant actors will be a contribution.

In relation to the last point, it is a challenge for social work, both academic and professional, to position itself in the relevant actors, making visible its contribution to overcoming social problems related to care. In fact, there is a close relationship between care and social work, in child protection programs, care for the elderly, gender violence, school coexistence, among others. In universities this relationship is present, for example, in the daily interventions of the welfare departments or in academic activities in the field. And also in the relationships established between social workers, as revealed by the research of Muñoz and Duboy (2022) with a different kind of networking, of collaboration and mutual support of "entangled" or "clarified" solidarity, where co-care mediated by affective bonds prevails as a way of resistance to the overload imposed by the logics of productivity oriented to the fulfillment of goals.

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In this relationship -social work and care-, it is pertinent to insist on the ethical and political component, in a social work "that places solidarity and care at the center as a transforming impulse in our societies" (Ioakimidis, 2021, p.29) for overcoming social injustices. Consequently, moving towards care from a position that questions "who is responsible for sustaining life and how we should organize ourselves as a society to put life at the center, as a task that implies collaboration, interdependence and recognition of our fragility in the act of inhabiting the world" (Muñoz and Duboy, 2022, p.153). Possibly, it is necessary to experience the discomfort or anguish provoked by questions about care and the meaning of our work, in order to create new ways of making social interventions, being fundamental the teamwork between social and interdisciplinary workers.

One of the purposes of social work is to transform problems that constitute social injustices, thus, dealing with care in universities is an open field for its professionals, who can collaborate both in planning and execution of social interventions as well as in systematization and research.

Recognizing and redistributing care at all levels, from the home to the parliament, is more than a declaration of good intentions, or just the delivery of monetary transfers; it is a deeper call for attention, a turn towards ethical subjects who, recognizing their limitations, do not shy away from taking responsibility for the consequences of their

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actions or seeking collective meeting spaces to overcome social injustices, where, between conflicts and tuning in, the recognition and redistribution of care takes shape in everyday life, because "the personal is political", and politicizing care is urgent. .

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Recognition theory as a critical theory of society? Interview with Axel Honneth [1]

Nico Bobka, Sina Knoll and Benjamin Köhler[2]

Translation: Taly Reininger[3]

The interview with Prof. Dr. Axel Honneth of the Institute for Social Research of the Frankfurt School in Meno， was conducted by Nico Bobka and Sina Knoll on August 21，2012 in Frankfurt, Germany.

Soziologiemagazin: Professor Honneth, you intend to reformulate critical theory in terms of the theory of recognition. Before talking about the theory of recognition, could you briefly explain what you mean by the normative reconstruction method with which you intend to carry out your project?

Honneth: Here we immediately start with very difficult methodological question. The idea of calling what I am doing normative reconstruction, did not even grow in my own manure. This term in already used in Habermas's book in "Faktizität und Geltung", and basically the idea behind this methodological term made immediate sense to me, only I wanted to bring this methodological train of thought closer to Hegel. For those who know Hegel, it is always very difficult to understand how he actually proceeds, for example, in his philosophy of law. Ultimately, the procedure is one of, one would say, speculative dialectics, in the sense that he tries to translate the development in the processing of the spirit, so to speak, or to develop it with its help, into social reality. This is a procedure that is naturally not recommendable for social theory, because it presupposes knowing something like an absolute and objective concept of the spirit with its own logic process. For this, if one wants to orient oneself a little in Hegel, one needs a substitute concept in

social theory for what in his case is speculative thinking or elaboration along the self-development of the concept. And basically, the concept of normative reconstruction is useful to me in order to apply a comparable and certainly less idealistic procedure. That is, with the criterion or guide of an idea or principle institutionalized in social reality, one can trace the unfolding and development of the corresponding field or sphere of action. So, it is not simply reconstructed historically or empirically, but to reconstruct normatively means to reconstruct this sphere according to the principles or idea that is considered by the participants as decisive for a corresponding social sphere, it means historically tracing its development. That is the basic idea of what is called normative reconstruction.

Soziologiemagazin: The thesis that societies reproduce themselves through norms (which you defend in your latest book "The Law of Freedom") and the focus on the normative dimension of the social context it contains, does it not imply an abstraction from the real, i.e., from the material-practical processes of socialization?

Honneth: No, I don't see it that way. This is an old dispute within sociology, if you like, which probably first revealed itself most explicitly, or perhaps most impressively, in the debate between Max Weber and the Marxists of his time. Basically, it is the Marx-Weber debate in which this is discussed. The other person who has rolled the history of sociology or social theory along this opposition, that is, the question of how social order is possible, is certainly Talcott Parsons. I belong to a tradition, at least since Habermas, in which it is assumed that social orders or societies are integrated through the acceptance or approval of norms considered correct and that, moreover, we can only adequately understand the various subsystems by taking into account the norms and principles that guide and integrate them in each case. If you like, this is even an idea of society or sociality that someone like Niklas Luhmann also shares. He too understands functional differentiation in such a way that different codes can be analyzed, which in turn are responsible for the integration of a subsystem. What is decisive now is the idea that material reproduction also depends to some extent on and cannot be analyzed independently of the norms that determine what can be considered legitimate, acceptable, and approvable.

Soziologiemagazin: So you disagree with the thesis that the method of normative reconstruction has primacy over the object to be recognized?

Honneth: That's a trick, yes. Of course, the object as such is never given to the

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social scientist or the social theorist. It seemed to me a very strange notion that we can assume that relations as such can be determined in a value-neutral way, independent of normative references. We already approach the selection of material with certain prior normative decisions. For example, we are more interested in the social relations of labor than perhaps other relations, for example the treatment of small animals, because we consider social labor to be especially relevant to social production. But from there, a certain normative idea of our sociality flows. In this sense, of course, the method of normative reconstruction does not pretend to analyze or reproduce reality as such. It is rather the case that it naturally more strongly leads to idealization than other methods perhaps, because it says that it makes sense and is correct, at least under certain circumstances, to analyze a social sphere or certain systems of action with the help of normative principles that are also seen by the participants as conditions of acceptance or recognition of this sphere. In this sense, there is a normative surplus, if you will, over empirical reality. But empirical reality as such does not really seem to me to be given.

Soziologiemagazin: In your analysis of society, you try to link to a moment in the social philosophy of the young Hegel: the concept of recognition, on which you base your research practice. What is recognition and why does it occupy the central position in your theory in the first place?

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Honneth: This has a long history, of course, not only in the history of modernist thought, but also in my own development. The starting point for me was actually the confrontation with the tradition of critical theory, going through Adorno, Horkheimer up to Habermas and Foucault, and the realization that the different approaches lacked something complementary. And I would say that lacking in Adorno and Horkheimer's analyses was a conception of conflictivity even of apparently integrated societies. Foucault lacked a definition of what social struggles are. And Habermas, in his focus on understanding, lacked in part an examination of conflict around understanding. And in order to address these three deficiencies in their analyses', if you will, and develop a set of tools equally capable of overcoming them all, I came across Hegel's original idea of the "struggle for recognition," which seemed to me adequate to overcome the various deficiencies. Namely, in the sense that I believed I could develop at that time with strong recourse to historical studies and sociology. Richard Sennet's first book, which he wrote together with Jonathan Cobb, on "The Hidden Wounds of Class" played an important role at that time, namely the observation that conflicts and struggles in societies largely revolve around recognition among the participants. Recognition initially means nothing more than endorsement or appreciation of the subjects in different respects. Actually, I became convinced relatively early on that what these aspects are determined in each

case by the social form of production and the mode of organization. That was the original idea. Since then, I have been deeply convinced that recognition is an adequate key to understanding both the integration of societies and their, so to speak, permanent conflict. All societies integrate through selective or symmetrical forms of recognition. But all societies also know permanent conflicts over the proper interpretation of these principles of recognition. So, the key has been found.

Soziologiemagazin: You speak of the spheres of negative freedom, i.e., juridical, as well as moral freedom, in which recognition still finds its limits. In these spheres, recognition does not yet condition the realization of concrete, social freedom and becomes social pathologies. Can you give examples of how social pathologies arise in these limited spheres of freedom?

Honneth: So I would formulate this a bit more cautiously. These social freedoms, institutionalized in the realms of legal and moral freedom, can become pathologies if they are interpreted by the subjects involved as the exclusive form of freedom in each case. Only then. Not as such. As such, of course, legal freedom is of incredible importance for understanding our modern, even recent, social history. And as such, moral freedom is also guilt-free, if you will, because it opens up enormous spaces for us to question norms, facts, obligations or impositions that are thought to be universalizable. So these two freedoms, with all their negativity, already provide an enormous dynamic to modern societies. And one need only look at the path modern societies have taken. Often, the developments and progress that have been achieved in these societies are due to the mobilization of these freedoms. As I said: as such, they do not have social pathologies. In my opinion, they lead to pathological effects when they are taken as the only form of freedom. Then it can very easily happen that something that makes sense insofar as it is woven into a social life practice, into a life world, leads to misunderstandings and a one-sided understanding of what freedom really is, i.e., to understand oneself only and only as a juridical subject, then I will seek and want to establish connections of action in all social contexts and in all social contexts of action with reference to my rights to which I am entitled, and this is only possible to some extent at the price of forms of understanding of the real life world. In this sense, this one-sidedness easily leads to pathological effects such as rigidness, abstractions, impossibilities of action, barriers to action and the like. In the following, I tried to make this evolution somewhat plausible with the help of literary or cinematographic products.

Soziologiemagazin: They understand the struggle for recognition as a principle of social dynamics, so to some extent all history to date is a history of struggles for recognition.

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Through these struggles, also in the spheres of negative and moral freedom, would a progress towards concrete and social freedom finally be fulfilled in the institutions of morality?

Honneth: Yes, I would also describe it a little more cautiously at the beginning. In fact, I would say that this would require, of course, much more proof and evidence than I could provide on my own. In fact, I would suggest that one of the main dynamics of social change is the struggle for recognition. Indeed, the moment we see societies integrated on mutually accepted principles of recognition, it lends itself to understanding their dynamics from the fact that there is a dispute over the interpretation, better interpretation, for the improvement of these principles of recognition. This dispute is, in fact, an eternal dispute, in a sense it cannot be stopped. That the special achievements of modernity can develop solely out of these struggles for recognition is not something I claim. Of course, other historical developments, classically one would say "the development of the productive forces," that is certainly an advance in the possibilities of social production, in industrial development, play an important role. I would not deny all this at all, but first of all I would assert that with the transition to modern societies, something new emerges in the sense that the principles of recognition of essential spheres of action are now reinterpreted, actually to some extent with the value of freedom. One could say that the essential spheres of our society owe their existence to the mutual acceptance of normative principles, each of which refers to freedom. In my opinion, this applies at least to the legal sphere, but also to the moral sphere. But it also applies to the spheres of private relations, which are distinguished behind the concept of morality, even to the market, which in a certain sense is only justified by the concept of freedom or the idea of freedom, and of course also to the modern form of political democracy. I would not go that far to say that all modern principles of the spheres of social action refer to freedom. In the case of science, which was also a favorite subject of Luhmann's, one might ask whether the value of truth, which is institutionalized as a code, does not indirectly contain the idea of freedom of inquiry, i.e., in some way it goes together with the idea of freedom. In any case, the institutionalization of these different principles of freedom in their fields sets in motion a dynamic that is characteristic of modernity, namely that in different fields, with reference to the specific freedoms in each case, there is a struggle for better fulfillment in different manners by those concerned, of course. In the private sector, essentially throughout the 19th and 20th centuries, it was women. In the area of the social or economic market, essentially by the labor movement. And in the sphere of political democracy, essentially through the various parties that soon began to emerge, either on the part of the working class or the bourgeoisie. What is decisive now is that

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all these struggles take place in reference to the institutionalized principles of freedom and their dynamics demand a reinterpretation of these principles.

Second part

Soziologiemagazin: We have already discussed that norms and the progress of social freedom are supposed to be reconstructed from the reproduction of society, and yet these norms are not infrequently in contradiction with social reality, which you then call aberrations. How do you explain these aberrations?

Honneth: I think that is rather difficult in detail. First of all, the category of undesirable development must of course be an instrument that allows me not to be forced into something like a hypostasis of progress. Of course, it is absurd to suppose that struggles in these areas will always have progressive results. We immediately realize that in different historical contexts, at different times, in different places, there have always been setbacks. And setbacks, at first, only mean that reinterpretations of freedom that had already been implemented, and in some cases even legally guaranteed, were reversed. It is thus an undesirable development. Anything that leads to an adjustment of the struggles underway or to a reversal of the institutionalized mediation that has already been achieved is a mistake. The cause of this undesirable evolution can probably only be discovered by using ideas such as power relations, which, however, are also difficult to apply empirically. In certain historical situations, due to the circumstances to be discussed, power relations may change in the sense that there are, so to speak, opportunities for the dominant strata to reverse the improvements that have already occurred in various spheres. One could understand financial market deregulation as an expression of a change of forces in the sphere of the social organization of the market. But there is no magic solution as to when and under what circumstances these undesirable developments occur.

Soziologiemagazin: Adorno or Benjamin placed not the norms but the undesirable developments at the center of their thinking and defended the thesis that the concept of progress, in contrast to what Hegel and in some places, Marx still assumed, should not be founded on the idea of freedom but on the idea of catastrophe, and that freedom could therefore only be determined negatively? Do you look for the positive in what Adorno called the false everything?

Honneth: I would say that the reorientation of critical theory actually began with Habermas. It is true that the older critical theory - not entirely true either, because the

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early Horkheimer also undertook very different theoretical constructions - but let's say that since the advent of National Socialism, critical theory is essentially more negatively oriented, in the sense that the category of social progress is dispensed with and the further development of society is rather understood as a threatening growth of barbarism and inhumanity. In any case, this is the image of the "Dialectic of Enlightenment". Certainly, part of Walter Benjamin's work can be understood in this way. With Habermas there is a shift insofar as it is said that we can only really give critical theory a kind of prospective function again if we succeed in identifying norms of social development that can also be seen as reference points for social progress. And I tend to move in this tradition with my approaches, in the shadow of the Habermasian turn in critical theory, if you will. What I have presented in the "Right to Freedom" is an attempt, of course, at least and only for modern societies, that is, for societies that can be said to be functionally differentiated according to the point of view of the differentiated principles of freedom. That one can certainly name an internal criterion of progress for these, which cannot be generalized historically, but can only be applied for this period of time, and that, on the basis of these criteria, one can certainly attempt to measure progress, to outline it, and thus also mark setbacks.

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Soziologiemagazin: So you contradict Horkheimer's determination that critical theory, even in relation to traditional theory, can only be had as a single unfolded existential judgment?

Honneth: That would first require an interpretation of this sentence by Horkheimer.

Soziologiemagazin: In a certain sense, that progress under certain conditions necessarily become regression.

Honneth: I would first understand what Horkheimer said in another way. And I might not agree with the sentence as it stands. I would understand that Horkheimer means that all judgments about the previous society converge into a negative existential judgment and that means that those societies must not be. And that is what is meant by existential judgment. And I really couldn't agree with that, because I see that modern societies are characterized, first of all, by some achievements that I think are quite unambiguous. In this sense, not everything in the past is worthy of condemnation, but we have to realize much more strongly that we find many things worthy of condemnation in the present because the past has already given us norms, institutionalized norms, that allow us to criticize the present. So, in this sense, the existential judgment I make would be differentiated much more. With the idea of freedom, for example, freedom in love, and

also with the idea of democratic decision-making, powerful normative ideas have been launched, of course, which are currently institutionalized in the constitution, so I would not want to lose them and they represent the horizon of a critique of present conditions.

Soziologiemagazin: With Hegel, undesirable developments are definitely understood as a necessity. For example, poverty in the philosophy of law is based on the immanent dynamics of bourgeois society, which in turn entails the necessary possibility of the emergence of mafias. Frank Ruda has argued in his dissertation "Hegel's Pöbel" that one can think of this problem only inadequately because it is attributed only as an aberration of social pathologies, but not as pathologies of the social itself, which find their possibility in socialization, specifically the mediation of subjective position and objective conditions in the form of values. You say that your theory of recognition cannot think of poverty, especially as something necessary. Is this accusation wrong?

Honneth: It is very difficult to properly determine the object of dispute of this accusation, so to speak. That is difficult for me in any case. I would say: I am going to leave aside Hegel's interpretation for the time being. I think there is a lot that can be said about it. In any case, I don't think it's so clear whether Hegel regards poverty as an essential phenomenon or as an accidental phenomenon. But I'll leave it for now. That perhaps also takes us away from the current topic. I think my own description of the thesis that poverty is a necessary and irreversible product of a capitalistically organized market economy would be correct. I could not share the proposition that poverty is a necessary product of a market economy. In other words: I would try to develop a differentiation as to the place and role of the market as such. I would like to distinguish between a capitalist market and a socially integrated market. Now, going back to Hegel, this means that it is not at all clear in Hegel what kind of market he really thinks of. Whether he wants to think of a socially integrated market, for which there are some indicators, or whether he already thinks of the market in capitalist realities. I don't think that's entirely clear. So in this sense I would accommodate Ruda on the one hand and I would not accommodate him at all on the other hand. Poverty seems to me inevitable under a market economy that regulates the ownership of productive forces and the associated dispositional and market opportunities the way our market does. But I do not want to make speculation impossible at all, a speculation which, on the contrary, can be very fruitful in terms of what we can do at the moment, speculation about the embedded market and a social market. In other words: I would make a much stronger distinction between forms of market organization within societies than Ruda and many Marxists would probably do as well. The old opposition of market and plan seems to me no longer useful and I think that all economies of the future will be market societies in one way or another, with restricted markets, with regulated markets, with

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perhaps more differentiated markets, with social spheres completely excluded from the market and the like. But I may have a different image or understanding of the market.

Soziologiemagazin: I would like to once again speak about your relationship with critical theory, to which you yourself say you are linked and which, as director of the Institute for Social Research, is in a way also your legacy and obligation.

Honneth: I don't know if it is an obligation.

Soziologiemagazin: One might suppose so.

Honneth: Yes.

Soziologiemagazin: In the 1930s, Horkheimer, Pollock, and Neumann, in particular, tried to understand National Socialism in terms of liberalism, democracy, and the failure of world revolution. And after the Allied suppression of National Socialist Germany, Adorno also felt compelled to place Auschwitz at the center of his thinking, in a sense as the negative truth of capitalist socialization, and especially to understand the post-truth of National Socialism in democracy and social development arrested through its dynamics. On the other hand, you write in "Recht der Freiheit" that National Socialism is the non-integrable other of the liberal democratic institutions of freedom. Is this a capitulation to coercion in thinking after Auschwitz?

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Honneth: No, I would say the other way around. This means, first of all, that it remains a very difficult challenge for any post-Auschwitz thinking to understand National Socialism together with the Holocaust in a causal way. And precisely because it was a rupture, a break with civilization, I think the decisive question is: do we understand the Holocaust, as many do today, as a rupture with the already developed civilization, including the rule of law, or do we understand it rather as the intensification of what was achieved in the liberalism of the time? I am much more inclined to the idea that it is a very difficult rupture to understand, even in its prehistory and above all in its enormous dynamics. And that's what it means in the first place. In this sense, of course, it departs from the traditional elements of critical theory, in which fascism has been understood as the intensification of the logics, so to speak, normative logics of modern societies. Indeed, this is how Adorno and Horkheimer understood it, or this is how Zygmunt Bauman occasionally understands National Socialism or the Holocaust. I do not share it. Indeed, for me, the formation of German National Socialism is in many

ways a puzzle for social theory and the most difficult challenge for the whole enterprise of normative reconstruction. A challenge whose weight is already clear from the fact that someone like Hegel could not have imagined it even in his wildest dreams. That is to say, no nineteenth-century theorist would have considered this kind of barbarism conceivable given the conditions that had already been reached, despite the fact that the nineteenth century saw an enormous amount of exclusion, genocide, colonialism and also anti-Semitism. But this degree of barbarization, so to speak, continuing right up to industrial mass murder, would probably not have been conceivable for all the 19th century theorists and probably won't be conceivable for the theorists of the 1920s. And that means that I would join the underlining of categories such as the breakdown of civilization, and therefore really the breakdown, so to speak, of the formation of National Socialism

Soziologiemagazin: We are left with one last question: with the "Dialectic of Enlightenment" Adorno and Horkheimer sent a message in a bottle into the future, which they did not know would ever arrive and be uncorked and, above all, by whom it might be uncorked. It was then mainly students who, in the late 1960s, tried to translate the interventionist critique directly into practice, partly against the intentions of the two philosophers. Earlier this year, you sat in the Römerberg as part of the Cluster of Excellence "Normative Orders" and tried to answer questions from the citizens of Frankfurt. How do you understand the role of the intellectual today, the possibilities for interventionist critique in the university and beyond and, above all, who is the addressee?

Honneth: Thus, the numerous activities that every second university professor working in the humanities or social sciences is engaged in today, day in and day out in public, have, of course, nothing to do with the idea of the intellectual, which was once decisive in the sense of the critical intellectual. In my opinion, the role of the intellectual has become, we could say, more habitual or normalized, that is, due to a greater use of science, also for public concerns, most of those who work in universities are also small intellectuals on a day-to-day basis. And the intellectual is by no means an exceptional phenomenon anymore. Every editor of a newspaper who writes in the reporting section assumes the role of intellectual intervenor. In this sense, I think we should radically change this whole debate about intellectuals and, to some extent, start over. Starting over simply means being aware, first of all, of the universalization of the role of the intellectual, for better or for worse. All the debates that have been held again and again in the past about the difference in the role of intellectuals in France and in Germany seem

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to me to be completely obsolete. Our media intellectual has been around for a long time, there are intellectual articles to be read every day in every report section of a decent newspaper, twice a day a university professor speaks on the radio. We talk incessantly. And one would have to distinguish, I think, from this daily role of the intellectual, that perhaps used to be more literally associated with the intellectual, namely the task and the effort of interruption, as the interruption of this often idle intellectual conversation that takes place in accepted and widely accepted conditions. So one would have to create, if you will, a new category to replace the category of the intellectual. That is, these approaches existed before: Kracauer, for example, distinguished the critic from the intellectual much more. In the Weimar Republic there was also discussion, for example, of the universalization of intellectual opinions and corresponding attempts to distinguish the critic from them, so to speak. So what I did in the Römerberg has, I think, initially very little to do with social criticism. It is the inclusion of the scientist in the public sphere. Politicians and all kinds of political parties are increasingly striving to include science, including the public presentation of science. In a way, one depends on making a public spectacle of oneself. All this seems to me to have nothing to do with criticism. And what I say on the radio or in newspapers is not necessarily criticism. Criticism would be in a way a new beginning. Perhaps the best embodiment of the figure one could have in mind today is Foucault. In other words, someone who began in his lectures - long before he made public statements and became an intellectual - to question presuppositions about thought, that is, generally accepted presuppositions. In this sense, of course, today's Marxist is no longer simply a critic, because he/she very often appeals to something that is generally shared. The market is unfair, it leads to bad outcomes, it produces poverty: these are all guiding values that have probably been accepted for a long time, even by Deutsche Bank, and that no one questions. In this sense: the critic's task is different from the intellectual articulation of opinions that are publicly acceptable. The task of the critic would be to re-question the thinking conditions of that same public with respect to hitherto unimaginable preconditions. It seems to me that this is what Foucault did. That has also been his achievement, perhaps unique. I don't think that everything he did was correct, it seems to me that some things are very problematic, but at least he started from zero, that is, he started from a different place and that seems to me to be the role of the critic, as opposed to the intellectual. So we should give less importance to the intellectual and pay more attention to real criticism.

The New Politics of Social Work

Mel Gray and Stephen Webb (Editors), Santiago de Chile, Edits Universidad Alberto Hurtado, 2020, PP. 312. ISBN/ISSN: 978-956-357-243-8. Reference value: CPL$ 15.000/USD$ 20,00. Translated by Gianinna Muñoz Arce.

Melisa Campana Alabarce[1]
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Translated by Gianinna Muñoz Arce, PhD in Social Work and academic at the University of Chile, this is a book that comes to politically challenge Social Work. It was originally published by Palgrave Macmillan in 2013, under the title "The New Politics of Social Work". Composed of thirteen chapters and divided into three parts, this work was carried forward by academics of Social Work from England, Australia, Republic of Ireland, Northern Ireland, Scotland, South Africa and Canada who, from different theoretical perspectives, advocate the creation of a left agenda for the discipline and call for political positions, considering that Social Work has a public responsibility to confront injustice.

The first section, entitled "New Agendas for Social Work", seeks to lay the foundations of what is understood by critical Social Work, presenting a sort of political and historical cartography of the debates from which this perspective is nourished. The second section, "Politically oriented interventions", presents an exhaustive analysis of a series of tools that the authors consider fundamental to sustain a left-wing agenda that contributes to the construction of a critical Social Work. The third section, "Transformative Interventions", dialogues with the proposal through a series of situated examples or scenes of professional intervention.

It is for the militant work of bringing debates that nourish professional practice that we wish to express our gratitude and admiration for the task undertaken by Giannina

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Muñoz, because, first of all, she has been able to capture a reading that we believe not only important but absolutely necessary. First of all, because we consider this book a fundamental contribution to our regional interdisciplinary debates, due to its eminently political dimension, which challenges us in the depths of our profession and discipline.

It is a book that refreshes debates that are often lost in the grays of our daily life as professionals, wherever we practice. Thus, in the first chapter, Mel Gray and Stephen A. Webb argue that this book is based on "the assumption that Social Work has a public responsibility to confront injustice; to take a stand; to discuss what we mean by a 'just society' and how injustice manifests itself in everyday institutional relationships and structures" (p.20, 2020).

In this sense, it outlines a horizon of professional practice in the light of the context of the 21st century and opens up questions about what we understand by social justice and solidarity, by emancipation and liberation, by the possible consensuses about the world and the society we want. But, especially, it invites us to ask ourselves about what we are willing to do to build this horizon. This is the secret of the discomfort of this reading, because it takes up notions and positions embedded in the "common sense" of Social Work, which we reproduce on a daily basis without any analysis. Many times, we think that as professionals we escape per se from the logics and commodified practices marked by the neoliberal agenda, however, chapter by chapter this book shows us that we do not.

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In this key, in the second chapter, Bob Pease emphasizes the importance of being aware of the power and privileges that are at stake when we meet with users and other workers, arguing the need for a critical consciousness to deconstruct these privileges and avoid being part of the process of capitalist oppression.

Furthermore, in Chapter III, Paul Garrett argues against the anti-theory culture that pervades Social Work, emphasizing the "practical" nature of the profession, postulating theoretical ignorance as a professional value. And, further on, in an apparent paradox that, however, is not, Harry Ferguson argues in Chapter VII that "(...) despite the enormous literature that exists on social work, practically none of it is based on evaluations of what social workers do or how they intervene when they meet face to face with users" (p.163, 2020). Thus, for the author, it is necessary to generate credibility by building a new political agenda based on critical analyses of what social workers actually do.

These proposals lead us to ask ourselves about the false dichotomies and dilemmas that we continue to drag between theory and practice, between research and intervention; what debates are we still missing to suture this binarism; are we going to replace it with other equally futile ones, or do we want to build new thresholds of understanding about what Social Work does, says, thinks, decides?

A second reason why this book is important and necessary, closely linked to the above, is that it invites us to de-banalize, that is, to fill with meaning and content one of the most expensive categories of Social Work in our America, the idea of criticism. We say de-banalize because, at times, like other powerful words, we have de-hierarchized criticism, turning it from an explanatory category to a qualifying adjective: a critical social work, a critical position, a critical perspective... along the way, at times, we have lost the power of criticism as an exercise.

Chapter V, written by Carolyn Taylor, is very illuminating in this sense, because it makes a distinction between reflective practice and critical reflective practice. The former, supported by a humanist-liberal project of personal growth and self-actualization, is centered on a process of self-scrutiny with no interest in social structures, its only intention being to improve professional standards. For its part, the critical reflective practice, proposed by the author, seeks to put in evidence and tension the innocent knowledge, problematizing notions such as "helping" and "caring", advocating for a profession committed sociopolitically and not only with itself.

However, in reality, the whole book sounds the alarm bells in this regard, reminding us - and at a very opportune time - that we cannot and should not hand over our categories to neoliberal phagocytization as an offering. As the translator also stresses, the invitation is to think of new political agendas for leftist social work. As Mel Gray and Stephen A. Webb argue: "This is an invitation with a double objective: a renewal of the left political agenda in social work, and an articulation of the role of Social Work that allows it to contribute to the abolition of the regimes of exploitation maintained by the capitalist class and its neoliberal economic order" (p.19, 2020).

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The third reason why this book is necessary and perhaps the most fruitful for our future dialogues - shall we say post-pandemic: this book is a translation. This is not a truism, since it does not only imply an idiomatic translation, which in itself is a titanic task for a book of this magnitude. Gianinna's work is enormous, colossal, because she has effectively managed to translate theoretical, political and epistemological debates produced in contexts that are very different from ours. Translation in the sense of making them apprehensible, understandable, intelligible and close so that they really come to enrich our own debates. Generating a feeling of familiarity with respect to the discussions raised in other countries is a complicated undertaking, but one that the translator has managed to solve with great power.

Without this enormous translation work, this book would run the risk of being inaccessible to colleagues outside the academic world, it would run the risk of being more of the same for those of us who do work in that world, in short, it would run the risk of not being an event as it is.

Because it is not the same to say State there and here, it is not the same to say populism, it is not the same to say activism, it is not the same to say criticism. The simple idiomatic transposition would not have recovered those nuances, so Gianinna's merit is to have given us hundreds of winks, of imperceptible marks, of invisible but very clear arrows that allow us not to get lost inside the book and to recognize the richness of the contributions and also -above all- the provocations that its authors throw at us.

You can review the prologue, table of contents and first pages of the book here:
https://ediciones.uahurtado.cl/libro/nuevas-agendas-politicas-para-el-trabajo-social/

Dissenting Social Work: Critical Theory, Resistance and Pandemic.

Paul Michael Garrett, Abingdon, Oxon, Routledge, 2021, 276 pp.
ISBN 978-0-367-90370-1. CLP$36.000 / USD$ 40,00

Gianinna Muñoz Arce[1]

While doing my PhD more than 10 years ago, I came across an inspiring book: *Social Work and Social Theory: Making Connections* (Policy Press, 2013). From that moment on I began to follow Paul Michael Garrett's scholarly contributions and I discovered his work on critical theory and social work to be exceptionally sharp, rigorous and conceptually dense that I could not help but share his contributions with my colleagues. Always on top of key debates and participating in controversial discussions (see for example *'A World to Win': In Defence of (Dissenting) Social Work-A Response to Chris Maylea*, published in 2021 in The British Journal of Social Work), Garrett is an exceptional author, a source of pride for our profession and discipline. It is a pity - and I lament - the language barrier that separates us. I am sure that if his work were known in Latin America it would be tremendously valued by our schools of Social Work, which have a vast tradition of critical social theory forged through their almost one hundred years of history. I hope this review motivates people to jump over the language barrier that separates us and try to approach his work.

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Dissenting Social Work: Critical Theory, Resistance and Pandemic', is a work that could not be more timely. Published in 2021, one year into the Covid-19 pandemic, Paul Michael Garrett provided us with discussions to think about the ways in which Social Work can raise resistance to the ravages of neoliberal capitalism, in the midst of uncertainty and fear and in the midst of a dystopian scenario. In those moments of despair, we witnessed a brutal precarisation of the employment conditions of thousands of social workers through the installation of 'tele-intervention', physical exposure and risk of contagion, the emergence of new forms of surveillance to control professional interventions, as well as a preoccupying increase of professionals facing mental health difficulties (Reininger et al., 2022). It was during this time that Garrett's book gave us the possibility to visualize a collective body existed internationally, and was addressing the consequences of the pandemic by contesting, challenging, and resisting. As I read his book I thought of comparisons and contrasts with the heterogeneous realities social workers face in different geopolitical regions, but I also found commonalities, such as the exacerbation of managerialist approaches, job insecurity, de-professionalisation, de-politicisation in the face of neo-conservatism, and the rise of neo-fascist currents - phenomenon that existed prior to the pandemic but whose intensity only grew during its onslaught. While this has been something 'so common' for social workers around the world, it has also brought about the possibility for social workers to respond in suspicious, collective and creative ways. In other words, through actions of resistance. Con este libro, el autor propone un concepto a la comunidad del Trabajo Social: *Dissenting Social Work (DSW).* No he sido capaz de traducirlo al español sin miedo a equivocarme. Podríamos decir "Trabajo Social Discordante" o "Trabajo Social Disconforme", pero la traducción que me ha hecho más sentido es "Trabajo Social Disidente". Lo abreviaré, de aquí en adelante, como TSD.

With this book, Garrett proposes the idea of Dissenting Social Work (DSW) to the social work community. The central premise of the book is to show that, in the context of the pandemic, we live in a singular political conjuncture: a key moment in which neoliberalism has revealed a progressive side (celebrating diversity and meritocracy, for example) while at the same time dismantling social protection and allowing the rich to increase their wealth exponentially. This conjuncture is also characterised by three phenomena associated with neoliberal capitalism: climate change, migratory flows, and the emergence of the neo-fascist populist right. It is a conjuncture in the sense that, although it accounts for an extremely complex moment, it opens a window to the possibility of rethinking Social Work through the contributions of important representatives of critical theory: Marx, Foucault, Zuboff, Ranciere, Wacquant, Arendt,

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Levinas, Fanon, Gramsci, among others. This is, in my opinion, one of the most powerful contributions of Garrett's book, as it carefully analyses the conceptual frameworks of each author, and based on these analyses, offers powerful conceptual 'resources' to underpin DSW. There is a second premise, perhaps in the background, but no less relevant, that without theory there is no critique in Social Work, and without it, there is no possible path other than that of repetition.

Accordingly, Garrett argues that DSW draws on critical social theory – in which different authors provide clues, provocations, and alternatives. He proposes that dissent has to be a collective effort rather than an individual activity, sustained by articulations with social movements, trade unions, user organisations, activist networks, among others. DSW offers an anti-capitalist perspective, enriched by feminist perspectives, the fight against 'white supremacy' and racism, and alert to the dangers of neo-fascism. It recognises that social work has often been complicit in oppressive processes, and proposes, with cognitive humility (rarely seen in European authors), that DSW should aim to *"decolonise social work knowledge and learn from perspectives derived from Africa, Asia and Latin America"* (p.4).

I want to dwell on this last point because I think there is much to unpack. 'Decolonising' Social Work is an aspiration, which, in my view, is an essential aspect of critical proposals in Social Work. The act of claiming 'decolonisation' is a political gesture that demonstrates a commitment to cognitive justice. Rarely discussed, cognitive justice is a foundational dimension of social justice -the horizon of Social Work according to its international definition (IASSW-IFSW, 2014). Nevertheless, despite this admirable proposal, the decolonisation of Social Work involves a debate within the discipline that in my opinion has not yet emerged and one that is not only political, but also ontological and epistemic. There are still many aspects to continue discussing; for example: at what points can Marx's work enter into dialogue with Liberation Theology, one of the primary sources of Latin American decolonial thought, which interprets the world through theological perspectives? Can a critical theoretical view, which emphasises the structural mechanisms that produce oppression and inequality, co-exist with indigenous views that, for example, border on shamanism or essentialist conceptions of spirituality? At what points can Marx's work enter into dialogue with decolonial feminisms which question the universalist and androcentric categories of some Marxist scholars? How then, from a 'decolonised' critical theory, can we understand the epistemological relation between subject and object? These are open discussions - fruitful controversies - for those of us who are passionate about disciplinary debates in Social Work.

Garrett's conceptual proposal moves in the same direction. It seeks to open debates, to discuss what is taken for granted, and to examine old and new issues in social work from a different conceptual angle. DSW is not intended to be a manifesto, but, according to the author, an artefact for critical reflection (p. 5), which allows us to develop the habit of questioning ourselves as a discipline, to interrogate the dominant approaches from which we understand the world, and to examine their operationalization both in professional intervention and education, challenging the idea that social workers are *"mere handmaidens or functional auxiliaries of capitalism and the institutional orders that it requires"* (p. 4). In this sense, the book makes an important contribution by proposing the concept of DSW, which *"might potentially provide a new knowledge project and a different type of analytical lens to view themes, issues and practices from fresh angles"* (p. 227), and which could contribute to the construction of unthought-of strategies, enabling the generation of new theoretical knowledge and other ways of approaching 'social problems' where class, gender, and 'race' are understood as intersected phenomena (p. 227). Consistent with its 'praxical' aspirations, at the end of each chapter the book provides exercises that can be used to promote this critical reflection in the classroom with students, in professional association meetings, in academic reunions, etc. These to me are invaluable resources for putting these conceptual proposals into play through collective construction.

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I highly recommend this book, as it provides relevant contributions to think and imagine a critical Social Work in our current turbulent time, and to strengthen the conceptual tools used to interpret the world to come. It will undoubtedly open up new questions and possibilities to think critically as a discipline and to exchange views with colleagues from other latitudes. This, I believe, is key to the Social Work we want to create, because as Garrett points out, *"...if there are no sustained attempts to generate more expansive and dissenting forms of thinking, then social work is, perhaps, at risk of being 'hollowed' or completely 'emptied out'"* (p. 229).

You can see details of the book and its table of contents here:
https://www.routledge.com/Dissenting-Social-Work-Critical-Theory-Resistance-and-Pandemic/Garrett/p/book/9780367903701

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are as a right. Reflecting on care from a perspective of redistribution and recognition Mariela Serey, Member of the Constitutional Convention - District 6

Por Carlos Andrade Guzmán[1]

> *"Today we are not alone. When we realised that we were not alone, when we realised that we needed each other to generate strength, and when we realised that this individualistic society that had been put into our heads which was supposedly the right way to achieve our objectives, was not the right one, we recognised that redistribution logically goes hand in hand with social justice".*

In this issue dedicated to the struggle for redistribution and recognition, we share this interview conducted by Carlos Andrade Guzmán, academic of the Department of Social Work at the University of Chile, with Mariela Serey, representative of District 6 at the Constitutional Convention and founder of the Organization "Yo Cuido", an association oriented to the struggle for the protection and safeguarding of the rights of caregivers and people with disabilities. Mariela left the presidency of "Yo Cuido" to become a member of the Convention and to include the issue of care in the text of the new Constitution put to a plebiscite on 4 September 2022. We hope you enjoy this conversation that puts the issue of care at the centre, from a perspective of recognition and redistribution. Thanks go to Mariela and Carlos for sharing this conversation with our readership.

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Carlos: Mariela, thank you very much for attending on a Saturday, knowing that your agenda is very busy with the work you are doing at the Convention. To begin with, I wanted to ask you, how did you become involved in the struggle for redistribution and recognition in terms of care?

Mariela: Because of an experience. Well, all this started in my life, in 2014. That's when I found myself, in inverted commas, "confronted" with the problem of care,

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which to this day continues to be a problem. In 2014 my daughter was born, she swallowed meconium in childbirth and this caused severe cerebral palsy, severe swallowing disorders and a refractory epilepsy that was very difficult to manage. These were the three main diagnoses. That led to a series of other conditions that made her 100% dependent. She required constant suction machines; she had to be fed, first by a nasogastric tube, then by a gastric button. That was from day one. In other words, she was born and immediately came with all these diagnoses as a result of what happened to her in childbirth. Up to that point, I was working as a primary school teacher. I was working in an establishment in Peñablanca, and of course, I went with the pre-natal period thinking that after the post-natal period I was going to start working immediately, after the legal six months, but all that came crashing down with what happened to us. And that's when I was faced with this situation where, of course, with all her health complications, I couldn't go back to my profession and I had to dedicate myself 100% to looking after her to keep her alive. That's the picture. My daughter required this care 24 hours a day, which obviously has an impact on the caregiver, which in this case was me: the mother. But it doesn't only affect the direct caregiver, who in this case is the main caregiver, it affects the whole environment. This is a situation that I always describe as a "nuclear bomb" that falls within the whole family circle but also extends far beyond. It falls on you as a person, then it spreads to your partner, to your family, to your closest circle, to your work, to your community. In other words, the issue begins to expand. It becomes a problem and when it becomes a problem, you are left alone. This is because, unfortunately, we have been made to see, feel and take comfort in the fact that we don't need anyone else, but simply ourselves, our capacities, and in this way we stop living in society. From one moment to the next we forget about each other. And we forget much more easily when there is some kind of serious problem. So, it is at that moment that I am confronted with this situation, which is, as I said, a "nuclear bomb". You are left alone in the end, for all that it means, and that loneliness means that you obviously can't work in a paid job because you are caring all day long. You are impoverished by 100% care, and it is not only an economic impoverishment, but an impoverishment in all aspects of your life; and society and the State, the community and every space forces you to transform yourself into this dyad, one that hopefully is enclosed within its walls, and that nobody sees, nobody listens and nobody is in charge. Only you.

Carlos: This dyad, is it the caregiver/ person in need of care?

Mariela: Yes. Unfortunately the rights of the person in need of care are not respected: that person does not exist. And you - the caregiver- cease to exist too..

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Carlos: Mariela, and what are you doing there? At that moment, when you are confronted with this "nuclear bomb", as you call it. Otherwise, how does it all start?

Mariela: In 2014, I was able to, in inverted commas, "subsist" until my leave lasted. This was because I had been on leave since my daughter's first year, due to her medical condition. Then I was on psychiatric leave. So I was able to be, quote unquote, "calm" for a year and a half after she was born. After that year and a half I had to take over the economic stability of the family. This was because my husband is an entrepreneur, so he didn't have anything stable either, and I, as a teacher, was the one who had a stable salary. When all that came to an end, we had to go and live with my in-laws, which was in 2015. Around 2017 I reinvented myself again. I started to support my husband in entrepreneurship and I dedicated myself 100% to the care of Amelia, my daughter. Then, that same year, I separated, and with my daughter we went to my parents' house. That's when I said: "we've hit rock bottom, I don't know what to do". I was a bit paralysed. I said to myself: "I have two possibilities: either I stay here locked up and sink with my daughter, or I try to do something". The answer was, of course, "I'm going to try to do something" and that "try to do something", I think, was a product of desperation. As a result of this, of this desperation, I started to look for answers on social networks and Google. I asked myself: "How can we be the only ones"; "Doesn't anyone else go through this? That's how I came to the concept of "caregiver", of "care", I came to the dependency law in Spain. I also searched here in Chile, I started looking to see if there were other people in a similar situation. For example, I came across Sonia Castro, from the association "Mamá Terapeuta". The people from "Mamá Terapeuta" were very generous with me, but I was with the issue of "care". Even today they ask me: "why did you do what you did?" To tell you the truth, I have no idea. I remember that through social networks I reached a councillor from Villa Alemana and I said "how social he is". The thing is that I spoke to him and he received me in his office, and of course, I go with this entire question that "I am a teacher, I can't work". During the time I had been at my parents' house, I had dedicated myself to scribbling on sheets of paper (which I still have) with red marker pens: "This is what they have to solve for me... if all this is sorted out, my daughter's life and mine would be better off". And with that I went to talk to the councillor. There, on the one hand, I told him: "I feel that as a woman, this right, this other right, is being violated", and on the other hand, "I think that these things have to be fixed at the system level so that our lives are better". So I created a programme, very handmade, which had ten points: I talked about work flexibility, that there had to be centres close to my work where my daughter was, for any kind of health complication, among other issues that were common sense to me. I put it down on paper and with that I went to talk to the councillor. My position was

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to give him that information and let him do his job. He told me: "Mariela, you know, it's the first time I've heard something like this, I'm super surprised, it's incredible", but then, "you know what Mariela, I can't do anything, you're the one who has to do something". And that's when the whole thing started. So it was like a snowball: they were situations that I wasn't looking for but that came to me. What this councillor did was to open up the possibilities for me to meet with politicians and explain my situation, this, approximately in 2018. Now, obviously I didn't have a political vision. I always thought that the meeting was between the councillor, me and a couple of other people who were going to be MPs. The thing is that a couple of days before the meeting, the councillor goes to me and says, "Mariela, how many people do we have for the meeting?" And I say, "Just me". He says to me: "Mariela, the place for the meeting has to be filled, because if not, the politicians who are going to go are not going to give you any importance". And I had about five days left before the meeting and I said: "Where can I find people if I've been locked up in my house for more than two years, with my daughter, and I don't know anyone?" So I published a post on social networks. It said: "I'm looking for women to take care of people with disabilities". The thing is that it was done in a centre for the physically disabled in Villa Alemana, where the people who participated in that centre went. They also invited the members, the mothers who took care of them, and I had a lot of support from that place. And it was full. So, of course, when I made the presentation, the room was full and the parliamentarians were very impressed. And that's how it started.

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Carlos: Mariela, what is "Yo Cuido"?

Mariela: "Yo Cuido" started as an organisation that allowed us to make ourselves visible, to unite, to fight, to no longer feel alone. It opened paths for us, it allowed us to empower ourselves as women, as leaders, as a family, and for many of us it has also meant and given us a meaning to continue. Many of those in need of care have died along the way as a result of their diagnoses, which is my case. For me, "Yo Cuido" allowed me to continue. To continue, knowing that I could not detach myself from a reality that no one seemed to care about until that moment, one that no one was taking care of, and for which I felt responsible. I felt responsible for what we had achieved, I also felt responsible for my daughter who had brought me to this. Thus, "Yo Cuido" became a fighting family, with very clear convictions and, on the personal side, my healing as well.

Carlos: And why did you organise through "Yo Cuido"?

Mariela: It was from the experience with the councillor, to understand that "they won't listen to you alone, you have to organise yourself". But it wasn't just because we wanted to, but because it was necessary. And none of us had any experience in that either. So it was all new, but we did it. And we did it with the conviction that we had already found each other, and we would do it because what we were going through seemed like nobody cared and we were going to have to take care of it ourselves.

Carlos: Mariela, how did you get to the Convention? Did anyone say to you: "you have to go in"?

Mariela: No, nobody told me anything. Look, we at "Yo Cuido" have been working with parliamentarians since 2018. Besides, I have never been an activist, but we have always been close to a sector, working on the creation of public policies. In other words, we already had that path with a party that had supported us from the beginning. Before that, the social outburst came and we as an organisation decided to get involved, because we were involved in politics from day one. That's how we said: "Our human rights are being violated", isn't that politics? So, with that conviction we said: "You know what, let's go for the new constitution". Because we also understood as an organisation that everything we had done since we started had been our struggle, a product of the model that was the basis of the current Constitution. We managed to understand that we needed a much more profound change so that our demands could come to fruition. That is why we got involved as an organisation in the "I Approve New Constitution". Then, the campaign for the new constitution came out and this election came along, where many different positions were being elected at the same time. At that time, I don't really remember very well, but I think I was asked for a meeting by the party we had been working with from the beginning. They said to me: "Mariela, maybe you would like to be a councillor, something like that"... And I said: "Never". I said: "The only thing I could go for is the new constitution", and "I would do it because we are going to enshrine the right to care". And that was my immovable position. So that's how I came to this.

Carlos: : Mariela, and today, what are the struggles you are fighting for from your position in the Convention?

Mariela: As I am not participating in any commission after the work of the permanent commissions (Harmonisation, Transitional Standards and Preamble), we went to the territories. We are going out to talk to people, providing information, answering

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questions, etc. This is also to fight against false information and misinformation about the constitutional process. So, we are in this period of active listening, but also of saying from the first voices: "this is what was worked on", "this is what is written and not what is being said by some parties and which has no validity whatsoever". That is the work we have been doing these last few weeks. What we have achieved in these last meetings is a revitalisation of the movement. As well as: "these guys played 100% inside, now we as a society have to take responsibility for participating". And that has been very nice.

Carlos: Mariela, thinking back to day one, when you entered the Convention, what were the struggles you had to put up?

Mariela: Well, what happened is that I feel that we as an organisation did a very good job from the outside, in the sense that I didn't have to make much effort; I wore the "Yo Cuido" T-shirt and many of the constituents who were inside already knew about the organisation. They knew about our struggle, they knew where we came from. It was something very organic. I don't know how to explain it very well, but, for example, we entered with two very crucial processes. On the one hand, the issue of the pandemic, which highlighted the care crisis, and on the other hand, all the presidential speeches, in an extremely transversal way, were talking about care. With these two extremely important events, we entered the constituent process. As an organisation we were already "recognised" among the social movements and that made the conversation very easy. There was a lot of respect. The truth is that on the issue of care, inclusion, non-discrimination and disability, there was a lot of respect.

Carlos: Mariela, and if we think about how the state has operated throughout history, how has it operated in terms of recognition and redistribution of rights in relation to care?

Mariela: With total abandonment. Absolute neglect. That is my main diagnosis from the beginning until today. Now the issue is on the table, we are thinking about a comprehensive care system, where there is going to be funding. In other words, we are only now at a good place to talk about redistribution, co-responsibility, all the wonderful words that we have been using for several years now. But, until now, it has been completely neglected by all the authorities on duty..

Carlos: And on the part of civil society and business?

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Mariela: We, for example, from the organisation, and obviously having a strong political stance, we have not had any luck with companies, but on the public sector side and with civil society, from the "Yo Cuido Organisation", we have. That is, for example, we have worked on the creation of public policies and on political advocacy, and we have managed to make progress. We have managed, for example, to work with other state bodies. Now, all those instances in which it was previously impossible to think that women carers could participate, are being used 100%. Before, we were left out because, for example, everything was done in person, and it was impossible for a caregiver to go every day from 9 a.m. to 1 p.m. to such and such a place. That was impossible. But now, because of the pandemic, most things are done online and at times when they can participate, so we have been able to occupy those spaces. .

Carlos: Mariela, and if you could answer in broad terms, why is it that today, as a country, we are talking about care in terms of recognition and redistribution?

Mariela: I think that everything that has happened since the social outburst, and this, without taking away the weight of anything that happened previously, I feel that it showed a lot of unhappiness on the part of the population. It showed that everyone had their own ordeals in their own places: dissatisfaction as a result of poor health, poor education, and so on. In other words, it was as if we all felt very similar things, but until then we hadn't had the capacity to express them. And for me, at least, that was the social explosion. It was like realising that today we are not alone. So, when we realised that we were not alone, when we realised that we needed each other to generate strength, and when we realised that this individualistic society that had been put into our heads... which was supposedly the right way to achieve our goals, was not the right way, we recognised ourselves. That's when we started to talk about care, about this care economy, about this care society, about a "care state". We understood that we have to take care of each other, and not only of people, but also of our environment, to take care of our nature, to take care of water. We realised the responsibility we have, but it is a collective responsibility, not an individualistic one, typical of this model that was imposed on us. And redistribution logically goes hand in hand with social justice. This whole struggle has to do with that, with the idea of social justice.

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Mariela: On the issue of redistribution, in concrete terms: more crèches, more work flexibility, more specialised rehabilitation centres, more opportunity for what I once dreamed of: having workplaces closer to the centres where people who require specific care can be. Also more specialisation for the professionals who are going to fulfil this care role. The care profession should also be dignified, a career in care should be created at the institutional level, and a low salary should not continue to be perpetuated for a person who fulfils the role of caring for someone else. So, I believe that we must also move forward along these lines. Care must be collectivised. We must also create an awareness from the earliest years of life that both men and women have the same capacity to care for others, and that we must have the same responsibility to care for others, and to care for ourselves as well. What do I hope for? A profound change in the way we relate to each other, in the way we understand how each family functions. That we become more generous, that we show more solidarity. And that there really is this caring society where we have the capacity to no longer shut ourselves away, but to talk, because that also helps us with our mental health, which today is really affected. In terms of recognition, it is about seeing the diversity of realities. For example, we were very concerned that people simply talked about paying women who were carers in the home, but without seeing everything that goes with it. It is important that the person who, for whatever reason, is going to be paid a salary, it should be fair, and it should be by choice and not by imposition, which is what happens now. By being by decision and not by imposition, it promotes that there is no violation of rights. In other words, it is a question of not truncating the life projects of those who today, many times, have to assume care. This is about recognition.

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Carlos: Mariela, and finally, what do you feel we need as a country in terms of conditions for this to be sustainable?

Mariela: Look, I think there is a different way of doing things, and this is what happened in the constituent process, at least in the commission where I worked, which was the "Fundamental Rights" commission. There, many of the issues we worked on: the rights of the elderly, the rights of people with disabilities, the issue of care, the issue of health, education, etc., were worked on directly with organisations. This has to be done in this way. I really believe that this is the way to do politics. Sitting down, talking, listening to each other, reaching agreements. With the issue of care, with the issue of redistribution, with the issue of recognition, it has to be the same way. What I would not like here, and this is what has happened so far in many issues, is for things to be done behind closed doors, where there is no participation of the population that lives with the problem, and that, in doing so, in the end, things are done that do not work. So, what I hope, from what is coming now and with what we are leaving at the base of this draft Constitution, is that we can work in a cross-cutting, inter-ministerial, inter-sectoral way, and hand in hand with civil society and with the people who live with the problems. For me, this is the new creation of policy, this is the new way of creating programmes and public policies, because otherwise, it is useless. And it should be progressive, because it would be an illusion to think that from one day to the next everyone is going to have crèches, that there will be thousands of rehabilitation centres, it is not like that. Let's start, but let's start. Because we already know what the needs are.

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Carlos: Mariela, anything else you want to add?

Mariela: No, nothing.

Carlos: Mariela, thank you very much for this conversation.

Mariela: No, thank you very much Carlos

Find out more about Mariela's work, Constitutional Convention Member for District 6.

https://www.chileconvencion.cl/constituyentes/mariela-serey/

http://www.nomasviolenciacontramujeres.cl/mariela-serey-de-asociacion-yo-cuido-el-cuidado-tiene-que-quedar-en-la-nueva-constitucion-tiene-que-ser-un-derecho-el-cuidar-y-el-ser-cuidado/

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Mariela Serey is the founder of "Yo Cuido", an association formed by women caregivers of family members with dependency due to illness, severe disability and/or chronic condition, who joined together to fight for the rights of both. Until July 4, she served as Conventional for District 6 in order to install the issue of the right to care as an integral part of the text of the New Constitution.

The recognition of old age: critical perspectives from vocational training

By Haydee Chamorro García[1] and Natalí Marcela Sánchez Chauca[2]

> *We can say that we are in an initial process of changing the paradigm of old age, which calls us to continue rethinking old age, thus, in plural, and to do so from critical perspectives that allow us to deconstruct negative stereotypes and prejudices of old age that persist and are reproduced in our daily practices, naturalizing the exclusion of older adults. Thinking about old age from critical perspectives implies, therefore, to problematize the various structural dynamics that restrict people's freedom, autonomy, functionality and social and political participation, reproducing the conception that certain bodies have more value than others because of their usefulness to the system*

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In this we discuss a topic of great relevance for our societies: old age as a field of research and teaching in Social Work. The conversation presented here is nourished by the reflections arising from the academic training experience at the Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos (UNMSM) in Peru, developed by the teaching team formed by social workers Haydee Chamorro García and Natalí Sánchez Chauca during 2021. This conversation reflects some of their concerns regarding the way in which the population is aging in the context of deepening inequality gaps in Peru, which we also

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see transversally in Latin America. They also share with us their lessons learned and proposals for thinking, from these concerns, the inclusion of a critical gerontological perspective in the training of future generations of social workers. We thank Haydee and Natalí for sharing these discussions in our journal.

Haydee: As in other countries in the region, we know that the Peruvian population is aging by leaps and bounds. We are living longer and longer, but under what conditions are we doing so? There are still large inequality gaps and structural discrimination mechanisms that affect old age and are exacerbated by multiple hierarchies of oppression throughout the life course, such as the fact of being a woman and rural, among other identity categories that are configured in situations of social exclusion that affect the elderly.

Based on the most recent report of the National Institute of Statistics and Informatics (INEI, 2022), the number of older adults amounts to 13% of the total population of Peru, which represents approximately 5,018,485 people. It is important to note that, as is the case worldwide, one of the characteristics of the population aging process in Peru is its feminization: a greater proportion of older women as a result of their greater longevity. At the national level, households with at least one member aged 60 years or older amount to 38.9%, and this percentage will continue to increase, because even after the Covid-19 pandemic, the evidence shows that the process of population aging continues worldwide.

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Natalí: It is important to contextualize aging in Peruvian society, because in recent times there have been significant regulatory advances for the recognition of the rights of older adults. For example, accession to the Inter-American Convention on the Protection of the Human Rights of Older Persons -hereinafter Convention-, came into force on March 31, 2021 and so far has meant a regulatory framework whose definitions, approaches and rights guide and strengthen the current national regulations. We now have the National Multisectoral Policy for Older Persons (PNMPAM), approved in June 2021, which recognizes structural discrimination against older persons as a public problem and contains a series of objectives and guidelines that, through differentiated services, establish responsibilities for the different levels of government and sectors of the State. It is also important to note that we have the Law on Older Adults, published on July 21, 2016, and its Regulations, published in 2018 and updated in July 2021, within the framework of the contents of the Convention.

Despite these significant advances that have allowed a first approach to the normative recognition of the rights of older adults, for the construction of processes that allow a paradigm shift regarding the understanding of old age and aging there are still great steps to be taken. The recognition of the rights of older adults also implies social recognition and, with it, changes in practices and narratives towards and with old age in everyday life and in institutions. A change of paradigm means, among other aspects, a change in the way of conceiving life, its course and the subjects that in the present continuum live old age.

Haydee: Exactly. With the regulations approved in 2021, Peru has made great strides. However, as we have mentioned above, we can say that we are still in an initial process of paradigm shift of old age, which calls us to continue rethinking old age, thus, in plural, and to do so from critical perspectives, which allow us to deconstruct stereotypes and negative prejudices of old age that persist and are reproduced in our daily practices, naturalizing the exclusion of older adults. Thinking about old age from critical perspectives implies problematizing the various structural dynamics that restrict people's freedom, autonomy, functionality and social and political participation, reproducing the conception that certain bodies have more value than others because of their usefulness to the system.

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This conception is materialized in discriminatory and exclusionary practices that, in the case of older adults, place them in a position of subalternity with respect to hegemonic models linked to the body, age, gender and ethnic origin and identity that translate into, as Rita Segato (2007) states, a young, heterosexual, masculine and white male "one" that produces and reproduces in the system.

Under this logic of exclusion, the lives of older adults develop in adverse scenarios that limit their lives and the viability of being with others, in line with what Butler states about some human beings not being recognized as human at all and this leads them to another viable order of life (in Danel, 2019), an inferior one. In this sense, from critical perspectives we can also question the impact of oppressive systems in the daily lives of many people throughout their life course and that in old age is identified in social and economic gaps, which in Peru are represented in much higher proportions than in other age groups, and even more so if we are talking about women and diversities.

Natalí: This is related to what Carballeda (2020) says, in the sense that Social Work has the ability to look at the singular (individuals, collectives in their daily lives) without losing sight of the structural and systematic, territorially located. It has the

capacity to analyze and make visible the micro and the macro-social from a situated and intersectional perspective. From critical positions this is particularly important, as it retakes the agency and autonomy of the subject within the social, being even more relevant in the Latin American territory, due to our socio-historical processes of colonial domination and emancipatory struggles. Therefore, betting on a critical social praxis with old age, from Social Work, makes emancipatory processes viable that take as a central element the lives of the subjects, their voices, interests, demands and proposals for change.

Haydee: This bet is even more crucial when we are on a path of recovery from the Covid-19 pandemic, which exacerbated old ageism and age discrimination in old age by appealing to protectionist discourses and practices, which limited the rights and freedoms of older adults in a context of socio-health emergency.

In short, given that Social Work is located at the intersection between the macro and the micro-social, it has the great power - and responsibility - to open paths of deconstruction of imaginaries, narratives and practices that are socio-culturally rooted and institutionally reproduced. From a critical stance, we can develop a different way of thinking and do something else with old age.

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Natalí: In this sense, it is worth asking about the role that academia and schools of Social Work have in terms of proposing critical views to address old age as a field of intervention, contributing to meaningful social processes and public management. The development of thinking and doing with old age from critical perspectives generates significant impacts at the level of social processes, as it allows to dispute meanings in the individual and collective daily life, in order to build relational processes between the different generations that make up the social. That is, to open paths of respect and intergenerational sharing.

This has a significant impact on the design of public policies, and through them, on the implementation of programs and services for the elderly population. From a critical perspective, we are committed to designing public policies that recognize older adults as subjects of rights, thus acknowledging their diversity, their capacity for agency, as well as the structural inequalities that have caused many people to be left behind. Based on this recognition, the issue of the multiethnic and multilingual elderly that make up the cultural diversity of Peru, and which, in fact, is a characteristic present in our sister countries in Latin America, can be incorporated into the public agenda. In the same way, it makes visible the social issue of female old age and sexual diversity within the framework of a patriarchal and heteronormative system. Finally, it allows us to identify the capacitism present in the aging processes that limits the full interaction between the

subjects and their environment, thus generating greater isolation and dependence. What does it mean that the management of programs and services should recognize older adults as subjects of rights? It means that their planning, execution and evaluation should be carried out within the framework of the human rights of older adults, in order to guarantee a management free of stereotypes and negative prejudices about old age. The management should be carried out in the country's territories, since they are so diverse in their historical-social processes and cultural characteristics. Finally, and no less important, public management from critical perspectives of old age and aging assumes interdependence and co-responsibility in care -a topic that is very relevant in the social issue of old age-, for which the State is also responsible. This is a relevant issue to highlight, because in Peru, as in many Latin American countries, there is still no Public Care System.

On the other hand, through the experiences of sister countries in the region, we have been able to learn about the impact of critical perspectives on thinking and doing with old age within the academic environment, connecting academic-professional training with the social issue of aging and old age from perspectives other than the hegemonic ones that, in the Academy, are still materializing in narratives and practices that homogenize the aging process and reduce old age to pathological situations. Based on critical views, in countries such as Argentina, Chile and Uruguay, for example, the subject of old age and aging has been incorporated as a course within the curricula; likewise, new spaces for academic extension have been opened, such as areas of specialization and interdisciplinary scientific production in the field of gerontology, and research groups that seek to contribute to public policies in this area.

Haydee: Being the largest and oldest public university in Peru (founded in 1551, the Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos (UNMSM), better known as San Marcos), we have been interested in investigating the proposals of the professional schools that have in their curricula a course related to old age and aging. Due to its trajectory and history -and also because we belong to this university-, it is important to highlight how San Marcos has been incorporating topics related to old age and aging in the academic-professional training of its students.

We found that in the wide diversity of professional schools of this house of studies, until 2018, only three incorporated within their curricular plan courses that referred to old age: Psychology, Medicine and Nursing. As a first reference we find the course of Intervention in Gerontology in the school of Psychology. The objective of this course

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was to develop technical-procedural competencies for intervention in the problem of human aging. In this regard, it is striking that they spoke of "problem" and not of situation. It should be noted that this course is no longer included in the current curriculum. In the case of Medicine and Nursing, the aim is to train students to recognize pathologies associated with old age and the health care of the elderly. In sum, we can infer that in both schools, the biomedical approach associated with the implementation of these courses prevails. This characteristic is not gratuitous, since it obeys a paradigm of old age understood as a disease, i.e., prevalently associated with the deterioration and decline of the body.

Natalí: Let's talk about the experience at the Professional School of Social Work at UNMSM. The School of Social Work is part of the Faculty of Social Sciences of the Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos. On November 18, 2020, it obtained national accreditation by the National System of Evaluation, Certification and Accreditation of Educational Quality (SINAEACE), being the first of six schools of the Faculty of Social Sciences to achieve this.

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As part of this accreditation process, in 2018 its curricular plan was updated in order to strengthen the competencies of students, further connecting academic training with the complexity of social reality. It is in this process that the Social Gerontology course is incorporated as an elective subject for the seventh cycle. This course was implemented for the first time in 2021, still in the context of the Covid-19 pandemic, so it was developed virtually.

The objective of this course was to analyze the approaches to old age, the aging process, international and national standards, as well as the development agendas of older adults; likewise, to analyze and discuss public policies, programs and public services for this age population, reviewing the actions of Social Work in them. It is worth mentioning that in this first cohort there was a large number of students, with more than 30 enrolled. What topics were included in the syllabus of this first cohort of the Social Gerontology course? First of all, the theories, approaches and concepts of old age and aging, as well as the national reality of older adults and the international and national regulations for their protection and promotion of rights in connection with public policies for protection, promotion and social inclusion. It also included a unit to learn about and analyze the institutions, programs and social services aimed at older adults in Peru. In addition, the topic of organization and social participation of older adults was developed. Finally, the professional actions of Social Work with this age group were addressed.

Haydee: Something very interesting was the methodology on which the course was based. An active teaching-learning method was used. Since it was developed virtually, we made use of synchronous and asynchronous collaborative work tools in order to make the exchange between all of us feasible. During the classes, expository and questioning techniques were used, as well as the exchange of points of view and group work. One of them consisted of conducting interviews with elderly people from social organizations, a very significant work, both for the students and for the elderly participants.

Seminars and thematic discussions were also organized for each unit, which were open to the community due to the interest that the School took in making the course and the topics covered in each one of them visible.

We noticed that there were many expectations on the part of the students, a lot of interest in knowing the regulatory framework oriented to older adults in Peru and, with this, to recognize their rights in society. We observed a marked interest in learning about the situation of the elderly in Peru, with emphasis on the gaps and discrimination; this under the premise that we were in a process of social upheaval as a result of the Covid-19 pandemic that affected, mainly, the elderly.

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The participatory construction of social action routes, from Social Work, around the existing gaps in the older adult population, was also highly valued by the students.
Natalí: This process resulted in several lessons learned: first, the identification of negative stereotypes and prejudices towards old age among the students, who emphasize that the course has allowed them to initiate a process of deconstruction of narratives and practices that reproduce old age and are rooted in everyday life.

On the other hand, it was also important to learn about the situation of old age through the voice of its protagonists: organized older adults. This learning was strengthened through the seminars and discussions organized within the framework of the course, with the participation of representatives of various organizations, such as the National Association of Organizations of Older Adults of Peru - ANAMPER Network, the National Association of Older Adults - ANAM Peru, the International Network for the Prevention of Elder Abuse - INPEA Peru, the Collective for the Rights of Older Adults - Reflection and Action, the Coordinator of Representatives of Organizations of Older Adults and People Committed to the Defense of their Rights of Lima and Callao - COORDEPAM, and the District Network of Older Adults of Callao.

Another valuable learning experience was the knowledge of the national regulations oriented to older adults and their link with binding international normative documents, such as the Inter-American Convention on the Protection of the Human Rights of Older Persons, to which Peru adhered just two months before the beginning of the course.
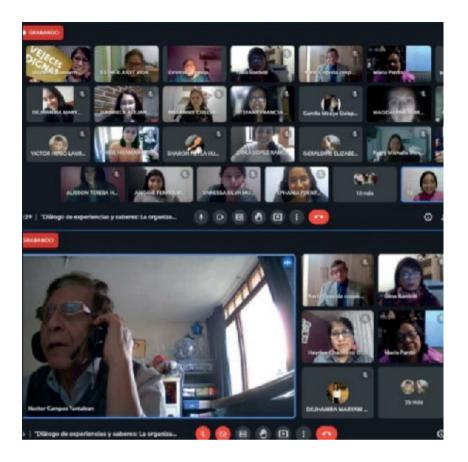
In addition, the students suggested the inclusion of topics related to old age from a gender perspective, continuing education as a right, care and social protection of the elderly population, as well as age discrimination in old age and old ageism, in order to continue deepening the field of social gerontology in subsequent cohorts of the course. Haydee: I had the pleasure of being called by the professor in charge of the Social Gerontology course at the Professional School of Social Work, Dr. Esther Vidal Córdova, to support the development of the course, focusing mainly on the organization of seminars and discussions in each of the units. This call was very relevant for me because the professor recognized my trajectory of specialization and militant commitment in the gerontological field. Likewise, this first cohort allowed me and Natalí to get to know each other, and it definitely meant a turning point for both of us, since it made it possible for us to meet and reaffirm that old age is a problematic field of professional intervention - hence the importance of having included this course within the curriculum of our school. However, it seems appropriate to rethink the definition of the course in terms of its incorporation in the curriculum as an elective. Due to the socio-demographic context we are going through at a national and Latin American level, and the increasingly accelerated process of population aging, why not consider this course as a mandatory one? And, since many pre-professional practice centers have elderly people as their user population, could it be even more convenient that this course be taken in the third year cycles (at the beginning of the specialty) and not in the fourth year? These are questions that we ask ourselves as a starting point in this long road that began with its implementation.

Natalí: In short, the course of Social Gerontology means a way for Social Work to problematize the social issue of old age, betting on reconfiguring the still hegemonic perspectives regarding older adults, as well as the methodologies implemented in the different devices of attention to this age group, in order not to continue reproducing old age narratives and practices, which unfortunately still persist in the institutions and in our daily life.

Haydee: We hope that this dialogue motivates reflection on how to make a critical turn in our understanding and problematization of old age and aging.

Natalí: Thank you very much.

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Photographs captured on screen on August 27, 2021 in the virtual event called "Dialogue of experiences and knowledge: the organization and participation of older adults in Peru", with the outstanding participation of representatives of organizations of older adults in Peru. .

"Nothing about older adults without older adults."
Source: Natalí Sánchez's personal archives.

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Learn more about Haydee and Natalí's work:
¡Convención ya! La lucha de las personas adultas mayores por el reconocimiento de sus derechos en el Perú. http://perio.unlp.edu.ar/ojs/index.php/actas

¿Protección social como derecho o sobreprotección que anula derechos? La oportunidad de un cambio de paradigma de la vejez a partir del contexto de pandemia por el Covid-19. https://revistas.unlp.edu.ar/escenarios/article/view/1084

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Senior Connection, social entrepreneurship that provides consultancy and develops social projects in the gerontological field with the Central Government, local governments, private institutions, academia, and the community. https://www.facebook.com/ConexionAdultoMayor