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Editorial

Observing complex social territories

Understanding the territory as a complex system involves paying attention to the emergence of new phenomena that arise from the interaction between social and environmental elements in delimited contexts. In this sense, the territory encompasses objective, temporal, and communicational dimensions, shaping itself based on these factors. Observing the territory, therefore, implies identifying spatial or geographical limits; past and present decisions from which future expectations are projected; thematicizations of problems, conflicts, and controversies arising from the positions of different agents and institutions. On the other hand, each territory represents a particular context in which universal phenomena express themselves with their own logics.

In this issue of the Critical Proposals in Social Work Journal, different studies and territorial analyses are integrated, where strategies and intervention proposals can be identified arising from both second-order observation processes and self-observation that territories' actors make of their problems and their relationship with the environment. The presented works address diverse issues that also originate from territories in different regions of Chile, highlighting the spatial and cultural limits of such systems.

The issue begins with the article by Labraña, Rodriguez-Ponce, and Puyol, in which they analyze the relevance that the territory acquires for higher education institutions in fulfilling their training and research objectives. The authors propose a conceptual framework that can be used as a tool for analyzing the links that universities establish with their local environments. They invite us to assess the level of reflexivity with which decisions are made to achieve their goals. In this context, they argue that effective reflection is one that integrates knowledge and perspectives from the territory, thus fostering institutional learning and improving practices and processes.

Alejandro Marambio's article presents an analysis of a collective management experience in a territory in the city of Talca, representing a particular form of governance.

The analysis of this case shows how the collective management of the territory, oriented towards the pursuit of the common, enhances the agency capacity of local actors, allowing them to overcome clientelistic logics in their relationship with the State and the market, which often characterize territorial management. In line with the previous article, the need to develop reflective decision-making processes where different involved actors cooperate without losing their autonomy is emphasized.

Panes and Mendoza analyze the epistemic, investigative, and methodological potential of studying phenomena associated with conflict, resistance, and extractivism in Latin America. From this, they analyze the impacts of fruit agribusiness in the Ñuble region, Chile. Their work shows the need to understand the territory from its socio-ecological imprint to develop research that unveils the different forms of resistance with which local actors affected by extractivism cope with associated conflicts. They point out that systematizing these experiences allows disseminating lessons and learnings, contributing to the design of eco-territorial, ethical, and contextual interventions.

Saavedra, based on the concept of biopolitics, analyzes the ethical, political, and operational consequences of intervention devices deployed in disaster contexts. In this context, the risks of pre and post-disaster intervention management are critically analyzed when operating under an authoritative logic protected by the foundation of exception, especially when the predominant goal is control and security in the face of the complexity of urban catastrophe consequences.

Vallejos' article addresses another socio-environmental conflict, this time in the territory formed by the communes of Quintero and Puchuncaví, in the Valparaíso Region, Chile. The emblematic case of environmental pollution due to the presence of industries in a territory designated as a sacrifice zone is analyzed from feminist and ecofeminist narratives of activists and community members actively involved in local organizations. Through these narratives, women are positioned as a social group particularly affected by environmental degradation impacting these localities and the associated conflict. Additionally, emphasis is placed on daily practices that seek to place life at the center of the dispute, as well as the recognition of the affective relationship between human and non-human beings coexisting in this territory.

Finally, Vergara Vidal's article introduces us to the analysis of residential vulnerability related to the presence of asbestos in social housing in Chile. The author explains how decisions about the costs and materiality of social housing, in a context of mass production, generate vulnerable territories whose exposure to damage caused by toxic materials persists over time. On the other hand, he highlights the need to address an issue of this magnitude through new social intervention logics that empower communities in managing solutions considering their connection to the space and history of the affected territories.

We invite you to review this interesting compilation of research where the relevance of the territory as a medium for observing conflicts, narratives, and intervention projections is appreciated from different approaches and critical perspectives, and where the agency of local communities assumes special prominence

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ARTICLE

What do we mean when we talk about territorial commitment of universities? A reflection on Chilean state universities

¿De qué hablamos cuando hablamos de compromiso territorial de las universidades? Una reflexión a propósito de las universidades estatales chilenas.

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Abstract:

The purpose of this article is to propose a definition of territory for the field of higher education studies, associating it with the idea of institutional learning in universities. First, the uses of the concept of territory in the higher education literature are examined and an operational definition is proposed from the social systems theory, highlighting the idea of selectivity associated with the construction of territory from university organizations. Next, Chilean higher education regulations are reviewed, identifying the relevance of territory in the mission of state universities. Using the proposed conceptual definition of territory as the

Keywords:
Higher education; universities; territory

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internal construction of higher education institutions, and in line with the literature on institutional learning, a model is introduced to analyze the relationship between state universities and territory which, considering reflection as the central axis, underlines the importance of knowledge, the distribution and interpretation of information and the development of an organizational memory. The article ends with a brief summary and possible lines of research in the area.

Resumen

El propósito de este artículo es proponer una definición de territorio para el campo de estudios en educación superior, asociándolo a la idea de aprendizaje institucional de las universidades. Primero, se examinan los usos del concepto de territorio en la literatura de educación superior y se propone una definición operativa desde la teoría de sistemas sociales, subrayando la idea de la selectividad asociada a la construcción del territorio desde las organizaciones universitarias. A continuación, se revisa la normativa chilena de educación superior, identificando la relevancia del territorio en la misión de las universidades estatales.
Entendiendo conceptualmente territorio como la construcción interna de las instituciones de educación superior, y en línea con la literatura sobre aprendizaje institucional, se introduce un modelo para analizar la relación entre universidades estatales y territorio. Este modelo, que tiene como eje central la reflexión, subraya la importancia del conocimiento, la distribución e interpretación de información y el desarrollo de una memoria organizacional. El artículo finaliza con un breve resumen y posibles líneas de investigación en el área.

Palabras Clave:
Educación superior; universidades; territorio

Intoduction

The concept of territory has become a central term in current political discourse. In this context, territory is often described as a strategic resource for achieving political, economic, scientific, and educational objectives, among others. Implicitly, this discourse based on the concept of territory not only refers to a specific physical space but also includes the relationships between actors whose particular agendas may, to a greater or lesser extent, be associated with an objective that ultimately results in regional development (Richardson and Jensen, 2003).

From a research perspective, the idea of territory has received similar attention. Across various disciplines, especially geography, sociology, politics, and economics, the rele-

vance of territory in identity construction, resource distribution, and, generally, in the development of public policies has been explored. From geography, the relationship between territory and landscape, the importance of actors and their spatial organization, and the contextualized effects of phenomena such as globalization and climate change have been studied (Jones, 2009). In sociology, the link between territory and collective identities, its influence on community building, and the emergence of conflicts between different groups have been primarily investigated (Tickamyer, 2000). Finally, from politics and economics, the relationship between territory, power, and the distribution of various types of resources has been analyzed, reviewing their impacts on local decision-making processes at the regional level (Lustick, 1999).

Particularly in the field of higher education, territory has become a recurrent theme, emerging as a new formula for legitimizing universities, similar in level to concerns about the applicability of teaching and research (Baecker, 2007). Involvement in the territory now appears explicitly, with particular intensity in Latin American universities, historically committed to the development of their communities (Tünnermann, 2003; Pineda, 2015), as a new mission. These institutions are called to be protagonists in the development of their respective regions, whether through participation in research projects, outreach and community engagement, or the creation of new professional training offerings (Casarejos et al., 2017; Fuentes, 2020; Ruiz Rodgers, 2020).

However, the concept of territory seems to derive its generalization potential in academic discourse from its ambiguity. While this is initially an advantage, the lack of clarity in its definition has resulted in the inflation of the notion, presenting itself more as a rhetorical artifact than as an organizational guideline that effectively allows institutions to consider their relationship.

The Chilean higher education system is particularly relevant in this context. This system is characterized by a high level of academic capitalism, understood as a regime that promotes competition between institutions for external resources (Slaughter and Leslie, 1997). In particular, state institutions have been forced to become competitive organizations with entrepreneurial skills through the professionalization of management at the expense of traditional collegial leadership, the adoption of a new public management culture rather than "public commitment," and an emphasis on the commodification of teaching and research rather than their role linked to critical reflection. As a result, tension arises between governance, guided by principles of efficiency and effectiveness, and territorial commitment guided by the idea of the public good.

In this regard, the legislation on higher education in Chile has gradually incorporated the concept of territory, especially concerning state universities. For example, the recent Law No. 21,094 on State Universities (2018) stipulates that these institutions must carry out their activities "according to the requirements and needs of the different territories and realities of the country." To date, the concept of territory increasingly appears in the strategic documents of state universities, such as missions, visions, and institutional development plans.

The objective of this article is to contribute to the debate on the concept of territory in Chilean state universities, offering a reflective perspective on its meaning in the current context, linking it to the idea of institutional learning. Given its high level of academic capitalism, the examination of the Chilean case can provide important lessons for organizations in other countries facing similar tensions between new public management and territorial commitment. First, we examine the uses of the concept of territory in the literature on higher education and propose an operational definition from the theory of social systems. Next, we review Chilean higher education regulations, identifying the gradual inflation of the concept, especially for state universities. Third, using the proposed definition, we introduce a model to understand the organizational articulation with the territory of the state sector, based on the idea of university learning. The article concludes with a brief summary and avenues for further research in the field.

The Paradoxical Definition of the Territory Concept in Higher Education: Generalization through Ambiguity

The concept of territory is one of those inherently controversial terms in the social sciences. Despite being a concept used in various disciplines, there is still no unequivocal definition of it. Beyond being a polysemic notion depending on the involved discipline—natural given the progressive specialization of scientific theories and methods—the idea of territory seems inevitably to carry a contextual reference (Means and Slater, 2021). Territory is always observed territory, meaning territory whose material and social boundaries are defined and redefined socially as such and not otherwise (Mascareño and Büscher, 2011; Urquieta et al., 2017).

This does not mean that the constitution of territory is exclusively the result of the imagination of the observing system in question. Like any observation, that of territory is also restricted in terms of its plausibility: while any definition of territory can, in principle, be communicated, not all of them are necessarily plausible. The definition of territory is plausible when it does not require a foundation in communication due to its self-evident nature, which responds, first and foremost, to the

evolution of respective social systems (Luhmann, 2007). For example, territory is generally defined as a geographically bounded region by political borders, although such a characterization does not necessarily align with the expectations of different actors.

As a result, the concept of territory is positioned in a paradox that combines, following Schroer (2019), material scopes with the possibility of social determinations. Undoubtedly, this paradox reflects, in part, the complexity of territory—understood here simply as an excess of possibilities in a framework of restricted selections (Luhmann, 1998). In this sense, the complexity of territory simply means that it offers more possibilities of meaning than a social system can effectively select. Thus, territory is not just physical and social space but also, at the same time, physical, political, economic, and cultural space, always related to processes of proximity and distance, exclusion and inclusion, power and resistance, and innovation and tradition.

In relation to higher education, as previously mentioned, the concept of territory has become a recurrent theme in the analysis of universities. A literature review in higher education reveals three lines of research. Firstly, the role of universities in territorial development is explored, analyzing how higher education institutions contribute to the economic, social, and cultural development of their regions. This contribution is achieved through knowledge generation, innovation, human capital formation, and the promotion of local identity and cohesion. This research line also investigates how universities can establish strategic and cooperative alliances with other local and regional actors to promote sustainable development (Bramwell and Wolfe, 2008; Tiffin and Kunc, 2011). Secondly, a line of study delves into issues of social responsibility and territorial commitment of universities, particularly examining how higher education institutions can contribute to solving environmental problems. This research emphasizes the importance of university participation in their communities, promoting the strengthening of trust between academia and society in the logic of the third mission and sustainability (Thompson and Green, 2005; Ward et al., 2016; Bauer et al., 2018). Finally, a last line of studies examines the adaptation and management of change in the territorial context, identifying how universities respond and adapt to emerging challenges in their environment, such as globalization and digital transformation, and to what extent their association with the territory is questioned under a scenario of increasing privatization (Brunner et al., 2021). This last line seeks to understand how institutions of higher education redefine their institutional, pedagogical, and research models to preserve their ability to have a territorial impact within this framework of political economy (Marginson, 2011; Bunz, 2014; Labraña et al., in press).

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As can be seen from this analysis, the ambiguity of the concept of territory is equally evident in higher education, with this notion being treated simultaneously as an absolutist (material) and a relational (social) dimension. In light of this, we will understand territory as the result of a selection by an organizational system, where such systems are understood as those whose operations are composed of the interweaving of decision communications (Luhmann, 2000) about their spatial environment. This is done to distinguish relevant actors and themes, incorporating them internally into their decision-making process. We will understand, therefore, that institutions of higher education are organizational systems. Understanding institutions as organizational systems does not imply seeing them as a static set of elements but rather as the continuous reproduction of a difference in relation to the environment. Organizational systems constitute their own reality in a self-referential manner through decision records. In the case of universities, such records are expressed in guidelines for strategic development, regulations, rules, and other documents related to their planning.

Specifically, for institutions of higher education, the reality of the territory is constructed internally. In this way, territory appears as an objective foundation (despite not necessarily being so!), allowing for the chaining of decisions based on the internal identification of a territory within defined organizational and cultural boundaries (Marginson, 2004).

As we have anticipated, this selection is not arbitrary but responds to internal and external conditions of plausibility. Among the internal conditions for the reproduction of the difference that defines what the organization understands by territory are included the history of the organization, its institutional culture, and its strategic priorities (Clark, 2004; Barnett, 2014; Pedraja-Rejas et al., 2022). Regarding external conditions, the relevance of power relations, dominant symbolic imaginaries, and, especially, the trajectory and agency capacity of territorial actors come into play (Kauko, 2013; Schwartzman, 2020; Brunner et al., 2021). Thus, the interrelation between internal and external conditions shapes how higher education organizations relate to their territory, establishing general parameters for the plausibility of constructions of their relationship with their environments.

This definition allows us to understand the coexistence of different observations of the territory among stakeholders in higher education. For example, some higher education institutions, such as regional universities, focus on the territory from a more local and community perspective, prioritizing participation in the lives of their communities and contributing to the social, cultural, and economic development of their immediate surroundings (Caniëls and van der Bosch, 2011). On the other hand, other actors, such as

governments, adopt a broader view of the territory, focusing on capacity building and generating synergies at the regional, national, and even global levels in the logic of the triple helix of knowledge (Cai and Etzkowitz, 2020). Meanwhile, actors such as businesses and industries approach the territory from a market-oriented perspective, seeking to establish alliances with higher education institutions to drive innovation, technology transfer, and the development of highly skilled human capital (Dooley and Kirk, 2007). Finally, civil society and non-governmental organizations understand the territory from a perspective centered on equity, social inclusion, and environmental sustainability, advocating for greater civic responsibility and local commitment (Tünnerman, 2003).

However, as a counterpart to the existence of different constructions of the link between higher education and territory, more or less plausible according to their respective observing systems, significant coordination problems emerge, especially when establishing a normative definition with expectations of generalization across different areas. In higher education, these problems manifest in the lack of consensus among stakeholders regarding territorial priorities. This lack of agreement can lead to tensions among the involved actors, hindering collaboration and the establishment of robust alliances for territorial development due to the absence of a common diagnosis.

Concept of Territory in Chilean Higher Education

The concept of territory has gained increasing prominence in the political agenda, particularly concerning higher education in Chile. The Chilean regulations on higher education have gradually incorporated this concept, especially concerning state universities. In this regard, Law No. 21.094 on State Universities (2018) defines these institutions in Article 1, emphasizing their "functions of teaching, research, artistic creation, innovation, extension, connection with the environment, and territory." It also highlights their necessary orientation toward "the sustainable and integral development of the country and the progress of society in various areas of knowledge and cultural domains." Similarly, Article 4 declares that these institutions must:

> *"meet the needs and general interests of society, collaborating, as an integral part of the State, in all policies, plans, and programs that tend to the cultural, social, territorial, artistic, scientific, technological, economic, and sustainable development of the country, at the national and regional levels, with an intercultural perspective" (2018).*

As seen above, the expectation of territorial commitment becomes central for this sector.

In a similar vein, the National Accreditation Commission (the body responsible for promoting, evaluating, and accrediting the quality of higher education institutions) emphasizes in its new dimensions, criteria, and standards the importance of universities having systematic mechanisms for bidirectional connection with their significant local, national, or international environment. Additionally, it expects institutions to achieve results reflecting their contributions to the sustainable development of the region and the country. In this sense, territorial connection consolidates as a central theme for fulfilling the public role of universities, setting a growing expectation about the need to align the focus of institutions with their regions.

In this scenario, it is not surprising that territory has become a central reference specifically for state universities. This importance is reflected in the mission and vision statements of these universities and, especially, in their institutional development plans, where extension and connection with the environment—whether at a local, national, or Latin American regional level, depending on the institution's purposes—emerge as one of their central dimensions. Accordingly, these universities have undergone intense organizational change processes associated with this dimension, mainly in the form of creating new management units, expanding professional bodies dedicated to monitoring these activities, and, overall, transitioning from a culture that views collaboration with the territory as a voluntary activity, dependent on sporadic academic initiatives, to one that considers it as a core axis of the institution along with teaching and research (Castañeda et al., 2021).

Institutional Learning of State Universities and Territory

It is worth noting that Chilean state universities play a significant role in the construction of a more inclusive and sustainable territory. This has become a matter of vital importance, reinforced through the creation of new institutions explicitly focused on the region (Rivera-Polo et al., 2018; Ognio, 2022). Following the theory presented earlier, we propose a model for understanding the territorial role of state universities. In particular, we argue that if the territory is the result of the selection of a social system about its spatial environment, distinguishing relevant actors and issues, what is distinctive about state universities—normatively in a political philosophy sense—should be the idea of reflection, specifically formulated in the recognition of the contingency of the construction of territory itself, allowing for continuous new spaces of possibility.

As a concept, reflection describes the process of observing the operations of the system within the system, identifying its blind spots (Luhmann, 1998). As a result, reflection allows for the continuous reconfiguration of the difference between the necessary and the contingent within the respective observing system. In relation to our topic, universities identify the contingent nature of their constructions of territory and open themselves to the possibility of modification. This is nothing other than Derrida's idea (2002) of a university without condition, with "the primordial right to say everything, even as fiction and experimentation of knowledge, and the right to say it publicly, to publish it" (p.14).

To move in this direction, it is essential to promote institutional thinking based on difference, not identity. Therefore, it is not exclusively about the proper identification of stakeholders and discussion topics related to territory — matters more directly associated with institutional management — but rather the installation of elements that allow the continuous recognition of the selective nature of such identification. Only in this way can the configuration of the relationship between universities and territory overcome the dichotomy between an absolutist (material) and relational (social) dimension, progressively moving towards the recognition of the contingent nature of this dichotomy and the continuous capacity for reformulation, in coherence with internal and external conditions of plausibility.

According to Senge's pioneering work (1990), reflection in university organizations is closely linked to institutional learning. According to the author, learning organizations have systems that develop their capabilities to achieve desirable results, fostering new forms of thinking and basing their success on joint learning, with a sufficient level of generality, that is, sufficiently shared among its members. In particular, in the university context, institutional learning is defined as the ability to understand and interpret the environment, leveraging prior knowledge but not necessarily limiting itself to it, considering the possibilities of other experiences (Araneda-Guirriman et al., 2017). This type of learning enables addressing changes, fosters creativity and innovation, improves performance, and, in general, academic outcomes (Rodríguez-Ponce, 2016).

Applied to university reflection on territory, this learning requires:

- Acquisition of Knowledge: This process explains how organizations gain knowledge about their relationship with the territory. It encompasses various forms of knowledge, including both formal and informal, those properly incorporated into the organizational structure, and those present in the memory of organization members. It is relevant to analyze existing systems for monitoring external environmental conditions, the availability of information, and the evaluation of academic results and their effects (Rodríguez-Ponce and Pedraja-Rejas, 2016).

- Distribution and Interpretation of Information: Through this process, information about the territory gains meaning, is disseminated, and is understood by those who will use it in the university. Individual interpretations, associated with initiatives, become collective understanding schemes that are essential for the development of university programs contributing to territorial development (Rodríguez-Ponce et al., 2016).

- Development of Organizational Memory: However, knowledge, distribution, and interpretation of information about the territory are not sufficient to achieve a reflective institutional mindset capable of strategically considering the selective nature of the link between the university and the territory. Organizational memory—understood as devices and systems that allow the storage of institutional knowledge—is central in this transition (Souza and Takahashi, 2019). In addition to technical knowledge, in the context of universities, it is crucial to build and develop a collective memory by promoting the participation of the institution's community. Sharing knowledge and leveraging previous experience generate new forms of individual and collective analysis and behavior, capable of identifying blind spots in the existing relationship between the university and its territories (Araneda-Guirriman et al., 2017).

The promotion of reflection, as seen from the above analysis, is a key element in the development of the relationship between state universities and the territory. It enables institutions to face a turbulent environment, characterized by profound processes of external change and resulting internal legitimacy challenges (Labraña and Urquiza, 2023). The acquisition of knowledge, distribution and interpretation of information, and the development of organizational memory, along with the organizational and cultural challenges involved in their internal institutionalization, are central to the development of state universities in this regard.

Conclusions:

Potential of the Territory Concept: The concept of territory holds significant potential for universities, compelling them to scrutinize their activities beyond education and research. However, to effectively fulfill this purpose, universities must comprehend and define the notion of territory in a more profound and systematic manner.

Relevant Research Directions:

Strategic Utilization of Territory: Investigate how universities can strategically leverage their territory to strengthen their educational and scientific mission. This involves establishing closer ties with the local environment, collaborating with other institutions, companies, and organizations for mutual benefit, and reflecting on the relevance of different approaches to building connections with diverse territories.

Challenges in Measurement and Evaluation: Develop and implement methods and indicators to assess achievements in the area of reflection. Measuring reflection is often challenging in organizational change. It is crucial to create mechanisms that evaluate how universities are addressing and promoting reflection concerning their territory. This includes promoting self-criticism, adaptability, and responsiveness to challenges and opportunities in the territorial context within the framework of continuous processes of institutional learning.

Integration of Territory in Evaluation Frameworks: Implement mechanisms aimed at considering territory in the overall evaluative framework of higher education. This serves as an opportunity to encourage self-observation processes within institutions and to examine the extent to which the relationship between the university and the territory is treated reflectively in these organizations.

Moving Beyond Rhetoric: While there is a visible effort within state institutions through declarations, discussions, seminars, and working documents, the main challenge is to move beyond rhetorical statements and promote a profound and systematic understanding of the territory's notion in the context of universities. Developing concrete strategies for establishing closer links with the local environment, seizing collaboration opportunities, and generating positive impact on the territory, while recognizing its inherently selective nature, is crucial. This serves as an incentive for continuous reevaluation in response to internal and external developments within state universities, ensuring the effective fulfillment of their public role.

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ARTICLE

Communalization of the territory versus citizens as consumers-clients: Management and production of a "real urban commons" in Talca

Comunalización del territorio versus ciudadanxs como consumidorxs-clientes: gestión y producción de un "común urbano real" en Talca.

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Abstract

This article is based on an assessment of Territorio 5. This project was a collective management of a group of intertwined neighbourhoods across an urban territory in Talca. The experience involved joining civil society and academia together with neighbours' formal organisations. They were able to produce a first assessment and later a management system proposal which allowed a new way of dealing with State and the markets. The data used comes from archive data—from the actual project and its ex-post assessments—and in-depth interviews with key actors of the project. Departing from their opinions and observations

Keywords:
Commons; territorial innovations; clientelism; territorial governance; citizen-consumer

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we consider Territorio 5 as a territory-based common, and through the analysis we address its organisation issues, its material and symbolic landmarks and how it makes a contribution to social cohesion, and by doing this, how it produces common goods.

Additionally, we underline how this project made a contribution in changing ways of the understanding of citizenship, and the shifting practice of political participation, from a clientelist-consumerist to a more collective one. Addressing this experience makes room to think in territorial innovations aimed at overtaking current neighbourhood institutional frames, considering the construction of the territory and the management of commons as a way of strengthening social cohesion and producing counter-agency against structures that atomise and disperse subjectivities.

Resumen

En este artículo presentamos una evaluación de la experiencia del Territorio 5, una instancia de gestión colectiva del territorio urbano interbarrios, de la ciudad de Talca. Esta experiencia implicó la unión de diversas unidades vecinales, quienes, en conjunto con la academia y la sociedad civil, produjeron un diagnóstico, un modelo de gestión y una gobernanza que permitió una nueva forma de relacionarse con la institucionalidad del Estado y de los mercados. Se abordó a través de la recolección de información documental, producida durante y después de la implementación de la iniciativa, así como a través de la realización de entrevistas con informantes claves que participaron y participan de la experiencia. Por medio de sus observaciones y narrativas podemos reconocer la constitución de Territorio 5 como un común territorial; en el análisis recorremos su organización, sus hitos materiales y simbólicos, su aporte a la cohesión, y cómo a través de ello se genera la capacidad de producir otros bienes comunes.

Destacamos el proceso de transformación de formas de entender la ciudadanía y la participación desde racionalidades consumidoras, clientelares y clientelistas hacia lógicas más colectivas. El repaso de esta experiencia invita a pensar las innovaciones territoriales desde la superación de la institucionalidad vecinal-territorial vigente, desde la perspectiva de producción del territorio y desde la gestión de los comunes como una forma de potenciar la cohesión social y contra-agenciar las estructuras que tienden a producir subjetividades atomizadas y dispersas.

Palabras Clave:
Comunes; innovaciones territoriales; clientelismo; gobernanza territorial; ciudadano-consumidor

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Introduction

Can an urban territory be collectively managed by its inhabitants? While there are neighborhood institutions that have allowed for the management of certain aspects of territorial units, such as neighborhood associations, the idea is raised that the production of territorial innovations, under the principles of communalism, can contribute to new ways of managing a "communalized" urban territory, far from clientelist logics. This, in turn, could contribute to greater social cohesion. To evaluate this possibility and present evidence and arguments in favor of it, we analyze the case of Territory 5 (T5) in Talca. The article is based on an ex-post evaluation of the intervention "Innovative Neighborhood Territories," carried out by the Center for Urban Territorial Studies of the Universidad Católica del Maule and the Corporation of Social Studies and Education SUR. The intervention aimed to rethink, through praxis, the work and relationship between neighborhood groups in a sector of the city of Talca and their own community development. The project was executed from 2014 to 2016 and led to the establishment of Territory 5 (T5), although this entity had self-identified since at least 2005. The intervention model and participation were validated by institutional and community actors (UCM et al., 2014).

The experience of T5 can be seen as an instance of action-learning aimed at strengthening the capacity of local actors to plan and influence the development of their territories. The baseline diagnosis that was constructed initially focuses on the territorial, based on the notion that there are shared problems due to poor urban planning that causes a poor quality of life and reinforces structural inequalities. Subsequently, the contents discussed by the inhabitants themselves circulate, observing how this urban planning is almost exclusively accommodated in the market, translated into real estate expansion without improving urban infrastructure—green areas, services, transport—that threaten the very essence of the intermediate city and its perceived benefits (Micheletti et al., 2018). In other cases, it produces a sense of deterioration and postponement. This physical abandonment is a representation of the social neglect that raises questions about social cohesion and socio-territorial identity.

New forms of collective management based on innovative principles emerge in the rethinking of communities and their relationship with the territory. These innovations are based on: 1) seeking the empowerment of instances of collective participation beyond the existing neighborhood-territorial institutional framework; 2) understanding and producing the territory in a common way—through collective agency, demands

are internalized and socially managed in "really existing commons" (Eizenberg, 2012: 765); and 3) understanding the management of commons as a way to enhance social cohesion and counteract structures that tend to produce atomized and dispersed subjectivities, moving away from individual and clientelist logics.

This governance is based, on the one hand, on the recognition of the existence of political, social, and economic relationships that shape territorial and urban ecosystems. These relationships operate in parallel to the dominant logics of markets and the State, and yet "enter and exit" them. Likewise, governance is based on modes of communalization that act with certain levels of reflexivity, reciprocity, and cohesion, allowing for action with autonomy from these state and market spheres.

One of the fundamental points of the intervention, reflected in T5, was the collectivization of neighborhood action. The central nucleus of the experience was the collective construction of a socio-urban diagnosis that included both problem identification and their prioritization, as well as proposals for solutions, aiming at a common vision of the territory. Its origins date back to 2014, with previous leadership training. Specifically, a path was promoted from the micro-neighborhood to the inter-neighborhood, along with the construction of a network of actors and spaces much larger than the atomized action field of neighborhood associations (Letelier et al., 2019). This also meant moving from a neighborhood logic to a more community-oriented logic, in the sense of a network of relationships that do not depend exclusively on geographical proximity (Gutiérrez, 2020). The specific objectives of this action-learning were the intergroup generation of knowledge about the environment and the organization that would allow for agency with sufficient capacity to negotiate and influence the opportunities and initiatives of urban and community development that occur within and around the territory. The text is structured as follows: this section presents the case study along with a summary of the argumentation; the following section synthesizes the ideas that make up the conceptual framework; next, the methodology used to collect and analyze the data is explained. Subsequently, selected results are presented around three axes: the production of the territory through the communalization of governance; the tension between collective counter-agency and the sedimentation of atomized and clientelist subjectivities on which the initiative was based; and the possibilities of permanence and scaling. Finally, the results are discussed in light of the transitions from the neighborhood to the community and from the individual to the collective.

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Comunalization as a Critical Approach to Territorial Action

To theoretically shape the case, we propose working with a set of concepts that will allow us to establish this relationship between the neighborhood-community and the commons as a model of innovative territorial management. To achieve this, we will review the idea of commons with an emphasis on the territorial aspect. Additionally, to strengthen our proposition of territorial governance that challenges markets and the state, we will briefly explore the idea of citizens turned into clients, which will later reveal its more critical nature.

Commons have initially been defined as goods or resources whose management occurs through collective arrangements and with a long-term perspective (Ostrom, 1990; Laval and Dardot, 2014). In a broader sense, commons also include processes, intangible knowledge along with the territory, involving collective and community practices, drawing from an ecosystemic vision (Mies, 2014; Gibson-Graham et al., 2013).

Ostrom's (2010) seminal contributions focused on highlighting the power of social capital to generate self-management and self-regulation in organizations oriented towards the common, which simultaneously moved towards autonomy. Therefore, for Ostrom (2008), such common experiences are constituted collectively but also by placing themselves outside of markets and the state, aiming to solve social problems through the self-management capacity of organizations. Thus, the emphasis is primarily on the collective governance of commons. From this perspective, the emphasis is on the capacity for self-management and self-regulation generated by and for social capital, strengthening common organizations and their efficiency. On the other hand, the emergence of common forms also leads to management forms (Laval and Dardot, 2014) that, in turn, lead to the construction of governance.

From a more politicized perspective, there is a debate about the ability of commons to counteract capitalist rationalities and whether, by developing a certain efficiency in this regard, the common as a project has the capacity to "scale," with its respective transformative potential. For example, it helps understand the organization of a neighborhood as a dynamic that is not closed or fragmented but tends towards plurality (Castro-Coma and Martí-Costa, 2016). This perspective aims to understand commons as an instance of alternative politics (Caffentzis and Federici, 2014; De Angelis, 2017; Bianchi, 2018). The proposition in this article is an understanding that complements organizational and social cohesion aspects with more politicized aspects, based on the collectivization and public agency of commons in their role of negotiation and, in some cases, subversion of conventional institutional logics.

In essence, the urban focus on commons ends up being applied more broadly due to its specific characteristics—territory, materiality, political nature (Colding and Barthel, 2013). In the case of territorial commons, experiences are oriented towards the production of organizational goods designed to protect, preserve, and sometimes collectively increase what could be integrated into the realm of commons. Many goods can be considered commons, whether material (land, soil, equipment) or intangible (such as cooperation and cohesion) (Castro-Coma and Martí-Costa, 2016). The hybridization of knowledge, skills, and technologies that enable autonomous territorial designs is appreciated (Escobar, 2019). The production of the common is crowned in the process rather than the creation of a good, whether tangible or not.

The processes of commoning can be translated into housing cooperatives that aim to de-marketize housing or consumer cooperatives that aim to build exchange relationships parallel to the state and markets. However, the understanding of commons and their practical expressions has expanded from tangible—production and consumer cooperatives, water committees, localized natural resources—to intangible goods—immaterial and cultural heritage, territorial management, etc. (Fonseca et al., 2021; Cid et al., 2021).

This perspective also allows us to focus on processes intentionally developed to produce collectivization around community management, using criteria for territorial innovation in commoning itself (Baldauf et al., 2018; Bresnihan, 2015; Lineabuagh, 2010). The innovative component is based on a broad and dynamic vision of the territory (Brenner, 2013) that allows a redefinition from its own actors and for themselves, and ultimately, a redefinition of the territory and its relationship with its inhabitants. This conception allows us to understand that in the operation of producing a common, an understanding, or rather, a production of the territory emerges, based on a way of creating community that is not based on a traditionalist or essentialist view of the community but rather on its associative and productive capacity (Gutiérrez, 2020).

In contrast to common perspectives—social/organizational and politicized—we introduce the concept of citizen-clients, for which we work with a dual meaning: one related to the mode of individual consumers, and the other related to the effectiveness of clientelist leaderships. In the first, there is the perspective of a state that begins to relate to citizens as clients (Streeck, 2012) to try to deal with socio-economic inequalities as a form of consumer dissatisfaction. This mechanism reinforces individual ways of interacting with states, typical of socialization as consumers, and particularly as clients.

To this, the withdrawal of the state as a provider of welfare (Crouch, 2009) is added, implying the privatization and commodification of the provision of public services, transforming the real expectations of citizens into those of clients. Also, certain management models, such as new public management (Schedler and Proeller, 2000), and technocratic reforms at the end of the 20th century led public bureaucracies to try to mimic the supposed efficiency of private management, primarily its focus on customer service and satisfaction.

In the second meaning, the starting point is a politics that abandons the "political" to focus on the spectacular and the aesthetic. Large sectors of society lose interest in the collective aspect of politics, and only a vanguard or elite remains interested in the public in an instrumental way, i.e., the resolution of collective problems through the individual or clientelist, understood as a capture of state action (Edwards, 2009). This can be seen, for example, where there is limited and instrumental collectivization: collective demands aimed at protecting consumer rights with weak legislation or relationships with consumer organizations that depend on direct or indirect state funding for their mere existence (Clarke, 2007). In concrete terms, in territories, the state has replicated this model with neighborhood associations, which, in turn, constitute the state's way of understanding territorial community management.

Methodology

This article is based on a qualitative research approach, utilizing a case study design, as the main objective was to conduct an ex-post evaluation of the experience in question from the perspective of various stakeholders in the process and monitor its outcomes over a few years. The case's rationale was to project, in light of new frameworks of understanding—using interpretations and concepts tailored for this evaluation exercise, different but not opposed to those that underpinned the initial intervention—its replicability in other territories and under what conditions. However, this doesn't imply a claim of generalization given the situated characteristics of the case.

The researcher conducting this evaluation did not directly or indirectly participate in the Territorio 5 initiative, ensuring that biases present are inherent to any scientific work. The proposed analysis, discussion, and conclusions presented here do not correspond directly to those outlined by those involved in the intervention or the documents produced during it. The work was approached through the collection of documentary information produced during and after the implementation of the initiative. This included conducting interviews with key informants, including four social leaders, three

community intervention professionals, and eight residents of Territorio 5. The sampling of interviewees was initially convenience-based, contacting key informants from the professional and academic world who participated in the initiative, as well as social leaders. Subsequently, the group of interviewees among the residents of Territorio 5 was selected, including four individuals aged 45 to 65 and four individuals aged 22 to 36, aiming for generational contrast.

In detail, semi-structured interviews were conducted with key informants (academics, managers, interveners, leaders), covering topics such as neighborhood trajectories, organization and management, political engagement, escalations, territorial issues, territorial definition, connections and networks, and moral and social evaluations. With residents, the same topics were addressed, excluding those related to leadership trajectories and management.

The data analysis was approached from a deductive and interpretative perspective, given the exploratory and evaluative nature of the case and the supporting categories used. However, it was possible to identify emerging themes, such as one of the axes addressed in this article, more focused on identity. The analysis framework was also influenced by the emerging relationship of these initiatives with the dynamics of the social outbreak at the end of 2019.

The data collection for this article adheres to the parameters and formalizations of the ethics boards of the institutions supporting this review, as part of a larger project. Precautions included providing detailed information about the project's objectives to participants, obtaining informed consent, ensuring voluntary participation, and guaranteeing anonymity. No incentives were offered to participate, and it was made clear that their involvement in the research was voluntary.

From Clientelization of the Local to the Communal Production of Territory and its Governance

A first axis of analysis aims at seeking the empowerment of collective participation instances beyond the current neighborhood-territorial institutional framework, and the possibilities of permanence and scaling of this empowerment. The starting point is the initial observation—established during the implementation of the Territorios Vecinales Innovadores project—of the tension between the concept of neighborhoods (neo-ecological) that cooperate internally and compete with each other and the environment, and the idea of neighborhood geographies, which constitute multiple scales, spaces, and organizations (Letelier et al., 2019).

Before the production of T5, there was a trace of capacities installed in some social leaders, facilitated by NGOs and academia, through the format of "leadership school," with a critical emphasis on urban processes. This led to the creation of a network of leaders who already glimpsed that their close problems had much to do with larger geographical spaces—and even with the socio-political structures that surrounded them—rather than with the closest neighborhood instances. Later, the T5 initiative implied—with advances and difficulties—the creation, promotion, and strengthening of technical capacities for organization and management of the territory. It allowed the consolidation of leaderships that had been forming from the experience and also generated social and economic activities that managed to articulate old and new generations, a key point in territorial participation.

> *That complexity, those relationships they established, changed their way of looking at things, observing problems, and also interacting with authority. It changed the scale of thought fundamentally, and also changed the power scale of these neighborhood actors to sit down and talk to the authorities. (Community intervention professional 1)*

The common revolves around concrete issues, such as defining spaces and territories of influence. First, through rules of operation, and later through "products," like the construction of a park, which became a milestone for this innovative management form. The "Parque de la 17 Norte" allowed the use of a rectangular piece of land that had little use, turning it into bike paths, trails, games, exercises, fields, and trees. The pre-design of which was handed over by the residents to the authorities, and whose construction took much longer than initially planned. This meant moving from a "theoretical common" to a "real common," that is, a material resource, but of common ownership and that has its survival based on the self-management of a community that must have sufficient agency to do without, but at the same time dialogue with the State (which can offer disdain) and with markets (which can offer threats).

All these elements would help understand what is common and what needs to be organized and managed. In that context, the first things that needed to be communalized were precisely the pre-existing areas of influence. The production of T5 brought together 17 neighborhood units or neighborhood associations and another dozen organizations with some territorial roots but more segmented: sports clubs, cultural committees, among others. This was achieved through a "focus and invitation" strategy, consisting of calling leaders who had some familiarity with intervention or training programs in social technologies to make initial contacts and thus strengthen the call to the rest of the community.

> *However, the neighborhood association, at a minimum, has about two hundred registered members, and from one household, I can get four or five, as long as they are over fourteen years old. So, we can form a neighborhood association with just two blocks. However, the neighborhood association here (of which I am the president) is made up of three communities: Villa Parque Industrial, Villa Comercio, and Villa España. This amounts to approximately five hundred houses, but that's because people have been joining; the membership book does not have the minimum two hundred people required by the neighborhood association but has many more. (Social leader 3)*

> *It's that before, the neighborhood unit was the same as the territory because they covered the same space; we are Neighborhood Unit No. 22, and Territory 5 is, as I told you, this project application where neighborhood units were not respected but rather territories. (Social leader 1)*

Evidently, these new forms of organizing the territory—theoretically more horizontal, reflective, and co-participatory—grappled with the challenges and opportunities of the old forms—the experience and knowledge of neighborhood leaders. The difference lay in certain more integrative ways that sought cohesion from a somewhat more collective perspective during the process, aiming for intergenerational and inter-neighborhood integration.

> *And why can it be done? Because there is a whole territory participating, I mean, older adults participate, young people participate, surveys are conducted on how they want it, so it is much more participatory. There is no one in the territory who does not know when that park started and when the first two sections of the ribbon were cut. (Social leader 4)*

> *We have people in their thirties; the last time we had two who were eighteen. Yes, it varies. Because every time we leave the meeting, it's like the last sentence is 'Remember that we are committed every time we come to a meeting, to invite one or two more people each of us. (Social leader 2)*

The milestone of the park, mentioned earlier, arose from a diagnosis and planning that materialized, after dozens of workdays, into a master plan for urban improvement. This was not the first time that most of these social actors were involved in this topic, but the new approach meant raising the way of "demanding" from the authorities.

> *The park was 'obtained' through a territory, where the government or municipal entities are exposed to the needs of an entire territory; how it would be beneficial to have this in such a place, which is a vacant lot causing these and other disturbances, and on top of that, we support them with the design, with the type of materials. (Social leader 1)*

> *So that was one of the [participatory] techniques applied for the construction of the park. The sector where the park was going to be built was especially involved. (Community intervention professional 2)*

In summary, the forms of organization stemming from new territorial configurations would pave the way for the production of the common: communalization. This notion of the common, managed with inclusive and participatory elements, builds the necessary cohesion to challenge power and institutionalization, transforming such commonality, which constitutes a process, into concrete products.

Beyond the "neighborhood": the production of territory from the collective to the common

The production of the common in the territory operates under the assumption of recognizing its value and relationships, functioning through the production of collective agency, as argued in the previous section. It is an understanding that the territory generates well-being and cohesion. As announced in the previous section, communalization is the process that impacts infrastructure or spaces. This is mainly supported by processes led by more or less active communities that tend to politicize the communal and transform it into the common. From collective agency, demands are internalized that not only involve the material aspect, i.e., solving a neighborhood problem but also demand a comprehensive vision that involves the common. For example, the continuity of collective instances that generate neighborhood demands and then manage the material (e.g., park) and immaterial (e.g., park governance) goods produced in the territory. The challenge is to verify if these processes consolidate such politicization and how they expand their relationships with the market and the State.

As outlined in the previous point, the production of the territory implied, first, a decision regarding the formation of the group, including defining rules and planning actions: starting from the limits of the organization, its possibilities for expansion, its settlement and territorial integration, and the conditions for producing a diagnosis that assesses the state of affairs but also delimits the territory and generates a minimum of identification.

> *So, I believe that basically, the pros of interesting things, perhaps from the [common] perspective, are that before this process, there was almost no perspective of thinking about the territory… that this territory had a meaning or that the territory had significance for people. It was more like a part of the city 'where my population was' or 'where I happened to live,' but the territory did not have meaning. (Community intervention professional 2)*

This required breaking the political-administrative inertia of neighborhood associations and moving towards collectivization within each of these units and between the units, paving the way for the communalization of territorial governance. This communality begins to be built from the relationship itself with those who facilitate this process—academia and civil society—so that clientelist or atomizing logics are not replicated in the subsequent relationship with the State and markets. This implies not "turning away" from both, which seems impossible and improbable, but resisting the pressures of co-optation, positioning with a certain level of collective agency that can be visible and acting more or less permanently.

> *And the authorities, especially the municipality, did not see it either; for the municipality of Talca, this territory did not exist in 2014, what existed were the specific populations and their neighborhood associations. (Inhabitant 3)*

> *Local politics took a turn, a change of conception, to assume this effort by the neighbors to collectivize work on the territory, and they assumed it. (Community intervention professional 1)*

When there is collectivity from the organized community, this sort of common power is constituted, which ultimately translates into a capacity for diagnosis, knowledge, and organization in strategic demands to the corresponding actors, based on their own agendas.

> *You achieve fewer things as a neighborhood association; you get smaller projects because you have less weight. In other words, they, with the neighborhood association, could apply for a government project. (Social leader 3)*

> *Look, for example, when we are raising a battery of projects, there is a lot of movement because first, we make a map, we dialogue, on the map, we present the needs of all the organizations that are there; for example, there is a wooden bridge here, but it is about to collapse, the person draws it, and we put our problems from all the organizations, from all the populations of the representatives who are there. (Social leader 4)*

The park, as a "common really existing" (Eisenberg, 2012: 765), has implied the continuity of planning, design, and implementation of related activities. In other words, after the construction of the park, there was the equally important stage of maintaining the park. In more concrete terms, the park and its current management end up embodying the common. Human, sociotechnical, and economic investment culminate in the survival of this common. This continuous process means managing short and medium-term micro-processes and achieving an effective mechanism of control and monitoring, translating into meetings, coordination, and measures aimed at complementary demands, in this new scenario where there is already a "product" that must be managed, and where negotiation instances with the authorities have been configured in a different way.

This production of the territory opened discussions about scaling among its participants, as it is thought that the same rationale of greater agency and interterritorial cooperation makes more sense than competition, which obviously requires the installation of certain capacities for internal discussion and cohesion to overcome the more competitive, clientelist, and atomized paradigms with which the institutions are usually designed.

> *This territory, more than competing, is admired, and they have asked it to help other territories (we have done it), we do not compete with anyone. (Social leader 1)*
>
> *We help Las Américas by raising new territorial tables; so that Talca has more territorial tables. We went to raise territorial tables in Las Américas, here next to El Centro Newspaper as well, now they were requesting it in Abate Molina; so more than competition, they have asked us for help. Because as this has been maintained for a long time, they want to see the techniques that are applied. (Social leader 2)*
>
> *So, it's different here; we did a survey of how these people are living; we visited each one of them, there is a report for each one, we know where they live, how much they are earning, what diseases they suffer from, who will visit them, how often, that is known; and everything is recorded in a formal document. (Social leader 1)*

The development of a product like the park, which constitutes a "real common," and the way to generate communalized instances of participation, as well as the design and its subsequent maintenance, allowed the development of a collective agency with the capacity for expansion that, in turn, impacts the cohesion of geographically larger territories, instead of promoting the usual competition for scarce resources.

From Clientelist Citizenship to Communalization

The establishment of T5 involved addressing the social erosion of decades of demobilization and the primacy of individual identities over class-based or more collective dynamics. This tension, observed not only in this territory, arises from the contrast between the emergence of this counter-collective agency and the sedimentation of atomized and clientelist subjectivities on which the initiative was built. It reflects a view of politics and participation from the perspective of consumers, with atomized individual arrangements (García Canclini, 2009; Sennet, 2008). In essence, there was a contrast between two generations. The first, the generation of "social leaders" with a stronger territorial identification but also with high institutional involvement and cooptation possibilities; then, the younger generation, consisting of two profiles: those less identified with the territory, less inclined to "solve" problems collectively because they usually leave the neighborhood as soon as their economic and/or cultural capital increases and do not stay to take on leadership roles, and those who, due to a lack of social and community integration, do not participate.

> *See, [people] leave for two reasons: because they have a bit more money, because they got the money to dye their hair, so they can move to another neighborhood. Also, they get tired of the crime, the gunshots, like it can tire anyone; those are the only two reasons I see. (Social leader 3)*

> *So, you see them and pass by, see young guys still drinking, so sure, it might be a social issue, but it might also be an age issue. Well, in fact, they also say that there is like a focus of crime there (and I don't have firsthand knowledge, I repeat their discourse). (Inhabitant 1)*

> *The thing here, from what I've seen, the feeling I have is that there are two types of people: there are people who, with the little they have, feel they are of another class and move to another world to feel more and forget all these brothers around here. (Inhabitant 2)*

Understanding the management of the commons can also be thought of as a way to enhance social cohesion and counter-agency structures that tend to produce atomized and dispersed subjectivities. From a clientelist perspective, social leaders linked to T5 have had relationships with political authorities in an institutional manner, either through participation in formal instances, such as municipal council meetings, or more clientelist, such as campaigns of elected authorities. This is developed through personal relationships. Obviously, this clientelism impacts the possibilities of both identification and communalization, at the community and leadership levels.

> *Sure, they chose a few, and he hung out with these people here, but he didn't include those from there... I don't know if I explain myself. [XXX XXX] was his name. But maybe those from here are not interested in participating either; that could be a point. (Inhabitant 6)*

> *Although the leaders (all of them) say they are "apolitical," and I think that is also important because there was also a break in Las Américas because other leaders participated in campaigns, for example, Sepúlveda's campaign later, and it didn't work out (CORE campaign). (Social leader 2)*

> *But the territorial table has all colors; we have had to get used to working with all colors. (Inhabitant 1)*

The rotation of authorities produces interruptions in joint work processes when they end up being too personalized, where the logic of individual clients is replicated in political negotiation. The leaders themselves recognize that changes in political authorities "are a threat to the advancement plans of the neighbors." The concept of citizen participation that each authority has, according to its political-ideological framework, will also influence the notion of citizens as clients (Streeck, 2012), if applicable.

> *Sure, I mean, we are at risk when the government changes because we have to instruct them again about what happens within the territory, inform them again about the problems we have. But if the government comes to work with the people, we resume work quickly, but if they bring... as it was difficult with this government, for them to understand that working with the people is more comfortable and means less work for them, but they brought imposition; they brought the formula. (Social leader 2)*

> *He is opposed to all initiatives because he is a right-wing guy who has a very mercantilist view, as if he does not believe in the collective; so, it is also complicated when you have an authority that does not engage and sponsor you, so to speak. (Community intervention professional 1)*

The vision of the communal and participatory is also expressed in the "resolution of problems on a microscopic scale," as one of the community intervention professionals refers to the way of relating to units on as small a scale as possible. The smaller the size, the greater the probability of a user/consumer logic.

The Social Leaders with more experience have used their knowledge of maintaining institutional relationships, not for the consolidation of the relationship itself, but now for the production of bureaucratic knowledge, which is added to territorial knowledge, for the preparation of documents that can be instrumentalized in this new type of relationship, more collective, but more efficient.

> *Now, if you didn't win their favor, you had zero possibilities. I experienced that as a neighborhood association leader some periods ago. So, the authority would punish us, and as a territory, since we are many more people, the authority here now sees an interest as voters. Because if they invest a lot here, we have already presented how many people we are because you also need tactics and technique. We said in a document how many voters we are, and that this territory could only decide the path of a mayor. So, you present a whole document, with numbers, and the authority either believes in you or not; and this one believed in us. (Social leader 1)*

The process of communalization also had an impact on neighborhood subjectivities and their individualization. In the case of social leaders, there is tension between clientelist inertia and overcoming the atomization of citizenship. However, it remains to be seen how this "communalizing moment" can project itself towards less involved neighbors, upon whose involvement the scaling of these projects and their transformative capacity depend.

Discussion

Beyond viewing T5 simply as a group of neighborhood associations collaborating with local NGOs and academia to overcome barriers in political-administrative institutionalism to achieve "things," this initiative is highlighted as a collective endeavor based on and managing a "commonality." In the long run, it embodies a sense of communal politics. Despite its connection to political institutions, it aligns with unconventional forms of political engagement and potential transformative aspirations. At the very least, it involves creating spaces or forms of sociability that offer a means of reproduction (away from the logic of commodity production) and pose a challenge to capitalist social relations within a territorially conceived common space.

Projects grounded in the communal management of the communal provide a vision of breaking away from individualism and modern enclosures "à la Polanyi" (Hodkinson, 2012). They dismantle barriers that seek to hinder non-commodified relationships and ways of socializing that exist outside prevailing production relationships.

In rethinking communities and their relationship to the territory, new forms of collective management emerge, grounded in innovative principles, with active participation in the planning, operation, and implementation of territorial initiatives. This perspective recognizes the existence of political, social, and economic relationships shaping territorial and urban ecosystems, operating parallel to dominant market and state logics. However, these relationships "enter and exit" markets and the state. Ultimately, modes of communalization, operating with certain levels of reflexivity, reciprocity, and cohesion, allow for action with autonomy from these state and market spheres.

Is this form of territorial management an innovative common? The management of the territory itself aligns with the management of the common. It is no longer about operating as a client or clientelist facing markets or the state to obtain isolated resources for the improvement of the quality of life of a delimited group—the size of a neighborhood association. Instead, the communalization that the creation and operation of Territorio 5 entailed has resulted in the valorization of the neighborhood ecosystem, its ways of life, and the work of "community managers."

By concretizing this experience under this communalizing model, territorial landscapes are recovered and revalued. An ecosystem is not only material but also experiential in its communalizing nature. It is within this understanding that the commons exist, facing threats but also having the potential to scale, depending on communities and their cohesion.

It achieves a management that goes beyond privatized solutions but also beyond state-local dependence. The strength lies in the communalization that integrates these and takes care of the communalization itself. It involves the creation and strengthening of a common good—in this case, the incipient territorial governance achieved by Territorio 5 and its power of reflexivity and agency. This intangible common subordinates itself to the material commons, mainly installations and capacities for management and interaction with authorities. All these commons are recognized and empowered by the communities. Whether from the fragmentary logics of markets or from the administrative atrophies of the state and local governments, the territory can be considered de-collectivized and foreign to a common vision, particularly concerning the capacity for management by its inhabitants. Experiences like these contribute to re-politicizing and rethinking territories.

Collective and common governance of the territory attempts to escape the view of consumers as citizens or fragmented inhabitants. The latter is a dynamic of enclosure, privatization, clientelization, userization—a citizenship as a customer dynamic—that shares some elements with the discussion of family versus society. The former dynamic produces social cohesion by grounding itself in the logics of articulation and social production of the territory.

Collectivization enables the communalization of the territory. This aims at a politicization of the communal and the social production of territorial governance. Specifically, it implies counter-agency against the state's inertia and market logics, as well as communalized visions of the territory through strategies of working with public opinion and local powers, promoting participation and the production of social cohesion.

The operationalization of politicization here is complex, assimilating that the problems of everyday life have structural reasons and that the solutions are part of processes involving understanding the territory as something social, not just geographic. It requires collective organization to generate knowledge, competencies, and discourses. The collective aspect is the realization that the client logic does not allow an understanding of the complex logics in relation to the state, nor does it allow a symmetrical relationship in markets.

T5 has allowed the recovery of certain levels of local autonomy. It has not only involved the management of material resources but has also facilitated cooperation within the territory, contributing to intergenerational social cohesion among different zones of the territory. The managers of the initiative noted that a significant challenge was to involve younger individuals, culturally more permeated by disenchantment with the public and, ultimately, with the communal. The knowledge, appreciation of the environment, and identification with the territory contributed to involving younger groups, who usually orient themselves toward individual and external resolution of their "quality of life" requirements. The aim is to increase their capacities and competencies to migrate from the neighborhood.

An unexplored challenge lies in breaking the inertia of intergenerational distancing, implying the basis for a class re-enchantment. This would involve understanding whether, given the segregative model and lack of design in Chilean cities in general, initiatives like these, transcending the neighborhood, have the capacity to enchant generations that rely on residential mobility as the main strategy for improving quality of life and achieving symbolic social ascensions. The communalizing factor, the collective production of the territory, can go against, for example, more meritocratic discourses, as they propose and promote a path that is not only more individual but crucially more competitive.

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ARTICLE

Extractivism, territorial conflicts and Social Work in Latin America: Contributions to the professional discussion

Extractivismo, conflictos ecoterritoriales y Trabajo Social en América Latina: Contribuciones al debate profesional.

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Abstract:

In Latin America, in the last three decades there has been a strong discussion in critical thinking regarding extractivism as a form of accumulation that is based on the export of commodities. Despite the long existing discussion on this subject in the social sciences in Latin America, the debates on extractivism and its impacts on the territories have not attracted significant attention from Social Work research. Although there is an incipient field of socio-environmental discussion in Social Work in Latin America, categories such as conflict, resistance and extractivism have not acquired a theoretical and empirical depth in bibliographic production. In this context, this article aims to analyse the epistemic, re-

Keywords:
Extractivism; territorial conflicts; Social Work

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search and methodological contributions that the link between extractivism and Social Work can generate to the professional debate in Latin America. On the one hand, we make a conceptual reflection on the relationship between Social Work, extractivism and territorial resistance based on the existing literature. Then we reflect on an experience developed based on an Action-Research work that has sought to analyse the socio-ecological impacts of the expansion of the fruit agribusiness in the Ñuble region, in Chile. Finally, we propose some challenges for Social Work from the work and the reviewed bibliographic production, to respond in a significant way when addressing the impacts of extractivism in the territories. These challenges are: 1) epistemic contributions that aim to broaden the way of understanding knowledge in Social Work from the territories in resistance to extractivism, 2) research contributions that allow for evidencing in a well-founded way the socio-community impacts caused by extractivism in the territories, and on the other hand, to analyse the multiple experiences and learning of resistance that emerge from extractivism. And 3) the enrichment of methodologies relevant to territorial work that seek to go beyond the separations between the social/environmental and the human/non-human.

Resumen

En América Latina, en las últimas tres décadas ha existido una fuerte discusión en el pensamiento crítico respecto al extractivismo como forma de acumulación que se basa en la exportación de commodities. A pesar de la larga discusión existente sobre esta temática en las ciencias sociales en América Latina, los debates sobre el extractivismo y sus impactos en los territorios no han atraído atención significativa por parte de la investigación en Trabajo Social. Si bien hay un incipiente campo de discusión socioambiental en Trabajo Social en América Latina, categorías como conflicto, resistencia y extractivismo no han adquirido una profundización teórica y empírica en la producción bibliográfica. En este contexto, este artículo tiene como objetivo analizar las contribuciones epistémicas, investigativas y metodológicas que la vinculación entre extractivismo y Trabajo Social pueden generar al debate profesional en América Latina. Por una parte, hacemos una reflexión conceptual sobre la relación entre Trabajo Social, extractivismo y resistencia ecoterritoriales en base a la literatura existente. Luego reflexionamos a partir de la experiencia desarrollada en base a un trabajo de Investigación-Acción que ha buscado analizar los impactos socio-ecológicos de la expansión del agronegocio frutícola en la región de Ñuble, Chile.

Palabras Clave:
Extractivismo; Conflictos ecoterritoriales; Trabajo Social

Finalmente, proponemos algunos retos para la profundización del debate profesional a partir del trabajo y la producción bibliográfica revisada. Dichos retos son: 1) aportes epistémicos que apuntan a ampliar la forma de entender el conocimiento en Trabajo Social a partir de los territorios en resistencia al extractivismo, 2) aportes investigativos que permitan evidenciar de manera fundada los impactos socio-comunitarios que provoca el extractivismo en los territorios, y por otra parte, analizar las múltiples experiencias y aprendizajes de resistencia que emergen al extractivismo. Y 3) el enriquecimiento de metodologías pertinentes al trabajo territorial que buscan ir más allá de las separaciones entre lo social/ambiental y lo humano/no-humano.

Introduction

On August 30, 2019, Buenaventura Farías made the radical decision to take his own life. After a lifetime working as a shepherd in the province of Petorca, at the age of 83, he decided to end his life. His relatives pointed out that in the last period, he became increasingly saddened by the prolonged drought in the territory, repeatedly saying, "everything is going to dry up" (Rojas, 2019). The lack of water affected his crops, and a few days before his death, he sold the last 20 cows he had due to the difficulty of continuing to feed them (Rojas, 2019). All this happened while in many hills of this valley, "green deserts" of avocado monocultures were flourishing.

This story is not just about Buenaventura. It reflects many stories throughout Latin America / Abya Yala. These are increasingly frequent chronicles of dispossession, showing the dramatic point to which extractivism is reaching: in the territories it occupies, it not only displaces its inhabitants or pressures for the internalization of its practice but also corners to such an extent that it makes other forms of life impossible in the occupied territories. In Latin America, over the last three decades, there has been a strong discussion in critical thinking regarding extractivism as a form of accumulation, based on the export of commodities with high socioecological impacts on the communities where these projects are located (mainly oil exploitation, mining, agribusiness, cellulose, etc.). This form of "development" deepens in the neoliberal phase of the capitalist mode of production, which feeds on the exploitation and seizure of territories and their natural common goods (Svampa, 2019; Gudynas, 2013; Machado, 2015).

Despite the long-standing discussion on this topic in the social sciences, debates on extractivism and its impacts on territories have not attracted significant attention from research in Social Work. While there is an incipient field of socio-environmental discussion in Social Work in Latin America (Quintana-Ramírez, 2019; Sepúlveda y Úcar, 2018), categories such as conflict, resistance, and extractivism have not gained theoretical and empirical depth in bibliographic production (except for works such as Jerez, 2015; Panez, 2020; and Mora et al., 2017). It seems important to problematize this lack of depth for two central reasons. Firstly, a considerable part of professional practice is permeated by the logics of NEOLIBERAL policies, naturalizing the installation of extractive projects in the territories where Social Work intervenes and even operating as agents of demobilization of possible opposition to such projects, which according to Marro (2018), renew political strategies of counterinsurgency in Latin America (taking examples from cases in Brazil and Argentina in the last two decades). The second reason is that, although there is a fertile discussion in the critical field of Social Work regarding the ethical-political project in Latin America and the incorporation of emancipatory approaches in professional action, within this debate, there is no emphatic positioning regarding the impacts that extractivism and socio-ecological crisis generate in shaping the social issue. The question of how we position ourselves theoretically and politically as a professional collective in the face of the increasing ecoterritorial conflicts and the advance of extractivism on the territories remains an open one that requires answers.

In this context, this article aims to analyze the epistemic, research, and methodological contributions that the link between extractivism and Social Work can generate to the professional debate and resistance to this process in Latin American territories. For this purpose, our methodology draws on two central components. Firstly, we reflect conceptually on the relationship between Social Work, extractivism, and ecoterritorial conflicts, taking references from Latin American political ecology on extractivism and the review of literature from journal articles, book chapters, and undergraduate and postgraduate theses that have addressed the link between Social Work, extractivism, and ecoterritorial conflicts. Secondly, we reflect based on the experience we have developed as a research team on "Agribusiness and socio-ecological inequalities" at the School of Social Work of the University of Bio-Bio, based on an Action-Research project that has sought to analyze the socio-ecological impacts of the expansion of fruit agribusiness in one of the regions of the central-southern zone of Chile (Ñuble region) and how these impacts affect the reproduction of inequalities in the territories. This research work has also carried out a process of support to one of the rural communities in this region that opposes the construction of a megaproject dam that comes to dispossess the existing ways of

life in the territory, in order to increase the irrigation capacity of large farmers. This case is paradigmatic, as Chile's strategy of promoting non-traditional agricultural exports is often presented as a successful example of economic growth, even as a model to be replicated. However, in the last decade, the socio-ecological limits of the agribusiness strategy have been evident, such as the decrease in the availability of water, the increase in land and water conflicts, and the social, cultural, and symbolic transformations they cause in the territories where they are located (Panez et al., 2018).

Thus, the article is structured in the following way. In the next section, we provide a brief overview of the discussion of Latin American critical thinking on extractivism, resistances, and ecoterritorial conflicts, taking a stance within this debate regarding the polysemy of the concepts of extractivism and resistances. The following section proposes a preliminary review of the production in Social Work that is directly and indirectly linked to the relationship between ecoterritorial conflicts and extractivism, reflecting on the scope and gaps in the current discussion. Subsequently, we delve into the experience as an action-research team in the Ñuble region. For this, in the section "Expansion of agribusiness and the Ñuble region in Chile," we characterize the territory of the Ñuble region and the main features of the agro-export sector, within the extractivist matrix of the country. After this contextualization, we reflect on our team's involvement with communities affected by megaprojects, within the scenario of conflict in the region, visualizing the scope and challenges of this journey. We conclude by sharing conclusions that seek to continue opening paths of reflection and action on possible bridges between Social Work and ecoterritorial conflicts in the face of extractivism. The conclusions propose three areas of deepening for the professional debate on extractivism in Latin American territories: 1) epistemic, 2) research, and 3) methodological.

Contemporary Debates in Latin America on Extractivism, Resistances, and Ecoterritorial Conflicts

The harsh emergence of neoliberalism globally has rekindled and revitalized the debate on accumulation forms in the current phase of capitalism, characterized by the prominence of financial capital in the mechanisms of expropriation of common goods. Authors like David Harvey (2005), drawing from Rosa Luxemburg, argue that the role of financial capital, in the contemporary moment of accumulation by dispossession, is due to the prominence of buying and selling of stocks, credit and debt within the economic framework of countries, along with the speculative activity it entails (Harvey, 2005).

Thus, financial capital exerts strong pressure for a series of social and natural common goods (understood as "assets" in economic terms) to be appropriated by private actors and even become objects of speculation.

It is in this context of the transformation of contemporary capitalism that the debate on extractivism emerges in Latin America. The classic reference driving the contemporary debate is the conceptualization by Gudynas (2015), who understands extractivism as a particular type of extraction of "natural resources," distinguished by three fundamental elements: volume, intensity, and more than 50% of what is extracted destined for export. An important aspect of this definition is that it does not restrict the idea of extractivism to mining or hydrocarbons (as initially understood) but also recognizes forest monoculture, agribusiness, salmon farming, intensive livestock, among others. While Gudynas' reference contributes to pushing this field of discussion, other works have expanded and complexified the concept of extractivism. Recently, Ye et al. (2019) argue that it is necessary to consider other constitutive components of extractivism, such as: i) the creation of monopolies on extracted resources, ii) the close interrelationships between state agents and private actors (national or international), iii) the existence of "operational centers" managing a series of connections allowing extracted products to be transported from places of poverty to places of wealth, iv) deepening inequalities between those who concentrate the benefits of production and those negatively affected by extractive activities, and v) it is a type of economic process resulting in the "sterility" of territories, destruction of landscapes and biodiversity, widespread pollution, and degradation of the ways of life of its inhabitants (Ye et al., 2019).

Acknowledging the contributions of the expanded notion of extractivism, two key discussion axes have emerged from Latin America that seem crucial to emphasize to understand the depth of the extractivist matrix in the region. The first axis is the recognition that it is not a recent phenomenon, and the current situation has a neocolonial emphasis. In this direction, extractivism is an accumulation practice that began with the colonization of Global South countries more than 500 years ago (in America, Africa, and Asia), a condition for the formation of the capitalist system "forged in the exploitation of raw materials essential for the industrial development and well-being of the Global North" (Acosta, 2016, p.2). Based on this, Svampa (2019) emphasizes that extractivism, at present, functions as a neocolonial model focused on the appropriation and destruction of nature. This author argues that we find ourselves at a moment when neo-extractivism is at the center of contemporary accumulation, shedding light on the crisis of the modernity project and more generally on the current socio-ecological

crisis (Svampa, 2019). The reference to neo-extractivism has been used especially to refer to partial state participation in the wealth produced by extractive activities for redistributive purposes and developmental investments, as seen in the so-called "progressive governments" in Latin America (Gudynas, 2013; Svampa, 2019).

The second axis, which we find important in the extractivism debate, is the multidimensional character of this form of accumulation. While Gudynas' works mention cultural and political components as supports for legitimizing the actions of extractive companies and the policies that support them (Gudynas, 2013; 2018), his theorization of extractivism does not delve into the symbolic mechanisms that drive its advancement as a form of accumulation.

In this scenario, contributions pointing to the impacts of extractivism on the subjectivation processes of those involved in extractive activities are interesting. For example, Machado (2012) draws attention to the "biopolitical expropriation" that operates as a "material and symbolic disposition, disposition of their labor power; of their emotions and feelings; of their skills and knowledge; and of their ideas, values, and desires" (Machado, 2012, p.63). Thus, extractivism not only expropriates the material conditions of life in territories but also seeks to deactivate resistance in bodies, breaking community fabrics and our own rootedness in the territory, to achieve habituation and legitimation of dispossession. As Machado summarizes, ending with "dismembered territories and disaffected populations" (2012, p.63).

Resuming this discussion on extractivism in Latin America is particularly important in Chile. Regarding this country, we agree with authors like Maillet et al. (2021), who, in a review of scientific articles on the reality of Chile, note "a conceptual routinization or inertia that suspends independent theoretical questioning of the communicative power of the concept" (Maillet et al., 2021, p.68). Except for works like those of Romero-Toledo (2019) and Bolados (2016), this routinization can also lead to the analytical emptying of the concept of extractivism.

In summary, and taking into account the contributions of Svampa (2019) and Machado (2015), in this research, we understand extractivism as: 1) a type of capital accumulation pattern but simultaneously a political-cultural practice of colonial origins and shaping the social issue in Latin America, 2) based on the geopolitical subordination of sacrificed territories and the exploitation of human and non-human life, and 3) evolving in its mechanisms of territorial and body control to deny and/or deactivate the increase

in ecoterritorial conflicts generated by its activities (Uribe and Panez, 2022). Extractivism results in a series of social issues directly linked to the work of Social Work, such as: the increase in social inequalities and injustices, the intensification of material impoverishment, patriarchal violence in its different expressions, and the violation of human rights in general.

Resistances to Extractivism

The processes of dispossession associated with extractivism are not passively accepted in many territories across the continent. Thousands of inhabitants are engaged in significant resistance processes. The term "resistance" has been widely used to refer to forms of organization that oppose systems of domination (Zibechi, 2003). In this debate, it is essential to highlight three aspects of its relationship with extractivism.

Firstly, we understand that resistance arises from opposition to power concentrations and/or the exercise of domination relationships underlying the implementation of extractive projects. Secondly, a key element of resistance is the affirmation of territoriality by organized movements and communities. Peasant communities, indigenous people, Afro-descendants, and inhabitants in general of rural areas assert, through their resistance, a different way of being in the territory, which is affected by the processes of territorialization and deterritorialization caused by extractivism (Haesbaert, 2013). Thirdly, in these resistance processes, there is also a questioning of the hierarchy of knowledge existing in capitalist, patriarchal, and colonial structures. These structures have tended to deny the capacity of subalternized groups to produce knowledge based on their ways of life. Concerning territorial resistances, these are related to popular knowledge embedded in daily practices (Porto-Goncalves, 2015) and are recreated when confronting extractive activities. Finally, it is relevant to recognize that many of these resistances go beyond anti-extractive positions or rejection of specific projects. In part, these struggles affirm alternative ways of understanding the world and one's own existence, challenging the rationality that instrumentalizes nature and weakens other forms of human and non-human life for the accumulation of capital (Porto-Gonçalves, 2015).

Having outlined the theoretical references through which we understand the concepts of extractivism and resistance, the following section explores how these discussions have been linked to the current debate within Social Work in Latin America.

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Social Work and Extractivism

An initial observation is that, in the face of the extensive and growing Latin American discussion on extractivism, Social Work has maintained a less active role in relation to the contributions it can make in contexts of ecoterritorial conflicts related to extractive activities in the region. This has meant refraining from promoting methodological, epistemic, and practical discussions within the profession about these territories.

To delve deeper into the insertion of this discussion into the profession, we conducted a review of recent academic literature that includes these themes. In Latin America, in the 1990s, pioneering works on the connection between Social Work and the socio-environmental crisis in Colombia and Brazil were registered (Closs 2015; Quintana-Ramírez, 2019). This predates the Anglo-Saxon debate of the second decade of the 2000s, in which concepts such as "Green Social Work" (Dominelli, 2012) or "Environmental Social Work" (Gray, 2013) emerged, both related to understanding the fundamental role of environmental issues in structural inequities. While these discussions open new horizons for debate and involvement of the profession, the predominant environmental approach does not delve into the conflicts currently taking place in Latin American countries, experiencing intensive exploitation of natural common goods, as well as productive and reproductive work. These absences are also evident in spaces like the 2018 Global Social Work Conference, which had a focus on "Environmental Linkage and Sustainable Development." There were 84 presentations related to climate change, socio-natural disasters, socio-environmental conflicts, and community education and participation (Sepúlveda, 2018). However, these did not delve deeply into issues related to the autonomy of territories or the struggles and resistances against the installation of mega-projects. In our opinion, discussing the environmental dimension of Social Work in Latin America without considering extractivism as an accumulation pattern is limited in scope.

Particularly in our continent, socio-environmental issues have seen a gradual increase. Sepúlveda's review (2018) of the Latin American Social Work Schools Seminars, covering 17 years of disciplinary history (since 2012), found only 30 presentations directly addressing socio-environmental issues. However, most of the socio-environmental content is linked to theoretical reflection, not based on concrete experiences related to this and does not address the professional contradictions experienced in the face of extractivism-induced territorial conflict. In terms of academic production, particularly on extractivism, territorial conflicts, and Social Work, there is a scarcity of literature

on these processes. A review of the academic landscape at the continental level reveals that most productions are concentrated in Argentina, Colombia, Mexico, and Brazil (Sepúlveda and Úcar, 2017; Pineda, 2014; Liévano, 2013; Sepúlveda, 2018;2019; Marro, 2022; Etcheverry, 2018). In Chile, the few discussions that have taken place have focused on mining conflicts, energy issues, and environmental injustice due to polluting industrial complexes (Arellano, 2017; Mora et al., 2017; Jerez, 2015).

An emerging field of discussion emphasizes the importance of professional practice in extractive contexts to facilitate mediation and social dialogue processes (Tobar and Velásquez, 2021; France and Pollicardo, 2022). For instance, Tobar and Velásquez (2021) reveal the professional practices and knowledge of Social Work in environmental management and interventions in Antioquia and Caldas, highlighting the mediating role that professionals play in prior consultations before the implementation of extractive projects. They emphasize the importance of "establishing communicative codes that allow us to advance in the generation of agreements with ethnic groups" (Tobar and Velásquez, 2021). Similarly, France and Pollicardo (2022) address this mediating role from Chile, as an attempt where the State has tried to generate strategies for facilitating dialogue and citizen participation in conflicts socio-environmental. They position Social Workers in conflicts as mediators between companies and communities, a role that, from their perspective, can be part of a "disciplinary resistance" (France and Pollicardo, 2022).

This mediating view of Social Work differs from a second group of studies that pose a critical discussion on extractivism and Social Work (Liévano, 2013; Marro, 2022; Mora et al., 2017; Jerez, 2015). The contributions of Liévano (2013) are particularly relevant, as they place the relationship between society and nature at the center of the discussion concerning the emerging concept of "environment" in the profession. Liévano points out that, along with unequal power relations, spatial and temporal dynamics have configured specific forms of social, cultural, political, and economic organization—power relations that occur over territories, as spaces of conflict. What the author mentions regarding directing attention to reducing impacts on nature and territory without addressing their root causes promotes the perpetuation of conditions of inequity and conflict (Liévano, 2013).

We find works such as those by Jerez (2015) and Marro (2022) particularly interesting, which challenge Social Work from a broader understanding of extractivist dynamics. In the case of Jerez (2015) and Mora et al. (2017), the authors present professional po-

sitions that promote practices where the importance of territory and non-hierarchical, non-fragmented society-nature relationships is highlighted as a relevant field of the profession. This includes fostering spaces for discussion, strengthening social organizations, and revaluing cultural, environmental, and heritage diversity and identity as an essential part of this alternative approach to intervention in eco-territorial issues (Mora et al., 2017; Jerez, 2015).

In the case of Marro (2022), there is an interrogation regarding the need to broaden professional reflection on the foundational role of social struggles in shaping the social issue. From this perspective, she suggests that in the contemporary scenario of Latin America, much of the expressions of the social issue, which form the basis of professional demands in Social Work, "are inseparable from the neo-extractivist dynamic that is reshaping the economies of Latin American countries" (Marro, 2022, p.1).

Based on this literature review, we find it problematic that extractivism is not yet considered a relevant aspect for thinking about current and emerging scenarios for our profession, understanding it as a fundamental pillar to comprehend the current socio-environmental crisis that involves a conglomerate of eco-territorial conflicts in Latin America. However, there has been a significant increase in works (especially in the last decade) that have sought to elucidate the characteristics of the environmental issue in Latin America, marked by extractivism as an economic strategy and by ongoing socio-environmental conflicts in the region (Saravia and Panez, 2022).

These proposals address the environmental issue from "popular ecologism," which has emerged in countries of the Global South, positioning itself more explicitly as a criticism of the socioecological impacts of the capitalist system and colonialism (Jerez 2015; Mora et al., 2017; Liévano 2013). These research efforts are linked to the discussion of Latin American critical thinking regarding a redefinition of the concept of "environment"—such as the contributions of Escobar (2014) with "relational ontologies" or Svampa (2019) with her description of an "ecoterritorial turn" in social struggles—drawing attention to a thought matrix emerging from indigenous peoples, peasants, and Afro-descendants in Latin America, questioning the foundational pillars of modern rationality, particularly the Eurocentric view of the "environment."

Despite these contributions, we believe it is necessary to advance the reflection on how we can deepen the incipient critical perspectives on extractivism and eco-territorial

conflicts in specific territorial processes and how, from these concrete practices, we can elucidate professional contributions to resistances against the dispossession processes generated by extractive activities. To do this, we will analyze the experience of action-research conducted as a research team.

Expansion of agribusiness and the Ñuble region in Chile

"Agriculture has its question, its question
The potato is sold to us by various nations
When it is originally from the south of Chile
In front of the emblem of three colors
Mining has many nuances, many nuances
The miner generates good money
But for the pocket of the foreigner"
In the center of injustice, Violeta Parra.

In order to seek horizons that broaden the discussion on Social Work, extractivism, and eco-territorial conflicts, the team from the Agribusiness and Socio-ecological Inequalities department at the School of Social Work of the University of Bio-Bio has been conducting an action-research process since 2020. We have developed an experience of accompanying communities and organizations resisting the installation of infrastructure projects that deepen extractive activities in the Ñuble region, Chile. Established in 2018, Ñuble has its capital in Gran Chillán (with 215,646 inhabitants). It is one of the regions with the highest rural population in Chile (30.6%), and its geographical configuration, consisting of valleys, fields, mountains, and the rivers Itata, Diguillin, and Ñuble, has positioned the region in the spotlight of agro-export production. Between 1997–2018, the cultivated area with fruit trees in this region increased by 155%, with American blueberry being the most cultivated species (National Institute of Statistics INE, 1997; Office of Agricultural Studies and Policies ODEPA, 2006; 2019). This shift is attributed to water availability and climatic projections in the southern regions of Chile, making them more resilient to the climate crisis.

It is essential to recall that agro-export is one of the pillars of raw material exports in Chile, driven by the civic-military dictatorship from 1973 to 1990. Following a process of "agrarian counter-reform," which involved transferring land to national and foreign private hands, the previous agrarian reform aiming for greater land redistribution was completely abandoned (Panez et al., 2018). This situation resulted in a country where development aimed at privatizing natural and public assets, such as water. With the creation of the Water Code in 1981, water exploitation rights were freely and "perpetua-

lly" granted to private entities. Within this framework, fruit exports became a renewed source of business, capitalizing on comparative advantages in the globalized agricultural market, such as climatic conditions and counter-seasonality against central capitalist countries (Panez et al., 2018).

In this context, the "Punilla Reservoir" project is currently underway in the commune of San Fabián de Alico, Ñuble. This project has led to conflicts with the community due to expropriations and evictions, which show irregularities in compliance with the mitigation plan and social development plan. Similarly, the initiative for the "Zapallar Reservoir" project remains active, submitted by the Ministry of Public Works to intervene in the Diguillín River.

It is within the Diguillín River where our action-research experience is situated. The Diguillín River originates in the Andes mountain range, at the foot of the Chillán volcano, and is characterized by its turquoise waters and abundant vegetation of native forests, flora, and aquatic fauna. The panoramic view of the territory is sublime from the perspective of any observer (Figure 1).

Figure 1 - Diguillín River. Photograph taken by Claudia Mendoza during fieldwork on September 26, 2021.

This is where the Zapallar Reservoir project aims to be installed, consisting of the construction of an irrigation reservoir that will store excess winter water rights granted by the General Directorate of Water (DGA) to the Hydraulic Works Directorate (DOH). These rights will be used to irrigate new areas during dry periods. The reservoir would be geographically located at the narrowing of the Diguillín River valley, 12 km downstream from its confluence with the Renegado River, both belonging to the Itata River basin in the communes of Pinto and El Carmen, Ñuble region. The proposed dam height is 100 meters, with a projected total intervention area of 385.5 hectares. The reservoir's capacity is estimated at 80 hm3, with an indefinite lifespan (approximately 50 years). The project is promoted as a benefit for local farmers, providing an 85% irrigation security to around 54,630 hectares (currently 44,630 ha) and supplying new irrigation to 10,000 ha in the communes of San Ignacio and El Carmen.

The residents directly involved in this conflict belong to the San Vicente Bajo sector. Those living in this rural area value their local culture and subsistence through small agricultural, livestock, and harvesting activities. About 10 families in this sector would face expropriation if the project were to proceed. Despite being considered minimal by the project promoters, this number of families has been used to construct a hegemonic discourse about the "common good," emphasizing the benefits for local farmers by increasing irrigated hectares. However, evidence suggests that the majority of beneficiaries are not small farmers but rather agribusiness. During the research team's support process in the Diguillín River community, a review of water exploitation rights (DAA) data in the influence communes of the Zapallar Reservoir (Pinto, El Carmen, and San Ignacio) was conducted. In these communes, the panorama is problematic because the Diguillín River basin was declared depleted in 1993. However, in the last five years, the amount of liters per second delivered through water exploitation rights has significantly increased. Most applicants for rights exceeding 150 lt/s are agricultural societies owned by participants in private organizations managing water rights in the area, such as the "Junta de Vigilancia del Río Diguillín" (a major proponent of the Zapallar Reservoir project). This unequal concentration of water ownership, coupled with the numerous socio-ecological impacts of dam construction, questions the supposed "minimal" impact claimed by the project's proponents. Many human and non-human inhabitants will be affected by the reconfiguration of socio-ecological relationships that the reservoir construction would entail (Panez and Barraza, forthcoming).

Simultaneously, with the increasing water consumption for agribusiness, the region experiences worsening access to drinking water, leading a considerable portion of rural

communities to receive water from tanker trucks. Approximately 30,000 people in the Ñuble region receive 50 liters of water per day per person through tanker trucks (Meleán, 2021).

In summary, the Ñuble region witnesses a contradictory scenario regarding water and nature appropriation. On one hand, the region faces precarious access to water for human consumption and small-scale agriculture, exacerbated by prolonged drought. On the other hand, there is a growing business interest and public-private investment to secure water for agribusiness. While agribusiness actors, with state support, have sought to construct a hegemonic discourse of general well-being and progress for the region, this unequal context has triggered conflicts among those opposing these megaprojects and their promises of progress, pointing towards alternative ways of being and living in the territory.

Building Social Work Experiences in the Face of Extractivism

Understanding the unequal power relations among conflicting actors (State, agribusiness companies, irrigation organizations, affected families, socio-environmental groups, etc.), the research team's experience of accompanying the community from the "Agribusiness and Socio-ecological Inequalities" department at the School of Social Work, University of Bio-Bio, involves various forms of support to collectives and organizations currently resisting the conflict. One of the most significant is the "Diguillín Union Committee," a group formed by residents directly affected by the project.

The history of these families dates back several decades, most of them since the early 20th century, indicating a long-standing presence in the territory. They are mainly engaged in caring for their animals, small-scale livestock activities, wheat cultivation, and the collection of fruits, particularly traditional activities in the area (harvesting red fruits like blackberries and rose hips for jam production). Despite the opposition of the territory's residents to the project, it remains a constant threat to the community, impacting the physical and mental well-being of the inhabitants and causing feelings of distress and desolation due to the potential physical degradation of the landscape or family environment (Mendoza et al., 2021).

However, within the territory, various resistance actions have been taken in response to the conflict. Some of this resistance predates the reservoir idea, starting with the degradation of the territory due to the installation of forestry plantations that have negatively impacted the area, especially concerning water flow, over the last 40 years. Resistances manifest as an "everyday form of life," as Sousa Santos (2021) describes it, referring

to the underground ways of resisting that don't often manifest as open confrontation but deploy strategies to face the material and ideological domination of extractivism in daily life. This resistance materializes in the presence and persistence of families in the territory, resisting despite the widespread threat. This resistance is not a conservative opposition. Organized inhabitants have taken it upon themselves to self-educate on the issue, conducting promotion, information, and organization activities to make visible the implications of the reservoir installation. This leads to more explicit resistances against the reservoir, such as demonstrations confronting project authorities in citizen consultation contexts and meetings, and the creation of a committee to defend their territory. Additionally, other organizations like "Somos Diguillin" and "Diguillin Aguas Libres" have emerged as the conflict becomes more visible in the region.

In this context, the research team built a collaborative relationship with territorial organizations opposing the reservoir. In this collaboration, the central objective of the Social Work team was defined as supporting community protagonism in the resistance process to the project, beyond momentary institutional instances (such as the project's processing in the Environmental Evaluation System [SEA]). From there, specific objectives were established: 1. Strengthen knowledge about the territory through sharing perspectives, knowledge, and experiences related to the territory and the river, and 2. Prepare the work of citizen observations in the Environmental Evaluation System (SEA) by the Diguillín inhabitants, identifying the main threats that the project poses to their lives. With these definitions, the main actions included:

- Social mapping workshops to recognize the knowledge and daily activities of the locals and the ecological and social characteristics of the territory (Figure 2).
- Information activities on the functioning of the Environmental Evaluation System and workshops for the collective construction of observations against the project within the citizen participation process.
- Participatory collection of information on potential socio-ecological impacts of the reservoir construction, forming the basis for the preparation of citizen observations in the Environmental Evaluation System by the community.
- Open virtual discussion on "Agribusiness and Reservoirs in Chile: Socio-ecological Impacts on Territories," as a space of convergence between researchers and activists from different territories who shared their views on the socio-ecological impacts of reservoir projects and how these projects are linked to the predominant agribusiness model in Chile.
- Virtual socio-educational working meetings on water legislation in Chile and the research team's processed information analysis on water exploitation rights used in the area.

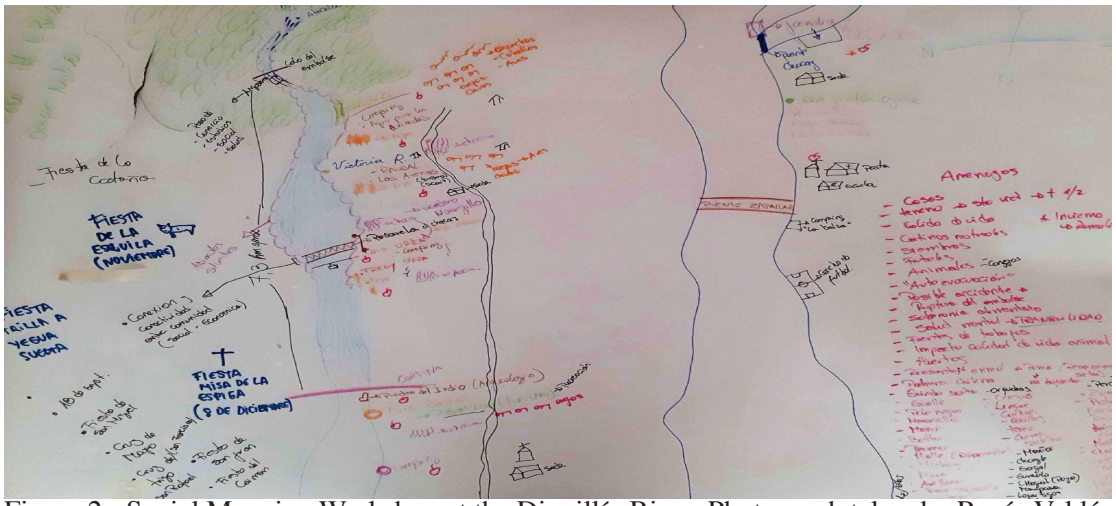

Figure 2 - Social Mapping Workshop at the Diguillín River. Photograph taken by Rocío Valdés during fieldwork on November 29, 2020.

In this way, the work primarily focused on contributing to community processes to confront the reservoir project. Regarding the research work, priority was given to seeking documents and information that would provide theoretical content and empirical support regarding the implications of the reservoir project on the territory. This was also done as a way of collectively understanding the installation of this project not in isolation but in the context of water privatization in Chile and its use for the expansion of agribusiness in different parts of the country.

In light of the actions taken, several reflections emerge from our experiences as a team of academics and students, particularly regarding the engagement in these territories. Firstly, such experiences are deemed significant to enhance professional reflexivity about the standpoint from which we position ourselves, reclaiming our own territorial trajectories and articulating ethical-political convictions based on specific conflicts. Secondly, it is essential to consider the ability to listen to territorial voices, observe their dynamics and relational patterns. This is crucial because it challenges conventional research and prompts us to deeply understand community timelines (distinct from academic timelines) and to genuinely recognize the territorialities of the inhabitants and their particular ways of coexisting in the territory.

Lastly, the focus on community protagonism is seen as a key contribution component that Social Work can make in processes of resistance to extractivism. Far from paternalism or empowerment visions that diminish agency within communities, the emphasis on the communal and the common addresses an often undervalued aspect in opposition

processes to mega-projects. Particularly in Chile, based on our experiences in these issues, we believe that most of the time, when considering professional support, only legal areas (for legal advice to communities regarding environmental institutions) and physical-natural aspects (for surveys of flora, fauna, and water quality supporting the impacts of mega-projects) are viewed as relevant disciplines. However, the communal aspect appears highly relevant, especially in the face of institutional participation processes (such as the SEA in Chile) that are highly restricted and even simulative collaborations to legitimize the installation of extractive projects (Pelfini and Mena, 2017).

Conclusions

In this journey, we have mapped existing connections and possible bridges between Social Work and ecoterritorial conflicts in the face of extractivism. Based on the reviewed literature and the authors' research-action experience, we can summarize three areas for deepening the professional debate on extractivism in Latin American territories: 1) epistemic, 2) investigative, and 3) methodological.

Epistemic contributions aim to broaden the understanding of knowledge in Social Work by starting from territories resisting extractivism. We have previously emphasized the importance for Social Work to perceive territory as a living space, recognizing the multiple relationships that sustain it (Panez, 2020). This involves relationships among different human beings but also with non-human entities. For example, in our experience, considering rivers as living entities (even with memory) has been a fruitful approach to re-center the place of the social (and Social Work in particular) in territorial dynamics. This is relevant for the Social Work discipline because prevailing intervention logics, based on instrumental rationality and a colonial notion of development and progress, conceive nature as an object to be appropriated and manipulated by humans for their own material well-being, with legitimizing or non-problematizing views on resistance processes to extractivism.

This aligns with Jerez's proposal to construct a "territorial ecopolitical rationality" in Social Work, aiming for "the incorporation, valuation, and horizontal participatory dialogue among the diverse cultures and territorialities existing in the areas in question, integrating citizen-ecological perspectives with indigenous-community-ancestral matrices for professional action" (2015, p.6). Ultimately, it is crucial to question the position we occupy as a profession in these contexts, recognizing and challenging the interests in the territory, with a vital emphasis on listening to living beings and other biosphere entities relevant to people inhabiting threatened environmental territories (Jerez, 2017).

Secondly, research in Social Work becomes important as a relevant instrument that can support the construction of collective reflective processes in the face of advancing extractivism. Investigative challenges are diverse, so we will only point out some possible directions. On one hand, conducting research on this topic would substantiate the socio-community impacts caused by extractivism in the territories where it is implemented. In a context where the environmental or biophysical dimension (impact on water sources, soil erosion, specific ecosystems like wetlands, mangroves, etc.) is usually privileged, highlighting the social dimension is a component that requires legitimacy and research support. On the other hand, an important area is the analysis of the multiple experiences and lessons of resistance that emerge against extractivism. Lessons and knowledge put into action in different territories often remain scattered, without further systematization or analysis beyond the specific conflict. Research on these conflicts enables more general analysis to reflect on common and divergent elements among ecoterritorial conflicts and contributes to designing new forms of socio-environmental action and interaction for ongoing resistances.

Beyond these research paths, it seems essential not to lose sight of the ethical-political questioning of what we do with the generated knowledge and information. How do the results of these investigations contribute to resistance processes and political advocacy seeking scenarios beyond extractivism? These questions confront us with the need to transcend the academic scope of research towards challenging political actors and, particularly, the communities opposing extractive projects.

Regarding the methodological realm, the trajectory of certain Social Work, especially that inspired by popular education and/or action research, has generated a rich and diverse range of tools for socio-educational work with communities. This legacy can be a significant professional contribution to territorial resistance processes against extractivism. In addition to this, there is an enriching journey that can be made towards other methodologies relevant to territorial work, seeking to go beyond the divisions between the social/environmental and human/non-human. In the shared experience of resisting the Zapallar reservoir, the social mapping tool allowed us to understand (and recognize) how the territory is configured based on the experiences of its inhabitants. This approach, from subalternized territorialities, legitimizes other knowledge as the foundation for professional action and even as a challenge to public policy. It also allowed us to gather compelling qualitative information about the potential socio-ecological impacts of the reservoir's construction, which the community used to substantiate their rejection of the project in the citizen participation process conducted by the Environmental Assessment System (SEA).

However, the methodological discussion is not limited to the acknowledgment of territorial knowledge or gathering information to confront extractive projects. As socio-environmental devastation caused by extractivism intensifies, the discussion about how to restore the socio-natural cycles that enable territories becomes increasingly necessary. The classic call in Social Work to "contribute to the reconstruction of social fabric" becomes more complex, as there must be material conditions of existence for both humans and non-humans to proliferate community fabrics. This directly connects with discussions in the scientific and political world about socio-metabolic restoration or socio-environmental recovery, understood as actions to recover a degraded territory from a holistic perspective that understands the complexity of community and ecosystem interactions.

These challenges to the profession arise from the conviction and urgency demanded by the socioecological crisis affecting the planet, where extractivism has been one of the causes of deepening this crisis. We are at a moment when the gravity of socioecological issues in different parts of the world is evident. Issues that decades ago were discussed in terms of future risk projections (mega-fires, prolonged droughts, massive species extinction, floods, etc.), we are already experiencing. We agree with those who affirm that the current socioecological crisis is part of a crisis of the hegemonic civilizational pattern (Machado, 2015; Svampa, 2019, among others). It is the dominant conception of our being/being on the planet that is profoundly questioned, for its impacts on Earth's socio-natural cycles. In this scenario, it is also necessary to question the meaning of Social Work at this crossroads and to question its current direction.

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ARTICLE

Biopolitics of disaster and social intervention in the city.

Biopolítica del desastre e intervención social en la ciudad.

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Abstract

Disasters occurring in urban settings are significant concerns for disciplines related to social intervention, especially given the increased frequency of events linked to climate change and the unpredictability of seismic activities. This context complicates local governance and strategies for intervention. Drawing from a literature review that includes authors such as Cavalleti, Foucault, Lawrence, and Grove, this article addresses three main themes: a) the framework of biopolitics in the city; b) the scope of biopolitics in the face of urban disasters; and c) the theoretical problematization of this issue from the perspective of social intervention. The discussion contrasts ideas of disciplinary control versus affirmative biopolitics in disaster intervention, critically reflecting on perspectives that emphasize the technical management of catastrophic events without considering

Keywords:
Disaster biopolitics; cities; disciplinary control; normality

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the ethical-political components in pre and post-disaster social intervention processes. The article concludes by reflecting on the implications of disaster biopolitics as a political strategy for social intervention in urban environments.

Resumen

Los desastres que ocurren en las ciudades constituyen un asunto relevante para las disciplinas relacionadas con la intervención social. Complejizan el afrontamiento de futuras contingencias una mayor recurrencia de eventos relacionados con el cambio climático, sumada a la imprevisibilidad de los eventos sísmicos. Este contexto tensiona la gobernanza local y los modos de intervenir frente a estas situaciones. A partir de la revisión bibliográfica, que incluye autores como Cavalleti, Foucault, Lawrence y Grove, entre otros, esta presentación responde a tres temas: a) ¿cuál es marco de la biopolítica en la ciudad?; b) ¿Cuál es el alcance de la biopolítica frente al desastre en contextos urbanos?; y c) ¿cómo se problematiza teóricamente este asunto desde la intervención social? En este último aspecto se cotejarán ideas de control disciplinario versus biopolíticas afirmativas frente a situaciones de intervención del desastre. Se reflexiona críticamente sobre aquellas perspectivas que enfatizan en la gestión técnica de "eventos" catastróficos sin considerar estos componentes ético-políticos en los procesos de intervención social pre y post desastre. Se concluye reflexionando qué implicancias tiene la biopolítica especializada en desastres como estrategia política para la intervención social en medios urbanos.

Palabras Claves:
Biopolítica del desastre; ciudades; control disciplinario; normalidad

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Introduction

Recent years have witnessed a growing academic interest in disasters across disciplines related to intervention (Harms et al., 2022). Social work, in particular, has not been an exception, considering the significant humanitarian impact associated with acute manifestations of these processes. A quick literature review reveals various research themes, such as the analysis of methods for professional action, roles, and functions in disaster response (Maglajlic, 2019; Hay and Pascoe, 2021; Sim and He, 2022; Sim et al., 2023). The profession addresses issues like resilience and initial psychosocial care (Suazo, 2015; Fulton and Drolet, 2018; Torres et al., 2018), and the violation of rights and gender in catastrophes (Comerón, 2015; Vásquez et al., 2019), among others.

The increase in temperatures is influencing the acceleration of global climate change, explaining the significant rise in situations classified as disasters in recent decades. Alongside the recurrence of earthquakes, eruptions, and other geologically originated catastrophes, a scenario of significant contingencies for the near future is outlined, causing concern across the humanities, sciences, and technologies of our century. The social sciences are not immune to this concern, and one of these considerations extends towards intervention, both in crisis and humanitarian emergency situations and concerning the historical cycles of disasters in a particular territory.

This scenario requires consideration of what type of pre and post-disaster intervention is suitable for this increased social complexity. Therefore, it is necessary to debate the frames of reference for social intervention, theoretically and methodologically supporting how transformation, adjustment, and normalization are achieved in crisis situations related to disasters. This problematization frames the confrontation of future contingencies. Communities, specialist teams, and risk management policy agencies predict more extreme events related to climate change, combined with the unpredictability of seismic events. This context puts a strain on local governance and the ways of intervening in places where professions related to social intervention operate. In this regard, Dominelli (2015) believes that social work can optimize disaster interventions, as it visualizes the structural problems of territories, addresses differentiated experiences in disadvantaged collectives, and contributes better to sustainable development. Therefore, it becomes especially relevant to include in the discussion the socio-spatial dimensions of the problem, with an emphasis on urban spaces.

According to information provided by the World Bank (2022), in 2021, Latin America had an 81% urban population. In countries like Argentina, Brazil, Colombia, and Chile, the figure exceeds 85%. The high population concentration in Latin American cities has various effects, one of which is related to social and institutional vulnerabilities particularly evident in crisis situations. At the same time, these are countries highly exposed to various natural threats, posing a high risk factor for their cities. Chile's case is significant, as its major urban conglomerates have experienced significant catastrophes in recent decades, including the 1985 earthquake (Valparaíso and Santiago), the 2010 earthquake-tsunami (Concepción), and the major urban fires of 2014 and 2022 (Valparaíso and Viña del Mar).

This article reflects on the biopolitical foundations of social intervention in urban contexts. For this purpose, a systematic literature review was conducted, using the concept of biopolitics as a guide for inquiry. Various reference texts in book (print and digital) and indexed journal articles were accessed through databases such as Wos-Isi, Scopus, Sielo, Erih Plus, and Latindex. The criteria used for bibliographic selection correspond to thematic relevance and the exhaustiveness of the documentary search. This article aims to explore three topics: a) what is the framework of biopolitics in the city?; b) what is the scope of biopolitics in the face of disaster in urban contexts?; and c) how is this issue theoretically problematized from the perspective of social intervention?

The City from a Biopolitical Perspective

Examining the urban problem through biopolitics considers the representation of a localized form of political biology, suggesting various ethical-governmental implications. This stems from the notion that "the city is a conglomerate of individuals united by some kind of agreement to preserve their lives, and the primary task of those who govern is to guarantee that preservation" (Fonti, 2019, p.47). The promotion of the common good represents an obligation for governments, as they must not only seek to increase the prosperity levels of the population but also mitigate dangers and vicissitudes. Preventing insecurity in its broad sense is a task of city governance (Cavalleti, 2010). This purpose links biopolitical thinking with urban space, represented as a territorial inscription of power (Barrera, 2018). This should be affirmed in sustainable and accessible minimums for the population, even though urban life is expected to be continuously exposed to uncertainty.

Biopolitics refers to the field of forces that contest the control of life. Although it does not constitute its conceptual genesis (Prozorov, 2022), the importance of Foucault (2003) in its theoretical delimitation is generally recognized. In this sense, the issue of the temporal and historical location of biopolitics goes beyond the idea of its Foucauldian ignition, with some remnants found in the Enlightenment or the European colonial-imperialist moment (Rodas, 2017). Biopolitics deals with a relevant field of meanings for the analysis of political and cultural processes of the early 21st century. Therefore, urban phenomena have also been studied under this conceptual perspective (Oakes, 2019; Filipović, 2021). The genesis of biopolitical thought involves aspects related to urban settlement, observed in social and biological aspects such as births, deaths, mobility, and morbidity, among others.

Fuster and Moscoso-Flores (2016) state that biopolitics makes the population category visible in the territorial analysis of power within the framework of governmentality. In this regard, the concentration of the population in urban geographical areas is related to an increase in surveillance and control measures. Furthermore, this trend is observed in the establishment of the nation-state project in Chile and in the preliminary processes of modernizing its major cities.

One of the most interesting approaches to the biopolitical issue of the city is proposed by Andrea Cavalleti (2010). Influenced by Foucauldian thought, the author notes that power and space are intertwined. For this, Cavalleti refers to Carl Schmitt's proposed formula, emphasizing that there are no political ideas without space. Discourses of security favor governmental action for disciplinary control in the city. The historical threshold of urbanism between the 18th and 19th centuries involved the development of a general theory of the population, where nothing is left "abandoned or unguarded" (Cavalleti, 2010, p.81). Therefore, in shaping spatial order in the city, procedures for collecting statistics on inhabitants are unavoidable as an appropriate mechanism to rigorously and systematically understand the population collectively. This constitutes significant evidence of the biopolitical imprint on the population and territory (Urabayén and León, 2018). The importance of population registration and counting can explain how security is positioned at the ideational core of the modern city. Similarly, the footprint of population registration has ancient precedents in Latin America. For example, Araya (2012) refers to how the colonial Catholic Church maintained registry control of parishioners and parishes through the creation of the so-called Matrícula de Alday, which is an interesting case of close monitoring of population data in the territory.

The ideal of security seeks to subjugate human nature in a Hobbesian sense. In this postulate, it is the sovereign who ensures a social balance between the forces of self-preservation and the thirst for power. However, this perspective evolved towards a more modern phase when the notion of the common good was introduced. For this argumentative review, urban life urges the duty to protect the general interest of the population, requiring a series of policing policies in cities. It is worth noting that, in its original sense, the term "police" referred to the search for good government for cities, beyond the forms of institutionalism that deal with current order and repression. In this sense, Cavalleti (2010, p.122), citing a text by De La Mare from 1705, notes that the word "police" is used to "designate the public order of the entire city." These overlays pose problems regarding the distribution of space in the city and the development of specific techniques to stabilize biological variables, beliefs, and different emerging practices (economic, political, religious). Cavelleti points out that a potential response to this problem is found in Foucault's thinking (2021). In Foucault's terms, three models of guardianship over space-territory are proposed, revealing rules of inclusion and exclusion concerning abnormality. The first, called the leper model, tends to expel disease (evil) beyond urban limits. The second, the plague model, instead produces the separation of those who carry the disease, their subjugation, and control through punishment. However, unlike the treatment of leprosy (and, Foucault notes, madness), the processing of the plague is triggered within urban limits. According to Sousa-Alves (2021), this distinction presents the conception of a social order based on training, docility, and transparency. An example of this perspective on exclusion is observed, for instance, in Neila's (2022) work on control and exclusion in refugee camps in Greece. The third model is the smallpox model, which configures "a biopolitical strategy centered on the security and risk anticipation device" (Caponi, 2021, p.3). For this purpose, it is necessary to provide power with territorialized information about the characteristics of the population to determine prevention and security measures that prevent calamity. The Covid-19 pandemic can be interpreted under the smallpox model, for example, in the government's goal of extending vaccination to the entire population. In these three territorial logics lies part of the political foundation on urban order regarding the security/normality dichotomy. The aforementioned models justify the degrees of tolerance towards biopolitical exceptionality in the history of the city.

Building on what Cavalleti (2010) points out, the normal urban order was based on a set of political strategies that emphasized security. In its contemporary profile, and to fulfill government purposes, statistical population control techniques (Cheney-Lippold, 2011) have been perfected in neighborhoods and sectors of the city. This includes the specia-

lized use of algorithms for online consumption recording and data mining to anticipate behaviors of specific groups. As noted by Do Amaral et al. (2019), modes of urban control have evolved thanks to surveillance of public spaces through satellite imagery technologies and the use of drones. This enables the asymmetric militarization of daily life in populated neighborhoods and sectors. Therefore, it is important to explore how these forms of disciplinary control are established in cities, as they are rapidly evolving (Iveson and Maalsen, 2019), gradually being normalized by the population and legitimized by the State. However, a greater intrusion of control over excluded areas of the city arouses irritation in its population. An interesting case was studied by Luneke (2021), concerning the experience in the La Legua neighborhood in the San Joaquín commune (Metropolitan Region, Santiago de Chile). The research shows how the intervention has prioritized a series of improvements to public spaces with simultaneous police deployment in the neighborhood.

The governmental connotation in these surveillance tasks goes beyond the limits of public spaces. This occurs due to the massive use of macro-information registration and management devices. The territorial concentration of human groups in the city facilitates the capture of their data, statistical manipulation of the data, and categorization of the resulting information for intervention purposes. The valuation of data transparency is justified in reducing the uncertainty of governance. According to Paasche and Klauser (2015), personal privacy represents a security inconsistency. While national and international legislations guarantee it, the valuation of security justifies its transgression by public security agencies.

Biopolitics of Disaster

In the city, the application of biopolitical techniques involving registration, control, and restrictions fluctuates within tolerable margins. Among other aspects, the medicalization of life (Aurenque and De La Ravanal, 2018) and the expansion of telesurveillance controls in cities (López, 2020) have contributed to these applications being inexorably assimilated into the population's everyday experience. However, this plasticity can fracture during significant disruptions to daily life. Disasters are part of these exceptional scenarios in cities.

A disaster is an "interruption in the functioning of a community or society" (UNDRR 2015, p.11) that cannot be countered or resolved by the affected individuals and institutions using their own resources or capabilities. The typologies and effects of disasters

are heterogeneous, depending on geographical aspects, the economic income level of the affected territory, and the available institutional support. Nevertheless, disasters: a) should not be conceived as isolated events but rather understood as processes or cycles; b) their nature is not natural but essentially social and historical; and c) their occurrence involves incremental and stressful effects, both for the affected individuals and the agencies responsible for managing these emergencies. The acute milestones of disasters have magnitudes to worsen previous social, cultural, and economic conditions (Garza, 2018), potentially initiating periods of long-lasting historical disruptions. This occurred in the past with the Lisbon earthquakes of 1755, the great Chinese drought of 1876–1879, the urban fire in Chicago in 1871, or the more recent effects of the 2004 Indonesia tsunami, Hurricane Katrina in 2005, and the 2010 Haiti earthquake. Chile, on the other hand, has a vast record of catastrophes that have marked its history and institutional political development (Onetto, 2014; Henríquez et al., 2016; Saavedra, 2021).

In line with Rogers (2018), biopolitics provides a good starting point for critically analyzing controversial issues such as what kind of urban resilience is promoted in the face of extreme events. The biopolitics of disasters is a specificity within the conceptual debate on governmental rationality. Based on Grove (2013, p.571), it can be stated that this responds to a normative form of biopower that seeks to "visualize, control, and modify collective life." The biopolitics of disasters emerges as a critical perspective on the ideas that underpin risk in society. According to Lawrence (2018), theoretical approaches to risk enhance their technical and analytical capabilities without sufficient political content density. This limits the explanation of why the affected groups are the ones mainly burdened with the reconstruction of homes and workplaces. The self-assurance of living risks links this form of biopolitics with neoliberalism, although it is necessary to note that this sociopolitical regime does not exhaust its explanatory field in biopower.

Based on what Grove (2012) proposes, two characteristics applicable to this biopolitical specificity emerge. Firstly, in disaster situations, governmentality seeks to "abstract, leverage, and parasitically appropriate power" (p.150). The appropriation of the event acts on other usual biopolitical mechanisms, such as the exercise of property rights. The author suggests that this occurs, for example, with the militarization of the disaster-affected territory, limiting the emerging possibilities of life but at the same time enhancing governmental capabilities to act on the ground. Secondly, there are risk parameterizations considered by catastrophic insurances. These risk calculations optimize the possibilities of increasing the power of the State in emergency management. Regarding the specific case of the Caribbean Catastrophic Risk Insurance Facility, Grove (2012) notes that this type of instrument empowers governmentality to prevent the

breakdown of post-disaster normative order. This allows participating States to "repair critical infrastructure more quickly, provide basic services, maintain order, and begin recovery efforts" (p.150). This relates to Félix Guattari's proposals to explain a form of subjective economy oriented towards biopolitical regulation (Grove, 2017).

In the literature review, there are various assessments regarding the meaning and scope of the biopolitics of disasters. One line is closer to the affirmative biopolitics proposed by Esposito (2018), where life is the center of the discussion, as well as its production and care. Tudor (2021) notes that this biopolitical perspective promotes adaptive responses in groups of survivors, aiming for a better response to the complexities of coping with a particular disaster. Regarding the Covid-19 pandemic, Kingman (2020, p.48) states that disaster can constitute an opportunity "to think differently and to live differently," highlighting the recovery of solidarity and care, among other possibilities.

Other approaches are more critical of the strategies derived from this biopolitical specificity. Marchezini (2015) proposes that, faced with a disaster, the components of this biopolitics are geographic information systems (GIS), statistics, risk maps, government agencies, military and paramilitary forces, among others. These do not necessarily articulate for the purpose of aiding in the catastrophe but rather are used to sustain political guardianship over life. Regarding the floods that affected Sao Luiz do Paraitinga in Brazil in 2010, Marchezini argues that both discourses and biopolitical practices led to unintended consequences, as community life depreciated, tending towards the abandonment of these populations in the long term. In line with this critical view, Céspedes and Campos (2021) studied the case of the major urban fire that affected Valparaíso in 2014 from this perspective. In this regard, they describe that:

> *"from a biopolitical and governmental perspective, the Plan aims to produce a new subject: one that, through the establishment of property boundaries, can be located in urban space; that, through the typification of construction zones, can be regulated in its potential for producing threats; that, through the establishment of construction typologies and materialities, can be predictable – and not threatening – in its constructive behaviors; that, through the regularization and formalization of services, acquires financial coordinates and becomes a potential credit subject" (p.404).*

Therefore, it is important to establish caveats regarding the scope of the biopolitics of disasters, as under the slogan of saving lives "it seeks to legitimize the action of organizations, institutions, and industries associated with security" (Saavedra and Marchezini, 2019, p.144).

Biopolitical Strategy in Disaster Intervention

Disasters involve severe disruptions in the life of cities. This entails disturbances in the trajectories of urban consolidation, which are particularly intense in poorer countries. Professions such as social work play a significant role in urban and specific neighborhood contexts (Gómez-Hernández, 2022), which are symbolically and materially framed as urban areas of poverty and vulnerability. This establishes patterns of regularity used by institutions to anticipate possible margins of normality. For this purpose, technical tools are available, such as the Social Registry of Households (RSH, Ministry of Social Development and Family of Chile), designed to conduct a strict socio-economic qualification. It is worth noting that Law No. 20,379 [2] of 2009 considered territory as a factor in characterizing the creation of this population information management tool.

The modern political imaginary assumes that a segment of the population might be in a permanent state of need. Since the early days of social work, the recognition of the social issue in specific territories explained its genesis as a profession in the late 19th century, related to a pauperized population both agent and victim of the industrial revolution. The social issue in Latin America has specificities related to historical nuances of modernity, as analyzed by Larraín (2005). The ethical-political debate on the social issue is foundational for the reconceptualization of social work (Viveros, 2020). The concept of a normal/normalized city is not only regulated in terms of space usage but also in cautiousness about movements, aggregations of individuals, and productive and reproductive activities in the city.

According to Saavedra (2023), social intervention assumes conditions of stability for its operation in normalcy. This implies that intervention is naturalized, subtle, and scalable. Naturalization means that the population accepts the legitimacy of institutional actions, even in the realm of privacy. Subtle intervention, in this context, means that its means are lightweight, possibly embedded in bureaucratic invisibility, without initially resorting to coercion on individuals or the population. The scalability of intervention is related to the aforementioned subtlety. When expected results are not evident, more energetic resources are available for social intervention to redirect, individually or collectively, towards the socially desirable within the sociopolitical regime.

However, in disasters, the normal mode of social intervention is overwhelmed. Human losses, post-traumatic stress, and material damage rupture the daily life of cities, overburdening local social services. There is an increased demand for material aid and healthcare services. Ideological definitions of public policy play a role in the depth of the

[2] Law 20,379, which establishes the Intersectoral System of Social Protection and institutionalizes the subsystem of comprehensive protection for children "Chile Crece Contigo".

disruption of normalcy. In neoliberal orders, cooperation is replaced by competition, a principle questioned in some recent post-disaster recovery cases (Berroeta et al., 2016).

Referring to Cavalleti (2010), in disasters, frames on city safety exceed their conceptual and practical boundaries. Spaces defined as safe become insecure. Symbolically, catastrophes also shift the configurative tectonics of urban ideational space. The biopolitical strategy in the city must restart itself by default. Emergency management revisits principles of discipline and social control, which may be considered inadequate for the current development stage of the country but are effective in preventing disorder and political order disruption. Measures like curfews, military deployment, and detailed surveys of the affected population are used in events like the 2010 earthquake and the severe fires in the Biobío region in 2019. In this sense, the exception is articulated as a tool for the recovery of normal functioning in the sociopolitical regime.

The biopolitics of disasters constitutes a strategic reservoir available in intervention devices. Its application aims to transform, adjust, or normalize urban space, particularly through the intensification of the exception. Regarding this manifestation of the biopolitics of the city, it is interesting to review the study by Boano and Martén (2013). Concerning the occupation of the West Bank, the research analyzes the development of forms of urbanism of exception, where power application becomes tangible spatially, influencing authority relationships, generating productive activities, exclusion rules, among others. In Chile, population control instruments, in disaster situations, outline this order through shelters or more recent figures like emergency housing clusters called “aldeas” (2010 earthquake case). Against these measures, the population resorts to traditional post-disaster recovery mechanisms, such as mutual aid among neighbors and solidarity food practices, like “ollas comunes” (community kitchens). These forms of community life contradict the biopolitical disciplinary order in disaster scenarios, as observed during the most critical phase of the Covid-19 pandemic in Chile (Castañeda, 2021)

Regarding life management, there is a need to safeguard and contain it to maintain power over it. In this context, we revisit two biopolitical possibilities based on Carballeda’s (2012) note on the etymology of the word “intervention,” referring to both interposition and articulation. The former is associated with a biopolitics of security, characterized by disciplinary control of the collective in the city under disaster situations. In its other aspect, intervention can be paired with affirmative biopolitics, where life in the catastrophe configures the subject and not the object of power. In either of these two options, the biopolitical strategy for disaster intervention connotes the centrality of life in disaster cycles.

Conclusion

In summary, the biopolitical perspective on disaster in the city emphasizes the need to open theoretical-political debates beyond the technical implications of emergency management. Societies have complex designs of devices that regulate social life in conditions of normalcy, with demarcations in enunciative, operative, and ethical aspects. The transformation is a possibility within the intervention, immanent within the microphysics of power (Foucault, 2019). Several definitions of social intervention agree on its transformative potential. However, the regulation of normalcy faces various crises requiring exceptional measures for effective intervention.

Urban disruption in disasters poses a problem for the political management of complexity. Disasters are nearly impossible to predict, often following random distributions or power-law distributions (Ferguson, 2021). The impact of disasters affecting cities poses a challenge to neoliberal governance, as it tends to favor issues of population control and security in the face of the seriousness of climate change. Recognizing biopolitical strategies in these processes enhances the understanding of discourses and practices associated with the intervention in this form of social crisis.

Viewing disasters as crises (Azocar, 2018) allows for connections with methodological traditions in the field of social intervention, specifically models emerging in the 1940s. However, dimensions like community autonomy can be jeopardized by social intervention processes based on biopolitical strategies that emphasize control and security in affected cities. For this, the implementation of polycentric, adaptive, ascending, and diverse governance is recommended to prevent an increase in territorial vulnerability.

This places disasters as objects of practices, discourses, and materializations constituting social intervention devices. A suitable analytical framework, such as the biopolitical perspective, facilitates distancing from perspectives that limit the treatment of disasters to technical management issues. Researchers in social work have the concept of biopolitics in their references, but its application in the field of pre and post-disaster intervention is still in its early stages. Post-disaster intervention should consider the problems of overlapping biopolitical strategy with the survival interest of capitalist economy. Life is at the center of the capitalist development and restructuring policy (Rossi, 2013) during economic disruptions post-disaster.

Finally, for disciplines like social work, it is interesting to observe this matter from a governance of life perspective. In line with Jenson (2014), the purpose of this reflection is to influence new research on intervention in disaster situations, where possibilities and effects tend to radicalize under the principles of biopolitical exceptionalism reviewed in this article.

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ARTICLE

Socio-environmental conflict in Quintero-Puchuncaví: Feminist narratives beyond organizational boundaries

Conflictividad socioambiental en Quintero-Puchuncaví: narrati-vas feministas más allá de lo organizacional.

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Abstract

This paper discusses the emergence of feminist narratives in the context of socio-environmental conflict in Quintero-Puchuncaví, an area located in the Valparaíso Region in the central zone of Chile. In this area different socio-environmental conflicts have taken place over five decades, the result of the coexistence of communities and polluting industries. Taking as a guide studies of political ecology, feminism and ecofeminism, this article discusses three aspects of feminism narrative present in the accounts of the affected communities in the zone: (1) The identification of women as an affected group of industrial activity. (2) The

Keywords:
Feminism narrative; socio-environmental conflicts; organizations; Quintero-Puchuncaví

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emergence of daily practices seeking to put life at the center. (3) The recognition of a relation between humans and the more than human. The article has been elaborated with information from interviews of activist and residents, developed between 2021 and 2022. The results show that narratives are interwoven with feminist aspects on socio-environmental disputes in Quintero-Puchuncaví that go further than the conformation of women organizations in the zone in the last decade. The conclusion reflects the dynamism of socio-environmental conflicts and the recognition of topics of recent concern.

Resumen

El artículo discute sobre la emergencia de narrativas feministas en el contexto de conflictividad socioambiental de Quintero-Puchuncaví, territorio ubicado en la región de Valparaíso, zona central de Chile. En esta localidad se presentan conflictos desde hace más de cinco décadas producto de la convivencia de sus comunidades con industrias contaminantes. Tomando como referente estudios de ecología política, feminismos y ecofeminismos, el artículo discute sobre tres aspectos en los que se materializan narrativas feministas dentro de los relatos de los actores comunitarios en el territorio estudiado: (1) la identificación de las mujeres como grupo afectado por las acciones contaminantes; (2) la emergencia de prácticas cotidianas que buscan poner la vida en el centro; y (3) el reconocimiento de una relación afectiva entre humanos y más que humanos. El artículo se funda sobre la información construida a partir de entrevistas con activistas, vecinos y vecinas de la localidad, desarrolladas entre 2021 y 2022. Los resultados muestran la integración de narrativas que entretejen aspectos feministas dentro de la disputa socioambiental en Quintero-Puchuncaví que iría más allá de la conformación de organizaciones de mujeres en la zona. A modo de conclusión se reflexiona en torno del dinamismo de los conflictos socioambientales y el reconocimiento de nuevos asuntos de preocupación de índole transversal.

Palabras Claves: *Narrativas feministas; conflictividad socioambiental; organización; Quintero-Puchuncaví*

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Introduction

We find ourselves in a context where socio-environmental conflicts are frequent and intense (Environmental Justice Atlas, EJAtlas, 2023; Leff, 2006; Gudynas, 2014), with Latin America being one of the regions with the highest concentration of cases (Olmedo and Gómez, 2020; Latin American Observatory of Environmental Conflicts, OLCA, 2023). These conflicts are related to the extractivist development model still present in the territories (Arsel, 2013; Harvey, 2004), which has visible effects and intergenerational consequences.

This model has led to a crisis of a civilizational nature (Rivera-Cusicanqui, 2018; Estermann, 2012) anchored in the hegemonic mode of the society-nature relationship. It reflects a way of thinking and living centered on instrumental rationality, characteristic of Western modernity (Composto, 2012), which has constructed an unsustainable world based on the illusion of an infinite planet (Leff, 2014).

This has caused damage that goes beyond the purely environmental. The damage has intensified due to the ecological and climate crisis, demonstrating that we can no longer sustain the notion that nature constitutes the backdrop (Latour, 2019), something inert upon which we inhabit and can control.

Thus, socio-environmental conflicts are characterized by irreparable effects on nature, social fabric, communities, and their relationships (Ulloa, 2016b). In the face of their persistence, responses emerge that reflect other ways of feeling-thinking and shaping the world (Escobar, 2014; Merlinsky, 2021). These are territorially anchored processes and resistances that demand the defense of modes of existence and lives that are affected (Svampa, 2013), challenging the idea of a single world (Toledo, 2003; Blaser, 2019).

Women have taken center stage in these conflicts (Svampa, 2015; Salazar, 2017) from a critical role regarding the situation of territories and bodies (Herrero, 2015; Ulloa 2016a). This is not only related to the dominant economic model but also to androcentrism and patriarchy (Bolados and Sánchez, 2017; Svampa, 2021; Puleo, 2017), leading to the emergence of feminist approaches to this phenomenon.

The described scenario is manifested in the territory of Quintero-Puchuncaví, located in the Valparaíso Region, Chile, where the population coexists with highly polluting com-

panies (Liberona and Ramírez, 2019). It has become a space of environmental inequality and injustice (Bolados and Sánchez, 2017). This territory is impacted by pollution in various areas (Bergamini et al., 2018; Ginocchio, 2000), causing profound effects on its communities across multiple dimensions.

The article discusses the integration of feminist narratives as a field intertwined in the dispute of Quintero-Puchuncaví over the last decades. These narratives are constructed based on coordinates from their own stories about how they feel-think of conflict. The narratives emerge from interviews with 27 activists, residents of the area, representing partial approaches (Haraway, 1991), connections, regarding what happens in this controversy at a given moment.

The importance of the above responds to an understanding of socio-environmental conflicts as broad disputes, where feminisms have positioned themselves as a field of knowledge and action with a plural character that is not limited to the formation of organizations that have taken these perspectives as a banner of struggle.

Socio-Environmental Conflicts

There are various approaches to socio-environmental conflicts, most of which reveal their social nature (Walter, 2009), related to their causes, consequences, and the diversity and complexity of the dimensions involved (Stepanova and Bruckmeier, 2013).

In broad terms, we can understand them as processes in which an environmental problem or disagreements about access, use, and transformation of natural resources, as well as the generation of waste (Paz and Risdell, 2014; Martínez-Alier, 2009), lead to the reaction of groups, individuals, and local communities (Walter, 2009). They consider these situations they face or could face as harmful and/or unjust (Napadensky and Azocar, 2017).

From a political ecology perspective, the main actors involved in socio-environmental conflicts are the people and communities directly affected by the damage to their material conditions of existence and the sustainability of life, not only at a material level but also symbolically (Martínez-Alier et al., 2016; Herrero, 2015).

This is evident in the Global South, and to a greater extent, in certain impoverished and particularly vulnerable spaces (Rubilar et al., 2022; Paz and Risdell, 2014). Socio-environmental conflicts have a localized expression, particularly affecting territories and bodies (Svampa, 2021; Herrero, 2015) that have been continuously exploited and colonized (Rivera-Cusicanqui, 2018).

The described phenomenon is not new; in fact, many of these conflicts have a long history (Gudynas, 2014; Alimonda, 2011) and have been studied from other conceptual approaches. However, the scenario of the climate crisis and the effects of globalization have exacerbated and multiplied the visibility of these conflicts, reflecting the disturbing times we are in (Haraway, 2019).

According to Merlinsky (2021), these conflicts are linked to the environment as their catalyst, but they involve complex aspects and broad conflictuality, historical or conjunctural processes, inequalities, and power relations (Alimonda, 2011; Trentini and Sorroche, 2016; Merlinsky, 2013). They are controversies (Latour, 2008) that go beyond opposing interests, as they involve values and beliefs, knowledge, sensibilities, modes of existence, and rationalities related to ways of relating to nature (Escobar, 2014), the human, and the more than human (Leff, 2014), and even ontologies (Blaser, 2019).

Feminisms and Ecofeminisms

The research adopts a qualitative approach based on the narratives of the affected actors. Feminist narratives are constructed, drawing from the coordinates present in their own stories regarding how they feel-think about the conflict in Quintero-Puchuncaví today.

Twenty-seven activists and residents of the Quintero-Puchuncaví area were interviewed, part of a broader ongoing research project aiming to understand the development of community dynamics around the conflict in the Quintero-Puchuncaví area.

The interviews did not aim to investigate aspects related to feminisms but were encounters seeking to build perspectives on how the conflict is felt and thought of in Quintero-Puchuncaví, with feminist narratives emerging as a significant aspect in addressing the current conflict.

The interviewees are individuals over 30 years old, including 17 men and 10 women. Each attended the interview on a personal basis and were not representing the organizations they are part of, although most are involved in some local organization or initiative.

The intentional sample includes key informants identified based on the Environmental Justice Atlas (EJAtlas), the Map of Socio-Environmental Conflicts of the National Institute of Human Rights of Chile (INDH), and data published by the Latin American Observatory of Conflicts (OLCA). This sample was constrained based on availability to participate and expanded through the snowball sampling technique.

The interview content corpus was analyzed through thematic content analysis, seeking to identify certain recurrences within the interviewees' narratives. Narratives were then constructed and interpreted as an exercise of articulation between what was narrated by the interviewees and the researcher's position (Galaz and Rubilar, 2018).

The interviews were conducted in two fieldwork moments: the first virtually, mainly during the second semester of 2021, and the second in-person between July and August 2022. Each interview lasted approximately 45 minutes and was recorded in audio. They were conducted with the informed consent of the interviewees.

About Quintero-Puchuncaví

The case of socio-environmental conflict in Quintero-Puchuncaví is situated in the municipalities of the same name. Here lies the Ventanas Industrial Complex (CIV), an area that houses a multitude of polluting industries, including mining, fossil fuels, chemicals, and energy industries (Carrasco et al., 2020).

The CIV was established in 1958 in Ventanas, one of the localities of Puchuncaví, and by 1964, it had a thermoelectric plant and a smelter. Currently, the area is home to more than 12 companies, forming a high concentration industrial zone (Bolados, 2016). Over the years, these operations have generated severe environmental and health problems for the population, as well as other impacts on their lives associated with the conditions of the environment. This has affected the way and quality of life of the residents, their traditional economies, and their well-being (Ministry of the Environment, MMA, 2017).

Due to industrial activities, the bay was declared a saturated zone for sulfur dioxide and particulate matter in 1993 (Espinoza, 2015). This territory represents a conflict zone that began to take shape five decades ago with the installation of the CIV (MMA, 2017). According to the EJAtlas and the INDH, the conflict dates back to the 1990s when the first claims were recognized by farmer residents regarding the waste and emissions generated by the smelter.

Throughout the years, environmental incidents and the impact on communities have been numerous. These include coal strandings on beaches, intoxications in schools, notably the one at La Greda School in 2011, mass intoxications in August 2018, oil spills in the Quintero bay in 2014 and 2016. In June 2022, there were again intoxications, leading to the commitment to close the Ventanas smelter in 5 years by the Chilean government and the board of the National Copper Corporation.

The socio-environmental vulnerability situation (MMA, 2017) has deepened poverty and unemployment (Milenio Institute Foundations of Data, IMFD, 2022), reinforcing the notion of a poverty trap (Rubilar et al., 2022). There is also a perception of stigmatization by the local communities. The population in the area experiences violations of economic, social, and cultural rights, including the right to live in an environment free of pollution, the right to work, and health, among others (INDH, 2018).

It is considered a "sacrifice zone," one of the most emblematic in Chile. This category was introduced in Chile by the OCEANA NGO and the Terram Foundation, referring to spaces where situations of environmental injustice occur, involving vulnerable populations that become especially affected (Fundación Terram, 2014). These situations extend over time and demonstrate the devaluation of territories, forms of production, and life (Svampa and Viale, 2014).

Organizations and initiatives have formed here, seeking, among other things, to defend the territory, nature, and the living situation of the communities. Over the last decades, two women's organizations that have developed actions in this regard stand out locally. These are "Women in Sacrifice Zone in Resistance Quintero-Puchuncaví," MUZOSARE, an organization established in 2015, and "Women for Good Living," originating in 2019. Previous instances include the formation of an association of widows of workers from the Codelco Ventanas smelter, ASOREFEN, who filed a protection action in 2010, and the activation of the Women's House. These show references to a new female protagonism in the Quintero-Puchuncaví scenario.

Research on the case covers various aspects, including the existence of gaps in Chile's environmental standards, ecosystemic dimensions of the territory, the impact on communities, specifically in health-related issues and its connection to pollution. Other studies demonstrate the comprehensive vulnerability of the area.

In the context of the article's discussion, it is essential to highlight the recent works of Bolados and Sánchez (2017), providing insights into a feminist political ecology associated with the MUZOSARE case, and Tironi's (2014) works on caregiving practices as a form of activism in everyday life.

Results: Feminist Narratives in Quintero-Puchuncaví

The feminist narratives analyzed in the accounts of activists, residents, and individuals from Quintero-Puchuncaví interviewed in this study reveal three central themes that interweave the emergence of feminist aspects within the ongoing dispute in the study area. While each theme is discussed separately, it becomes evident that all three are interconnected.

Identification of Women as the Affected Group:

There is a widespread acknowledgment regarding the greater impact on women of all ages, from girls and adolescents to older women. This is linked to the roles they play in caregiving and their active participation in defending their territory and bodies due to the socio-environmental conflict in the locality.

This recognition is reflected in the responsibility for care and protection, especially for children, which predominantly falls on middle-aged women. Moreover, risks are heightened in the household, where care practices intertwine with pollution, as expressed in the statement: "you take the clothes home, and that means contamination for the second, which is the woman who has to wash the clothes" (E5).

Role of Women in the Fight for Territory Defense

The fundamental role of women in the fight for territory defense is acknowledged. This involves valuing the identification of an active and political role that has managed to position the situation of the territory-body on different scales: local (micro), interactive with other territories (meso), and aiming at broader levels such as national or international (macro). A notable example is the denunciation led by MUZOSARE in the Inter-American Court of Human Rights in 2019.

Additionally, collaboration and the generation of studies in partnership with other institutions are emphasized, showcasing the socio-environmental impact of the locality in aspects such as the presence of metals in molluscs, vegetables, and samples in children. Instances of open conversation, like the Open Councils organized by Women for Good Living, are mentioned, contributing to the visibility of the issue in the locality.

Leadership and Collective Action of Women

Leadership associated with women's organizations in the locality is recognized, such as "Women in Sacrifice Zone in Resistance Quintero-Puchuncaví" (MUZOSARE) and "Women for Good Living Quintero and Puchuncaví." These organizations, self-described as feminist, have emerged in the last two decades and have gained significant prominence in the dispute.

Other female leaderships in instances such as the Adriana Cousiño Health Advisory Council, the Batuque Achelpeñ organization, NGO Cárcava, the Geopark Puchuncaví project, and Acción Ecosocial Quintero are also mentioned. Collective action is evident in events like the Open Council and Festivals for Life, facilitating the establishment of networks between organizations and addressing more cross-cutting issues, such as care and gender-related matters in connection with socio-environmental conflict.

In summary, feminist narratives emerge as a fundamental part of the discussion on socio-environmental conflict in Quintero-Puchuncaví. Women are recognized as key actors in defending the territory, life, and the construction of new forms of relationship, challenging the notion that they are merely victims and highlighting their active role in transforming the local reality.

Finally, it is noteworthy that, for the interviewees, discussing the socio-environmental conflict situation in Quintero-Puchuncaví today brings women to the forefront of the narrative. This directly engages activists, neighbors, and residents in a dialogue with organized and unorganized women in the territory, recognizing their diverse roles as fundamental and indispensable. Their role goes beyond being mere victims; they are seen as active agents in caring for nature, bodies, and in the construction of new forms of relationships (Puleo, 2017).

The emergence of everyday practices that seek to prioritize life

Firstly, it is possible to identify the construction of a narrative that aims to center life, contrasting it with what the development of industries in the area puts at risk or devalues. "How much is life worth, the environmental damage they have done to produce and have those profits? ... that is the question I ask myself, and I still don't have an answer" (E17). This brings up a discussion about valuation, not only of nature but also in identifying spaces within that nature and society that are deemed less valuable than others. "It's a very, very strong issue because life is at stake (...) I mean the issue is: I am not worth more than you, nor you more than me" (E12).

These narratives also reference not only the industries in the industrial park but also other conflicts in recent years due to the construction of real estate developments or the expansion of the F30 highway. They express a desire to protect certain spaces: "leave the beach alone; it is the last altar we have left" (E6). "If you really want to recover, you must start by protecting what has ecological value, which plays a role in our lives" (E1). Likewise, the value of wetlands and geosites is recognized.

Secondly, the theme of care is observed as a topic of interest and special concern, emphasizing its importance for the maintenance of life. This focus includes the care of plants and animals, children, and those who fall ill. Concerning the care of children and adolescents, it is a seemingly flexible topic, but most people today recognize dedicating special attention to it: "It is the community itself that has to see how to face it, take care, condition their homes, take care of their children" (E18).

This is related to the fact that pollution events in the area have brought care practices to the forefront, especially after the events of 2011 when students from La Greda School, Alonso de Quintero School, and República de Francia School were affected. The intoxications in 2018 and the events of 2022 are also mentioned, with accounts like "the children were dropping like flies in the hospital" (E5).

In addition to children, older adults, and people with illnesses caused or exacerbated by pollution, appear in the stories. This not only reflects the impact but also the condition of dependence we have as a species, highlighting interdependence as part of our conditions, with women often playing an invisibilized role.

Another reflection of everyday practices that prioritize life is food production initiatives, such as community gardens within the locality. These can be seen as a form of resistance to what

is happening in the territory and the impacts on their traditional ways of life. This reflects an interaction with nature where it is not just seen as a resource, but there is an eco-dependent relationship with nature, questioning the hegemonic model of food production and consumption. These initiatives are not part of food movements but rather practices that occur in the daily lives that reflect alternative forms of activism. "The gardens are a way of recovering agriculture from before, but in an ecological way" (E1); as well as connections with other agents, "we depend on the sea" (E26).

Therefore, these are narratives that debate one of the key ideas of feminist and ecofeminist perspectives related to ethics of care and relationships of interdependence and eco-dependence, in everyday aspects and practices to address the crisis in Quintero-Puchuncaví that involve prioritizing life.

The affective assessment of the relationship between humans and non-humans

Connected to the previous discussion, it is important to mention the recognition of other modes of valuation within the narratives of the residents of Quintero-Puchuncaví. The stories emphasize the value of relationships, both among generations and between nature-culture, as well as among different species (Haraway, 2003):

> *"Our children, our grandchildren will remain, and someday when a grandchild comes, we don't want them to live on the moon. We want them to know water, to know a horse, to know a tree. That's what we want. That's why we are fighting for an environmental issue" (E13).*

Within these narratives, there is an emphasis on eco-dependence as an indispensable requirement, contrasting with the current situation in the territory where nature has been reduced to a condition of resources. "They will always want to extract more from nature than they should" (E12). The background or setting for activities where life unfolds is described as a disconnection between the State and the community, with the environment in a brutal state, illustrating the ongoing disaster. "There is a huge contrast between what happens here, the tremendous richness, and the presence of companies" (E10). "It's everything – nature, depredation, defense intertwined with survival. It's a complex dance, very complex" (O1).

An example of this constant alteration of nature is found in the stories of the interviewees. It's not just the sea, soil, and air that are affected by pollution, but also, due to the hegemonic de-

velopment model, the very nature and the relationship with it are jeopardized. The defense put forth by the Quintero-Puchuncaví community in recent years regarding the Quirilluca cliffs is a powerful expression of this. This space holds special value for communities due to its beauty, its recognition as a site supporting the life of species characteristic of the area, mainly birds, and its emotional and experiential value. "It's life, the joy of going to a place and interacting with the non-human..." (E6).

These are not isolated aspects but rather reflect alternative ways of understanding the relationship between the human and the more-than-human, assigning it value. "The ultimate intention is to live in harmony with nature; we are part of it, not owners" (E3). It involves an active role as well, as stated: "What helps is not only human measures but also the forest" (E1).

Key figures within the interviews include Naranjillo, Tayú del Norte, Belloto del Norte, Chungungo, Tenca, and the seagull. These entities become integral components of the discourses, positioning themselves as agents and new subjects of interest, mobilizing new forms of action by the communities in the area. "Here we have Bellotos del Norte, we have Tayú del Norte, which is a dinosaur tree. Despite the threats they face, they not only survive but live" (E3).

Conclusions

In the context of the discussion, it is argued that beyond the formation of women's organizations in the study area, there has been an integration of narratives around feminist and ecofeminist perspectives in the accounts of affected individuals interviewed in Quintero-Puchuncaví in recent decades. This reflects a breadth in the thematic contents that are part of socio-environmental disputes and their dynamism (Gudynas, 2014). Additionally, it highlights the non-exclusivity of these conceptualizations, as they are not thematically pure. There may be more than one issue of concern for the same person or community (Gudynas, 2014).

It is important to note that there is not enough information to identify a causal relationship between the formation of women's organizations in the area over the years, which have self-identified as feminist and ecofeminist, and the emergence of narratives intertwining feminist and ecofeminist themes in the region. However, both aspects are related in expressing a positioning of feminist and gender narratives as a present aspect in the dispute.

Regarding the above, in the future, the presented results can be expanded, both in the territory of Quintero-Puchuncaví itself and in other areas or body-territories where there are socio-environmental conflicts and women's organizations have been formed in recent decades. This

expansion aims to recognize whether this integration of feminist and ecofeminist narratives emerges as a response to the question of how individuals perceive and think about the situation of conflict. It may shed light on certain distinctions and commonalities in different areas or territories.

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ARTICLE

Technological obstruction as residential vulnerability. Asbestos in Chilean housing blocks

La obduración tecnológica como vulnerabilidad residencial. El asbesto en bloques de vivienda chilenos.

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Abstract

The critical observation of the technological frameworks that organize the production of material environments is key to elaborate inputs that nourish the public debate on their governance and on the ways used to evaluate their relationship with them. This text addresses the case of the presence of asbestos in Chilean residential buildings because it enunciates how relationships with the material acquire contingency when they move from a framework that values a materiality as innocuous, to another that gives it an opposite value. Using a mixed methodological approach, which considered both the analysis of databases from sources

Keywords:
Residential vulnerability; materiality; asbestos; technological obduration; social housing blocks

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such as INE and MINVU, and the analysis of documents and interviews, this paper describes the milestones that articulate the residential vulnerability associated with asbestos, describing its modes of valuation, its extent and the actions taken for its control in the case of social housing blocks in Chile. Based on this evidence, the forms of resistance to the solution that this vulnerability has developed due to its massiveness, the cost associated with its removal and due to the property regime of the cases where it is developed are discussed. The paper concludes that what has been observed is that material vulnerabilities also have a residential and urban scale and expression, and that in them, both the State and the communities are key to overcome the different forms of obduration they present and to manage material risks in the cities.

Resumen

La observación critica de los marcos tecnológicos que organizan la producción de los entornos materiales es clave para elaborar insumos que nutran el debate público sobre su gobernanza y sobre los modos empleados para evaluar su relación con ellos. El presente texto aborda el caso de la presencia de asbesto en las edificaciones residenciales chilenas enunciando cómo las relaciones con lo material adquieren contingencia cuando se desplazan desde un marco que valora como inocua una materialidad, hacia otro que le otorga un valor contrario. Utilizando un enfoque metodológico mixto que consideró tanto el análisis de bases de datos de fuentes del Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas (INE) y del Ministerio de Vivienda y Urbanismo (MINVU) como el análisis de documentos y entrevistas, este trabajo describe los hitos que articulan la vulnerabilidad residencial asociada al asbesto, describiendo sus modos de valoración, su extensión y las acciones tomadas para su control en el caso de los bloques de vivienda de interés social en Chile. Con base en esa evidencia se discuten las formas de resistencia a la solución que esta vulnerabilidad ha desarrollado debido a su masividad, al costo asociado a su retiro y al régimen de propiedad de los casos donde se desarrolla. El trabajo concluye que lo observado es útil para tomar en cuenta que las vulnerabilidades materiales también tienen una escala y expresión residencial y urbana, y que, en ellas, tanto el Estado como las comunidades son claves para vencer las diferentes formas de obduración que presentan y gestionarlos riesgos materiales en las ciudades.

Palabras Claves:
Vulnerabilidad residencial; materialidad; asbesto; obduración tecnológica; bloques de vivienda de interés social

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Introduction

The extensive literature on social vulnerabilities, particularly in urban contexts, encompasses debates focused on factors that either favor or amplify the incapacity of spaces, groups, or individuals to cope with climate, economic, or social contingencies. In the literature concerning Chile, vulnerability is often associated with an administrative and/or geographical space whose infrastructures may be unable to withstand the effects of climate change (Welz and Krellenberg, 2016; Sandoval et al., 2018; Faria-dos-Santos et al., 2022). It can also be linked to groups of people unable to address changes affecting their residential spaces, constituting a form of urban exclusion based on income inequality, predominantly understood as residential vulnerability (Marín et al., 2017; García-Hernández and Ginés-De la Nuez, 2020). This work delves into the latter aspect, exploring a form of urban and residential vulnerability related not to the precariousness of housing materials but to the health risk associated with the use of some of these materials, particularly focusing on the use of asbestos-cement in social housing in Chile.

The hypothesis of the text is that the use of asbestos in social housing is carried out within a specific sociotechnical framework that justifies it. Once its social validity and material utility are depleted, it becomes recognized as toxic. This recognition expresses a certain resistance or obduracy to its replacement, becoming a form of residential vulnerability for people exposed to it. Individuals cannot easily detect or remove asbestos from their homes. The goal of the study is to explore technological resistance or obduracy in materials and regimes as a form of residential and urban vulnerability, considering it as a variable when organizing these regimes and designing long-lasting objects, such as social housing and associated material policies.

Using a mixed methodological approach, drawing on documentary sources, data from the INE (National Institute of Statistics) Building Survey (1990–2001), and the National Condominium Registry conducted by MINVU (Ministry of Housing and Urbanism) in 2014, the following text describes how managing the vulnerability involving the presence of asbestos in social housing encounters elements of resistance due to its widespread nature. Additionally, it examines how public policy contributes to this management by creating conditions for repair resources to be channeled under a new collective ownership regime for buildings (social condominiums), different from the individual property regime of homes.

Methodology

As mentioned, the methodological approach considered both the analysis of INE and MINVU databases and the analysis of documents and interviews obtained within a sociological study on social housing blocks in Chile. In this context, references to the presence of asbestos in buildings were observed unsystematically in technical and practice reports, plans, quantities, and statistics. The analysis had limitations, including the partial availability of documentation and the non-continuous condition of the measurements of the phenomenon. The obtained result is presented below.

Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework of this work draws on literature that addresses the material and technological elements affecting the safety of built environments and the literature discussing the resistance or obduracy of these vulnerabilities as a social phenomenon. The former includes literature that has documented situations where the health of building occupants or residents is affected by its technological or material components. The so-called Sick Building Syndrome (SBS) and Building-Related Illness (BRI) refer to effects and symptoms associated with the use of air conditioning, aerosols, hygiene chemicals, or paints. They also relate to the exposure of materials such as various forms of asbestos in components like partitions, slabs, and roofs, or in installations like water pipes or drains (Environmental Protection Agency, 1991). This results in diseases that, at best, directly impact absenteeism and reduce people's productivity (Instituto Nacional de Seguridad e Higiene en el Trabajo, 1991a; 1991b; Niemelä et al., 2006; Joshi, 2008) and, at worst, lead to prolonged or terminal illnesses (Boldú and Pascal, 2005).

The World Health Organization (WHO) has warned and worked on both situations, identifying the components and installations that generate such vulnerabilities and promoting a preventive approach (OMS, 1982; 1986; 1987). However, as with the massive use of materials, the scale of the problem makes it difficult for individuals, families, or communities to independently address the risks that the presence implies (Laumbach et al., 2015). This creates a type of technological vulnerability that can be described as obduracy, a resistance rooted in objects and built environ-

ments to change or adapt to certain external contingencies (Hommels et al., 2014). In particular, Anique Hommels (2000; 2017; 2020) uses this term to characterize difficulties in changing and adapting technical, architectural, and urban objects in relation to unforeseen contingencies they face.

Given this framework, this work addresses the presence of asbestos in social housing blocks in Chile as a type of residential and urban vulnerability. It presents a form of obduracy based not so much on the technological mode of housing but on its massiveness, repair costs, and the ownership regime of its cases. This configuration creates a scenario where the problem is too large to be solved by individuals or groups alone, and where the State and communities are necessary to alter the technological framework of society and address the problems derived from it.

Housing Blocks of Social Interest in Chile and a Technological Framework that Included Asbestos

Housing blocks are a type of architecture that began to be used in Chile around 1936. They represent a form of collective housing promoted both by the Social Security Fund and by companies interested in having their workforce and administrative staff close to their operations. The technological framework for this type of architecture begins to be outlined in the Cheap Housing Law (Ministry of Hygiene, Assistance, Social Provision, and Labor, 1925). This law designates them as single-body buildings, earthquake-resistant, and fireproof. This implies a multi-story construction that includes concrete, steel, and brick, and involves a regime of co-ownership. The initial drafts of this framework start with the introduction of modern ideas about collective housing and materialize in the first collective buildings of single-body extended concrete housing, parquet floors, and clay tile roofs, dedicated to the housing of working and middle-class sectors (Pérez, 2017). Subsequently, more nuclear models will follow the formula of medium-rise construction, concrete framework, and brick walls.

The consolidation of this type of building typology occurred around 1943 when, within the framework of the developmental modernization of Chilean cities, the first large housing complexes were planned. The state-owned Popular Housing Fund experimented with its first serialized and replicable models in these complexes. In their design, the technical department of the fund used two standardized house models: a paired one-story, type 81, which was laterally and vertically added in blocks of three stories, and a second paired two-story house model, type 125, which was vertically added, for-

ming four-story blocks. The premise of these models was their low construction cost, so while they maintained the structure and concrete and brick walls, they used asbestos fiber-cement in the roofs, which was cheaper than tiles and was believed to be harmless to human health.

The models of houses and multi-story blocks that followed the 81 and 125 Duplex models replicated their material formula. This trend continued with the designs by the Housing Corporation (CORVI) from 1953 to 1975, which deepened the original technological framework through the rationalization of materials. This resulted in designs that sought to be progressively cheaper, more nuclear, and extended the use of asbestos variants to walls and floors, in addition to roofs. Including the 81 and 125 Duplex collectives, 26 types of multi-story collective housing blocks used asbestos in roofs, walls, and floors, at least in theory, as confirmed by various documents and plans referring to the materials and quantities to be used in each case (Vergara et al., 2022).

The adaptation and use of the designs of CORVI's 3101 and 3502 blocks by private construction companies, starting in 1976, extended the technological framework used in developmentalism into the neoliberal period. In the process, the stairs and solid material circulation were sacrificed. The neoliberal framework, focused on seeking greater business profits, intensified the use of asbestos, despite news about its toxicity already being widespread, and the country itself had signed an agreement with the International Labour Organization (ILO) in 1986 to restrict the use and manufacture of asbestos-based products.

Nevertheless, by the early 1990s, asbestos-cement was considered both a conventional material (Hernández, 1986; Sepúlveda and Carrasco, 1991; Moyano, 1994) and a suitable technology for the construction of social interest housing (Sepúlveda et al., 1991; Zaccarelli, 1993). Its use was also widespread on roofs of schools, markets, and homes, as well as sunshades for the protection of loggias, terraces, and staircases, among others (Architecture Urbanism Construction Art, 2020). The Belgian-owned company producing it, Pizarreño, deployed strong lobbying efforts with the Concertación governments to prevent its prohibition, even at the expense of the health of its own workers (San Juan and Muñoz, 2013).

Finally, in the year 2000, Decree No. 656 of the Ministry of Health was enacted, prohibiting its manufacture, considering the evidence of its long-term effects. In this regard, data from the Building Survey (1990–2001) compiled by the National Statistics

Institute (INE) and providing information on authorized buildings between 1990 and 2001 indicate that during that period, 35.9% of the roof surfaces of buildings contained Corrugated Asbestos Cement (32.7%), Asbestos Cement Shingles (2.3%), and Asbestos Cement in other forms (0.9%). Eighty-five percent of this materiality is found on roofs of 1 and 2-story buildings, while 14.8% is recorded in buildings between 3 and 4 stories. However, despite this clear distribution, this materiality is present in all categories of buildings according to their height (Figure 1)

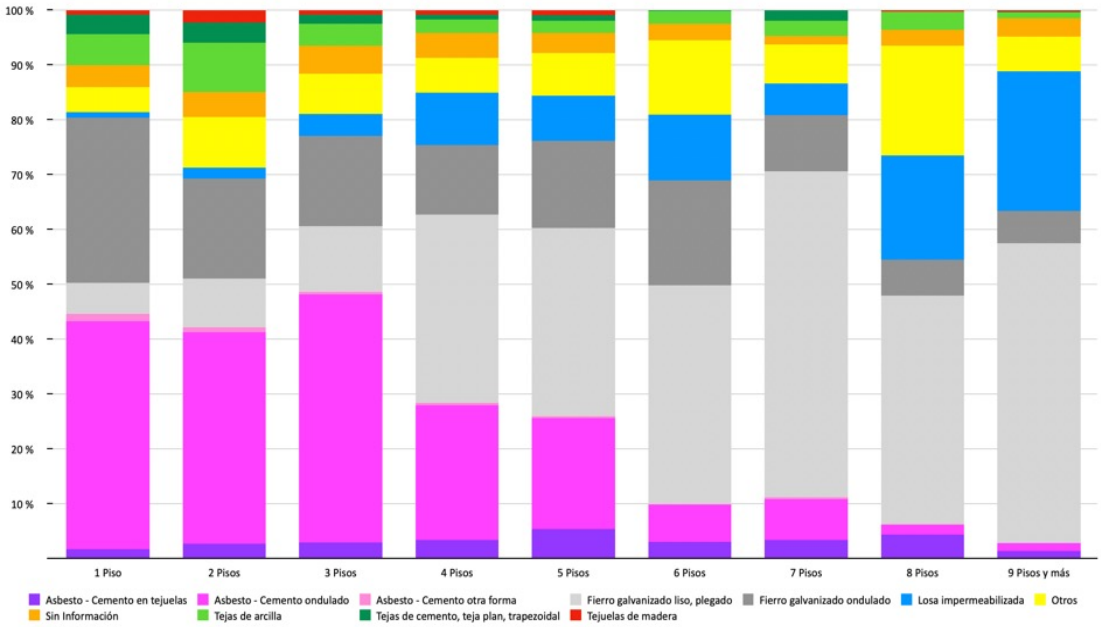

Figure 1. Percentage of Asbestos Cement in Building Roofs in Chile 1990-2001.
Source: Building Survey, INE 1990-2001

Later, data collected by the National Registry of Social Condominiums (MINVU, 2015) indicated that by the year 2000, 10,220 units of social interest housing blocks had some type of asbestos presence, representing 51% of what was built to that date (Figure 2). When considering data until 2015, the number of block units with asbestos presence in Social Condominiums rises to 10,486 buildings, which corresponds to 48% of the blocks constructed since the beginning of the use of this typology.

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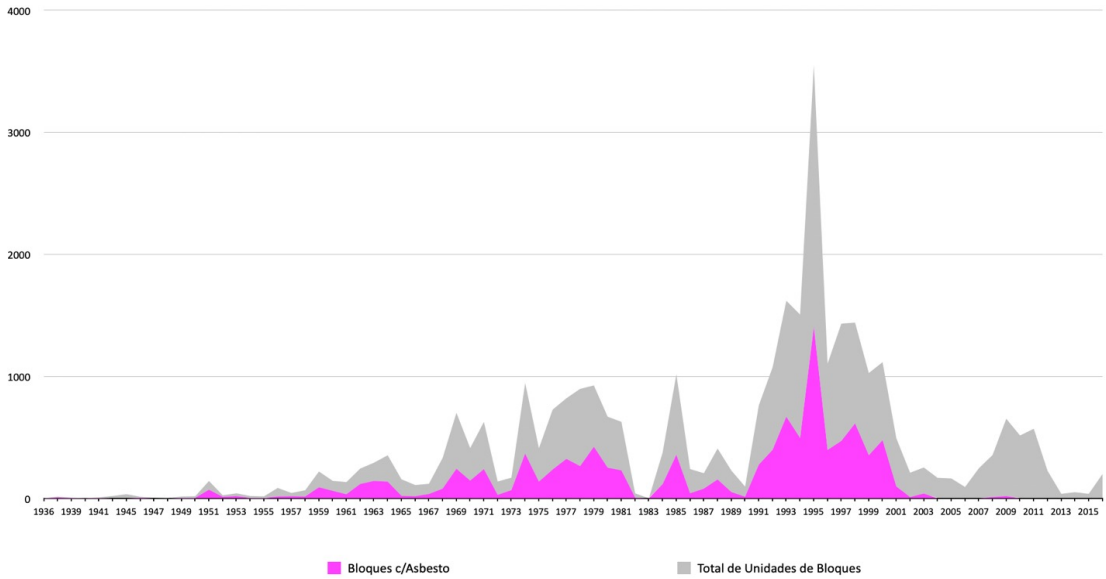

Figure 2. Number of units of blocks with asbestos presence in sets of Social Condominiums surveyed by MINVU 1936–2015.
Source: Own elaboration based on the National Registry of Social Condominiums, MINVU, 2015

As seen in Figure 2, the period with the highest number of units of blocks with asbestos presence was between 1990 and 2000 (5,560 units), followed by the period between 1976 and 1989 (2,528), and then the period between 1966 and 1975 (1,354 units). These periods coincide with the operation of different institutional frameworks that articulated the material housing policy. The last period corresponds to the final stage of developmentalism, where the standardization of models and the rationalization of their costs generated a typological model whose design, including material decisions, was in the hands of architecture offices and state Corporations (CORMU and CORVI) through public or internal competitions.

The other two, more recent periods correspond to the neoliberal adaptation of the technical values of the immediately preceding standardization and rationalization model. In these consecutive periods, one during the civic-military dictatorship and the other during the first ten years of the democratic recovery, construction companies took on both the design and construction decisions of block units, adapting the lower-cost materiality of the developmentalist model and extending the use of asbestos. As observed in Figure 3, the highest volumes of block units with asbestos presence are attributed to the MINVU Basic Housing Program, initiated in 1982, but there is no information about the entities that constructed them.

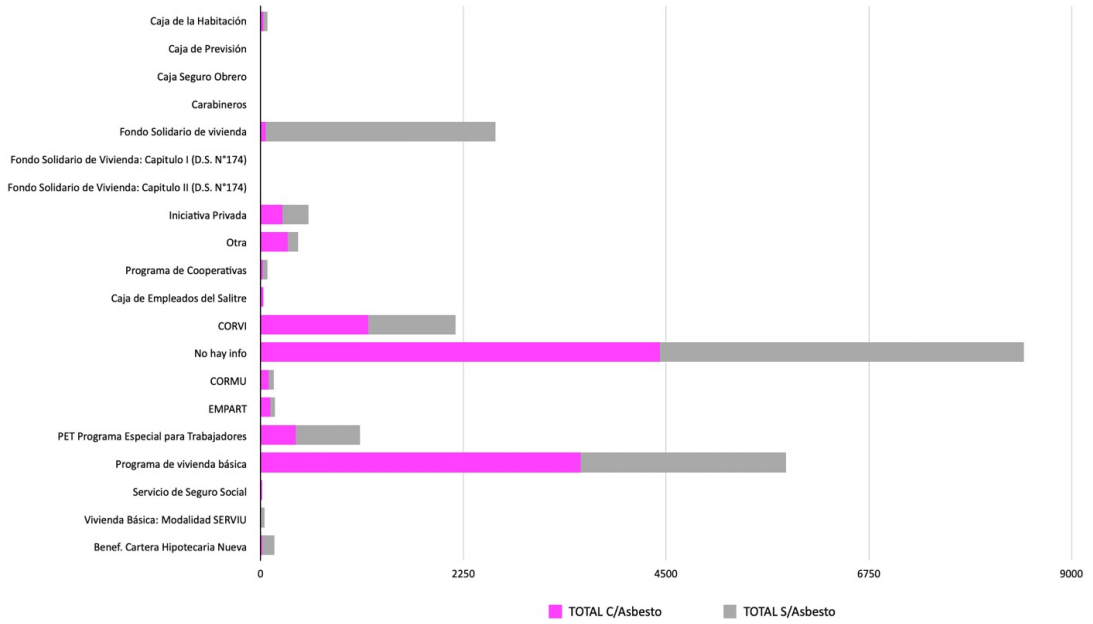

Figure 3. Number of units of blocks with and without asbestos presence according to institutions responsible for their production 1936–2015.
Source: Own elaboration based on the National Registry of Social Condominiums (MINVU, 2015).

The material obduracy and the emergence of residential vulnerability

The case of asbestos presence in social housing blocks illustrates how relationships with materiality become increasingly contingent when they shift from a framework that values a material as harmless to another that assigns it a contrary value, as happened around the year 2000. This shift was accompanied by a change in the statistical measurement instrument, as the Single Building Statistics Form, which does not mention asbestos but includes other types of fiber-cement, replaced the Building Survey.

It also demonstrates that approaches to this type of vulnerability have not solely focused on health or technical aspects but involve other ways of governing the problem. The decision to focus on social housing blocks rather than individual houses is evident, despite data from the INE Building Survey (1990–2001) during the peak production period of social housing units in blocks (1990 to 2001, according to Figure 2), indicating that 85% of asbestos was used in 1- and 2-story houses. This suggests a decision to address only 15% of the affected buildings and not the majority or the whole (Figure 4).

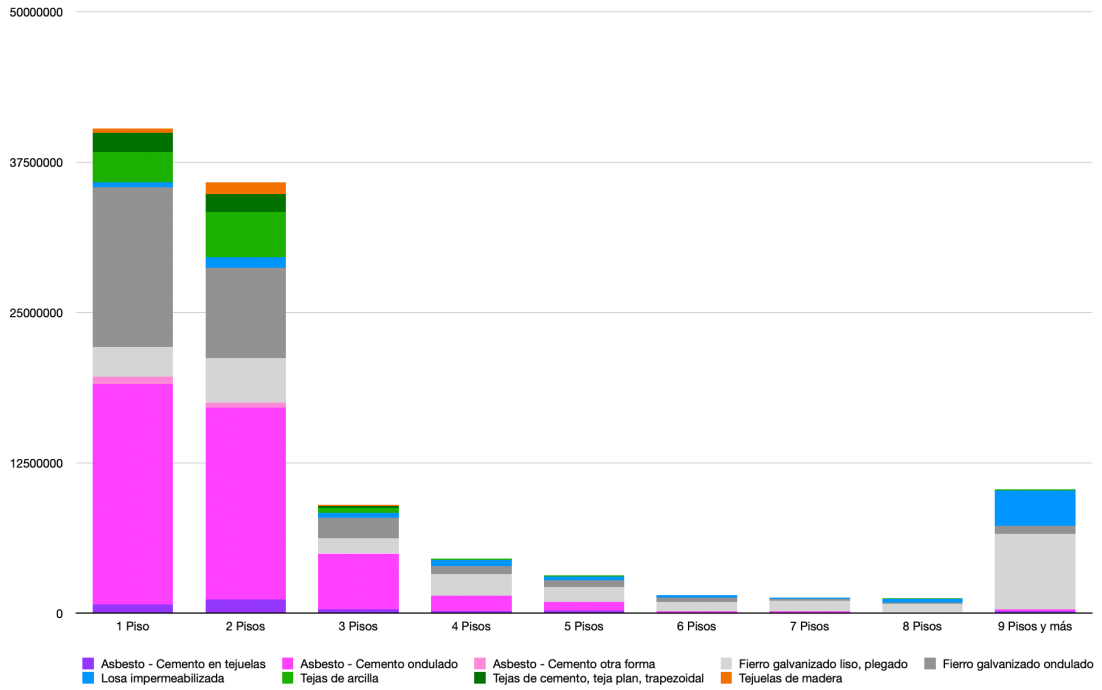

Figure 4: Distribution of Asbestos Cement in Building Roofs in Chile 1990–2001, by Floor Levels. Source: Own elaboration based on the Building Survey, 1990–2001, INE

The explanation for the above is related to the particular technological culture of Chilean society, which frames decisions about objects (of any scale or function) based on their ownership and the lowest cost for the State. The number of houses with asbestos is not only ten times greater than the number of housing blocks, which makes the massiveness of the phenomenon an obstacle to its solution, but it also concerns individual private properties, whether owned by natural or legal persons, which do not meet the profile of beneficiaries of state aid. Therefore, the fact that policies and programs associated with this issue have been developed around the implementation of Law 19,537 on Real Estate Condominiums (2007) helps in a calculated legal and economic focus, leaving aside the population most affected, individual privately-owned houses and their inhabitants.

In particular, the Law on Real Estate Condominiums establishes that all constructions and/or land under the condominium regime are understood as Condominiums. Within these, Social Condominiums are defined as

> *"those constructions or lands subject to the condominium regime, in which, with the aim of facilitating neighborhood administration and organization, it is necessary to define a limit on the number of homes that make up the condominium, not exceeding 150 units per condominium." (MINVU, 2014, p.21–22)*

Following this direction, the National Registry of Social Condominiums, carried out by the Executive Secretariat of Neighborhood Development, between 2010 and 2013, and updated in 2015, served to dimension the problem using an unprecedented repertoire: the registry of a specific architectural typology, social housing blocks (MINVU, 2014). Its results indicated that 10,486 units of social housing blocks, equivalent to 48% of those built between 1936 and 2015, had asbestos, affecting approximately 180,000 housing units. They also indicated that 266 of these units had been built after 2002, implying that the ban had not had total effects but was limited to units produced between 2002 and 2003, and between 2006 and 2007.

Triggered by this, but avoiding giving an alarming connotation, public policies and programs that implemented asbestos removal were conceived as improvement and repair programs, adapting previous programs to Law 19,537, such as the Participatory Financial Assistance Program in Social Housing Condominiums of 1998 (MINVU, 1998) and the Family Heritage Protection Program of 2006 (MINVU, 2006); or developing new instruments, such as the Social Condominium Improvement Program of 2011 and the Housing Condominium Improvement Program of 2016 (MINVU, 2016), which expressed the objective of "improving the residential habitat quality of families living in social condominiums in the country," and thereby "contributing to reducing the qualitative urban housing deficit" (MINVU, 2015, p.3).

To these instruments, the Family Heritage Protection Program, Titles II and III of Housing Improvement, and the Neighborhood Set Regeneration Program (PRCH) have been added since 2017, individually or together, to enable the material and aesthetic improvement of block units (Chateau et al., 2020) within a narrative that justifies asbestos removal as an improvement of roofs including the installation of solar panels (Country Agenda, 2022). In fact, none of the aforementioned programs mentions the specific

activity they perform, but they are identifiable when referring to the intervention of Technical Assistance Service Providers or TASP, which are technical entities responsible for the specific tasks of mineral removal (Bustos, 2020) (Figure 5).

Figure 5. Advertisements for the application and implementation of programs for the improvement and repair of high-rise housing blocks by MINVU.
Source: Photographs taken by the author and https://www.facebook.com/MinvuChile/posts/2325683917523682/?locale=es_LA

The above describes three types of obdurations presented by asbestos in residential buildings: its massiveness, which discourages a quick and extensive response that includes all types of buildings where it was implemented; the cost of its removal, which leads to prioritizing the type of buildings with greater social benefits, even if their number is smaller than other typologies; and the alarm caused by its presence, which results in withdrawal policies being slow and concealed within improvement programs. All of this articulates a vulnerability that, when made public with its prohibition, becomes obdurate by resisting quick and individual solutions by people in various ways.

On the contrary, both the exploration of the phenomenon and its intervention require a volume of actions and resources that can only be mobilized by a massive actor such as the State, through MINVU. Furthermore, the difficulties in removing asbestos components from collective buildings have been accompanied by the intention to extend the useful life of these buildings, which necessitates involving the people and communities living in them in the management of these vulnerabilities. Thus, resolving the rigidity of this type of vulnerability requires mobilizing both the State and resident communities, as experienced in the different programs implemented by MINVU (Chateau et al., 2020) (Figure 6).

Figure 6. Collective high-rise residential buildings undergoing improvement and repair works by MINVU, Metropolitan Region, January 2022.
Source: Photographs taken by the author.

Conclusions: Vulnerability, Obduracy, and Community

As observed, the use of asbestos in buildings was part of a series of material decisions made for the mass production of affordable housing within a technological framework that deemed it harmless and inexpensive as a complement to concrete and brick in medium-rise buildings. In this sense, asbestos sheets, roofing tiles, and pipes, along with other technologies, were mobilized by the promise of construction efficiency and low cost at a specific political moment, shaped by certain agents and their sustainability ideals. The persistence of asbestos use in construction materials is related to the duration of that technological framework and its promises, making asbestos an indicator of the extension of a set of conventions employed by Chilean society, at least in its material dimension.

Considering this, the period between 1990 and 2000 marks a terminal milestone of the technological conventions framework that began around 1930. Not only does asbestos shift from being considered harmless to toxic, but the serialization and standardization of social interest housing blocks also deconsolidate. Other low-cost materials and diverse building forms are explored as the production entities diversify, exclusively involving private construction companies. In this scenario, asbestos is not only prohibited as a construction material, but it also becomes a massive health vulnerability due to its extensive use in buildings from 1930 onward. This massive quality, along with its location on private properties and the costly nature of its

detection and removal, articulates a type of material resistance or obduracy to leaving residential and urban environments, which has been partially addressed by governments using various targeted policies and programs. However, these measures fall far short of covering the majority of the problem, precisely due to its scale.

On the other hand, material governance also proves particularly challenging given the diversity of asbestos repertoires. It was used in alliances with other materials, in floors (tiles and flexit), walls (partitions), ceilings, and roofing (sheets), as well as in pipes, among others. Since its fragility, unlike concrete, increases over time, covering or strengthening it becomes inefficient. Thus, the only option is to remove it once detected, but detection requires observation and/or exploration of buildings, which could be addressed by the communities themselves if they were informed and trained accordingly. This requires instilling competencies in communities that facilitate the management of their own material environments.

Unfortunately, situations like these are not new. Similar scenarios, requiring constant exploration of the material environment, have been experienced in communities such as Puchuncaví, Quintero, Chañaral, among others. What makes this different is that it is not a material vulnerability emerging from the nearby environment, from which one can move away. Instead, it is a material vulnerability of the immediate surroundings that cannot be abandoned or altered, necessitating a different type of management, both by individuals and communities, as well as by the State.

Resilient situations of residential vulnerability like these require new types of interventions capable of informing and organizing different actors and fostering risk management competencies. This involves installing competencies for exploring and evaluating the material environment, such as designing risk management protocols. The experience of MINVU, in this regard, serves as a reference from which to learn, removing a significant number of buildings from risk. However, it's essential to note that their actions are consistent with being an institutional actor whose scale is different from that of any resident community.

Given this, the detection and data collection through a census becomes an interesting and replicable repertoire at the local level, articulating an incident information system at the housing level. This allows focusing, within a territory, an urbanization, or a municipality, on material risk intervention actions. Social Sciences can be useful in both the processes of installing competencies in communities and evaluating subsequent procedures, as this is a vulnerability that requires social persistence. Especially when dealing with asbestos-containing individual houses, the figure of co-ownership is not useful. Collective figures based on space and/or territorial history are more appropriate.

This last aspect connects the possible actions of local communities with the State, whose role is crucial for managing a type of residential vulnerability as described. The social contingency around asbestos in residential buildings highlights the need to consider the State as an active variable in the technological and material culture of societies, as well as various local communities. The material vulnerabilities described not only have a residential and urban scale and expression; they also constitute scenarios for intervention. Thus, both the State and communities are crucial to overcoming the different forms of obduracy presented.

This requires open information scenarios, the transfer of exploration and material analysis competencies to communities, and public debate on the technological frameworks used by societies. Public Science initiatives become not only relevant but also strategic for managing material risks in cities. Discussing the need for the latter type of policies to address material vulnerabilities like those described also implies instilling competencies for the technological and material decisions of society to be part of the public debate and, therefore, to be informed and expressed accordingly.

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PROPUESTAS CRÍTICAS EN TRABAJO SOCIAL

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ARTICLE

The re-production of social relationships in the thought of Henri Lefebvre: a contribution to formation in social work[1] .

La re-producción de las relaciones sociales en el pensamiento de Henri Lefebvre: una contribución a la formación en trabajo social .

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Introduction

This text emerges from the convergence of the authors' research processes, developed in two doctoral theses defended in the postgraduate program of the State University of Rio de Janeiro (UERJ), and a collective training and study initiative – UrbanoSS – Study Group on Urban Space, Everyday Life, and Social Work, from the School of Social Work (FSS) of UERJ, which is also dedicated to the study of Henri Lefebvre.
The presentation of Lefebvre's work is an invitation not to fragment his thinking, which is indeed a unitary whole formed by different "moments" that intertwine and complement each other. Thus, the challenge of the text is to compartmentalize his vast work,

[1] The original article titled "The Re-Production of Social Relations in the Thought of Henri Lefebvre: Contribution to Social Work Education," published by Editorial Navegando in 2020.Available in: https://www.editoranavegando.com/_files/ugd/35e7c6_e201cab1476d402aad49c66777151dcd.pdf#page=117
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highlighting the strength of his Marxist tradition and dialectical reading of the reality in motion.

The chapter aims to analyze the conceptual formulation of the re-production of social relations of production as an interpretative key to Lefebvre's work and the Marxist tradition, especially through the centrality given to everyday life and the social production of space, from the development of capitalist society. It analyzes the reduction of the programmed everyday life of social space to abstract space, subsumed under the logic of the commodity. From Lefebvre's emphasis on the dialectics of contradictions and the non-closure of the real and its historical development into a closed systemic totality, we analyze the contradictions of human praxis to detect the processes of deconstruction of domination practices, contained in the dynamics of social re-production, at the level of everyday life and in the dynamics of space production. This process is analyzed from the idea of "residue," which expresses the irreducible nature of praxis until its closure in a closed systemic totality, closed to capitalism. In this sense, the concepts of the right to the city, appropriation-work, and the dialectical movement of the possible-impossible are also analyzed. Finally, the chapter aims to dialogue Social Work with some of the analytical syntheses of Lefebvrian thought. To do this, it chooses professional training and constructs three "fields of complexity" to reflect on the possibilities of this theoretical-methodological and political encounter. The text argues that this dialogue contributes to the realization of the principles of apprehending social totality and rigorous theoretical and methodological treatment of social reality and Social Work.

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The Re-production of Social Relations in Lefebvre's Thought

Lefebvre was an unconventional intellectual, resistant to academic formalities (Beveder, 2019). Especially between the 1950s and 1970s, criticisms against him from the Marxist field became recurrent and harsher, primarily due to his fight against vulgarizations of Marxism by the so-called "official Marxism" and, later, the strong structuralist influence. In this "battle of ideas," the notion of the reproduction of social relations proved to be an important weapon against attempts to construct and disseminate "true" and official Marxism. Against such dogmatism, Lefebvre's ambition is to contribute to restoring the integrity and richness of Marx's thought, mainly by reclaiming the writings of his youth, considered "unscientific" and pre-materialist, primarily through a return to dialectics.

For Lefebvre, the process of problematizing social reproduction suffered too many blows to become a valued and developed theme among Marxists. This field of praxis requires even deeper study due to the significant transformative changes during the tumultuous 20th century, when "the capitalist mode of production had to defend itself on a much broader, more diversified, and more complex front, namely: a reproduction of relations of production" (Lefebvre, 2008a, p. 47)[3] .

The issue of the reproduction of social relations is a theoretical key to analyzing reality as a concrete and contradictory totality, which is not always in the process of totalization. In addition to helping think about the connection between dimensions of reality, the Lefebvrian notion of re-production of social relations of production has a global character, allowing the conjunction and simultaneity of different historical temporalities and enabling the articulation of analyses of everyday life and urban reality.

Understood as a "constellation of concepts" (Lefebvre, 1973, p. 6), including everyday life, the urban, space, and the production of space, the notion of the re-production of social relations was formulated to serve as a "guiding thread, an intellectual tool for describing and analyzing the 'real'" (Lefebvre, 1973, p. 6) in the study of contemporary capitalist society. Its importance lies in its ability to encompass the totality of relations of production, not only biological reproduction but also the material or spiritual reproduction of society.

[3] Specifically, the theme of the dynamic reproduction of production relations appears explicitly and directly in Lefebvre's work in the book "La re-producción de las relaciones de producción" (1973). However, this theme is already present in the first volume of the trilogy "Critique of Everyday Life," published in 1946, albeit indirectly, requiring further theoretical development.

In Lefebvre's words, "The question of relations of production and their reproduction does not coincide with Marx's reproduction of the means of production (labor force, machinery), nor with expanded reproduction (production growth). It is because, for Marx, the reproduction of the means of production and the continuity of material production go hand in hand with the reproduction of social relations. They are inseparable aspects of a process that involves simultaneously cyclical and linear movements, i.e., links between causes and effects (linearities), but also results that regenerate their conditions and reasons (cycles)" (Lefebvre, 1973, p. 8).

In a study on Lefebvre's thought and the centrality of everyday life, Beveder (2019) suggests thinking about Lefebvre's conception based on three axes already present in Marx's thought, which were taken up and developed to think about the reproduction of social relations.

The first axis refers to the criticism of the primacy of productive forces over relations of production, supported by the view of the mode of production as a closed and cohesive system, existing a priori and in itself, as a pre-existing and finished totality. It is a totalizing perspective of knowledge, reinforced by the erroneous analytical conception that capital is a thing and not a social relation that, to exist, requires the expropriation and subjugation of workers and the appropriation and domination of capitalists. Instead of the notion of the mode of production, which closes like a dogma, Lefebvre advocates the use of the notion of socio-economic formation.

The second highlighted axis concerns the need to apprehend and work with the concept of production in its broad sense, against the restricted sense, more common in vulgarizations of Marxism. The strict sense refers to the production of products, things, objects, while the broad sense corresponds to total social production, including the production of social relations and the production of works[4] . In Lefebvre's words, in one of his most famous publications, the human being, as a social being, produces "his life, his history, his consciousness, his world," and therefore produces "the political, legal, religious, artistic, philosophical, and ideological forms." Production in this sense encompasses a multiplicity of works and diverse forms" (Lefebvre, 2013, p. 125).

Thus, "this concept designates a complex process that involves contradictions and not only repeats them, reduplicates them, but also displaces them, modifies them, amplifies them" (Lefebvre, 1973, p. 6). In this way, the field of re-production of social relations is essentially contradictory, presupposing a clash between the repetitive and the residual, the differential, what does not allow itself to be incorporated into the order, and therefo-

[4] "[...] the work possesses something irreplaceable and unique, while the product can be repeated, and indeed, results from repetitive gestures and acts" (Lefebvre, 2013, p. 127, our translation).

re is an open field to becoming, a field of dispute that contains the possible, the virtual, as a constitutive part of the real. It is from this assumption that Lefebvre grounds the utopian dimension of praxis, for example, with the concept of the "right to the city," which arises from the dialectical movement between the possible and the impossible.

For Lefebvre (1976), the process of reproducing social relations in neocapitalism takes place primarily in three dimensions: everyday life, the urban, and the production of space (the latter containing the first two). As such, the notion of the reproduction of social relations serves to mediate the relationship between these spheres and the totality of bourgeois society. Let's first delve into Lefebvre's critique of everyday life, and then move on to the formulation of the spatial problem and the concepts of the urban phenomenon and the right to the city.

The centrality of everyday life

One of Lefebvre's great contributions to the study of social reality and the reproduction of production relations is the critique of everyday life in Lefebvre's thought, progressively formulated throughout his intellectual career [5] . Everyday life should not be understood as a separate level; in fact, it only makes sense in the concrete totality in which it is inserted. At the same time, and for this reason, the critical analysis of everyday life has undeniable explanatory value, especially in the study of contemporary capitalism.

In a scenario characterized by profound upheavals and transformations, Lefebvre realizes the centrality that everyday life has come to assume within the set of social reproduction strategies, mainly through the establishment of mechanisms for programming and organizing consumption and leisure, the introduction of new technologies in family and domestic life, and what unites these elements: the rationalization of everyday life by the State. Everyday life, Lefebvre says, "[...] is the foundation on which neo-capitalism was established. It was established on everyday life as soil, that is, on firm ground, social substance preserved by political instances" (Lefebvre, 1973, p. 66).

Especially since the 1950s, everyday life has ceased to be a "common place of specialized activities, a neutral place" (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 66) and has become a fundamental part of a new reproduction strategy, shaping what Lefebvre proposed to call a "bureaucratic society of directed consumption."

[5] Many of the elements later developed in publications do not refer to this theme—the three volumes of "Critique of Everyday Life" (1947, 1961, 1981) and the essential "Everyday Life in the Modern World" (published in 1974) appeared in 1936, in the first book that Lefebvre published, together with Norbert Guterman, titled "Mystified Consciousness".

In this type of society, everyday life is structured by the State, configuring it to become a structuring element of capitalist social reproduction itself. Everyday life in modernity is brutally established, programming, controlling, configuring, and organizing everyday life, producing enormous discomfort that coexists in tension with generalized satisfaction through manipulated and directed consumption. From this tension arises the "misery of everyday life," which, with the privileged help of advertising, operates by programming needs and desires, being repetitive and tedious, controlling and organizing time and space through the rationalities imposed by the State[6] .

In the society of directed consumption, everyday life intertwines with terrorism, forming an indispensable binomial for the study of contemporary capitalism and the forms of its social reproduction. The concept of everyday life allows us to observe the pressures and repressions that are exerted at all levels of everyday life.

In Lefebvre's thought, the concept of terrorism has a meaning as common use and common sense. For Lefebvre, one of the elements that maintains the bureaucratic society of directed consumption is the progressive and diffuse penetration of terror into everyday life, that is, the pressures and repressions in everyday life. Lefebvre's notion of terrorism, in this sense, goes beyond state institutions or those linked to the State and beyond ideology to unveil the power and action of repression in the everyday lives of people. What is important to emphasize, to avoid misinterpretation, is that Lefebvre does not refer to violence, fear, terror, as inherent control mechanisms in contemporary society.

However, in the "modern world," repression penetrates and extends into everyday life in such a way that it is difficult to understand where it comes from and how it becomes internalized, justified, and even naturalized by individuals. The highest point of internalization and naturalization of terrorism is manifested in "terrorist societies" (Lefebvre, 1991), where diffuse terror is maximized, as repression comes from all sides, and each subject becomes not only a terrorist of others but also of oneself. Consequently, oppressions are not perceived or recognized but play a fundamental role in controlling and programming everyday life. However, terrorism in everyday life is only subject in appearance, dominating and controlling society entirely. There, the development of contradictions also produces other syntheses where desire pulsates, and, potentially, the residue.

[6] The "misery of everyday life," one of the terms in the dialectics of everyday life, refers to "tedious work, humiliation, the life of the working class, the life of women burdened by everyday life. The child and childhood always starting over. Elementary relationships with things, with needs and money, as well as with merchants and commodities. The realm of numbers. The immediate relationship with the sector of reality (health, desire, spontaneity, vitality). The repetitive. The survival of hardship and the prolongation of scarcity: the dominance of the economy, abstinence, deprivation, repression of desires, stingy greed" (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 42).

Lefebvre's critique of everyday life is a radical critique of social totality, and its foundations are dialectical: it coexists with its misery, its greatness, its richness, its potential. Everyday life, brutally established, entails its negation. It expresses itself in the field of possibilities, in the creative practices of the new, in a terrain that seems to be only that of repetition in social relations and practices. These escape the reducing and homogenizing power that wants to dominate everything. The richness of the everyday is, therefore, irreducible, ineliminable, albeit residual. It corresponds to thought, a commitment to the movement of reality, to identify, appropriate, potentiate, and guide the residues of a utopian project based on revolutionary praxis. This is the richness and fertility of Lefebvre's critique of everyday life: its main objective is to lift everyday life out of its misery and decadence, rescuing its meaning and power, to break with dominant tendencies and thus subvert the order.

The theory of space production and the development of the right to the city

Parallel to his efforts to systematize a critique of everyday life, Lefebvre emphasizes, in all his works published since the late sixties[7] , the transformations of industrial society resulting from the implosion-explosion of the city and, consequently, the emergence of urban problems, highlighting its entry into the "urban society." Recognizing the historical and temporal limits of Marx's thought, for whom industrialization had its purpose in itself and whose works questioned the urban, Lefebvre argues that industrialization, by producing the urbanization of society, materializes a dual process called urban society.

However, it is important to note that this dual process of industrialization and urbanization lost its meaning when urban life was subordinated to economic growth without proper social development. Thus, observing in late capitalism the tendency for the decline of phenomena linked to industrialization, giving way to urban phenomena, Lefebvre identifies the inversion of this perspective, where industrialization becomes a stage of urbanization.

The issue of space, involving both the urban question (the city and its extension) and the everyday (programmed consumption), displaces the problem of industrialization. However, this does not mean eliminating it, as pre-existing social relations still exist, and the new problem lies precisely in their reproduction (Lefebvre, 2006, p. 67).

[7] "The Right to the City" in 1968, "From the Rural to the Urban" in 1970, "The Urban Revolution" in 1970, "Marxist Thought and the City" in 1972, "Space and Politics" in 1973, and "The Production of Space" in 1974.

Neocapitalism, by subdividing everyday life into work, private life, and leisure, begins to organize the production of obsolescence for consumption to accelerate capital turnover. It also programs the use of time in a space adapted for this purpose, giving rise to the bureaucratic society of directed consumption in a new city whose inhabitants acquire the generalized status of proletarians.

Within the debate on everyday life and modernity, the concept of "re-production" of social relations of production gains strength in his work, serving as a key to understanding the process of producing social relations (which produce and are producers of everyday life and space) that ensure the reproduction of certain relations (capitalist). In this way, the author contributes to overcoming the traditional (structuralist) interpretation of Marxism regarding urban phenomena, which were considered part of the mode of production (capitalist), whose structure is defined as a relationship between two groups: units of production (companies) and units of consumption (cities) where "the necessary labor force is reproduced," and where "consumption has no other meaning or scope: to reproduce the labor force" (Lefebvre, 1973, p. 74).

For Lefebvre, traditional Marxism oversimplified urban phenomena by reducing them to a poor scheme where the problem of the "re-production" of relations of production became a mere component of the reproduction of the means of production (labor force)[8]. In contrast, he understands that the place of the "re-production" of relations of production is not limited to the company, the workplace, or labor relations. This is because capitalism has generated new sectors, transforming elements of the pre-existing society, such as art, knowledge, leisure, urban and everyday reality, appropriating them for use mediated by exchange.

It is a production in the broadest sense, encompassing the production of social relations and the "re-production" of specific relations. From this perspective, the entire space becomes the place of this reproduction, including urban space, leisure spaces, educational spaces, everyday spaces, and more (Lefebvre, 2008a, p. 48–49).

In this sense, Lefebvre's theory of social space contemplates the critique of urban reality and everyday life, as all human activities unfold in a complex space that is both urban and everyday, seeking to guarantee the reproduction of social relations of production. For the author, the urban and the everyday are both product and production, even of the residues that arise from contradictions. These elements occupy a social space that is generated through them and vice versa. With this premise, the author takes up the dialec-

[8] "The Urban Question," by Manuel Castells, published in 1972, is the main work of that period presenting structuralist thought on the urban phenomenon and space. Castells is a widely recognized sociologist for his work on society and urban changes, and his work has had a significant influence on the study of urban issues.

tical critique of political economy, emphasizing the contradictions of space production and its central importance in the reproduction of the capitalist system.

Capitalism found in space a way to "overcome" its crises, explaining the transition from industrialization (production) to urbanization (reproduction). In this way, it managed to mitigate the effects of its crises by driving growth not only through the production of traditional commodities but also by occupying and producing a space and an everyday life as part of its predominant strategy for the "re-production" of social relations of production. However, by not resolving its internal conditions, it allows the opposition between dominated spaces and appropriated residues and the formation of residues with the potential for building a counter-hegemonic strategy.

Social space contains, by assigning them appropriate places (more or less), the social relations of reproduction, i.e., the biophysical relations between genders and ages, along with the specific organization of the family. These two intertwinings, production and reproduction, cannot be separated: the division of labor influences the family and is supported by it; conversely, family organization intervenes in the division of labor. However, social space distinguishes these activities to 'locate' them. Not without difficulties! (Lefebvre, 2006, p. 30, author's emphasis).

For the author, urbanization has "autonomized" from industrialization, and consequently, the crises of capital manifest in the production of space. Therefore, the contemporary urban issue presents itself as a spatial problem. Lefebvre shifts the debate from the classical contradiction between capital and labor to the new contradictions present in the everyday life of neocapitalist urban society, without denying this fundamental contradiction:

"It is not the whole society that becomes the place of reproduction (of relations of production and not just of means of production: it is all space. Occupied by neocapitalism, sectorized, reduced to a homogeneous yet fragmented medium, reduced to fragments [...], space becomes the hallways of power. Productive forces allow those who control them to dispose of space and come to produce it. Productive capacity extends to terrestrial space and surpasses it; natural social space is destroyed and transformed into a social product by the set of techniques [...]. But this growth of productive forces does not stop generating specific contradictions that reproduce and aggravate" (Lefebvre, 1973, p. 95–96, author's emphasis).

On the one hand, space is the place of the reproduction of capitalist relations of production, where the forces of capital produce a homogeneous space, replacing the desire to live with the simplifying imperative of "surviving first and surviving only" (Lefebvre, 1973, p. 25). On the other hand, dialectically, it allows the formation of differential space as a negation of capitalism, containing a virtuality that points to the horizon of the right to the city. Therefore, class struggle intervenes in space production, with the ability to produce differences that are not internal to economic growth, preventing abstract space from spreading across the planet and erasing such differences.

If space becomes the place of the "re-production" of relations of production, it also becomes the place of extensive opposition that cannot be easily localized, it is diffuse and establishes its center sometimes in one place and then another. This opposition cannot disappear, as it is the murmur and the shadow filled with desire and expectation that accompany the occupation of the world by economic growth, the market, and the (capitalist or socialist) State (Lefebvre, 1973, p. 97–98).

From the perspective of overcoming space only as a product (a commodity), Lefebvre points out the dialectic between the triplicity "perceived – conceived – lived" (which corresponds spatially to the triplicity "practice of space – representations of space – spaces of representation"). Far from being an abstract model, this triplicity aims to highlight the interference of social relations (of production and reproduction) in space and the contradictions they generate. According to the author, spatial practice unites and separates everyday reality (the use of time) and urban reality (the routes and networks that connect places of work, private life, and leisure) in perceived space.

Representations of space form a system of meanings produced by knowledge and ideology, serving as tools for urban planning and technocracy to identify lived and perceived space with conceived space. Spaces of representation materialize the space of domination, which is influenced by the appropriation in the lived space of inhabitants and users.

Therefore, his critique seeks to overcome the "blind spot" and allows understanding urban planning as an ideology that replaces the concept of "inhabiting," which implies participating in a social life, in a community, a people, or a city, where urban life had, among other qualities, this attribute. Instead, it replaces it with the concept of "habitat," which, by functionalizing the city, causes the loss of the centrality of the sense of the work and social awareness of production, which is replaced by the everydayness of

consumption and, consequently, urban consciousness. It also recognizes segregation and integration in the society managed by the bourgeoisie (and the State at its service) as a class strategy, through systems and subsystems that favor a particular element of social space, attracting an activity and "diverting it from appropriation to formalize it and transform acts and works into signs and meanings" (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 110).

Lefebvre emphasizes that, without idealizing the past, for the city to recover what it once was, as an act and a complete thought work, an urban strategy is required. This strategy must be implemented by groups, classes, or fractions of social classes capable of undertaking revolutionary initiatives. This strategy has the task of formulating and carrying out solutions to urban problems based on the creation of a political program of urban reform and urban projects in the short, medium, and long term:

> *"Only a global project can define and proclaim all rights, the rights of individuals and groups, determining the conditions of their participation in practice. Among these rights, let us remember: the right to the city (the right not to be excluded from society and civilization in a space produced with the intention of discriminating) and the right to difference (the right not to be forcibly classified into categories imposed by homogenizing powers)" (Lefebvre, 1973, p. 38, author's emphasis).*

The pressure exerted by the masses results in the emergence and recognition of some rights that define civilization and are gradually incorporated into everyday life, inscribed in codes regulating social relations. Among these rights, the demand for the right to the city arises, "not for an archaic city, but for urban lifestyle, renewed centrality, places of encounter and exchange, rhythms of life and time management that allow the full use of these moments and places, etc." (Lefebvre, 2008b, p. 139, author's emphasis), which manifests as a higher form of rights: the right to freedom, to individualization in socialization, to habitat and to inhabit. The right to work (active participation) and the right to appropriation (different from property rights) are implied in the right to the city (Lefebvre, 2008b, p. 134, author's emphasis).

IIn this direction, the right to the city seeks the realization of urban life as a realm of use, which requires overcoming the economic (exchange value, market, and commodity) and presupposes a comprehensive theory of the city and urban society that uses the resources of science, philosophy, and art. This theory must be guided by the working class as the agent, bearer, or social support of this realization, inscribed in the perspective of a revolution under the hegemony of that class.

To achieve this, along with economic revolution (planning for social needs) and political revolution (democratic control of the state apparatus and widespread self-management), a permanent cultural revolution is necessary. In this context, the author's reflection presents a counterposed strategy, a utopia projecting on the horizon a "possible-impossible," a project proposing new urban practices in a new urban society.

It is noteworthy that the concept of the right to the city, although formulated by Lefebvre in 1968, has gained new interpretations since the World Charter for the Right to the City of 2004 and the book "Rebel Cities: From the Right to the City to Urban Revolution" of 2012 (Harvey, 2014). It has become a rallying cry in demonstrations in Brazil and other parts of the world . Therefore, it has become a polysemic concept, with a variety of approaches, including the right to move freely in the city, the right to exercise power over the urbanization process, and even the right to create and appropriate the city.

It is noteworthy that the concept of the right to the city, although formulated by Lefebvre in 1968, has gained new interpretations since the World Charter for the Right to the City of 2004[9] and the book "Rebel Cities: From the Right to the City to Urban Revolution" of 2012 (Harvey, 2014). It has become a rallying cry in demonstrations in Brazil and other parts of the world[10] . Therefore, it has become a polysemic concept, with a variety of approaches, including the right to move freely in the city, the right to exercise power over the urbanization process, and even the right to create and appropriate the city.

In this context, Brandt (2018) points out that interpretations of the right to the city, even those inspired by Harvey (2014), have taken on a more reformist than revolutionary character, focusing on democratic management of the city through public policies led by the State. This approach, by hiding segregation through integration into a bureaucratic society of directed consumption, suggests the loss of its status as an experimental urban utopia, an approach so important in Lefebvre's thought.

[9] "The letter resulting from the Social Forum of the Americas in Quito in 2004, the World Urban Forum in Barcelona in 2004 and the V World Social Forum in Porto Alegre in 2005.

[10] Since the economic crisis of 2008, various protests have spread worldwide, including the June Days in Brazil, Occupy in the United States, the Indignados in Spain, the Arab Spring in the Middle East, among others. These events have been driven by a variety of reasons, such as economic inequality, lack of political representation, corruption, and the pursuit

Contributions of Lefebvre's thought to education in Social Work

The limits of a synthetic text on the study of Lefebvre's thought require a capacity for synthesis to address the relationships between this theoretical and political legacy and Social Work. Therefore, we start from the elements of Henri Lefebvre's thought, already analyzed, and emphasize the interaction between these elements and professional education in Social Work.

The structuring logic of current curricular guidelines for Social Work education highlights the existence of three cores of foundation and the necessary transversal articulation between them:

1) core of theoretical-methodological foundations[11] of social life; 2) core of foundations of the socio-historical formation of Brazilian society; and 3) core of foundations of professional work.

These cores relate to principles of professional training, among which two stand out:

A rigorous theoretical, historical, and methodological treatment of social reality and Social Work, allowing for understanding of the problems and challenges faced by the professional in the field of the production and reproduction of social life.

of fundamental rights. These mobilizations have shown the ability of civil society to organize and voice their concerns, generating a significant impact on the global political and social agenda.

[11] The approval of the curriculum guidelines for Social Work courses through Resolution No. 15, on March 13, 2002, modified both the document presented by ABEPSS in 1996, based on the "National Proposal for Minimum Curriculum for Social Work Courses," approved at a National Assembly of the entity, and the document of the Commission of Experts in Social Work Education, established within the scope of the Higher Education Secretariat of the Ministry of Education and Sports. This process was marked by the approval of the new Guidelines and Bases Law in 1996, one month after the approval of the minimum curriculum, as well as the strengthening of the neoliberal agenda in the field of higher education policy. Therefore, the final text of the three core foundations experienced a reduction in the scope of its wording. However, in this case, the formulation of the document from the Commission of Experts in Social Work Education of 1999 is used, which ratifies the original formulation of 1996.

The adoption of a critical social theory that allows an understanding of social totality in its dimensions of universality, particularity, and singularity (MEC-SESU, 1999, p. 3).

By analyzing each of the cores and the necessary articulation between them, we start from the understanding that Henri Lefebvre's Marxist theoretical and political heritage fits into strengthening the adoption of a critical social theory based on the methodological perspective of totality, to understand both social life in the historical and spatial particularity of Brazilian social formation and Social Work and its critical requirements for training and intervention in social relations. Therefore, three themes expressing "fields of complexity" are presented below, from which the contribution of Lefebvre in the field of education in Social Work can be considered. The intention is to contribute to an agenda of debates and studies on Henri Lefebvre's contribution to professional training in Social Work.

> *1) Space is socially produced, and the spatial practice of a society reacts to social relations, thus reproducing society.*

The theory of the production of space implies recognizing that space is not reduced to the dimension of the location of objects in space, although this practice is also contained and subsumed in the production/reproduction of space. As Lefebvre says, "Let's be clear: production of space and not of this or that object, of this or that thing in space" (Lefebvre, 2008a, p. 138).

Therefore, as previously analyzed, there is no theory of the production of space in Lefebvre that stands without understanding the centrality of the reproduction of social relations of production, mediated by the level of everyday life. Among the important implications of this theoretical-methodological and political assumption for the training of social workers, two stand out.

The first is the critique of reducing the spatial dimension of social policies to the location of their teams in urban and rural spaces, reinforcing the also residual and objectified understanding of the materiality of social policies as "products" (teams), emptying the procedural dimension of the social relations that produce them. Similarly, this view reiterates space as something inert, a mere "background" and a "physical portion" of the territory where social policy teams are implemented. In other words, everything happens as if the production of space and the socio-spatial configurations of its practices, structures, and urban morphologies, such as segregation, social representations of

The second important implication, related to the first, is expressed in the relational and critical conception of territory, which is not reduced to the normative or administrative dimension of the forms of fragmentation and classification of reality and social life by the State[12] . This practice also produces space but in the sense of its fragmentation, normalization, and disciplining, and the control of social relations that provide it with material and symbolic support for everyday life. The legal and administrative regulation of urban and rural territories by the State corresponds to what Lefebvre (2006) calls "representation of space." These practices represent a domain of various areas of scientific knowledge, including Social Work, and contribute to the creation of a "conceived space" (Lefebvre, 2006). This "techno-bureaucracy" is responsible for delineating and controlling space, turning everyday life into an institution (Lefebvre, 2006) and disciplining what Lefebvre calls "spaces of representation," that is, the space lived by people (Lefebvre, 2006, p. 40).

Given these two implications, it is important to reflect on educational contents and pedagogical and curricular practices that reinforce the orientation proposed by Farage, Helfreich, and Cardoso (2019) in the field of Social Work.

Social workers must question from which conception of territory they are working, both theoretically and practically. Is the starting point the idea of territories of life or territories used, as taught by Santos and Silveira (2001), full of contradictions and, therefore, also generating "residues" in space, in the sense of Lefebvre (1991), that resist, escape, and are irreducible to the discipline of bodies and practices, to forms of thought and desire in everyday life and in the exercise of their overcoming? Or does it start from the notion of an abstract conceived territory, represented, fragmented, and designed from government offices, from top to bottom, without the participation of the population and, in many cases, without the participation of the professionals who will carry out the actions, whether from the public sector or subcontracted social work teams? To answer this question, it is necessary to delve into research processes on the long history of Social Work in popular housing territories and in urban policies aimed at these territories. This will allow understanding and, subsequently, teaching and disseminating in the professional field the theoretical-methodological and ethical-political foundations of these experiences. It will also allow understanding how much creative capacity Social Work has, remembering that this capacity is built collectively and interdisciplinarily in the direction of the struggle for the right to the city (Lefebvre, 2001). All of this starts from the concept of "used territory" (Santos; Silveira, 2001) and its subjects (Farage; Helfreich; Cardoso, 2019).

[12] It is important to note that the actions of the State generate socio-spatial practices that blur the always porous boundaries between the legal and illegal, the formal and informal, as those exercised in racist and violent ways in popular territories.

2) The historical becoming as an openness to the irreducible nature of human praxis.

The transformation of reality is one of the existing possibilities among the syntheses produced by the movement of contradictions in the real world. This presupposes a non-reducible understanding of the category of praxis to the mimetic and repetitive moments of capitalist social relations, which contain the potential for utopia and the deconstruction/reconstruction of social relations, thus transforming the conditions that make historical becoming possible through the action of subjects. Here, the centrality of the category of praxis in Marxist dialectics is one of the fundamental legacies of Lefebvre's thought, which can operate as an important mediator between the core foundations of professional work and the other cores, even regarding the dialectic of the "possible-impossible" in relation to human praxis within the movement of historical becoming.

This consideration allows, for example, contributing to a deeper understanding of the professional praxis of Social Work concerning the relationship between the professional project and the social project; analyzing the intersectional dimension of class, gender, and race in this project, its historical and spatial conditions of concrete correlation of forces, as well as its utopian components, articulated to the different temporalities of the daily struggles of Social Work as a profession and part of the working class. Similarly, it allows raising questions about professional training regarding its real and constant permeability to the movement of contradictions in the real world and its conflicts led by different social and class struggles and their subjects and collectives. In other words, under the interpretative key of praxis, questions are raised in the professional training of Social Work about whether and how its knowledge and pedagogical and curricular practices are oriented towards civil society, the collective action of the working class, social movements, and new forms of social activism that are not limited to the institutional field of State politics or the narrower form of social policies.

3) Dialectical articulation between the agrarian, urban, and environmental dimensions of space and their expressions in the social issue.

The dialectical understanding between the agrarian, urban, and environmental dimensions of space production and their expressions in the formation and development of the social issue in Brazil presupposes the articulation between the three core foundations of the Social Work curriculum guidelines, as a movement of reconstruction of multiple

determinations of real life. In this sense, they express contradictory forms of social being and social relations in capitalist society, in its universality, which articulate with particularities and singularities, including the different, unequal, and combined temporalities of the development of Brazilian social formation and the re-production of its social relations of production. It is argued here that a fundamental "interpretative key" for the re-production of social relations in Brazil and the expressions of the social issue, to articulate the three core foundations of professional training, is the social history of land and property, and its contradictions, subjects, and conflicts. This praxis is not only historical but also socio-spatial and is inserted in the long history of social space production in Brazil.

In relation to this theme, the text supports Cardoso's (2018) reflections on the matter:

"By analyzing the relationship between the more universal movement of capital as a social relation and the history of Brazilian social formation, which includes its transition and development process towards capitalism, the issue of land and property is a structural determination of this process, which is singularized and particularized in different forms and social relations, such as agrarian, urban, and environmental issues, which come into conflict because they are based on the contradictions of this 'long history.' This structural determination manifests itself, in the present time and in different historical conjunctures, through different practices embodied in class subjects that, as they transform historically, also change the forms and contents of conflicts and their struggles, thus influencing the structures and historical conjunctures and shaping the present and future conditions of land and property in the organization of social life (Cardoso, 2018, p. 48)."

Lefebvre's analysis of the trinitarian unity between labor, land, and capital, by retaking the centrality of that relationship in Marx's thought and exposing the transformation of land use and occupation practices and their subordination to private property and the logic of the commodity, overcomes the ideological "disjointedness of space" and offers an important contribution to the realization of principles for understanding social totality and rigorous theoretical and methodological treatment of social reality and Social Work. Thus, it is understood that the raw material for the training of social workers is the teaching and study of the social history of land and property, based on different forms of appropriation, domination, use, and occupation of land, their traditions and histories of conflict, oppression, and resistance, at different scales of the territory of the daily life of the working class, including the bodies of these subjects and their gendered and racialized existences, as an immediate and mediated dimension of these historical processes of class oppression and inequality for the understanding of the social issue.

Final considerations:

The text sought not to compartmentalize Lefebvre's vast work, highlighting the power of his thought for the Marxist tradition and the dialectical reading of reality in motion. The analysis of the re-production of social relations of production, from the centrality given to everyday life and the production of space, aimed to present and analyze the contradictions of these two levels in the dynamics of the re-production of social relations in capitalist society. Through the problematization of these contradictions, the chapter highlighted the necessary understanding of the irredeemable nature of praxis in the face of its closure in a systemic totality, closed to the capitalist order. In this sense, the text also analyzed the driving idea of the wealth and misery of the everyday, as well as the concepts of the right to the city, appropriation-work, and the dialectical movement of the possible-impossible. Finally, the text advanced in the interlocution between Lefebvre's thought and Social Work education, advocating the contribution of this interlocution to the realization of principles for understanding social totality and the rigorous theoretical and methodological treatment of social reality and Social Work contained in the curriculum guidelines for professional training.

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REVIEW

"Public Employment, Work Processes, and Capital Reproduction: Social Work in Times of Job Precariousness" by Fiorella Cademartori. Tandil: PUKA Editora, 2022, 186 pages. ISBN 978-987-88-3567-9.

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The critical-descriptive reflection on the State and its determinations is often a less explored dimension in the field of Social Work. Even less common is the evaluation of the conditions that make the State a commissioner of welfare for the society it governs, especially if approached from the perspective of workers employed by this State to address policies for subaltern sectors, the users of these policies. The book "Public Employment, Work Processes, and Capital Reproduction: Social Work in Times of Job Precariousness"[1] , does not shy away from this reflection but makes it the central focus of its exposition.

The book is authored by Fiorella Cademartori, a Social Work graduate from the National University of Tucumán, Master in Social Work from the National University of La Plata, and Ph.D. in Social Sciences from the University of Buenos Aires[2] . The Tucumán-based academic studies the job precariousness to which the State subjects Social Workers (SWs)[3] , highlighting the disciplinary mechanisms that frame the work processes of these wage earners, using the recent history of SWs in the province of Buenos Aires, Argentina, as a case study. Crossing studies specific to Social Work with labor studies, labor sociology, and political theory (framed in a critical perspective), Cademartori aims to show in detail how job precariousness affects the final outcome projected by SWs in their professional practices. The book also reveals what happens in the work environment, affecting both the workers and the users of social services.

The text is presented as a reordering and restructuring of Cademartori's doctoral thesis. This resulted in a text specially designed for internal debate within the Social Work community. In order to address its objectives, the book is structured with an introduction, five chapters, partial conclusions in each, and final and open conclusions – as the author names them.

[1] It is worth noting that the text is freely available for download on the editorial's website (www.pukaeditora.com.ar). This ensures its open access and circulation.We appreciate the authors and Editorial Navegando for granting permission to translate and republish this article.

[2] The author is currently a teaching researcher at the National Universities of Tucumán (FFyL - UNT) and Santiago del Estero (FHCSyS - UNSE).

[3] The author clarifies that she chose to reference social work professionals using the feminine gender since the composition of this collective is predominantly made up of women and feminized bodies (p.15)

The introduction is dedicated to positioning her study temporally and geographically. Cademartori explains how the neoliberal actions and policies initiated by the last civic-military dictatorship in Argentina, from 1976, along with the complex of state counter-reforms in the period from 1989 to 1999, gave rise to the matrix of job precariousness that afflicts contemporary labor relations. This situation is specifically studied in Social Work in the province of Buenos Aires, starting from the reforms of the 1990s, reaching the effects unleashed in the two subsequent decades.

Throughout the five chapters, Cademartori attempts to account for the characteristics assumed by the forms of buying and selling the labor force of Social Work after the labor counter-reforms of the State; how these conditions of precariousness affect the work processes of the agents; and what relationship exists between the State, social policies, SWs, and the interventions carried out.

Chapter 1 ("The Debate on Working Conditions and Its Expression in the Field of Social Work in Argentina") is dedicated, firstly, to defining the category of "working conditions" to take it as the axis of study for the case. Throughout an extensive theoretical review, Cademartori opts to conceive this concept in a dynamic and historicized way, framing it in capitalist determinations and mediations.

The author expresses that working conditions encompass not only a worker's ability to sustain the sale of their labor power over time but also the form and means in which this sustainability occurs. In this sense, the reproduction to continue selling labor power refers to wages, and work as an enactment – a potential possibility for transformation – refers to the means for making the potential concrete (instruments, tools, physical space), as well as the organization, disposition, and management of the mentioned labor power by the buyer. Therefore, working conditions are not just external constraints but end up organizing work practices and limiting the boundaries of activities carried out by workers.

In the second part, Cademartori reviews and compiles the production of studies on the condition of Social Workers conducted by the professionals themselves. The author distinguishes two periods: one episodic, focusing on the issue from the late 1980s to the early 2000s, and the second, showing the deployment and installation of the issue of job precariousness in the professional agenda from the mid-2000s. Through the selected studies, there is an understanding of a labor market where the main employer is the State; various forms of employment have been created beyond the classic employment

contract; there are many professionals with salaries that do not cover the amounts of the Basic Total Basket (CBT); a partial disappearance of professional associations and unions in the fight for lost rights; and constant rotation in multiple jobs in the face of precariousness.

Chapter 2 ("Limitations and Potentialities of the Professional Exercise of Social Workers: Analysis under the Category of Work Processes") starts with the definition of the State and the categories "work" and "work processes" from a Marxist perspective. With this theoretical framework in mind, it explains the historical materiality that the State acquires through practices carried out by specialized institutions operating concretely in capitalism. With this on the table, it explains the peculiarities of SWs as public sector workers who, by selling their labor power to the State, do not directly participate in the process of valorization of produced capital. The debate on productive/unproductive work becomes an explanatory key here, with a crucial dialogue with Marilda V. Iamamoto's work, providing valuable insights into debates seldom studied in professional training.

Chapter 3 ("Contemporary Seal in Labor Relations: Capital Offensive, State Mediation, and Working Class Reproduction") focuses on the role of the State as a reshaper of the labor market with the deployment of neoliberal policies, especially at its peak in the 1990s. It discusses whether in the subsequent decades there were processes of rupture, continuity, evolution, stagnation, or regression in labor dynamics.

Through an analysis of quantitative data, Cademartori demonstrates that by the end of the first decade of the 21st century, even with the recomposition of the labor market after the most critical indicators in terms of poverty and unemployment in the country (2001–2002), labor guarantees were scarcely rebuilt a decade later. This was due to the abuse of the use of fixed-term contracts or other contractual modalities with predetermined deadlines. Although from 2001 to 2011, the number of state employees of the National Executive increased, it was done without guaranteeing stability and accessibility conditions for historical labor rights (such as seniority, various leave, retirement, paid vacations, among others). This is evident in the following quote: "(...) a decade ago, the ratio was 1 hired worker for every 60 permanent workers; in 2011, the equation is 1 hired worker for every 6 permanent workers" (p.90).

Chapter 4 ("Characteristics of the Working Conditions of Social Workers in the Province of Buenos Aires: The 'Picture' To Be Explained") goes directly into the empirical analysis of the case[4] . The first massive survey on the theme of working conditions carried out in 2011 by the Professional College of Social Workers of the province of Buenos Aires (CATSPBA) is used as the central working document. The analyzed data include the relationship of buying-selling labor power, the particularities of this relationship, and the enactment of labor power.

Cademartori effectively manages to expose the deep state of precariousness in the working conditions of SWs. The trend towards fixed-term contracts, low wages, physical conditions of work environments, lack of resources and tools, constant rotation of workers in search of more favorable scenarios, pluriemployment as a strategy against insufficient salaries, among other situations, creates a group of workers in constant relations of vulnerability to the State.

Chapter 5 ("Scope and Impacts of Job Precariousness: The Work Processes of Social Workers in Dispute") analyzes the visibly precarious working conditions of SWs practicing in the province of Buenos Aires. It highlights the discipline to which both SWs and users are subjected, shaping the work processes of professionals. It describes the degradation of the potentialities of SWs through means of hiring, salaries, disqualification, and mobility and rotation.

Degradation obstructs the capacities and potentials of the workers. Their autonomy is curtailed as their bodies – and practices – are dominated. SWs lose the opportunity to think about solutions to the multiple manifestations of the social issue outside of what the State-employer proposes, accepting the conditions as given, a product of the need to sell labor power and the fear of unemployment.

In the last section ("Final (and Open) Conclusions"), the author recaps everything seen, from empirical evidence to theoretical development. It emphasizes how SWs see their possibility of projection towards new alternatives for the realization of social policies mutilated by precarizing their autonomy. The struggle to improve working conditions also allows for a reconsideration of professional practices and opens a new horizon for the governmental organization of social actions.

[4] The extensive volume of data and statistics presented is interesting, as well as the possibility of accessing these and many others through a QR link provided in the text's final pages.

In conclusion, Cademartori's book is a significant contribution to Social Theory for two main reasons:
I) Its in-depth field study with SWs in the province of Buenos Aires, framed in a critical perspective, with clear theoretical concepts for qualitative analysis, results in a crucial tool for the debate on the situations of Social Work professionals. It demonstrates the systematic nature of job precariousness and dispels myths of counter-reform recomposition, emphasizing the role of the State employer as a perpetuator of the degradating conditions of SWs.

II) At the same time, it is an essential document to rethink the relationship between the State and its wage earners. It allows us to move away from the climate of realpolitik in contemporary political theory, to think about how various counter-reform processes cast doubt on the State as a guarantor of rights. It opens the door to reconsider the possibilities of a radical change that can subvert situations of precariousness and propose other possible worlds to think about the social issue.

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INTERVIEW

Reimagining Latin America: Challenges and Opportunities in Urban Housing Issues. Interview with Anacláudia Rossbach.

By Antonieta Urquieta[1]
Interview with Anacláudia Rossbach

Antonieta Urquieta (Interviewer): Starting from your experience and academic background in urban housing issues, let's begin by asking, how do you see the urban housing problem in Latin America? What do you think are the most acute expressions of the urban housing problem today?

Anacláudia Rossbach: Latin America is the most unequal region on the planet and also exhibits significantly high levels of violence. Gender equity is a crucial issue in the region. Informal labor is prevalent, reaching 50% of the workforce according to the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC). Additionally, cities throughout Latin America tend to be segregated, with the wealthy residing in one part of the city and the poor in others, creating notable fragmentation and division. This is the characteristic context of Latin America. Our history in housing policy is very heterogeneous and erratic. Chile is an exception, as it has had a continuous housing policy focused on subsidies and housing production for many years. There are also neighborhood improvement programs and programs for informal settlements, among others. In Latin America, there is a strong policy of protecting new homes, as seen in Brazil and Mexico, which also have massive housing programs. However, the region faces an informal situation regarding land use. Unfortunately, we lack precise statistical data due to the lack of methodological uniformity in collecting such data, creating a gap in the statistical data collection process on this informality.

As a consequence of the pandemic, migration flows, along with the economic impact on households, we are experiencing an expansion of vulnerability and informality. In São Paulo, the city I come from, there is a significant number of people living on the streets or in extreme vulnerability. So, in addition to not having very precise consensus today, empirically speaking, it can be inferred that the pandemic has affected the lives of families in Latin America, leading to an expansion of informal situations. Therefore, at this moment, I believe we are witnessing a paradigm shift in Latin America. We are at a moment where traditional housing policies are widely recognized as obsolete, and

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a change in perspective is necessary. On the other hand, in countries like Brazil, Colombia, Mexico (in the past), El Salvador, and Argentina (currently), policies for integral neighborhood improvement have been implemented, seeking to directly intervene in the relationship between the housing environment and the improvement of people's quality of life.

Carlos: Juana, thank you for sharing these elements that allow us to establish a scenario to situate the conversation. From what you say, it is inevitable not to think of Foucault. In this regard, how do you observe, from your research and intervention experience, that the idea of power has been understood?

Juana: Well, first, from a historical review, the concept of power has not undergone major changes. If we remember, in classical Greece the power of the people or Democracy arose, but in that democracy neither the serfs, nor the women, nor the children, nor the peasants, nor the workers participated. Only certain citizens who had certain privileges, especially in the economic aspect, were allowed to participate. Now, from what we observe in the penitentiary system, it is useful to remember what Duverger (1970) states, in terms of power referring to the power to change the behavior of other people in order to obtain compliance with one's own will, despite the resistance of others. This power can be exercised because whoever obeys does so under threat of violence or because he or she has been manipulated. So, what we need is to break with inequalities, with oppression, with alienation, and to be able to transform this reality of injustice.

However, the models of projects we had are also showing signs of obsolescence, facing numerous barriers to their expansion. So, I think we have the goal and the need to change the direction of housing policies and the production of new homes since we need to break with the segregation in the city and the chaotic urban expansion over environmental and rural areas. Now, in the current context of climate change and food crisis, these issues are of great relevance to society as a whole, especially for our urban society. Latin America is among the most urbanized regions on the planet. So, we need these environments to breathe and feed ourselves. However, currently, policy remains disconnected from the ground, which will lead us to continue with this unrestrained urban expansion. On the other hand, self-production and informality also follow this dynamic of urban expansion.

I don't want to blame the poor. Much of urban expansion comes from higher-income segments, such as typical gated communities. So, urban expansion in Latin America, unrestrained and chaotic, whether due to informal occupations, housing programs, or the private real estate market, is generating numerous problems for our cities. We find ourselves in a situation where, as a region, we have largely achieved the former Millennium Goals, which included having pipes throughout the city and ensuring access to water, among other aspects. But we experience droughts because we do not respect environmental limits or environmental protection conditions. So, we find ourselves in this dilemma: we must curb urban expansion in cities while taking advantage of leisure spaces and the already built urban core, among other aspects.

Housing policies have become obsolete, as have neighborhood improvement policies. We need to rethink this situation, as we do not have fiscal capacity to carry out these processes. We cannot live from project to project. In the past, we had a project financed by development bank A, another project financed by development bank B. As was the case in Brazil, for example, which had a national neighborhood improvement program for 10 years, but it came to an end. Or Colombia, which has a program in Medellín but has not yet implemented a nationwide program. Argentina has a strong program in Buenos Aires, as well as a national program, but faces numerous difficulties in expanding it due to various issues. So, addressing land use informality through these types of projects no longer worked. So, what to do? In my opinion, the future is related to a systemic change that means, from a more practical and pragmatic point of view, recognizing the social and ecological function of the land, as well as the importance of infrastructure. On the other hand, it is crucial to recognize the existence of informal settlements, and this informal dynamic as a structural aspect of the region, as it is currently fundamental for the survival of families and for access to opportunities in the city, such as employment, economic opportunities, education, and health services, among others. Accepting this reality and systematically incorporating these territories into city planning and public policy, in general, is essential.

What does that mean? It means giving priority to these territories as recipients of long-term public policies. It is no longer about working on specific projects that start, are implemented, and then abandoned because to address the structural issues that affect our society, such as inequality and structural poverty, a single urban improvement project will not be enough to achieve the social and cultural transformations that we are expecting. And that's where Social Work comes in, I believe. I was thinking about this: what is the role of Social Work? I think we need to understand the importance of Social Work and the opportunity to have Social Work projects connected to housing programs,

neighborhood improvement, camps, etc. But we need to manage expectations regarding this Social Work.

From my perspective, having Social Work does not mean a profound and structural transformation of these spaces, but it is an important condition for this. Why is it an important condition for this? Because Social Work facilitates the process of sharing legal knowledge, architectural knowledge, technical knowledge with the community, and thus developing physical improvement processes. On the other hand, Social Work can be the bridge and connection to better understand the social and cultural dynamics of a particular territory, help leverage, think about how public policies, social policies, economic policies can act in a more structured way in the territory. Also, to promote actions of recognition and strengthening of social capital, which is an axis that we usually do not work on.

In Brazil, for example, Social Work is very focused on enabling the execution of works, promoting moving actions, and technical assistance. However, I believe that an approach focused on strengthening and mapping social capital is not sufficiently explored or developed in Brazil. In general, it is challenging to achieve development processes with real community empowerment. Although dialogues, consultations can be established, strengthening social capital is a part that is not very developed. In my opinion, Social Work can play a very important role in recognizing local organizations, identifying alternatives, strengthening these organizations through public policy, whether in the field of housing, neighborhood improvement, or other social policies.

Antonieta Urquieta: Claudia, if you allow me to delve deeper into some of the things you have proposed, you present us with a very interesting panorama regarding how the urban problem is configured today around a series of processes that have deepened inequality. So, in that sense, it is necessary to understand that observing these phenomena is an important key to understanding the dynamics of inequality, not simply conceiving that inequality in an abstract way, but rather recognizing these territorial structures that sustain inequality schemes. In this regard, your description questions a public policy in Latin America rooted in the neoliberal paradigm that has existed since authoritarian governments. This policy is based on the theory of social risk, which places the burden of risk on individuals. According to this perspective, overcoming inequality and poverty depends on strengthening individual, family, and community capacities. In this context, how do you think this structural territorial perspective of inequality confronts the assumptions that accompany and profoundly affect the structures of social policy in the region?

Anacláudia Rossbach: It is challenging to strengthen social capital if the policy has an individual goal, and I believe it is a contradiction we will have to live with because the culture is already established, and the demand is for individual benefits. There is an established culture and a dynamic where supply and demand are individual. This individual demand is justified for legitimate reasons due to the high incidence of poverty and vulnerability. If I were a mother in a situation of poverty and vulnerability, I would also want to have the house in my name, as this way, I would be sure that my children would have a secure place in case something happened to me, with a room and guaranteed protection. I am talking about a context of societies that are violent, where there are significant economic and political risks. We are in an erratic context, where sometimes we are better off alone, for example, when we have more employment.

The economies of Latin American countries have never experienced continuous periods of growth. There is always a crisis that negatively affects us, and then we start again. And in these crises, the ones who suffer the most are families in situations of vulnerability and lower incomes. I understand the legitimacy of supporting the population in general during crisis periods, whether collective or individual, due to the temporary difficulties we face from an economic and social systems perspective, among other aspects. Individuals also go through times of crisis. I think we need to aspire to that legitimate need for social protection, which for many takes the form of housing or ownership. So, it is important to understand that, but at the same time, I believe it is necessary to reinforce the importance of the collective, co-creation, participation in public policy, co-responsibility.

Therefore, we may be able to develop social policies, and Social Work plays a key role in this regard, to promote a cultural change where it is understood that the transformation will be a collective effort. The urban transformation we hope for, aiming to overcome segregations, must be a collective effort and must be understood by all social segments. We will not overcome segregation if there is no broader understanding that it affects the entire society and that, therefore, overcoming it will generate benefits for everyone. And we are far from being there; we have this "not in my backyard" mentality: "I don't want a low-income person living near my house; I don't want a poor person living near my house." So, we must address structural issues, such as the issue of land. Why are cities segregated? Because the price of well-located land is high, and we don't have many present and/or efficient mechanisms to control prices or regulate these prices. We have some examples: Colombia, Brazil, which have more developed land management instruments, but they are still segregated societies. So, we have instruments

in many countries, but they still do not meet the desired efficiency. For example, in Brazil, there is a type of zoning known as "special zone of social interest." What does this mean? Reserving areas in the city for housing construction or establishing protections for informal settlements. This is done to prevent these areas from being gentrified due to improvements in infrastructure. Special zones of social interest set a limit on the production of market units. So, this zoning serves as protection against evictions, provides security in housing tenure, and acts as a safeguard against gentrification, fulfilling various functions. One of them is to flexibilize construction parameters because the city should not be the same; it cannot be the same; we have different economic parameters, so we need different urbanism parameters, and these zones allow for that. But the presence or existence of these zones is still very low, mainly in the case of Brazil; for example, in informal areas, it is clearly present, but in vacant areas, we cannot achieve a good presence. Because, of course, there is always resistance to this type of policy. So, it is very challenging to have instruments on that scale and efficiently in our countries. To have them, we must understand that this segregation does not benefit us as a society, and this cultural change is a significant challenge that we have ahead.

Antonieta Urquieta: JI completely agree with several points you raised. In the framework of this interview, it is important to highlight the need to recognize the tension between two perspectives: one more structural and another focused on the ability of communities to act. As you mention, we must adopt a more complex perspective that integrates and recognizes this tension. This implies creating mechanisms that address both challenges more effectively. As you mentioned, true integration is achieved collectively. But you speak of collectively, not just communally, but of a joint effort involving multiple actors.

Anacláudia Rossbach: Exactly.

Antonieta Urquieta: So, it is an articulation of actors of different nature, among them those directly linked to the land market and housing production, and certainly, the families themselves.

Anacláudia Rossbach: Those are very interesting points. I was going to mention community responsibility because there is often a tendency to hold the community responsible for solving its problems. So, the community is expected to solve, self-build, and self-produce. In my opinion, it is essential to respect grassroots initiatives, self-production, and the spontaneous dynamics that develop, but the responsibility to address these

needs lies with public policy. It's a matter of co-responsibility between the government and society.

Antonieta Urquieta: Indeed, this debate is very relevant in the region, especially in Chile, where a new constitutional process is underway, involving the redefinition of the relationship between the State and citizens in a new social pact. This is based on the logic you have outlined of ensuring human rights, especially in terms of spatial justice, which poses a considerable challenge. Unlike classical models of subsidiary states, where the state is a benefactor for lower-income and vulnerable sectors, here, a different kind of relationship must be established between a state that guarantees rights, a private sector, and civil society that also co-guarantee and participate in this network of guarantees for the exercise of rights. How do you see this challenge for our region?

Anacláudia Rossbach: I think it is a significant challenge, and I consider that these debates, especially the constitutional debate, are exceptional opportunities to address these issues and understand the dimension of the social life we are experiencing, as well as its impact on the environment and the challenges we face in terms of poverty, hunger, unemployment, etc. So, these processes are of great importance, and having active participation from society in them is crucial. Currently, I work at the Lincoln Institute of Land Policy, and the truth is that I am not here just for the cause, beyond the organization's mission. My professional background has led me to this point. I am an economist and worked for many years in designing housing programs, among other things, and also participated in community work. Now, I lead the Land Institute. I believe that land is the key to transformation, and that starts with recognizing that its social and ecological function is fundamental. So, based on this recognition, I think we can think more sustainably about our cities. For example, consider urban centers and offices that are empty, as well as the idle and underutilized spaces that exist in cities. The value and cost of those spaces for society do not always adequately reflect in market prices. Therefore, I think we should seize those opportunities to expand awareness of what the city can offer us. I am speaking from the city's perspective, considering that our societies are predominantly urban in Latin America. The city is our home. So, obviously, there are issues related to preserving large natural biomes, among other topics. But, I want to focus on the city chapter, thinking about the city where we live. I hope that this debate allows us to adopt a more strategic and realistic perspective on our cities and understand how we can leverage the spaces and land opportunities that the city offers us to promote equity and create more public green spaces.

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Understanding the city more as a common good, I believe that markets can operate in a way that also contributes to the common good and is sustainable for the city. I think that if we manage to understand this, the constitutional process is an opportunity. Currently, in São Paulo, the city's master plan is being reviewed, leading us to a significant debate. Several changes are emerging, and this process is being replicated in other cities and countries. These processes are showing us both alarming and concerning situations but also opportunities. These opportunities are related to recognizing that the city is a public good and that land has a social and ecological function. It is important to consider how markets and public policies can operate in a way that the impact on the city is more positive than negative, with a positive influence from public policy. If we do not achieve this cultural change towards a more collective and broad awareness, it will be very challenging to implement policies or expect communities to work on their own development. We cannot expect the collective vision to be limited only to communities where the poorest and most disadvantaged people live. Social work, housing policy, improvement policy can play a role in strengthening this social capital. This social capital is crucial, but we must not limit ourselves to having an isolated vision of a specific territory.

We must also work to share knowledge and understand the overall dynamics of the city in collaboration with families in those spaces. This morning, I attended an event on Latin America that focused on precarious settlements, and a campaign was launched to improve these areas. This issue was discussed during the event. So, it is essential that participatory processes are not limited to specific communities and territories. They must be expanded to promote a comprehensive understanding of the entire city and how that territory relates to the city as a whole. Working in those territories is more critical because there is a whole complex process of sharing this technical knowledge. Certainly, engaging the entire society is a challenge, but working with these communities is strategic, as they need to be empowered and equipped with the necessary technical knowledge to move forward. If there are changes in government or interruptions in policies, these communities are faced with the need to maintain a dynamic that must continue. Hence the importance of that technical power. If we look, for example, in Brazil, the most advanced, interesting, and progressive master plans, such as those of São Paulo and Belo Horizonte, are two cases I really like because they were driven by movements and social organizations. In my opinion, these master plans would not have been approved without the influence of social organizations. I am referring to more solid organizations that have strengthened their presence over time. These organizations now have a comprehensive understanding of the city and understand the impact of a specific

plan and the technical reasons adopted on the territory, and how they affect people's lives. Therefore, promoting, empowering, and sharing this knowledge is essential in the long run. That is a function of social work. We can take advantage of this opportunity that social work provides to build a longer-term vision with excluded and marginalized communities. However, working with the entire society is an effort that involves public policy, various actors, and joint work, including academia, among others.

Antonieta Urquieta: In that sense, I agree with you that in some way, social work – not just social work – should promote, favor what you are pointing out, which I would describe as a sort of transdisciplinary dialogue for the approach to the city. As you point out, the purpose is to know the knowledge of citizens in their different expressions, also that of academia, the political world, the technical world, and how they converge in a project that is collective and that surpasses them all, beyond each of the readings that we may partially make. What are those possibilities? What possibilities do you see for that transdisciplinary dialogue, that more coordinated, interconnected construction of knowledge in the service of these processes of spatial justice, guarantee of the right to the city and housing?

Anacláudia Rossbach: I believe that much depends on establishing participatory governance mechanisms at different levels. That is fundamental. First, promote practices, spaces of collaboration, co-creation, sharing, and second, have more institutionalized processes of participatory governance, for which local protagonism is fundamental; municipalities need to be closer to public policies. The municipality is closer to citizens, in general, and can be a source to drive transformations in public policy, an important source. In our countries, we rely heavily on national spheres for investments in public policy, both in more and less decentralized countries, but it is the same in federal countries; there is a great dependence on national resources. However, citizens are in the municipal sphere, where their political power is continually growing during decentralization processes. Despite this, their fiscal capacity remains extremely limited because politics is structured sectorally at the national level, and resources are also at that level. So, this is the bridge we must establish. I think it is the municipality's responsibility to facilitate this dialogue between citizens and general public policies, promoting changes and improvements. National organizations are also important, as you mentioned, in events like the constitutional change in Chile, among others. However, connecting this local dialogue with the national sphere is of vital importance. To achieve this, it is necessary to establish multilevel and participatory governance mechanisms. Promoting real participation in this context is a challenge. I think many governments, in the context

of the Covid-19 pandemic, realized the importance of having organized communities at the territorial level. Because it turned out to be quite challenging to carry out interventions in many territories without the support of civil society organizations. So, I believe that the legacy we take from the pandemic, and it will be a strong legacy, will lead us to really promote structures, models, and systems to drive participatory governance.

Antonieta Urquieta: Finally, I would like to ask for your opinion on the challenges posed by a somewhat broader understanding, from my point of view, of the notion of spatial justice. When one reflects on the concept of spatial justice in its more restricted sense, it is related to a geography of equitable opportunities. In this context, from the Complex Territorial Systems core at the University of Chile, we have been interested in promoting an approach to spatial justice that includes the redistribution of services and resources, with the aim of creating an equitable city in terms of accessibility. Additionally, we seek social justice that ensures the recognition of the different communities that inhabit the territories, as well as adequate representation, which is similar to what you mentioned earlier. How do you conceive a more extensive, demanding, and complex notion of spatial justice that recognizes these different levels? I am fundamentally alluding to Fraser's concepts of social justice.

Anacláudia Rossbach: Much is talked about today regarding climate justice as well. All of this could be connected. I think it is much easier to plan the territory from a physical standpoint, although coordinating infrastructure works, water, etc. are complex issues. But it is easier than understanding the social fabric, social dynamics, the connection to opportunities. How to act on this? It is an extremely structural issue. Improving a house is simpler: installing a roof, connecting water. However, we are immersed in an extremely complex social infrastructure. This goes beyond just opportunities and services; it encompasses structural issues such as the gender inequalities we face and the issue of violence. Our children and men are dying, becoming victims of a highly violent system, especially in these more vulnerable and informal territories. So, we have a very difficult complexity to act upon. Spatial and social justice are closely related to all these aspects.

Improving access and the right to the city and developing mobility systems that allow all citizens to access the various possibilities the city offers, including services, cultural opportunities, sports activities, and enjoyment of diverse public spaces, is a possible vision. It is also feasible to imagine how to promote and close the existing infrastructure gaps in the city. However, when you get into the social fabric and really try to

understand all this and act in a way that promotes real change, the situation becomes extremely complex. It goes far beyond urban policy and housing policy. And it extends beyond just directing social policies in the territory. It has to do with deep structural, economic, and social changes; it involves addressing the deep inequalities we have in our Latin America. Having access to the city's infrastructure and eliminating those spatial infrastructure gaps is fundamental; it is a bridge, but we must do it, it is the minimum necessary. If we do not delve into processes of truly understanding this social fabric and these social dynamics and do not know how to act consistently, constantly, and sustainably, we will not achieve this spatial and social justice that seeks to improve people's quality of life, not just justice itself. There is a difference between improving people's lives and justice.

On the other hand, perhaps justice is only possible in some generations, not in ours. How to overcome these structural differences? The differences between women of my age, for example, are ingrained and will not disappear quickly in a single lifetime. But we have possibilities with future generations if we can change the culture and mindset today. This implies gradually eliminating these urban gaps, which are not few and are not minimal. They are very relevant and important. Eliminating urban gaps, providing access and the right to the city, mobility, as well as generating improvements in the quality of life, is not a small feat; it is a lot. It must be done; this is where policies play an important role, and this is where we can act during this lifetime. Overcoming structural challenges to achieve true spatial justice linked to social justice is a process that spans several generations. However, it is crucial to move in a unified and agreed-upon direction, with a critical mass of people agreeing on the direction to take. Currently, we are still very polarized regarding the direction we should take. So, agreements and consensus need to be reached. I believe that today there is a great convergence in terms of public policy in general, with a shared perception of the existing gaps and that we are not reaching many people, with various policies related to mobility, housing, health, and education. We are not reaching the entire population as we should. There is a certain convergence in general terms, but we still do not fully understand the magnitude of the necessary transformations.

This is again related to the issue of land, access to it, and the location of housing. It is crucial to consider where we really live in the city, in addition to access, to be able to establish a more balanced perspective on the city. Because if I live on the outskirts of the city, I am going to have a perspective on the city from that place. So, as we achieve a greater diversity of perspectives and people are everywhere, the perspective on the

city will be more balanced, as well as pragmatic access to services such as education, among others. However, in Latin America, we face huge income gaps and significant inequalities. So, until we overcome these inequalities, it will be very difficult to address and overcome infrastructure and improvement issues, but it is not a less important step.

Antonieta Urquieta: It has been very inspiring to hear your thoughts. I would only finish by asking if there is anything else you would like to emphasize.

Anacláudia Rossbach: At the beginning, I mentioned the importance of systemic transformations that effectively address needs, including planning systems and laws that work. That is a transformation process that demands broad participation from all of society. An advantage in the region is that, in a way, we have managed to be more connected as a regional community. I see it that way as well. There is a certain convergence among public policies in Latin America, and nowadays, we are seeing many more connections between various actors, both at the national and municipal government levels. So, there is a process of transnational knowledge, experience, and expertise transfer in Latin America. This accelerated a lot after the Hábitat III conference, which took place in Quito, Ecuador, in 2016. In the last six years, with the internet and Zoom, we have become much closer as a region. This has enabled us to strengthen a critical mass of agreements. There is, for example, a decalogue for the improvement of neighborhoods in Latin America that was signed by several organizations. This morning a regional improvement campaign was launched. So, there are regional movements that allow us to generate this transfer of knowledge, experience, expertise, at all levels: social organizations, academia, local governments, national governments. This represents a great window of opportunity, at least to transfer knowledge and technical know-how since we still need technical solutions to address these structural transformations. It also gives us the possibility to gain strength and consensus on the direction we want to take. This is very important at a time and in a context where our society, in general, is very polarized. So, the actors working on city issues, housing, urban policy are reaching an interesting convergence. The public policies of different partisan colors in Latin America today show a notable approximation, which represents a great window of opportunity and progress that I think we must recognize.

Antonieta Urquieta: Thank you very much, Anacláudia. It's a tremendous pleasure to hear you, and your reflections are very inspiring.

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