

ARTICLE

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

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

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145

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Abstract

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

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

Resumen

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

Palabras claves
Violencias sexuales; trabajo interprofesional; expertise; auto-gestión



Introduction

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

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

147

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



Sexual violence: A road still to travel

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

148

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

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



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

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

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

149

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

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



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

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

The Centers for Sexual Violence (CVS)

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

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



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

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

151

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

Methodology

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

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



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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

2.- Gestating a militant expertise

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

3.- Caring and management: Dynamics in tension

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

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

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



Conclusions

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

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

158

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

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



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

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163

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