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The emergence of social visitors in Chile 1925-1940:
Historical memory of ideology and utopia

El surgimiento de las visitadoras sociales en Chile 1925-1940:
Memoria histórica de ideología y utopía

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How to cite

I dedicate this work to my father, Luis Armando Alvarez Inzunza. [2]

Abstract

The present historical memory work deals with the emergence of social visitors in Chile that exposes the path from charity to social assistance from 1925 to 1940. In this sense, it is contextualised historically, highlighting the relevance of the labour movement and the pauperistic social, political and economic conditions in the social question. For the same, a theoretical debate is made with different Latin American authors on the history of social work that makes ideology visible. Subsequently, the construction of the first social service schools in Chile exposed the different areas that have opened up to history since the 1920s and the social visitors' different social processes and economic and political memories. Criticism of palliative social service is considered in the development of the same history, values such as social justice, the responsibility, educational role and visibility of social visitors on the devaluation of life in the opposite direction to the economic

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reason of the social question. It is anticipated that the visitors will be tense with this context and powerful in their social criticism.

Subsequently, it dialogues with the perspectives of ideology in Ricoeur and Marx, giving an account of the social imaginary and the relevance of utopia to the re-signification of social work. To deconstruct social work from the unthought, the utopia should inevitably be based on the sound of social justice in the creative principles of the historical, social and political world and not in its reproduction.

Resumen

El presente trabajo de memoria histórica trata del surgimiento de las visitadoras sociales en Chile que expone el trayecto de la beneficencia a la asistencia social de 1925 a 1940. En este sentido, se contextualiza históricamente, destacando la relevancia del movimiento obrero y las paupérrimas condiciones sociales, políticas y económicas en la cuestión social. Por lo mismo, se hace un debate teórico con diferentes autores latinoamericanos sobre la historia del trabajo social que visibilizan ideología. Posteriormente, se expone la construcción de las primeras escuelas de servicio social en Chile, las diferentes áreas que se abren al alero de la historia desde los años 20 y cómo los diferentes procesos sociales, políticos y económicos van marcando la memoria histórica de las visitadoras sociales. Se pondera la crítica al servicio social paliativo en el desarrollo de la misma historia, los valores como la justicia social, la responsabilidad, el rol

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Introduction

Memory questions the conditioning of truth that has reduced the human being only to precariousness. A conditioning that, according to Lévinas (1977), is linked to Modernity imprisoned within itself. Within social work, it is significant to rework memory and question ourselves to illuminate paths towards the resignification of the profession (Alvarez, 2008); we have a journey, a history dense in historical and social experiences that provides us with the foundational basis for working towards utopia, both in the theory of knowledge and in praxis.

In this sense, it can be seen that the social visitors, from the beginning in 1925, held a critical configuration to the ideology of the status quo and the socio-economic conditions. Thus, the relevance of being constituted in history from practice, in everyday life, assuming the complexity of social and material relations in the social question is exposed. The profession's historical development is inalienable from the very dynamics of the social and political reality demanded by the workers' movement in relation to human dignity at the end of the 19th century. The class problem permeates the historical development of Karl Marx.

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On the other hand, according to Ricoeur (2000), historical memory is considered as presence, absence and anteriority. According to the above, "historical reflection in social work from this perspective implies generating questions about the encounters between past and present" (Carballeda, 2006, p.9), updating the present from memory towards utopian becoming.

Background

With the Industrial Revolution in 1760, the emergence of the proletariat changed the political and social scenario due to exploitation and capitalism. Subsequently, with the French Revolution in 1789, there was a social upheaval in Europe in the face of the privileges exposed by the precarious sectors of Modernity. Then, in 1891, Rerum Novarum, Pope Leo XIII's encyclical on the situation of workers, appeared. This encyclical concerns the conditions of workers, their rights to organise in trade unions, their dignity as human beings, and a call for the elites to collaborate and be more aware of the significant abuses towards the workers.

The end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century was when the social uprising of the exploited and neglected sectors emerged in Chilean history from the workers' movement, revealing a political, historical and social situation built on inequality, profit and oppression of the workforce. In Chile, Recabarren talks about the exploitation of workers.

> *I also want to speak of this progress and these greatnesses, but you will allow me to put them in their proper place and to bring to light all the miseries which are forgotten or hidden or which because they are too commonplace, we do not bother about them (1910, p.1).*

The immorality of the bourgeois class for Recabarren (1910) consisted not only in being part of the capitalist order that maintained the misery of the working class over time but also in the emptiness of not recognising moral responsibility. This crisis will lead to essential changes in many aspects, ranging from everyday life to the very conformation of states (Carballeda, 2007, p.37). Jorge Barría (1971) calls the period 1909-1925 "The Heroic Period" because of the splendour of the workers' movement.

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At the end of the First World War, there was a crisis from 1919 to 1921, which further eroded the national economy (inflation, balance of payments), resulting in unemployment for workers in all sectors, but especially for people working in the saltpetre industry; the national budget was destabilised, causing prices to rise. In 1920, Arturo Alessandri Palma was elected president, and the middle class became a reference point for power. On the other hand, the massacres of workers in San Gregorio in 1921 and La Coruña in 1925 further tarnished the conflict of social inequality that was experienced in the "social question".

The origins of Chilean and Latin American social work date back to this period, when an effort was made to move towards professionalisation in social work. In Chile, in 1925, the first school of social work, Doctor Don Alejandro del Río School, was created, the first in Latin America. The areas of work in the beginning were paralegal and paramedical (Aylwin et al., 2004), starting in 1930 with prison work. This turbulent decade in which social work emerged is inescapable for a historical understanding of the profession.

To paraphrase Carballeda (2007), in the origins of social work, from those years onwards, we find a new element: social policy. This will appear, in principle, as a mediator[3] between the social inequalities produced by capitalism. However, from Ricoeur's (2001) ideology, there is no neutrality, and the Chilean state will have a great weight on the repressive and remedial context towards the unfinished demands of the people. For the same reason, Netto (2002), Parra (2004), Iamamoto (2006), Montaño (2007), Solyszko et al., (2018), among others, affirm that the emergence of social visitors and their advancement is intimately linked to the development of capitalism. Esquivel (2012) also highlights this context of the social question and concern for impoverished sectors in the beginnings of social service in Europe. In the United States, "Mary Richmond (...) insisted on the creation of a school for social workers. The COS realised this idea in 1898 with the creation of the New York School of Philanthropy" (Di Carlo, 2011, p.49).

The world gave a glimpse of a response through laws, reforms, encyclicals, social policies, etc. In Argentina, in the 1930s, "the logic of confluence of forces and interests is expressed in the decisions, in the rules, in the power structures of the state [...] in that process, decisions have a high ideological component; therefore, the separation between economics and politics is a central strategy" (Rozas Pagaza, 2018, p.46). Morales (2015) also emphasises the social and economic context at the beginning of the social work profession and the acute crisis in Chile at the start of the century.

So, 1925 was characterised by this deep worldwide economic conflict that increased subhuman conditions.

> For all these reasons, the researcher agrees with Netto's (2002) definition that the expression 'social question' is an objectification of conservative thought, which reduces what are structural problems of the bourgeois order to a depoliticised expression because it sidesteps the responsibilities of inequality and naturalises socio-economic and socio-political issues, avoiding social transformation (Alvarez, 2008, p.10).

Illanes (2006) highlights the school and the church as an articulator of social and material support. Barrantes (2007) argues that from the 1920s to the 1950s, the institutionalisation of social work was directly linked to the crisis of the agro-export model and the oligarchic states.

[3] Mediation not as neutrality

> *The professional must permanently make theoretical, ideological, political and ethical choices in their professional practice. These choices can open the paths to build an intervention based on values that have emancipation as a goal, recognising the subjects from a historical perspective (Parra, 2002, p.38).*

According to Matus (1999), an awareness of theory and praxis should, therefore, be created that neither arbitrarily separates them nor destroys theory through the primacy of practical reason since thinking is a doing and theory is a form of praxis.

Parra (2002) criticises social work's conservative origins and professional ethics because, according to his perspective, it was parameterised in metaphysical and idealistic conceptions. Faleiros (1974) points out that ideology and science are intertwined in a unity of liberation or domination, where the object of Social Work is conceived as the social action of the oppressed and dominated man.

Alayón (2005) argues that for social work, insofar as it is a reproducer of ideology and the dominant scientific knowledge, its action is inserted within the space that the apparatus of domination grants it. "It was also a step on the road to scientificity and was very far from being an attempt at welfarist actions" (González, 2016, p.120).

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Historical memory 1925-1940: from welfare to social assistance

In ancient times, charity was carried out through almsgiving and social aid with a strong moralistic emphasis, but in isolated events, charity was not worked in a rigorous and/or orderly manner. The theme of charity comes from the social context of the 1800s. Charity, in the words of Lucy Gómez (1995), was transferred to the municipalities with a relative persistence of welfare.

In Chile, in 1932, the Junta de Beneficencia y Salud Pública was created, which influenced the imagination of the social and political elite. The state, therefore, promoted the creation of the Junta, but the Catholic Church also encouraged the creation of charity. Nevertheless, it was the same state that was authoritarian and carried out the massacres of organised workers.

Thus, welfare in Chile is replaced by social assistance, requiring this change to train social visitors and provide them with more and better technical tools, enabling them to work effectively with the social reality in terms of unhealthiness, overcrowding

and social rights. Illanes (2010) also highlights the Beneficencia as an adjunct to the construction of the welfare state in Chile. The idea of the state was to contribute to social stability and control after the laws passed in 1924, which responded to the social and political predicaments in which the labour movement had placed the Chilean state since the end of the 19th century. Historically, the laws and social policy have not been able to provide a comprehensive solution to the status quo.

Paraphrasing Aylwin et al. (2004)[4], it is acknowledged that the social laws passed during the 1924 dictatorship were the platform for developing the social policies that were later generated in the country. So,

> *The Compulsory Insurance Fund was born out of a law passed in 1924, in which employers have to insure their workers against the risks of sickness, disability, old age and death. The institution receives contributions from employers, workers, and the state (Aylwin et al., 2004, p.126).*

The political and legal context of the social visitors in the field of social policies, according to Gómez Michel (1995), led to the approval of social laws, such as workers' insurance, employment contracts, trade union organisations, environmental health, etc. However, despite their social benefits, they were palliative measures since the economic and social problems persisted.

In this sense, Tocornal Luz (1941), quoted by Aylwin et al. (2004), points out that "it is no exaggeration to say that this is an impoverished country and that the exploitation of the wealth represents a great and constant effort. A set of laws partially compensates this environmental scarcity" (p.124).

Likewise, the constitution of 1925 and the laws passed in 1931 forged strategic assistance from the liberal state, with all its normalisation and order, to moderate the power of the workers, so relevant to the historical and social memory of Chile, which brought to light the social discontent before the social question of the 1930s, which is why this was a period in which there was already talk of prevention in social service. According to Aylwin et al. (2004), this context makes visible an essential achievement in the first stage of social service, such as social legitimisation, which influences the outside world where the profession is in demand.

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[4] I would like to thank Professor Teresa Matus for her influence on my training and her generosity, in 2008, with some books such as, La reinvención de la memoria indagación sobre el proceso de profesionalización del Trabajo Social Chileno 1925-1965 (The reinvention of memory, an enquiry into the process of professionalisation of Chilean Social Work 1925-1965).

In this context, in the institutions and the 1924 laws themselves, there are notions of seeing the other as lacking; although they want to see beyond that, they speak of incapable and misguided. For example, Leo Cordeman (1927) speaks of abnormality, as this situation is naturalised from his interpretation. Although there is an attempt to construct another social service, there are influences of a social imaginary of paternalism, moral superiority and distinction with the people who live in social and material circumstances that are not given but have been historically constructed. In this sense, immense inequality is a historical construction based on the relations between social classes.

However, from the statutes of the Asociación Chilena de Asistencia Social in 1931, it is possible to see the importance of the progress made. In addition, they worked with the General Labour Inspectorate on issues of unemployment and social service in the 1930s and even managed to put forward a discourse on the responsibility of the government of the day about the social problems of injustice that the workers and peasants were experiencing. That is to say, the social visitors, in the midst of the social question, were already proposing responsibility and situated work that would make the complexity of the historical context visible to achieve a whole life. On the other hand, Illanes (2006) exposes the 'good behaviour' sought by the social visitors in the village in the 1930s, as well as the social disciplining and the checking of the advances in family issues for judges and courts. Still, there is much more to work for order, the visible and the demonstrable since the social visitors are constituted as subjects through historical development. In the course of social interventions, they build up a critical approach to reality.

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Unemployment is interpreted as a political problem beyond the actions of the social visitors, but the discourse is not so much problematised as the professional praxis. In the work of González (2010), the work of the social worker as a mediator and supervisor of the laws to fulfil their function through home visits because there was an unjust system where it was necessary to support families and children in situations of vulnerability and poverty, can be glimpsed.

> *The concept of visitation embodied this historical dialectic. From our point of view, it was the articulating concept of the first schools. It expressed in them the avant-garde character of a social action that wanted to be more than "mere charity" and, at the same time, reproduced assistance and assumed a passive and dependent subject. (González, 2010, p.24)*

In this context, social conditions from the end of the 19th century onwards led to devastating plagues and social repression: smallpox, typhus, venereal diseases and others. Health problems were due to an inordinate extent to the overcrowding of the proletariat, the poor conditions in the tenements and social inequality. Social welfare was central to prevention and social health education under the para-medical approach of the first Doctor Alejandro Del Rio School, established in 1925. The orientation of the profession, which was initially focused on pathology (deficiency), is not surprising, as its founder was a bacteriologist. It is then essential to link certain circumstances that led to the birth of social service in Chile in 1925, such as Dr Alejandro's experience abroad, so much so that he returned with the slogan "health and assistance", and the State establishing the Ministry of Hygiene. Likewise, "the directors of the first Chilean schools of Social Service were *imported* directly from Europe"[5] (Morales, 2015, p.23). In a modern context where experience had been gained beforehand, "in 1919 the New York School of Social Service had been created and in Europe the first school had been opened in Amsterdam in 1899" (González, 2010, p.24).

Subsequently, in 1929 in Chile, the Elvira Matte de Cruchaga School was founded, attached to the law school, and its vision was para-legal, with a welfare and apostolic perspective. For this reason, the first guidelines of social assistance in Chile were based on the para-medical and para-legal, as shown in the historical works by Aylwin et al. (2004), Illanes (2006), and González (2010) giving an account of the orientations of the schools that emerged at this time.

On the other hand, the socio-economic conditions of the workers' movement remained unresolved, and in the crisis of 1929, they were looking for better job opportunities in Santiago. Illanes (2006) criticises the social workers of the 1930s, such as Adriana Izquierdo, about their economic vision of the international and national crisis. However, what the social worker does is recognise the importance of the world crisis, unemployment, and the volatility of the national economy in the face of national resources, which shows that there is a sensitivity and concern for workers without work. Adriana Izquierdo criticises this and calls it unemployment insurance.

According to García Letelier (2004), the first quarter of the last century from which Chilean social welfare emanated was, from the outset, a response to the needs of the time. However, the social and political elite of the 1920s decided on needs, priorities and demands. The middle class flourished in public activities, which was closely linked to the country's agro-industrial bourgeoisie. In the 1930s, social workers overcame

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[5] Paulina Morales refers to Jeny Bernier, Leo Cordemans and Luise Jörinssen, among other directors of social service schools in Chile.

obstacles, among them the ability to make the society of the time aware of the social and material conditions and the profession of the social workers and their role.

On the other hand, about the reality and ideality in social work, which García Letelier (2004) studies, it is understood that there has been a colonisation of social service training since the origins of the profession in Chile and since the ideas and theoretical underpinnings were taken from other realities in developed countries, such as Belgium and the United States, underestimating the knowledge of Latin American roots.

In the 1930s, social service was active in railway companies, industry and mining, where social welfare work was carried out, as well as in family affairs, caring for workers, nurseries and home visits. It is no coincidence that from 1930 onwards, social work opened up areas in industry, mining and business, as the state, in this context, took on an entrepreneurial role with a clear industrialising role, and in 1939, the Corporación de Fomento de la Producción, CORFO, was created (Alvarez, 2008).

Angélica Errázuriz (1938), quoted by Aylwin et al. (2004), points out that one of the social problems in Chile was the painful economic condition of the peasants, a problem no less severe because of the poor distribution of land. In this context of the late 1930s, an area of work opened up for social service. María Quiroga (1946), quoted by Aylwin et al. (2004), mentions that social service was established in the countryside in February 1937. In this, social service played a transcendental role in the social history of Chile by raising awareness of the rights of farm workers, labourers and day labourers at the time.

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Congresses are essential for disseminating and thinking about the profession's work. González (2010) highlights the importance of internships, participation in congresses and the journal of Servicio Social Chile. In the First Pan-American Congress (1945), cited by Aylwin et al. (2004), the extension of rural social service was seen as indispensable for dealing with the peasant problem; a system of subsidies for families in rural sectors was proposed, the farm worker was recognised in their vital function, and the land was made visible as a "human problem", discussing its use as a commodity.

In this sense, Camacho (1934), quoted by Aylwin et al. (2004, p.150), mentions that,

> *"So far, our work has been only palliative and curative; we have done little preventive and constructive work. We cannot be satisfied with our work as long as it does not result in alleviating the needs of railway workers, as has been the case so far, but also in the effective improvement of their moral, material and social standard of living.*

For her part, Hott (1931), quoted by Aylwin et al. (2004, p.151), points out: "Materially it has been an overwhelming task to walk the streets [...] the outskirts of the city, with bad paving, bad addresses, but it should be noted that this task is not one of those that can most satisfy the soul of a social visitor, because it is not by the basic principle of this science. To remedy a pressing need but not to fix a situation is just a poor palliative".

There is a recognition of the socio-economic context that is intrinsically permeated by a critique of mitigating factors.

Social service in the 1930s and 1940s persevered from the farms and fields to transfigure and broaden employers' consciences, even before laws were passed to improve the situation of farm workers. There is a constant concern for injustice and a critique of the social structure within the profession. This work is a precursor to raising awareness of essential processes, such as agrarian reform. Although the political imaginaries are not the same, there is a passionate effort on the part of social workers to work in poor sectors; there is a utopia of building another horizon in the face of social injustice.

As early as 1945, social workers were already working and supporting organisations in the countryside. Amid the developmental context, and with the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC) already established in Latin America, the principles of justice that underpinned the ethics of social service in the 1940s and 1950s were revived. The social workers went to work in the fields, and there were critical ethical convictions in praxis. In theory, they were influenced by metaphysical ethics, but in practice, they were shaped by the material reality of the country.

Aylwin et al. point out that the documents speak of ethics in a professional-social intervention that refers to principles such as respect for the other, the challenge of a job well done, generating mechanisms for participation, and the safeguarding and privacy of confidential information. Thus, "ethics is at stake not only in the behaviour of professionals but also in the approaches and forms of research and social intervention" (2004, p.385).

On the one hand, in the 1940s and 1950s, ethics and politics were related to helping to solve problems and, on the other hand, in raising awareness, ethics built on social and material contradictions between ideology and utopia.

Lucia Sepúlveda (2004), cited by Aylwin et al. (2004), provides the rationale,

When Doña Luz Tocornal gave me ethics classes, she taught me how to approach social work to achieve respect for rights, translating into better socio-economic and cultural conditions. The ethics of social work are humanist, secular and universal. These values I was taught [...] have been clearly expressed in the fight against social injustice (p.387).

Indeed, it is a context heavily influenced by social repression from the state and its institutions (Videla to the communist party), but the courage of the social workers is light in the fading dusk; there is a commitment and an ethic that will unfold later in transformation in the 50s and 60s, in work with communities. In this way, history is understood in this text as a non-linear process of reconstructing experiences, memories, and imaginaries in a non-obvious way.

Education was a concern of the social context in the 1940s. Compulsory Primary Education places an emphasis on the profession of social education with which it intervenes; even the motto of President Pedro Aguirre Cerda was to govern to educate, for a whole context towards social development:

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With the idea of creating awareness of the need for the services of social workers and the great demand that arose, President Pedro Aguirre Cerda, on 14 May 1940, issued a Supreme Decree, using which the Schools of Social Service of Santiago, Concepción and Temuco, dependent on the Ministry of Public Education, were organised (Gómez Michea, 1995, p.10).

In this context of the 1940s, the social problems of overcrowding persisted, and President Gonzáles Videla implemented an "Emergency Housing Committee". As Aylwin et al. (2004) point out, this was presided over by Mayor José Santos Salas, in collaboration with the social worker Adriana Doroch de Vergara, whose mission was to build houses with a minimum of hygiene conditions in a short period and with the smallest budget. Of course, the lackadaisical declaration of normativity and imitation is symbolic violence in the social service of the time. Still, the social workers also had an ethical relationship with others that was conducive to greater justice and dignity for people.

Ideology and utopia[6]

The distortion of knowledge of reality is an essential component, a first basis for situating ideology. Ricoeur (2001) argues that the concept of ideology in Marx (2005) places the autonomy attributed to the products of consciousness under suspicion, but deformation is not the only phase. This is why reality must have a specific idea of coherence with the economy, with the materiality of labour and who produces it. This situation can be seen in the emergence of the social workers in Chile in 1925 because there is a questioning of reality and the socio-economic situation of workers, peasants, women, and labour itself. About historical memory, the ideas about people experiencing poverty that came from the elite in the 1920s will no longer be true because the critique of the social workers' social visitors reveals a different imagination regarding the situations of exploitation, materiality, the non-distribution of land in the Chilean countryside, etc.

Ricoeur (2001) proposes that the problem of ideology is not the decision between the false and the true but the deliberation on the relationship between representation and praxis, whose functions are the metaphorical, the critical distance, the historical character and the revival of practical reason. There is a deliberation from the social visitors on the social question, which has a historical character from praxis.

Ricoeur (2001) draws on Weber and thus considers that ideology moves from deformation to legitimisation. This phase is unavoidable in all social life because others legitimise ideas. This aspect is very relevant because there is a social legitimisation of social workers; an imaginary permeated by the internal connection between ideology and praxis correlates to the integration stage. Ricoeur (2001) considers C. Geertz the integrative function he infers in social practices and processes. Thus, for Ricoeur (2001), every social practice already possesses a symbolic, never objective mediation. My experience in tenements, industries, fields, schools, and hospitals nourishes home visiting as a practice for social workers. It is a mediation but not neutral because ideology is not impartial. It is not possible, then, to understand ideology in the social service of the time without the role of mediation.

Marx (2005), in the German Ideology, alludes to that.

> The production of ideas and representations of consciousness is directly intertwined with material activity (...) as the language of real life. Representations, thoughts, trade (...) as a direct emanation of its material behaviour (p.26).

In the 1844 Manuscripts, Marx (1984) alludes that alienation in labour begins by

accepting the political economy without question. Thus, when the social visitors debate the economy and material circumstances amid the social question, the power against alienation emerges. Alienation goes hand in hand with being an object for Marx (1984); labour becomes an object, but also existence itself, giving power to capital and not to the life of the human being. Thus, the social visitors give power, recognition and importance to the life of those suffering, to the right that should have every worker in the industry and the estates as a vital question of existence and with a critique of the mockery of the laws. There is a de-alienation of the social visitors from labour as an object.

Ricoeur says, "Only based on a utopia – the point of view of the ideal – can we formulate critique" (2001, p.47). Therefore, there is a relationship between these concepts when the social visitors expose their critique because there is an idea of what human life and values, such as social justice, should be from a utopia of comprehensiveness with otherness. It is not an ideology of the existing; it is a utopia towards the future.

By safeguarding the roles of workers, women and peasants, the social workers in the social question were valuing life, a horizon that did not exist. That was the utopia, the unspoken in the face of the normalisation of precariousness and death.

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Conclusions

According to Alayón (1989), social inequality was naturalised in the beneficence phase without deliberating the social and political system, which is considered not so assertive, as there was always criticism from the social visitors. Still, the State's context and ideology at the beginning of the 19th century did not accompany them. There is a profound questioning of the social visitors in the 1930s of the palliative social service, as Aylwin et al. (2004) report.

So, where does one go to look for these causes? Meanings and practices are influenced by each socio-historical context (Alvarez, 2008; 2009).

The memory of the social visitors teaches us about the difficulties they had, not only to work but also to agreeing with a profession that imitated expectations and did not solve the situations of the exploited sectors; there is a criticism of the social visitors to the human crudeness that produces an unhappy existence. In other words, there could be

another, fuller life. The experiences of the social workers in the social question opened up history and its challenges from the perspective of others, "recognising the subjects, from a historical perspective", as Parra (2002) said, and not only "assumed a passive and dependent subject" (González, 2010).

In this article, the utopia of going towards another horizon in the social visitors that could solve so much misery is made visible despite not being transformed into a more contentious professional stance. There is a fissure from the praxis in the face of the normativity of such an unequal society; therefore, the social visitors held a utopian function that expands the reality and the unspoken about the reality itself. On the other hand, three axes stand out concerning historical memory between 1925 and 1940.

The ethical axis is intrinsically related to the commitment and responsibility of women social workers towards social justice: Hott (1931); Angélica Errázuriz (1938); Camacho (1934); María Quiroga (1946); Tocornal Luz (1941), among others as cited in Aylwin et al.

The epistemological axis is the de-objectification of reality from the experience of the social visitors to contribute knowledge contents that hold other ways of knowing that challenge us in the present. Epistemology in a fabric of historical and political relations can project emancipatory challenges, especially considering the failed process of the constituent assembly after the social outbreak.

The political axis is the tension and relationship between education and reality, breaking into the ideology that sustains the economic rationality of capital of inhumanity because it challenges the dominant imaginary of utopia. It would not revolve around the darkness of the ideology of domination but to create another fairer horizon for life from contradictions and utopia.

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