Marginalization and Exclusion: The Hemisphere's Number One Problem.
The challenge of the social, educational and health policies.
Analysis and institutional proposals.

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*"**Moebious Tape II**, xylography, three-sheet copy, 1963, 45 x 20 cm. Description: a ring shaped tape has usually got two sides, one internal and other external. However, nine red ants walk one behind the other over this tape and they step on the internal side as well as on the external."*
*"**Encounter**, lithograph, 1944, 34 x 46,5 cm. Description: A complex, drawing of two black and white human figures starts from the grey edges of the back wall. Since flesh and blood men need, at least, a ground where to stand on to be able to walk, one with a hole in the centre was especially created for them, in this way a great part of the back wall can be seen, but this forces them to walk as in circle and at the same time it forces them to meet in the close-up: an optimistic white man and a pessimistic black man shaking hands."*
(M.C. Escher, "Comentarios -sobre sus obras-" in "Estampas y Dibujos", Benedikt Taschen, Germany, 1991, pages 11 y 12 respectively).

1. INTRODUCTION

Nowadays, the design of public policies for exclusion problems, specially in the social and health areas, faces four radical changes.

Firstly, the acceleration of the processes of regional and global integration, which include the market integration. Specially, this market integration impacted on the working integration in these semi-closed market economies, which had once belonged to the model called "importation substitution" and was transformed by the installation and diffusion of neo-liberal models.

Secondly, the policies related to social cohesion and promotion, in our historical Latin-American case, in the framework of the populist or development policies stopped by military dictatorships, were based in wider proposals of the Welfare State, without reaching the development achieved by European countries or Canada, but supported by centralizing state policies, with low stimulation of the local developments (districts, municipalities, etc.),

which at the same time reproduced the bureaucratic centralizing matrix with a low stimulation of the civil society mobility. The big changes of the '90s damaged the regional economies and lodged in the local eco-social space the consequences of the deterioration of the previous economic model: unemployment, local des-industrialization, violence, social exclusion and poverty. On the one hand, these changes produced a sharpening of the problems about the social integration by the fragmentation of the social groups; and on the other hand, there was an impotence of the local management to obtain self-government from the social centralizing policies, which keep heavy bureaucratic administrative circuits with a low social participation.

Thus, we now think of a social exclusion different from that the scholars of the '60s thought. Now, the marginality and the social exclusion have a new more structural character, which include these big social and hemispheric changes.

Thirdly, we are experiencing a transformation in the scientific field and, as a consequence, radical changes in the theories about social and health policies. These transformations have been named new paradigms. The main characteristics of the "new paradigms", which can help us understand the new model of policies are: 1. The complexity of the phenomena, analysed by social sciences, and the interdisciplinary participation devices that new policies use for interaction (inter-sectorial participation and dialogue among the different views and speeches about the different social problems to be addressed); 2. There is a double relation between the micro and the macro-social systems which must be understood as a complex system: the incidence of the macro on the micro, and the incidence of the micro on the macro; 3.Nowadays, as

sociology and political science view social dimension as subjective, the individual must be understood within his social dimension (for example, the economic development sets the necessities of sociability and subjectivity).

Finally, hemispheric integration, such as global determination, also includes the question about the ecological availability and the necessity to promote a local sustainable development.

In my experience in the design and practice of social and health policies, as well as the institutional re-design, we are confronted to the gaps in the social cohesion for the enlargement of the marginal social groups, and the use of old tools, specially in the centralistic models of social work. In our work in marginal neighbourhoods, we could see two sides of a reality: one, external, legal, formal, normal; another one, informal, illegal, clandestine and abnormal. The tension between these two sides increases exclusion problems: micro-social violence, family implosions, and institutional impotence.

2. CONCEPTUAL DEVELOPMENT

This paper seeks to understand the complex relationship in the social determination of the globalization, embodied in the ALCA agreements in progress.

We start from two basic hypotheses, one general and the other specific. One refers to the understanding of the social side of the current system and its determinations and the other to the role of institutions in their behaviour concerning the social exclusion.

From a sociological point of view we should understand what several authors point out about the passage from the disciplinary society to the control society (G.Deleuze, 1995; R. Castel, 1986; N. Rose, 1997; Z. Bauman, 1999). In fact these authors fosters the understanding that the society heads for a

Manzanos Bilbao, 1997) but we want to move even forward with these concepts. Undoubtedly, at this stage, two dimensions become relevant and even unavoidable to the analysis: the questions of power (M. Foucault, 1984), the discursive apparatus and the dominance networks (A.L. Bialakowsky and B. Fernández, 1994). Actually, we can see that the analysts still carry that old conception of the social, incorporating the power as a factor but conceiving the society as a plain figure. Few authors have reflected upon the social relief. Our hypothesis could be shown as the conception of the moebious band, that is to say that the society presents its own twists which are in a continuum with the hegemonic society. If to this society were given marginality, pathologies, vanguards, alternate movements,

etc. as something external that it wouldn't have, there would be a normal, inclusive, ethnically homogeneous and authentic society.

This traditional way of introducing the society has only got one side that can be legitimized; its other realities, many of which support it, are fictitiously placed out of the society. Our hypothesis is that a continuum is established between the underground society and the one that can be legitimized. The social speech has, in our concept, two classic attributes (M. Weber, 1922) the coertion and the legitimization, in the latter the arguments expressed justify the action of coercion for the dominant person as well as for the dominated one. This general relief has, of course, polar situations that could clearly be differentiated at its extreme moments, but they are only moments and actors and individuals can migrate from one level to the other, from violence to legitimization. In economy it is not historically possible to separate in the systems the accumulation called original, where violence and theft to obtain the capital prevail (K. Marx, 1885; Z. Bauman, 1999), since accumulation is maintained with clandestine economy, corruption and the illegal making of commercial profits.

How does this "moebious approach" benefit us? In not repeating the simplicity of the solidary society as a single level of analysis, the society expresses itself with a combination of networks of participation, and at the same time and imbricated, with a network of social domination. That is why talking of social cohesion would refer to an idyllic image that is always present in any background of the social thought. We could actually agree with Bauman's statement on that an ethical principle rules the human culture regarding the responsibility proper of every individual in the presence of another. But at the same time we state that the capacity of dominance over

the other takes place permanently, this dialectic and paradoxical pair seems to appear in the micro and macro social levels.

The institutions are the other relevant dimensions to the analysis. In fact, over the last three decades, the current state construction has been destroying the institutions which marked the Welfare State. These centralized institutions, universal and urban are turned into reduced fragmentary institutions placed in the so-called "quangotization" of the public services and agendas. Even though these changes led to a reduction of the public apparatus and the management processes of privatization and auditing can be seen in these changes, their internal mechanisms still keep the old machines to process the social factor. Even its internal actors, the officials, professionals, technicians, operators and volunteers, neither manage to redesign the global change that happens together with the new formations of the State, nor to attack the social problems which go beyond them such as poverty, crime, diseases, drug addiction and violence. The institutions work eclectically, in the same way as the social thought, as if the auditing object could be separated in black and white. The social objects are logically unreachable, they repeat, they spread.

Thus, our complementary hypothesis is that the state public institutions do not prevent the large social processes of exclusion: in many cases they reproduce them, and in others they intensify them. This regards not to abstract institutions but to mechanic processes (Gaudemar), technologies, speeches and practical actions (N. Rose, 1996, 1997).

These changes in the specificity of the Latin American and Argentine cases in particular, go faster as the state actions, along these three decades, go from the Keynesian point of view to the neoliberal one. The capital, the

market, the indebtedness appear with "magic" attributes, (A. Ferrer, 2001), in fact more than representing economic investment, an investment in financial capitals with public indebtedness is produced. This is what democratic governments had to afford after the dictatorships[ii]. The Argentine external debt implies divisions that reach the 11,000 million dollars per year to pay interest and makes it impossible any possibility of domestic change that may help to revert this situation of vicious circle: no social protection – destabilization – higher interests due to the increase of country risk- re indebtedness.

This macro social circuit, embedded into the process of des-industrialization and reduction of the domestic market leads, as stated, to a process of structural unemployment and loss of salaries (R. Castel, 1997; A. Gorz, 1998). If this trend worsens the social cohesion, as understood up to the present, is broken up. If we consider that the public indebtedness will rise for these societies and that a floating population appears, these populations will demand the democratic states the fulfillment of the programmes of subsidies or social employment. This economic circuit imbricates with the social circuit, and thus there is a growth of the political dependency of the financial capitals, which undermine the society from the employment based on the domestic market, grows.

On the other hand there is a contradiction in the institutional state passage from the disciplinary society to the control society. Obviously, not only as a global phenomenon in developing countries (L. Wacquant, 2000,2001; P. Rosanvallon, 1995). As the process of unemployment destroys the included social classes, detachment of the labour classes is produced (low and medium levels) and as a result they start to circulate due to the illegal social

twisting as a way of surviving (beggars, prostitution, the illegal sale of drugs, tax evasion, illegal commerce, expropriation of land, houses, etc.). In parallel fragments of these "underclass" sectors demonstrate demanding state health care such as food and subsidy programmes, from which cohesion and clientelism increase. The State defines the black twisting, supposedly invisible, as an aim to be destroyed coercively, repression consolidates and more money is spent on building new jails and on new emergency programmes.

Thus the Third Summit of the Americas and its opposed the Second People's Summit of the Americas show different twisting of that social reality.

In what follows we are going to develop the analysis through chronicles starting from different observations and discursive tracks which allow in this passage, as in a gallery, to observe the different faces of a polyhedron, where institutions play a reproductive role, where actors play a game of truth in the making of the societal and the social exclusion.

The gallery of stories build an explanatory polyhedron, the sides of which, though different, are linked to each other and reflected on each other. In this network the institutions knit the marginal sociability and they keep it up. It is more than a reproduction and an enlargement, it is a manufacturing and a self-reproduction which requires a method, a method, now opaque due to the formal society.

3. ANALITIC DEVELOPMENT

3.1.   In the neighbourhood

Story I

"Ay, the other day I saw such a terrible scene … a woman who was a widow, a widow or her husband was missing, the thing is that she was the only person left in her family, one of her sons had been killed, something common in here, and she tells me; "ay sister look", she showed me a photograph of her three little sons, big innocent eyes … you see those little kids and it hurts and you wonder what will happen tomorrow, and (the mother says) "I dreamt the best for these three kids, so when they were little I had to take two or three jobs and to travel so much that they were mostly alone and they were one, two and three years old, so I've as got a very good neighbour and she looked after them but I always returned home crawling of tiredness, after working and travelling all day long, I arrived home and tried to … I made them have a bath, I talked to them , but they would have also been playing somewhere, they were tired, really tired, but even so, everything went on, at night, I fed them with the little I earned, but there came a time when the neighbour could not look after them, they were nearly adolescents, they were ten, eleven and twelve, they start to be … so one day I realized they were part of a gang, how much I suffered! In short (she says) I discovered that one of them was armed, consume drugs, and I wish I hadn't been born!!!! …, And what do you want me to do? - She says – he was killed in a fight, he died. The other was also in the fight and was hurt in the marrow he was paralytic, he was in a wheel chair, he went in the wheel chair to the last fight, and he also died, that is the second one. And then so as to cheer her up I say: and the third one (she answers) No, the third one is still as bright, and what is he like (I ask) (she answers) he seems to behave very well, but he is in jail, in Olmos, because it seems he was also like his brothers, and so I tell her: surely, if he has had good behaviour, he will be released soon, (she tells me) ay sister, don't even say

so! My everyday pray is for him not to be released, because if he is he will be killed as soon as he gets out … and she says: - look what my three kids have become – and she cried, and she cried..." (Hermana del Sagrado Corazón, Núcleo Urbano Segregado, Barrio: "Carlos Gardel, Provinicia de Buenos Aires ").[iii] (Sister of the "Sagrado Corazon"; congregation "Nucleo Urbano Segregado"; Neighbourhood: Carlos Gardel, province of Buenos Aires).

This touching story can be understood in a multifaceted way: for the abandonment, for the subjective impossibility of containing so much suffering, for the tragic trap (F. Ulloa, 1995) of the case. However, we will stop in two basic aspects, according to our conceptual framework.

First of all we will see that delinquency among young people is closely related to the processes of "making a guetto". The neighbourhood of buildings Gardel", as others of similar characteristics were created to eradicate the so-called shantytowns in the late '60s. As part of relocating policies of indigent urban and extremely poor populations people got relocated in the newly planned neighbourhoods. The des-industralization and the defective social policies have not prevented the process of social and economic segregation of these populations. In the '90s due to a growth of the des-industrialization and of the unemployment in the industrial cordons of the city, an acceleration of the processes of exclusion is registered.

The marginality several outstanding notes: the public institutions only manage to look after the necessities in segments, the school, the church, the job outside, among these segments there appear empty spaces. It is in these spaces where other circuits of social accumulation, which are not handy for the institutions, are produced.

The second conclusion extracted from the first story is conceptual. As from Michel Foucault (1775) the studies have gone in depth into the consequences of the institutional development and the technologies of the power of the jail, the factory, the school, the church, and the consequences they have had to conform an idea of disciplinary society. Other neofoulcautian authors (N. Rose, 1996,1997; P. de Marinis, 1999) have gone in depth into these conceptions moving forward to define the new technologies of the state power and the construction of a society of control (G. Deleuze, 1995) and the risks (R. Castel, 1986). However, our observation is blended with other elements, on one hand a society of control codified and computerized (S. Murillo, 1999) and on the other hand a strong growth of the repressive control is seen (Z. Bauman, 1999; L. Wacquant, 2000).

This analysis as from the most spread conception of Foucault tends to strengthen the look of the state, the social look from the panoptic, as other authors have already marked, in the '90s, there appear mixed and private ways of vigilance, private guards, shut up neighbourhoods, electronic controllers, satellite controllers, etc. The state vigilance is in fragments. Even so the theory on panoptical observation would be supported because the ones who hold the political and economic power would have the means for observation and reticular vigilance. According to this theory the person being watched should, at the same time, resist.

In addition our research has proved different questions in the functions of this State of abandonment and control.

On the one hand abandonment means that populations in which poverty increases can no reach the private services. As universalization disappears, identification becomes expensive in two senses, the citizen, who becomes a consumer, must pay for documentation. In this way documentation of the personal identity becomes e resource difficult to reach for the large stratums of the population. On the other hand the institutional searching of indigent people is opposed to the foulcautian assumption, part of this population claims to become visible instead of escaping from the State, they demand the authorities to watch them.

The last social movements of protest, which regrettably count with many dead people, use this resource of visibility as "

[people who demonstrates against the government] and they block the main roads and routes of the urban areas. What these neighbouring sectors, composed mostly by unemployed people, mainly demand is public plans ("Planes Trabajar" and the like) which give bags with food and grants of 160 American dollars a months for periods not exceeding six months. All these subsidies do not manage to cover the basic food basket for an average family. Visibility and reductions in the demand are two of the outstanding features of this confrontation. In this sense the fragment of the excluded resist social and public invisibility.

In the first story, the mother prays for his son, the only one who is alive, to continue in the strict prison for adults, about 50 km from her house. Other stories agree to some extent that many parents prefer the institutions to look after their children since they are impotent to face their survival. At the same time the familiar circulation of the poor sectors with the penitentiary institutions has a neutralized destiny. This darkened world in the public vision joins the

daily routine of the Segregated Urban Nucleus, seized in this process of "guetification" with a provoked internal and external violence and with aberrant living conditions.

3.2. At school

Story II

A day at "Escuela Media N° 7" [a secondary school]. The headmaster suggests thinking about communication and violence in and out of school. The pose about the subject of violence starts like this. Headmaster: *- as everybody knows, this boy died last week, in a very violent incident, in unfair circumstances … they boys felt very bad, aggressive, they were very violent to me. The same happened in first year the same because this boy's girlfriend is in that course and she comes … but she writes on the walls to relieve her suffering. That's why I think that even though I had to change the class subject matter, it was useful to talk about violence, somehow, we won…*

A teacher suggests thinking about the meaning of the word adolescence, and then she says: *- the children have a cryptic language we can not understand at all because the codes are constantly changed. There is a permanent search for identity and self-esteem and any action which helps to enlarge this self-esteem creates a very special link with the children. Not taking into account the social factor and that they are marginal children which is the most important.*

Collective whispering that divides the teachers into different groups. The voices that make themselves heard pose that being marginal because one is in the edge of society should not be mistaken being in the marginality, such a as being a criminal.

Other teachers say: - *I think that the children who feel excluded from society and the group of teachers does not belong to the community.*

- When you talk with them about certain subjects such as delinquency and you tell them that you do not judge them, they become more open, they tell you their stories and you are able to reach them and create a link.

- They do not feel marginal, they are marginal.

- This area is on the edge and can be felt.

The headmaster comments on their visit to the "Feria de las Universidades" [a fair of universities] – *when we arrived we did not have enough money for the tickets, so I went to the ticket office and say: "can we get a discount for the guys? they are poor, we come from a neighbourhood in Ciudadela". And they asked me "Which one, Fuerte Apache?". They let us in, but there was a person with us all the time, when we left they congratulated us on their good behaviour.*

Because the subject matter of the dead child, there appears again: *the day of the funeral she told me: "after this that happened I have nothing to live for" (Amelia, the dead boy's girlfriend). Because I don't know whether everybody knows that this child escaped from school fifteen days ago. When he comes back I call him to ask him what had happened and he tells me "my girlfriend wasn't feeling very well, that's why she is absent, somebody told me and I went to visit her, because she is pregnant and it seemed she had lost her baby and it was. We made good use of the opportunity and we asked them because if they did not do well what they were doing and they were careful and I was astonished, because he told that was safe sex, I think they had planned it, it was not an accident.*

- It happened on Monday (the murder), on Tuesday we closed because we were in mourning and on Wednesday she had rejoined, I was surprised to see her, I didn't know how to talk to her. She was writing on the blackboard while I was teaching: "Negro, I will never forget you", I let her do so and then I went to her and I told her "It is so good you had come"; "Yes, because it is here where I've got everything". That day (the day of the murder) they had been like "wet chicks" walking around us, because this was an unfair death.

Teacher: - I work at a school round the corner, and the students are shocked and they tell me: the day we are called by our names we won't turned round, because they called Diego and when he turned round they killed him. So we are afraid they call us by our names and then they kill us."

Another teacher: yet on Monday the students tell - us - the answer to the injustice happened to Diego. In my class I asked if somebody knew who had killed him, and they told me: "we even know his face", but they won't talk.

Teacher: - it is said there were older people who were not adolescents and who didn't belong to the neighbourhood, my students said: "there were older people and they didn't belong here and they came to kill Diego". It may sound hard what I'm going to say but we should talk about life value, because I've been hearing of death for four years, but this time it was their turn and they suffer because it is somebody of theirs, we should made them see.

Another teacher: - yes, because this is an unfair death. When George's case, everybody knew what he was at … (the team asked what he was at). Well, he started taking drugs two years ago but he didn't let the other students to do so, he killed himself with his gun, but everybody knew they would come over it, but Diego had been mistaken with another person. (Record on the "Jornadas de Perfeccionamiento" [workshops for teacher's at schools],

"Escuela Media N° 7", neighbourhood "Ejercito Argentino de Los Andes, province of Buenos Aires, Nucleo Urbano Segregado: "Fuerte Apache", June 2001)[iv].

Many conclusions could be inferred from this second story. The school is overflowed, the social invaded the school. This school belongs to a Segregated Urban Nucleus popularly known as Fuerte Apache. With a similar story to that of the Carlos Gardel district, there is a population of about 60,000 inhabitants in the building structures. This nucleus has, symbolically and architectonically, isolated itself and its social intercross suffer a fence of stigmatization of its inhabitants who can not say who they are out of the neighbourhood, since in the social mind people who live here are criminals.

This social construction can be seen in the story and agrees with the attributes Bauman points out in the social engineering of the *holocaust:* moral differentiation, distancing and neutralisation of the bureaucratic method. It is clear that the school does not cause the boy's death, but as an institution cannot foresee, not even participate in this in this culture of mortification. The individual children cannot evade the culture of exclusion and survive the following lines which come from the world of adults.

In the world of the formal violence (police), underground (black market, smuggling of weapons, drugs, bodies), self-aggression (children and young adults suicides) is naturalized everyday, it is introduced as an inexorable scenario. The workers who become excluded do not transmit a labour culture but a culture which expresses the visible and invisible twisting of the system. The school bound to discipline, to train, to teach to read and write is cut short opposite to death, crime, pregnant little girls, double life.

A code of naturalization and silence is installed in the neighbourhood, surviving demands being silent, the children may recognise the attacker but they cannot talk. The school gets insufficient in the same way as the health, the police, the politicians. The Taylorist ways of dividing the individual produce emptiness in the institutions, that emptiness percolates in the life of those children who are into this social complexity. Children, disabled, women and the elderly conform the marginality into the marginality.

The school cannot assign a theme to the emptiness it faces and it moves the actors. The teachers are trapped into their bureaucratic teachings. All the institutions in isolation seem to fulfil the finished role of the, in other times, inclusive society, where every institution could work its segment because the factory, the family, the neighbourhood, the hospital were in charge of the other segment. Besides the taylorist school was prepared to work in the society the visible twisting where being underground could be ignored or treated as a social pathology or abnormality.

3.3. At the Hospital

Story III

Psychiatrist: *sorry the door of the auditorium was not opened before (the participants had to wait standing in the corridor for ½ an hour), we've been coming for two years and they (the responsible for the hospital) still don't learn that we meet here every fifteen days, it makes me really angry.*

After some exchange, several of those present complain because they had to wait for more than three hours to be given their medicine, one for instance goes with somebody not to lose one's temper *(I become nervous, impatient)* while waiting to leave at times without the medicine. Afterwards there are new

exchanges, after a while Guillermina, who came with her boyfriend this time, participates.

Guillermina: Maira (my daughter) hits me and her wearing, breaking or mudding my clothes when she rides her bicycle makes me angry, I don't want her to wear my clothes.

Psychiatrist: and who are you?

Boyfriend: I'm her boyfriend, I came to accompany her, to see she was quiet me.

G.. My "tatas"(parents) tell me I'm mad, I've made a big effort to overcome the situation and I'm not mad. They tell me you are mad we are going to send you to hospital. (Also) they are for Maira, the other day I slapped her on the face because she answered me back and then they (my parents) believed her who said anything but the truth.

Something creaking can be heard, a patient falls off her chair noisily, the chair (made of plastic) does not resist the weight, several of those present and the therapists have taken the precaution of sitting on two assembled chairs.

G.: My olds get angry because I smoke, they don't want me to smoke.

Another participant: smoke somewhere else, in another room, in the patio, at the door.

G.: they don't let me out after eight.

Psychiatrist: (question mark)

G.: It's an ugly neighbourhood.

Another participant: yes, it is a really dangerous neighbourhood.

G.: No, but I start to throw up and my dad becomes good. I throw up and he pays attention to me.

Psychiatrist: (to the boyfriend) Could you live with her?

Boyfriend: Yes, but I'm unemployed

Guillermina: (gestures and words can tell she is affected). My brother- in- law is in hospital, he has a shot in the chest, he is in Moreno.

Psychiatrist: You have never told you had brothers.

G.: Marcelo (my husband) was killed with a stab in the heart, when he was 24 and I was expecting Maira, were about to come to an agreement, he had come to see me to come to an agreement, then he was killed.

Boyfriend: she is very sensitive.

Psychiatrist.: I'm surprised at the way you say so.

G.: Smiles

Roxana (other patient). She makes me laugh, I understand her a lot. I'm an angel.

G.: I'm a good girl, you can not complain, I take care, I go shopping, I work in the store, I carry the carafes.

Roxana's mother (just behind her pointing out that Roxana is carrying a baby in her arms): …When she learnt she was pregnant she wanted to commit suicide by cutting her veins with a "Gillette" blade.

There follows a sequence between the therapist, Roxana and her mother to commit he, Roxana becomes very calm and finally they agree not commit her and besides to treat her in an individual appointment.

Psychiatrist: (looking at Guillermina).

G.: Yes, six, we were eight.

Psychiatrist: What happened to them?

G.: The girl become ill, and the train run over the other two.

Psychiatrist: How were they run over by the train?

Guillermina: They were selling brooms and the trains run over them.

....

Psychiatrist: this will explode soon, we want your parents to come to the appointment, you (the boyfriend) can help so as we can help so as we can talk to them.

("Dispositivo de Grupo de Medicación" [Treatment Group Device), Paroissien Hospital, La Matanza, Province of Buenos Aires, Observation, August de 1999)[v].

This is a Mental Health service in a hospital in the suburbs of Buenos Aires, one of the districts more affected by poverty and unemployment. In the general hospital the mental health in the spaces is dealt with, as described in the previous story, as a community assembly, which meets every fifteen days, and in which the patients have suffered from a psychotic outbreak go to fetch their medicine. The learning is multiple. The well-known lack of understanding of mental suffering in the institution, again the panoptic which is horded and the violence of the social above all.

Once again, on this side of the institutional polyhedron, the hospital is impotent. It can supply medicine, as it could be seen it can attack the symptom and give a diagnosis, but unfortunately it can take part in it. Its own instrumental definition   is detained when facing the social issue and the creation of the culture of violence.

3.4 In the prison

Story IV

"Mary Ignacia: And what did you do for a living?

Alfredo: I robbed and stole, I robbed anything, houses but no many, Federico did so, factories, shops, companies, things were doing well, I always carried a gun with me.

M. Ignacia: were you in any confrontation, any shooting?

Alfredo: Yes, and two who would go out with me were killed, one in Olivos and the other on the coast. This Federico in February'98, but I was in prison. I was never there. The people I was with were older, older than this Federico who helped me meet older people, and they introduced me to even older people. What I think now is that I was young, underage, and they saw I went wherever they told me to, so I become known and older guys came to me, I did it while I was between 13 and 16 and I had everything, I had a motorbike, a car, I went to Bariloche, Rosario, I also liked going out, when we met girls with Federico we went here and there. I went to Uruguay, then Federico had an accident, he had stolen a motorbike, he crashes and he is ejected a block, or a least half a block. Now he was not my sister's boyfriend any longer, they had already split up but they still saw each other. In the accident his knee is broken in thousand parts, he was in hospital for a month and when he went out he couldn't continue with the robberies because he had to wear crutches. So I spent more time with the older guys. We rented a hotel room for him and, he had everything as if he still robbed but he didn't do anything.

We never robbed in the neighbourhood. In the neighbourhood everybody knew who we were but nobody could touch us, we had made some agreements. The second time I was arrested was in San Isidro, because they caught me with fake car. I had a car, a motorbike, if only had I been a bit more intelligent, more adult, had thought more, but I was young and I liked going out … during the first month I spent I spent everything that had left, I spent $15,0000 during the first month. I was in jail for a whole month. Three of us were arrested. The elder were there a couple of months. But we had a lawyer who solved everything, she arranged with the court. We suppose

4,000, let's say 5,000, we are arrested, we give the lawyer the 5,000 and a car, well, the elder were the ones who did so, and when they arranged I arranged too, that's way wasn't never in too long.

I. What happened to the rest of the group?

A. All of us were arrested. The elder and I in this case, the elder are released two years later, one dismissed and the other because the was not enough evidence against him. I continue in prison because I commit homicide. Other three are arrested and other two of the ones who were with us. The other two were murdered. Federico and the other were also murdered. There is one who is the same cause, Nazareno, who was released after two years, I was told he bought a motorbike, a car, everything. He went on stealing, he sent me some things y then nothing else was known about him. So he is either dead or in prison, but he is neither in Magdalena nor in Olmos. In the only place he may be is in Sierra Chica where there is nobody of us.

I. Are you still in touch with them?

A. No, not as much as before, now I've got a partner in the street, and it's enough with him, he is like my brother, the only thing I want now is to be free. This guy who is in the street was with me in one of the groups, I'm not going to tell you his name, the others are either in prison or dead. He came to visit me once, he steals but there is no pending cause against him, he is clean, he is my brother. But now what I want is to be free. (Interviews carried out by María Ignacia Costa e Inés Campos, "Instituto de Seguridad de Menores" [Security Institution for Minors], Federal Capital, May 2001)[vi].

The prison is a total inside, not only in the classic sense of Goffman (1992) but also in the sense of the circulation in the exclusion. It is true that the dominance of the biopolitic of the control of the bodies is fulfilled, but in

addition the floating, circulating and productive population is manufactured (R. Castel, 1991). If the parties, which participate, police, invigilators, judges, therapists, officials, are analysed what we noticed about the large job division and about the internal divisions can be observed. The essential, the exclusion, stays in the emptiness. The young adults interlink the plan of circulation and fragmentation and the desire of consumption.

A dividing line cannot be established in the story, the defence of a minor not legally attributable costs thousands of dollars. The story is regular, it has a thought method, a confined child would say everything is a follow-up, I follow, I am being followed, I follow. It is a circulation rhythm of fluency in the tutorial system and then in the penal system. "To be free" and to go back to the circuit is part of this productive formation in the subterranean torsion. Political legitimacy, the method, subtracts the child subject, it takes him/her out of the circuit and temporarily confines him/her for being a murderer. The subject of the story is strange to the society, to the social transformation these people of the working class suffer from.

3.5 In the Minor's Court
Story V

"Attorney at law, Court's clerk: I do not know what to do with this case, I brought it so that we could discuss about it. (While she is talking, a pile of papers bundled with a light-blue cardboard can be seen; the pile of papers is so high that she writhes, finally she picks it up and puts it on the desk). (She points to the pile of papers) This is Federico. Federico is 14 years old now. He has 9 brothers, his father, an alcoholic and violent man with criminal record, abandoned them. Federico perpetrated a robbery being armed with a knife. He has been being confined in high restraint security institutions since the age of ten, he has been confined 9 times and he has escaped 9 times

successively, several courts have understood in the case. Psychological reports state: progressive and emphasised deterioration of the minor, physical as well as psychological, and he evidences aggressive behaviour against himself and against others. He also shows rebelliousness and resistance to institutional regulations. Diagnosis: Abusive use of toxic substances, antisocial personality; derivation to admission house is advised (November 2000). Often, during these three years he was found wounded, he had accidents, he had a serious accident when he was rolled over by vehicles in the street, and he fell from a roof in a railway station. Nowadays he is illiterate, he did not learn how to read and write nor to add. In his last detention he asked to be confined together with one of his brothers, who is also confined and with very good behaviour… But the institution where his brother is confined does not allow Federico to stay there, they say they can not…give him asylum…" (Court's Secretariat, Minor's Court of the province of Buenos Aires, Observation, May 2001) vii.

In this story the main thing is repetition. Judicial institutions act fragmentarily on him, Federico as well as Alfredo wishes to be free. Free inside the surviving circuit in the exclusion. The dominion network is spread and the accuracy of destiny is fulfilled. Every institution and court "deal with" the case, at best, they state, as in this story, dismay and surprise for the repetition. In most cases it is not a person (Z. Bauman, 1998) who is protected, it is a pile of records, expert's reports, and institutions.

In this case, as in other institutional cases of participation the person is confined before studying social causality, stigmatization, segregation, poverty, unemployment, des-education, familiar crisis, urban violence. What we have not yet said, but what is deduced from this analysis is the fact that institutional

treatments strip the individuals of their social condition because said treatments focus exclusively on individuals. It is here when there appears a clue for institutional understanding in its intervention in the exclusion, it is limited to intervene not collectivized individuals, de-socialising and making them self-liable for their situation (F. Álvarez Uría, 1998).

Not only is the collective factor a cultural deficiency but also an instrumental deficiency. In this way causality chains cannot be intervened because the steps towards inter-sectorial communication are methodologically discarded.

Even the instrument of team interdisciplinary work is scarce or non-existent. The external fragmentation is equivalent to the fragmentation of working processes inside the institutions. A banishment is produced in the abilities of collective creation and investigation. Languages are not made more cryptic, at the same time, they require specialized decoders. The power focuses on this linking method in the institutional "feudalism". This institution continues to be part of the "new technologies" of social programmes focused on and applied to high social risk sectors.

4. *INSTITUTIONAL DEVICES AND EXCLUSION.*

We have conformed a map between global and local issues and, at the same time, we have placed public institutions which played the role of significant mediator as institutions that deal with social issues. Although it has been pointed out that institutions are in a complete process of change as regards decentralisation, privatization and third party services, they continue bureaucratically centralized in the most critical areas of state control and they tend to grow in the areas of guardianship, care and confinement.

At the same time, the withdrawal of universal welfare state services, which agrees with the growing market centralization stressed by regional and continental integration policies, create a disintegration of social classes, characterized by vulnerability and social exclusion in the nineties.

This analysis attempts to promote the discussion on matters which must be studied again such as: a. the polarized division of formal and informal society, b. neutrality of the method used by healthcare and tutelary institutions, c. global and local consumption culture and mortification.

a. In the first place we have pointed out that society is not black and white, but it manifests in the way of moebius tape the twisting of which belong to a same side, being two sides of the same reality. This fact can be proved both socially and subjectively. This model allows us to understand the interactions between the formal society and the supposedly underground society. It is a established game on the social truth which is only guided by legitimacy values and hiding of coercion that underlies in it, due to either the exclusion of the market or to the exclusion of other symbolic capitals.

b. An important chapter of this essay has been devoted to public institutions in which we have attempted to analyse: i. The artificial divisions on which they operate, the forms of violence in reductions at schools, hospitals, and courts; ii. The division of micro and macro institutional work which produces gaps where we can find causality chains of social and labour exclusion; iii. The invisibility of dominance networks; iv. The breaking-off with the social context and the subjects' life stories; v. The persistence of the treatments exclusively on the

symptoms; vi. The repetition and widening of the method failing in the work of social inclusion, specially in its weakest links, the young and the women.

c. In this essay we distinguish the representations which contribute to the reproduction of the exclusion devices, understanding that culture refers to the resources that feed the hegemonic symbolic representations in society. These representations turn out to be transversal to social classes. Among these representative attributes of social thought we distinguish: i. The conception of the social factor in a plain form, without relief, without twisting, with non-interactive polar constructions, which permits fetishism splits between normal and deviated matters, sane and pathological matters, social and anti-social matters; ii. The cultural holding of fragmentary institutional rationality and the prevalence of instrumental rationality, the taylorist conception of social and instrumental issues; iii. The belief that economic growth is linked to the spilling policy and to the automatic distribution of growth when, in fact, it functions the other way round; iv. Cultural formations which impede cultural reflection, in the supposed naturalized case that considers it to be the only representational possibility inaccessible by means of political, social, and institutional instruments, in a social and subjective process of repudiation.

In this sense the Third Summit of the Americas, 2001, Declaration of Quebec City, is considered a plain eclectic social reality: "We reiterate our commitment to combat new, multidimensional threats to the security of our societies. Foremost amongst these threats are the global drug problem and related crimes, the illicit traffic and criminal use of firearms, the growing

danger posed by organized crime and the general problem of violence in our societies. Acknowledging that corruption undermines core democratic values, challenges political stability and economic growth and thus threatens vital interest in our Hemisphere, we pledge to reinvigorate our fight against corruption. We also recognise the need to improve the conditions for human security in the Hemisphere.

We renew our commitment to the full implementation of the Anti Drug Strategy in the Hemisphere, based on the principles of shared responsibility, a comprehensive and balance approach, and multilateral co-operation. We welcome the development of the Multilateral Evaluation Mechanism, unique in the world, one of the central pillars in effective hemispheric co-operation in the struggle against all the factors that constitute the global drug problem..."

Here there appears the cultural significance which legitimates coercion over that factor between decency and criminality, the criminal factor then permits, in a global, hemispheric strategy, a consensus on the use of violence, which legitimated through the establishment of war against what has been previously defined as anti-social, anti-secure, anti-stable. This definition of society ignores any scientific elaboration of the social reality as interconnected construction in which, for example drugs war turns out to be paradigmatic, whereas, an object – the drug- is diabolic and even pathologies as AIDS result in a problem of continental security.

The aforementioned paragraphs are together with the following conclusion of the "Heads of State and Government of the Americas": "Free and open economies, market access, sustained flows of investment, capital formation, financial stability, appropriate public policies, access to technology and human resources development and training are key to reducing poverty and

inequalities, raising living standards and promoting sustainable development... We welcome the significant progress achieved to date toward the establishment of a Free Trade Area the Americas (FTAA)."

With this legitimation the state is the distributor of the resources, the key of social progress, it works on an imaginary scenery where dominance networks and social symmetry disappear, even better, the free continental market dissolve them. Social forces appear hidden, mercantile interchanges solve social conflicts, there comes the government of the economy where the States must not hinder.

A political critic, as a counterpart of this legitimacy on the political, social-continental and economic construction was exposed, also in Quebec, by "The Second People's Summit of the Americas", in which it is expressed: "Since the 1994 Miami Summit, the Heads of State and government have committed themselves to reinforce democracy and human rights, to support education and to reduce poverty in the Americas. For seven years nothing has been done. The only issue that has moved forward, taking advantage of deficit in democracy, is the negotiation of the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA)... Free trade agreements aggravate inequalities between men and women, between countries of the north and countries of the south, and destroy the ecological links between human beings and the environment... Free trade agreements lead to an increasing feminization of poverty and an exacerbation of existing inequalities between men an women... Free trade agreements are accompanied by the militarisation of entire societies through schemes such as Plan Colombia and are also related to arms trafficking."

5. PROPOSAL

The institutions are an essential part of the application of governmental policies, even more, they constitute the power resources and technologies with which social forms are defined, specially the most vulnerable and dependent on the state power. At the same time, as we have already analysed, the State has been transformed by the political and hemispheric economic reality. Therefore, our analysis made through an archaeological methodology attempts to understand the relations between global and local factors, macro and micro factors, and the role of the practice of the institutions, as mediators of the political and economical will in the social transformation. When we say governmental policies, we also mean social practices carried out by institutions and its actors.

As we have already seen, institutional work processes have in common a transversal method socially made invisible and legitimized, however, it does not hinder the method moral responsibility, and said responsibility refers to policies, institutions and to each actor. Therefore, a change can not be thought of without cultural reflection or institutional reflection, because material political architects, administrative clerks, technicians and bureaucrats are the ones who, in their fragmentary and linking practice, embody the social power which controls the social exclusion.

In this sense every actor is able to work in two dimensions, he must work in the repairing of the urgent problem, but, at the same time he must work on important matters, that is to say, create the institutional devices which make the social exclusion process come to a halt. We could call this second dimension the social dimension which should include all participants in

institutional processes, or we could define this new dimension of each operator as its necessary contribution, up and down, in the design of strategic policies.

A critic to the form of processing the new sufferings which generate social break-up – either from governmental or institutional policies or specific interventions - should necessarily be implemented by means of an alternate proposal. In complex terms, the viewpoint which is sought to keep in this study must not impede the approach to an alternative positive thought. Said viewpoint must be understood in relation to the comprehension of the new social sufferings associated with socio -economic changes.

In this sense, the alternative proposal shall have to integrate the different levels (micro, meso and macro) which are implied in every complex thought. In other words, the comprehension of the new forms of exclusion, under a different look and processing, shall be accompanied by a new conception of the current social processes, in terms of change.

From that viewpoint, the challenge implies to generate alternative reflection lines to social segregation. (G. Therborn, 1999).

Gandhian proposals on active non-violence have had several followers, and have influenced on the "popular democracy" and the "ecological policy" with inseparable values which compose a holistic and integrated vision of the problems which must be faced: non-violence, ecology, social justice, feminism. As Petra Kelly (1997) says, a thought and an ecological vision which tends to the elaboration of supporting work and social justice and human, economic, social and individual rights. The guarantee and protection of these rights mean freedom from oppression, dominance and exploitation and, as a consequence, the generation of a wide civil space with active

subjects, with workers having self-organisation potential and, consequently, having the ability to construe collectives.

In other words, the establishment of an alternative policy requires the construction of a socio-political awareness and will of those who are not part of the traditional hegemonic powers (J.R.Capella, 1993).

Reciprocally, the changes at the macro-social level- in the sense referred to in the previous paragraphs- must be linked with transformations in the way the institutions that receive current sufferings operate. From this viewpoint, the first issue to be raised is the linking of two inseparable dimensions: social and individual sufferings. From our point of view, it is here where we focus the essence of dilemmas which refers to interventions in the institutional field: on the one hand, the discursive recognition of the social aspects of the suffering of the social segregation and at the same time, on the other hand, its negation and, therefore its incomprehension, in the instrumental and reduction practice. The consequences are well known: one-disciplinary interventions, fragmented work processes centralized on the attention to the immediate causes of suffering.

The thought alternatives referred to in the macro-social level imply the consideration of the social dimensions of subjectivity and sociability. Exclusive focusing on the attention to the suffering, abnormality, illegality in terms of "individual" object, strengthens privatization of conflicts, in accordance with individualist values which represent neo-liberal thoughts, in detriment of elements that make up sociability: Collective claim, recovery of class identity, socialization of suffering

An innovation of this kind requires a complex thought and a trans-disciplinary practice. The understanding of the new forms of exclusion which

cover the different levels before-mentioned, implies the disciplinary convergence in various fields: epistemological (concerning knowledge), theoretical (explanation framework), and practical (way of intervention).

According to this viewpoint, the inter-disciplinary social, legal, scholar and therapeutic devises would cover the enlargement of languages, a collective production of knowledge with distribution of said knowledge and integration of different social actors and a process of horizontal work. Therefore, we highlight some of the determining features of inter-disciplinary practice such as: the construction of complex objects, the discussion of the common conceptual frame, the process of multi-disciplinary and inter-sectorial teamwork, and the interaction in the diversity of speeches.

The social sufferings referred to in this paper are as follows: stigmatization, segregation, social violence, survival in illegality, codes of silence, no future, struggle for positioning…. These sufferings are hardly apprehended in all their complexity if we dispense with a complex vision and an interdisciplinary practice whenever they are dealt with.

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7. Notes

[i] Professor and researcher of the University of Buenos Aires, Argentina. The contents of this article are part of the material of a research he conducts: UBACYT S008 Project: "Social Exclusion and New Sufferings: The Praxis from Interdisciplinary Intervention Devices", Gino Germani Institute, School of Social Sciences, University of Buenos Aires.

[ii] "At the beginning of 1976 every Argentine had an external debt of U$S 320; at the end 1983 when the military government was over each inhabitant had a debt of U$S 1500, in other words the debt rose sharply from 8,000 to 45,000 million, by the end of the year 2000 has a debt of U$S 3,8000 and the amount of the external debt is now 147,667 million dollars", "Consejo Profesional de Graduados en Trabajo Social" [Professional Board of Graduates in Social Work], Buenos Aires.

[iii] Interview carried out by Karina Nieto, student of the Course of Sociology, School of Social Sciences, University of Buenos Aires, 2000 (UBACYT S008 research).

[iv] Observation by Roxana Crudi, idem note iii.

[v] Personal observation.

[vi] Interview carried out by María Ignacia Costa and Inés Haedo, holder of a scholarship and researcher in the project UBACYT S008.