

Between prescribed work and real work: compensatory hyper acting as an expansive role of intervening professionals of the Familias program in Chile

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Abstract

In this paper, I present some of the research findings on the agency's role in the social intervention of the Familias program, a state initiative aimed at overcoming poverty in Chile. Guided by the principles of the grounded theory method, I present results from semi-structured interviews carried out with professionals¹ of social science regarding the social intervention they develop.

Between methodological tensions, the characteristic bureaucracy of the state measure, and the distance between prescribed work and actual work, the role of professionals seems to be fundamental for the expansion of individual capacities and neoliberal strategy for overcoming poverty. In this sense, I maintain that professionals of the Familias program embody compensatory hyper actors; a concept inspired by studies on individuals and agencies developed in Chile in recent years

Keywords: Social program; Social intervention; Agency; Hyperacting; Social policies; Poverty.

¹ In this document, the term “professionals” is used in an inclusive sense to refer to all people, regardless of gender. This linguistic choice seeks to avoid repetition and the binary gender structure, focusing on function and not on the gender identity of individuals.

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Entre trabajo prescrito y trabajo real: la hiperactuación compensatoria como rol expansivo de profesionales interventores del programa Familias en Chile

Resumen

En este trabajo expongo parte de los hallazgos de una investigación sobre el papel que juega la agencia en la intervención social del programa Familias, una iniciativa estatal destinada a la superación de la pobreza en Chile. Guiada por los principios del método teoría fundamentada, presento resultados provenientes de entrevistas semiestructuradas realizadas a profesionales de las ciencias sociales respecto de la intervención social que desarrollan.

Entre tensiones metodológicas, la burocracia característica de la medida estatal y la distancia entre el trabajo prescrito y el trabajo real, el rol de profesionales pareciese ser fundamental para la expansión de las capacidades individuales, estrategia neoliberal característica para la superación de la pobreza. En este sentido, sostengo que profesionales del programa Familias encarnan hiperactores compensatorios; concepto inspirado en los estudios sobre individuo y agencia desarrollados en Chile en los últimos años.

Palabras clave: Programa social; Intervención social; Agencia; Hiperactuación; Políticas sociales; Pobreza.

Summary: 1. Introduction, 2. Methodology, 3. Findings, 3.1 Methodological tensions and intervention resistance, 3.2 Prescribed work and actual work, 3.3 Compensatory hyper-acting as an expansive role, 4. Conclusions, 5. Bibliographic references.

1. Introduction

Adopting the import substitution model to the free-market policies introduced by the civil-military dictatorship illustrates the historical fluctuations in Chile's economic policies and their impact on society. Despite initial challenges, such as rising post-coup poverty, successive governments have attempted to rectify the course through targeted programs and social assistance. Democracy revitalized these efforts by establishing initiatives such as the Social Solidarity and Investment Fund (FOSIS) and Chile Solidario, ushering in an era of more inclusive social policies.

This brought about the implementation of Conditional Monetary Transfer Programs (PTMC), which reflect a more integrative social policy approach, but not without criticism. Although these programs seek to combat poverty by combining economic aid with health and education requirements, they have been questioned for promoting an individualistic vision of overcoming poverty (Cena & Chahbenderian, 2015; Molyneux, 2006). By focusing on individual responsibility without addressing the structural causes that perpetuate it, PTMC may limit its long-term effectiveness, thereby maintaining specific structures of inequality rather than radically transforming them.

With the new millennium, social protection measures were intensified, pointing towards universal access to essential goods and services and recognizing the importance of psychosocial support for families in extreme poverty. This more sophisticated strategy sought to alleviate poverty in the short term and enhance people's ability to integrate into society fully. Recent challenges, such as demands for equity unleashed by social protests and the devastating effects of the pandemic, have tested the resilience of these policies and prompted immediate government responses, such as emergency measures and increased transfers of funds. Income.

Social policy and neoliberalism

In the context of welfare economics and public choice, which emphasize objectivity and impartiality, the individual social approach has been prioritized over collective commitment. This perspective has allowed neoliberalism to present itself as the only solution to confront the consequences of the crisis of the 1970s and revitalize the global dynamics of capitalism. According to Esping-Andersen (1990), the reforms profoundly transformed social policy, taking the welfare state from a broad perspective to a residual one. This new orientation focused public action on impoverished people, making them responsible for their well-being.

Although neoliberalism had previously been eclipsed by Keynesian wealth redistribution strategies, which justified more significant state intervention, it found a favorable context for its resurgence. With this, government functions were aligned with market performance and

efficiency principles. De Soto (2000) and Huerta-De Soto (2005) point out that long-term policies began to focus on raising human capital to improve market integration. This approach was considered essential to access development opportunities. Under the premise that economic growth generates these opportunities, the role of the State and social policies has been redefined towards a more focused function, aiming to subsidize what the individual cannot achieve on their own.

In the Chilean case, social policies were historically organized around the labor market (Satriano, 2006); evidence of the above is the first labor and social legislation framed in confronting the social issue, all contextualized at the beginning of the century. XX (Mardones-Barrera *et al.*, 2016). Only in the 1960s were people in poverty considered marginalized by the State (Larrañaga, 2013). In this period, the National Planning Office (ODEPLAN) was created, and with this, the foundations of what we know today as the Ministry of Social Development and Family were laid. Different strategies begin to be created to overcome poverty, highlighting the PTMC. At the same time, instruments such as the Socioeconomic Qualification Form (CAS) and the current Social Registry of Households (RSH) are developed, which are essential for targeting the beneficiary population.

4 The text by Bivort-Urrutia (2005) examines the Puente program, the first version of the Familias program, created to integrate families in extreme poverty into social networks, emphasizing the promotion of agency and citizenship with (same objectives 20 years earlier). Based on its objectives, the results indicate that the program could have effectively established a relationship between poverty, agency, citizenship, and insertion in community networks as strategies to overcome poverty. The study suggests that the program is perceived mainly as assistance without achieving an intervention that significantly enhances self-management or the empowerment of people. It is emphasized that although some tools are provided to navigate the state services system, such as completing procedures, the predominant perception among its participants is that material support is the main benefit, with less recognition of the development of non-material capabilities such as personal skills or more incredible insertion into social and community networks.

Various ways of understanding poverty permeate the above; as Narayan (2000) maintains, the concept has different meanings that vary depending on its approach, a phenomenon that changes depending on gender, age, culture, or social and economic factors. In this sense, we can find perspectives that understand it as an issue of income (Keeley, 2018), of unmet needs (Fresneda, 2007), or as a multidimensional state that goes beyond individual suffering (Denis *et al.*, 2010).

Yopo-Díaz *et al.* (2012) affirm that the progressive transformations of social policies in Latin America have given the individuals a central position, highlighting their quality as agents in the processes to overcome poverty and development, all due to their incipient and increasingly more

advanced participation in decision-making processes. Yopo-Díaz *et al.* (2012) identify that from the 1990s onwards, structural changes have been linked to the conception and design of social policies, evidencing a significant change in the relationship that the State has acquired with society. Added to the above is what was pointed out by Vega-Fernández (2007), who also highlights that at the basis of the design of social policies is the concern for the individual, considering him as an agent and engine of development, it is also identified that the authentic Freedom is the Freedom of opportunities for all and that improving these opportunities is the key to eradicating poverty.

Along the same lines, Wilkis and Hornes (2017) refer to the relationship between individualism and PTMC, highlighting how they influence personal autonomy and individual responsibility within family dynamics. Evidently, these programs seek to alleviate poverty and model economic behaviors and decisions, embedding specific values and ethics of self-improvement and financial management in participating families. This critical approach suggests that PTMC may reinforce certain forms of individualism by promoting the idea that economic well-being is primarily a personal responsibility.

In this sense, by integrating the perspectives of Esping-Andersen (1990), De Soto (2000), Huerta-De Soto (2005), Yopo-Díaz *et al.* (2012), and Vega-Fernández (2007), it is evident that social policies aimed at overcoming poverty reflect a neoliberal model that emphasizes strategies at the individual level. This approach establishes a framework where personal responsibility for economic well-being is promoted and resonates with the concept of governmentality proposed by Foucault (2008) and developed by Rose (1990). Governmentality, as a strategy of power, extends beyond state institutions to regulate and shape the behavior of populations through the creation of knowledge, the formation of identities, and the implementation of norms, thus underscoring the influence of power in the configuration of individual and collective behaviors under a neoliberal prism.

Rose (1990) describes how government goes beyond state institutions, using explicit and implicit techniques to shape human behavior, thus arguing that modern government creates self-managing individuals, encouraged by social norms to see their well-being and destiny as personal responsibility. She emphasizes the role of psychology in categorizing and regulating people and also explores biopolitics, which is about power over bodies and lives. In this sense, the work of León-Corona (2011) clearly states what was stated in the previous paragraphs:

Governing is then the practice or practices that allow structuring the sphere(s) of action of those who are the object of the messages issued by power, which is not unique and is manifested in the capacity of some individuals to 'govern and direct behavior'. Of others. (p. 8)

Recent research on social policies, such as the Familias program, analyzes their capacity to model social behavior and reconfigure the relationship between public administration and society. Arenas-Hernández and Alzate-Pérez (2019) argue that these policies should be understood as administrative interventions and state strategies that shape social reality and reevaluate existing power structures. In parallel, by applying Actor-Network Theory, Fuica-Rebolledo & Carrasco-Henríquez (2021) examine how the interaction between human and non-human actors, such as technical orientations, decrees, guidelines, guides, and manuals, affects the implementation and effectiveness of said policies. This approach highlights the interdependence of networks of relationships, influencing the governmentality of the State and suggesting that a deeper understanding of these dynamics could optimize the creation and application of public policies, making them more effective and adjusted to the needs of the affected communities.

Agency and individuation

Firstly, we can understand agency as explaining autonomous human functioning (Alkire, 2008; Archer, 1995; Sen, 1985; 1999) since it implies that humans can act and think for themselves to self-determine and self-regulate (Bandura, 1997). Regarding definitions, Sen (1985) describes it as the ability to define one's own goals autonomously and to act based on them, as "what a person is free to do and achieve in pursuit of the goals or values that he or she or she considers important" (p. 203).

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For Giddens (1997), agency refers to the capacity of individuals to act and make conscious decisions that influence their own lives and the society in which they live. In this case, the agency is related to free will and the ability of social actors to exercise a certain degree of control and choice in their actions within the structural limits provided by social institutions and norms. Furthermore, Sewell (2005) emphasizes that agency should not be understood simply as the individual's ability to make decisions. However, it should also be influenced by the social structures and historical forces that frame the options and opportunities available to people.

Narayan and Petesch (2007) describe agency as "the ability of people to act individually or collectively to further their interests" (p. 17). Under this description, the authors propose five dimensions that influence what people are or are not capable of doing: i) material (land, housing, savings); ii) human (health, education, skills); iii) social (social belonging, leadership, sense of identity, beliefs in values that give meaning to life, organizational capacity); iv) politics (ability to achieve rights, represent oneself or others, present demands, access information, form associations, participate in political life); v) psychological (self-esteem, self-confidence and the ability to imagine and aspire to a better future).

Finally, it is interesting to review the proposal of Emirbayer and Mische (1998), who conceptualize agency as a process of temporally inscribed social involvement, which is informed by the past (in its "iterative" or habitual aspect) but also oriented towards the future (as a

“projective” capacity to imagine alternative possibilities) and towards the present (as a “practical-evaluative” capacity to contextualize past habits and future projects within the contingencies of the moment). In this way, Emirbayer and Mische (1998) define agency as the temporally constructed involvement of actors from different structural environments that, through the interaction of habit, imagination, and judgment, reproduces and, at the same time, transforms those structures into interactive responses, to the problems posed by changing historical situations.

Agency and individuation, as concepts, are deeply interconnected. Martuccelli (2010) defines individuation as the process by which society structures types of individuals in a specific historical context, while agency refers to the personal effort that individuals apply, influenced by internal factors and the socio-structural environment. According to Araujo and Martuccelli (2012), individuals face macro and micro sociological challenges, ranging from political instabilities to personal problems such as layoffs or family conflicts. These authors observe that in Chile, individuals are compelled to act constantly, which implies that their action does not emerge so much from an autonomous choice but from the need to actively respond to social and labor demands: “Each person is impelled to produce, sustaining himself, particularly in his work as an individual in this society” (Araujo & Martuccelli, 2012, p. 244).

Regarding the above, Araujo and Martuccelli (2012) state that “in Chile today, the individual in order to be an individual has to be a hyperactive” (p. 244), understanding that this type of individual is sustained by his or her abilities, considering the existence of confidence in their abilities, which becomes a principle for facing life. Therefore, the individual would be sustained and constituted thanks to the ability to act. We would not face institutional individualism (Martuccelli & De Singly, 2012) since individuals would not have a close link with institutions. In the Chilean case, institutions are not perceived as a support for individuals, which facilitates the emergence of agentic individualism, “a social, cultural and political representation of the individual and his prominence constituted in agency competencies” (Araujo & Martuccelli, 2014, p. 35).

2. Methodology

The research focused on the Familia program. The program responds to a tradition of initiatives to overcome poverty that began 20 years ago with Chile Solidario. In 2012, the Security and Opportunities Subsystem was created (Law 20595 of 2012), which gave rise to a new program called Ethical Family Income. However, methodological modifications dating back to 2016 (Fuica-Rebolledo & Carrasco-Henríquez, 2021) gave the program a new name, called Familias.

The program is executed by third parties such as municipalities or governorates and has technical support from the Solidarity and Social Investment Fund (Ministerio de Desarrollo Social, 2017). The intervention lasts two years and consists of psychosocial and socio-occupational



support carried out by social science professionals called Integral Family Support (AFI)², who periodically make home visits to the population targeted by the program. The sessions are guided by two accompanying manuals that indicate the objectives to be met, the topics and activities for each session, expected results, and registration tasks.

The research was qualitative (Hernández-Sampieri *et al.*, 2018), the method chosen was grounded theory (Strauss & Corbin, 2002), and the information search technique was the semi-structured interview. This allowed for a more nuanced and in-depth understanding of the roles, challenges, and strategies developed by those who participated in the study. The research question that guided this study was: How is agency understood, and what role does it play in the social intervention to overcome poverty in the program?

There is no mention of a specific commune to protect the identity of those who participated in the study; this was stipulated in the informed consent after being configured as a request during the fieldwork. Despite this reservation, it is appropriate to point out that the executing institution of the selected program is a municipality of the Metropolitan Region, located in one of the ten most impoverished communes in Chile.

Initially, the intention was to conduct semi-structured interviews only with families participating in the program. However, while these were being managed, it was professionals who made it known that their experiences were also relevant to understanding the program's intervention; with all this and considering the objectives and research question mentioned above, I expanded the sample to intervening professionals. Therefore, the article focuses on the analysis of stories from 7 professionals of the Familias program, also called AFI, who were chosen to represent the different disciplines from which those who implement the program come.

Since the research method was grounded theory (Strauss & Corbin, 2002), the data analysis was developed from the beginning of the information search and was characterized by coding and categorization. The emergent theory was built from the first transcription, which was supported by analytical memos. In parallel, three moments of coding were carried out: open, axial, and selective; the first involved reading the material and its coding, the second related the codes to identify patterns and then create three categories that are presented below and that help to detail and theorize about the expansive role of professionals in contexts of social intervention.

² In this document, I use the terms professional and AFI to refer to the interviewees from the Familias program. I use these terms interchangeably to maintain consistency and clarity of the text.

3. Findings

3.1 Methodological tensions and intervention resistance

Initially, the program methodology is presented as a tension between professionals and the device, which implies the conditioning of the professional task that each AFI develops. The program's methodology is presented as quantitative, seeking measurable results. However, it limits these results to specific times that often do not respond to the diversity of each family served, so their decisions are disrupted by their desires and expectations regarding the program. About the above, the professional states:

There is the system of setting dates, which was the MARE, [which states] that the family's goals have to be measurable, achievable, and limited by the passage of time. So, finally, the families had to be aligned under this system, the MARE, and many times, the families could not comply. (E4, personal communication December 18, 2019)

The AFI guides their intervention based on goals from the Psychosocial Support Manual and the Socio-labor Support Manual. Both delimit the professional task during the years the intervention is implemented, defining steps to follow in each meeting with the family. One of the questions most reiterated in the interviews is linked to the pace of the intervention since the methodology determines the way of working. However, AFIs prefer to be able to define both conversations and actions based on the families and, specifically, those who usually receive them in the interventions. Given this, the following comment is an example:

The methodology is very linear and does not allow the professional to build from another way with the family in a more playful way. (E7, personal communication, December 3, 2019)

Some AFIs choose the path of resistance to the rigid methodology of the program, resistance that is transversal in the narrative of professionals, explicitly putting the needs of the family above the institutional mandate. Emotional containment and accompaniment are fundamental elements of the intervention, positioning themselves as escapes from the pre-established norm. There is a decision to manage time according to the different functions to be fulfilled, responding to the institutional other, the family other, and themselves. Therefore, AFIs act within social intervention at different levels of maneuver to respond to the needs of the family and in dialogue with municipal or governmental pressures. Linked to the above, the following excerpt is relevant:

I often went outside the norm. Because? Understanding the variables that make up a family and starting to develop work based on that beyond what the methodology asks explicitly of you is super important. Generating a bond with the families and generating a professional relationship with the families is critical because there are many problems and difficulties, and the environment is super hostile. Many issues ultimately need to be brought out from within and wanted to be expressed. I have spent more time reasoning with families and being able to

talk about their current situation and look for solutions based on that rather than on my methodology. (E2, personal communication, December 12, 2019)

This constant departure from the norm indicated by the program is accompanied by what an AFI classifies as tension at the work level; this also accounts for the precariousness of the work carried out, which ranges from the stress coming from these constant adjustments in the interventions, until the lack of an employment contract:

Well, we do not even have legal status, and that is a great tension at the work level; we are constantly in rotation for the same thing and in constant stress for not knowing our work situation because we work for the government, which is the State, and the State does not. It guarantees us an employment contract, but we need basic job security for any person. (E6, personal communication, December 3, 2019)

Looking at the actions linked to the methodology, the AFIs also identify that the stability sought by the families participating in the program is associated with the failure in the opportunity structure, which has limited institutions and weak community networks. They also add that the program only requests greater coordination at the community or regional level. The deficiencies in work networks come to light in the words of one of the AFIs:

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The tricky thing is that there needs to be more connection with the networks. That is super complicated for us because of their own volition... because it is not even a requirement by agreement or in the program, such as finding out the programs themselves or dealing with this issue of contact with the networks. (E1, personal communication, December 12, 2019)

The AFIs point out the lack of networks and the absent relationship with social exclusion, a situation in which some of the families participating in the program would be:

When we connect with the networks, we realize that there are missing networks or that there are missing places, so we may fall short so that families can continue advancing. (E3, personal communication, December 20, 2019)

Likewise, the following is accused:

[...] lack of opportunities and exclusion, more than anything... physical exclusion, social, symbolic exclusion, many stereotypes. That also excludes. (E5, personal communication, December 20, 2019)

3.2 Prescribed work and actual work

The AFI shows that the design and implementation of the social program are far from the reality that each of the families is exposed to in the sessions. Likewise, the programmatic offer

needs to visualize the situation in which families find themselves. About this and considering that the AFI associates bureaucracy with actions that cannot be carried out within the framework of the professional work linked to the program, they highlight that due to the limitations of the intervention, the means available to respond to the needs of families end up being containment, referral and conditional monetary transfers:

We cannot get involved [in requirements that are part of the program's methodology], so we do more containment and referral; it's the most we can do. We also do not need access to many benefits. The program gives bonuses. (E2, personal communication, December 12, 2019)

Regarding administrative work, another AFI points out:

In addition to family interventions, one has to do administrative work, make logs, upload sessions to the system, report families, and make reports. So, [it is] a countless number of things that also generate a lot, a lot of tension. (E4, personal communication, December 18, 2019)

The administrative aspect, in addition to being a task that is carried out outside the intervention that the AFIs carry out, involves records on different platforms, such as filling out files, forms, and referrals, in addition to keeping the computer system updated, without considering that the families have with a book in which the sessions that are held on a biweekly or monthly basis are also recorded. According to this, professional comments:

The administrative work is tricky; it is the worst thing about this program. There is unnecessary double registration. We have to log into the system and the folders, so wasting so much time on that is unnecessary. (E5, personal communication, December 20, 2019)

During the interventions, the AFIs are identified as fundamental agents in expanding the capacities/skills of the participating people; they attribute their function to generating tools and resources, having an activation role that places them in the position of agents of the agency of the participating people. An AFI reflects on this:

Mainly, the role has been to advise on the one hand and on the other to motivate and also generate basic skills, in some cases, so that families may not be left with the family reality because we have many people who are homeowners, who are used to being there, who do not see beyond their possibilities also because many times their husbands or children reduce those possibilities in them, in addition to advising and motivating, we open the vision to other options. (E1, personal communication, December 12, 2019)

There is a shared notion associated with being responsible for expanding the capabilities of those who participate in the program; about this, the following excerpt is found:



The issue of resources refers to the tools that one provides as family, work, or comprehensive support, which are the tools that one gives to the families so that after the accompaniment that lasts two years is over, the families can be a little more self-sufficient. Furthermore, they can carry out specific procedures for themselves. [...] All responsibility for expanding capabilities falls on the professional; that is the way the program delimits it. [...] the program, as its very purpose, seeks to help poor people overcome poverty and provides them with tools to continue improving themselves. I believe that is the slogan of the program. (E4, personal communication, December 18, 2019)

On the other hand, there are also concrete ways in which people can make use of these skills/abilities/tools discovered, promoted, or generated within the program intervention:

In other words, the program seeks to enhance those capacities in the face of training in some trade, applying [the family] to some micro-enterprise, and referring them to some department where they needed to do some management. (E5, personal communication, December 20, 2019)

3.3 Compensatory hyper-acting as an expansive role

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According to the fieldwork, the program methodology is characterized by quantitative approaches and measurable objectives at specific times. The AFIs feel that the program is rigid and linear without giving enough room for more adaptive and personalized approaches. In this way, the agency plays a central role that is not only characteristic of this program but also of a tradition of state measures to overcome poverty (Bivort-Urrutia, 2005).

This rigidity often clashes with families' real needs and professional vision, pushing AFIs to resist and work outside the established methodology. Antunes (2018) points out that the goal-oriented management strategy emerged due to changes in production, especially since the 1980s. These changes were influenced by the growth of a more rational global economic approach, which emphasized the evaluation based on results, a trend that had already been insinuated in the capitalist context since the 1970s and that, in this work, has been related to a neoliberal model (Esping-Andersen, 1990; De Soto, 2000; Huerta-De Soto, 2005).

According to the interviews, the Familias program needs more connections with community networks and other institutions, making intervention difficult. AFIs perceive that the program must adequately address social exclusion and families' actual circumstances. Given this, the criticism of the desubstantialization of intervention practice in order to delimit it to the mere functional reason of means makes complete sense (Molleda-Fernández, 2007), making it evident that what Aguayo-Cuevas (2001) mentioned 20 years ago years is of utmost relevance to social

needs, such as redefining social intervention to prevent processes of social exclusion, as well as to originate processes of inclusion or participation.

Although the program has clear objectives, its implementation and design may not be aligned with the real needs of the families and the perspectives of the AFIs who carry them out. As Puñal-Rumaris (2004) points out, bureaucracy is essential in management and establishes its specialists' form and speed of work. For example, the functions that AFI perform most are those of information or guidance, followed by administrative and coordination functions, and with this, the bureaucratization process can become an overload for a professional whose work can also fall into a routine (Idareta-Goldaracena & Ballestero-Izquierdo, 2013). The above is reflected in the reports of professionals since they express the feeling that bureaucracy and redundant administrative tasks make it difficult to attend to the needs of families. These bureaucratic restrictions lead them to opt for solutions such as containment and diversion instead of more direct interventions.

Part of the findings reflects a deep introspection on the role of AFIs in social intervention programs. These professionals are not only seen as advisors or guides but also as essential catalysts in the expansion of the capabilities and skills of those who participate in the program, playing a fundamental role in the development of the agency (Alkire, 2008; Archer, 1995; Sen, 1985; 1999). They are given the responsibility of providing people with tools and resources, allowing them to overcome the limitations they may have experienced due to their personal or socioeconomic circumstances, which is far from understanding that people have, for example, economic rights, social and cultural (Vargas-Faulbaum & Socías-Hernández, 2016).

The reflections of the AFIs reveal a genuine commitment to overcoming poverty and a deep motivation to influence social intervention positively. A shared belief stands out: the AFIs are essential in expanding the capabilities of the participating people. By modeling individual behaviors and capabilities (Arenas-Hernández & Alzate-Pérez, 2019; Wilkis & Hornes, 2017), it is highlighted how AFIs, through their interventions, not only respond to needs but also shape life trajectories of families, who, despite their active role, are essentially molded to act and meet the goals outlined in the intervention plans.

Indirectly, the AFIs are assigned to enhance capabilities and address family needs that the social program does not anticipate. In this context, professionals find themselves in an intermediate position, balancing families' needs with the program's demands. Although their function is to execute, they put a personal stamp on their interventions, adapting beyond standardized protocols.

In this article, I argue that its role is associated with hyperactivity and that it has compensatory characteristics since AFIs design strategies that cover aspects that the program omits but that are crucial and that are also addressed. Thus, the State configures the AFIs as

compensatory hyperactors in an expansive role, mitigating institutional deficiencies and meeting demands exceeding their formal functions. A hyperactive “refers to performances as diverse as self-limitation, self-care, material survival or the production of meanings” (Araujo & Martuccelli, 2012, p. 244).

This finding is considered one of the agency's roles in the Familias program. It occurs between professionals and their relationship with professional work, with being AFI, such as their faults or their view on poverty. In this way, the absence of a strategy at a structural level is realized, basing the intervention on an individual coping action that is not explicitly promoted by the institution but is carried out due to the agency capacity that the AFIs have.

Given this, and returning to the beginning of this work, it is essential to remember the proposal on modern government and the creation of self-managing individuals, encouraged to consider their well-being and destiny as a solely individual responsibility (Foucault, 2008; Rose, 1990). This invites us to think that the recent demands of capital currently influence the circumstances and employment ties of the AFIs. In this context and following Baía de Carvalho-De Almeida Camargo (2021), labor instability is combined with informality, greater intensity, outsourcing, and proletarianization of work. The work situations and connections that AFIs face involve various factors that affect their professional work, placing them in the complex panorama of bourgeois society as a whole.

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4. Conclusions

Social intervention within the Familia program reveals significant tensions and challenges. Despite having a quantitative approach with measurable objectives, its rigid and linear structure often needs to adequately adapt to the needs and rhythms of the participating families. This rigidity, which reflects a global trend towards results-based evaluation, clashes with the knowledge and experience of AFIs, sometimes leading them to work outside the parameters established by the program.

AFIs are seen as advisors or guides and agents of change, compensating for program deficiencies and limitations and embodying *compensatory hyperactors*. Beyond formal duties, this additional responsibility highlights the dedication and commitment to overcoming bureaucratic challenges and truly supporting families. However, this partial view prevents us from seeing something that underlies the doing and that tries on the working conditions, among which those who carry out intervention-type work move.

It is essential that social intervention programs, such as the Familias program, reconsider their approach and methodology. The effectiveness of any such program depends not only on its structure and objectives but also on its ability to adapt to the changing and diverse realities of the families and communities it serves. A close relationship between prescribed and actual work is

required for a social intervention to be flexible, adaptive, and, above all, focused on the individual and its context. *Compensatory hype-acting* reveals the neoliberal core of social policy in all its magnitude, referring to the immediate deficiencies in intervention and highlighting flexible and precarious working conditions.

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Authors' Contribution statement

Patricia Arévalo-Vargas: conceptualization, data curation, formal analysis, resource acquisition, research, project management, resources, software, validation, visualization, methodology, writing (original draft), writing (review of the draft and revision/correction).

Conflicts of interest

The author unequivocally states that there is no conflict of interest in the writing or publishing of this article, reinforcing the integrity and impartiality of the research.

Ethical statement

The author declares that the research that precedes this article involves handling of sensitive or personal information, which is why its development was previously approved by the Ethics Committee of the Universidad de Santiago de Chile, the institution where the project was developed. Fondecyt No. 1180338.

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