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PSYCHOLOGY AND NEOLIBERAL GOVERNMENTALITY: THE CASE OF CHILE'S CHILD PROTECTION SYSTEM

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Abstract

This review article proposes a general route regarding to the presence of the theoretical constructs from the psychological knowledge in the design of various devices by which the State intervenes social life of individuals. The role of evidence that is assigned to psychological knowledge in the contemporary scene of an advanced liberal or neoliberal policy is characterized. The connection between psychology and neoliberal governmen-tality is exemplified by analyzing the design of social policies for children in Chile, and particularly, about the establishment of attachment theory as a theoretical framework proposed by experts to design a comprehensive protection system for children.

Keywords: neoliberalism; advanced liberalism; psychological knowledge; social policies; social intervention; attachment theory

The relationship between psychological knowledge and modes of disciplinarization is not unknown. For some authors, such as Nikolas Rose (1996), this relationship between psychology and social control is one of the ways through which our discipline was able to achieve a certain "scientific" stability. Therefore, we should not be surprised by the presence of psychological language in the modalities of designing and arguing policies, programs and social interventions in neoliberalism.



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Having this as a framework, this article proposes a general overview regarding the intersection between psychological knowledge and political-social definitions regarding contemporary childhood in Chile. Its purpose is to delimit, observe and highlight the moments in which neoliberal argumentation relies on psychological knowledge to feed the ethical principles that give it life: individualism and competition.

To do this, a reading is proposed that goes from the origins of the relationship between psychological knowledge, childhood and social control, then moving on to characterize neoliberalism as a system that produces a particular mode of subjectivation. Subsequently, the arguments that have been stated to put childhood social policy on the agenda will be described and, within this framework, we will stop to analyze the role of attachment theory in the design of social policies, plans and programs aimed at children. Chilean children As a culmination, the references used there will be discussed in light of critical perspectives.

Psychological knowledge and childhood: a not innocent story

The history of the relationship between psychology and the space of childhood in the West is a controversial fact. On the one hand, it can be understood as a happy encounter, between the "discovery" of childhood (Aries, 1973) and scientific and technological development, based on individual and social well-being; But from other perspectives, this conflictive encounter allows us to clearly illustrate the mechanisms through which "psi" knowledge affects the creation of discourses that convey mechanisms of oppression, social segregation, exclusion, racism, etc. (Burman, 1998).

This controversial role of psychology can be seen, for example, in the social function played by the first research in developmental psychology, which



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emerged in a social and political context of high political and social conflict. In this context, the use of science already had, in some cases, a disciplinary function. In that sense, these studies that from the beginning marked the relationship between psychology and childhood also had a function: the definition of what is normal and what is pathological, what is expected and what is disconcerting.

In fact, the approach of psychology to childhood was motivated mainly by the intention of achieving a more precise understanding of the functioning of the adult human mind, mainly due to the strong controversies of the time between theories of development and the important influence of the recapitulating explanations that forced research in the area to look for the causes of adult behavior in the first stages of development (Burman, 1998; Ottavi, 2009). In short then: research on childhood did not initially have an interest focused on boys and girls, but rather on the clarification of psychological processes in adults.

Research in childhood psychology is therefore strongly linked to the emergence of the evolutionary, epigenetic trend. The question about the development of intelligence is present and gives rise to the first studies on the subject, although the representatives of this current in psychology protected something from the preformationists: "the weight of heredity." That is, in one way or another, the human being contains, from the origin, certain determinations that lead him to constitute himself, with more or less similarity, to the adults who precede him (Ottavi, 2009).

In this way, concern for the species and its future is transformed into concern for the child and, from there, the link between psychology and education. It will be Rousseau, Fiske and Claparède who will begin the path of pedagogues-



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psychologists who, in the long run, will inspire other scientists such as A. Binet and J. Piaget. However, and despite these tensions, evolutionary psychology located its knowledge in a place of arbitration, capable of distinguishing the "normal" from the "abnormal", naturalizing, in turn, the descriptions of development, all the product of the disciplinary need to achieve the scientific status of medicine.

For example, Jean Piaget was rather interested in general epistemological questions relating to the origins and development of thought. His interest was in providing a general explanation of the emergence of knowledge, rather than a specific analysis of how and when specific children displayed this knowledge. Well, finally, Piaget was not a psychologist and did not seek to develop the psychological implications of his work (Burman, 1998).

Likewise, the psychology of childhood will have to recognize that if Jean Piaget is the scientist who "gives children thought", it is Sigmund Freud who gives them sexuality. That is, he recognizes an erogenous body in them and will draw the consequences of said event throughout their theoretical development. From this turning point, children will in turn become the object/subject of psychoanalysis according to the theoretical approach in which the psychoanalyst has been trained.

In this panorama, the tensions in the psychology of childhood have been above all put into debate based on feminist studies of contemporary times (Badinter, 1980). The naturalized role of the relationship between mother and child within the theories that explain evolutionary development has been strongly criticized, especially due to the political impact that these assumptions have on the formation of society. Despite all this, these ideas seem to remain impermeable and are reborn in each generation with different arguments (Badinter, 2003).



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Both in clinical practices and in State policies, what prevails is the "modern ideal of childhood", according to which children are "our future" (citizens and workers), therefore it is worth State ensures that they are adequately prepared to occupy that position (Burman, 1998b).

This "assurance" of due care for childhood has then established an exception in the concept of private life and that which is related to the maternal dimension of people is totally exposed, and therefore is the object of observation and judgment. Much of this opinion is based on common sense, which often seeks sources of legitimation in the hypotheses of developmental psychology, which in many cases ignores all the contextual, cultural and economic elements that are present in the reality it evaluates. That is to say, the first element that in this matter can be distinguished as coming from psychology is the enormous resonance that its word has in the judgment and control of motherhood and childhood.

The second important element to highlight is that in which developmental psychology gives priority to the idea of "experience", often placing the discussion on childhood symptoms and overcoming the tasks of parenting in an area that can perfectly do without theory (Burman, 1998b). With this, the archaic theses referring to the maternal instinct are revalidated, where most of the psychological currents give an overvalued importance to the ethological question of motherhood.

The third element refers to the compulsion to hegemonize the tools for controlling childhood worldwide based on standards; This is despite the fact that in psychology they could arise from research whose ethical and political purpose was contrary to this way of standardizing knowledge -for example, in the case of Binet-.



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In this sense, it is possible to establish in these three elements a common matrix, the one that Billington (2000) places as a process of "alienation", in which psychology operates by separating the field of the social from the psychological and locating the psychopathology as a space whose purpose ends up being normalization.

This process would be reflected in three aspects that Billington (2000) places in the school context and that can be understood as consequences of the psychologist's actions in harmony with the ideals promoted by market societies:

- Locating insufficiency in children and pathologizing their difficulties in achieving the particular behaviors that are considered acceptable by economic processes;
- Represent these inadequacies as individual failures;
- Allowing the economic circumstances that make failure possible or probable to remain hidden.

Although the author installs this process in the psychologist's performance in the school institution, it is possible to extrapolate these consequences to all psychological practices, whose discourse is a victim of the already defined alienation process. This has an impact not only on the boy and girl, but also on their family and all of their social relationships.

Erica Burman (2008b) in her research has identified how children's representations are largely nourished by a naturalized psychological "knowledge", in whose central core is the idea of 'basic needs', "original sin" and "innocence". essential". Peripherally, the elements that stress this nature from the existential conditions of contemporary times in market societies would be organized around these notions, generating a panorama full of contradictions (Elkind, 1999).



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To this we must add the complex scenario regarding gender representations and how neoliberal discourse has been reinscribing under its coordinates the demands of the feminist world, in order to hand them over to marketing and consumption, constructing a false antagonism (women who want work-boys and girls who require protection) (Badinter, 2003), which in no way resolves the inequalities of which both women and children are victims (Burman, 2005; 2007).

Psychological knowledge between neoliberalism and advanced liberalism

Following the proposal of David Harvey (2007):

Neoliberalism is, above all, a theory of political-economic practices that affirms that the best way to promote the well-being of human beings consists of not restricting the free development of the capabilities and entrepreneurial freedoms of the individual, within a framework institutional characterized by private property rights, strong free markets and freedom of trade. (p.8)

To sustain this historical-social phenomenon that characterizes our time, it requires the work of countless individuals for whom the process of subjectification is nourished by contents different from those used by preceding generations. In neoliberalism, subjects have had to transform in some way the "relationship of the being with itself" (Rose, 2003).

These transformations in subjectivity have been analyzed by several contemporary authors (for example, Zygmunt Bauman, Slavoj Zizek, Ulrich Beck, etc. and, in the Chilean case, Kathya Araujo and Danilo Martucelli). But, however, perhaps the most striking thing about the ideological scenario is the immobility of the certainties on which the symbolic edifice of neoliberalism is founded. One of the explanations that can be found for this phenomenon lies in the strength and prior installation of the central elements of this social



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discourse, since following David Harvey (2007) "the founders of neoliberal thought took the political ideal of dignity and individual freedom" and thus made "a sensible choice since these are indeed convincing and suggestive ideals" (p. 11).

In this framework, the symbolic importance of individualism and competition in neoliberalism emerges for the construction of the argument that ideologically sustains the machinery of the social system, its legitimation and therefore the forceful hegemony of the "new spirit of capitalism" (Boltanski & Chiapello, 2002).

Alexis de Tocqueville (1986) writes the following:

Individualism is a restful and tranquil feeling that disposes each citizen to isolate himself from the mass of his fellow men and to withdraw at a distance with his family and friends, in such a way that, after having thus created a small society for his use, she gladly abandons the rest of society to herself. (p. 496)

In this sense, contemporary individualism must be read in the complex subjective framework in which it is present, on the one hand, as an effect of the fall of collective thoughts and violent modernization and, on the other, as a condition of possibility. for the installation of the same social and economic system that feeds it (Béjar, 1989).

However, individualism and competitiveness as ethical-political orientations are also an inexhaustible source of various cultural and social problems that energize the political debate. This being the case, it is individualism itself that constitutes a growing focus of social unrest, the knot of which lies in the inevitable distance between the expectations of individuals for recognition and what the economic, social and cultural model, in which is sustained, it can effectively provide.



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The psychologist Nikolas Rose (1997) will argue that there are important differences between the neoliberal mode of government (hence, the subjectivity that is present at said historical moment) and that of an advanced liberalism characterized by:

- 1. alter the relationship with knowledge based on economic profitability or other parameters of economic valuation of science;
- 2. fictionalize the idea that the final decision lies with the consumer and, therefore, "free competition" is protected and the responsibility falls on the individual and the use of their freedom to choose;
- 3. budgeting life and what is controlled is the adjustment between the individual's activity and his previously defined budget, locating ethical failures instead of a moral committee to an audit;
- 4. pluralize social technologies by creating a new focus of the agents that intervene in "the social" replacing the more classic one of "service and dedication" with a logic guided by the centrality of "competitiveness, quality and user demand" (Rose, 1997, p. 36).

From these elements a new subject of government would then emerge:

Active individuals who seek to "realize themselves", maximize their quality of life through acts of choice, giving their lives meaning and value to the extent that they can be rationalized as the result of choices made or options to be taken. (Rose, 1997, p. 37)

At this point, it would be worth asking whether the scenario described by Rose as "advanced liberalism" fits the Chilean reality; In that sense, following the theoretical development of Kathya Araujo and Danilo Martucceli (2010), an ideological transition could be explained as a spurious result of the symbolic



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work that Chilean individuals had to face the "tests" produced by the reordering imposed by the military dictatorship (Castillo, 2015).

According to these authors "Tests are in this sense historical, socially produced, culturally represented, unequally distributed challenges that individuals are forced to face within a structural process of individuation (Martuccelli, 2006)" (Araujo & Martuccelli, 2010, p.83).

In the case of Chile, the political, economic and social reorganization that developed during the military dictatorship, pushed by the liberal right that tensions and forces transformations towards a transformative horizon of economic life, and with it also the social laws regulating relationships between individuals and social subjects. This can be interpreted as a scenario with harsh tests that individuals had to face with unequal resources. And as a result of this inequality, the scenario of subjectivities also becomes heterogeneous.

In this scenario, it is particularly interesting to observe how knowledge coming from a professional discipline, as controversial and poorly unified as psychology (Kaulino & Stecher, 2008), actively participates in the design of public and social policies, and how In many cases this participation is in tune with the requirements of the prevailing economic system.

Paradoxically, many times professionals are not aware of the ethical-political consequences of what they propose to the field of public and social policy; Furthermore, most of the professionals who execute the programs that are tied around these concepts have not analyzed the degree of commitment that they unwittingly have in the propagation of the ideals of neoliberalism. And since there is no irony, they believe they are doing the opposite.

Methodology



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To exemplify the relationship between psychological knowledge and the forms of legitimation of the functioning of the main ideological pillars of neoliberalism: individualism and competition, the documents that are used as main references for the argumentation in the development of policies, plans and programs will be analyzed. government, during the first Government of Michelle Bachelet in Chile and afterwards.

The documents analyzed were expert proposals for the construction of policies, plans and programs aimed at children:

- -Chili. Early childhood care alternatives. Development Consulting (2006).
- -National policy and integrated action plan in favor of children and adolescents 2001-2010. Government of Chile (2001).
- -Early childhood policy in Chile: conditioning factors for children's development. Dagmar Raczynski (2006).
- -Livability of boys and girls. Study "Space for daily use by boys and girls." Pontifical Catholic University of Chile (2006).
- -Systematization and execution of an early stimulation model in the child population. Keys to replicability. Universidad de la Frontera/Catholic University of Temuco (2006).
- -Current regulations for boys and girls. Regulatory analysis of policies, programs and public benefits related to the comprehensive development of children. Alberto Hurtado University (2006).
- -Critical discourse analysis has been used from the perspective of post-empiricist currents. Particularly, the proposal of Neyla Pardo (1999; 2007; 2010; 2011) has been taken as a reference, on which Forero and Hurtado (2013) emphasize its relevance, since:



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The theoretical approaches of discursive analysis of public policies, which serve as background to propose CDA as a basis for analysis, are situated in the post-empiricist currents that question objectivist approaches and the intention to create policy recipes. These currents insert new factors for the understanding of this discipline, such as the cognitive, discursive, argumentative, rhetorical and narrative elements, which understand public policy as a discursive construction, the result of deliberation, persuasion and consensus, processes in those in which there are struggles between actors with power relations so that a certain vision is accepted, so that a dominant perspective is reflected in the public policy guidelines. (p. 270)

In this framework, there is a significant amount of research on public policy that is oriented from this perspective (Bustelo & Lombardo, 2007; Jaramillo, 2008; Pardo, 1999; 2007; 2010; 2011; Soler, 2011) and whose objective is to interpret the speeches coming from State institutions, trying to answer the question regarding "who has a voice in the articulation of the problem and the solution?" (Forero & Hurtado, 2013, p. 275). These investigations have allowed us to illustrate "how public policies, despite being discursive constructions coming from the State, and which therefore seek to achieve the essential purposes of the State, such as guaranteeing rights,

From this perspective, critical discourse analysis is the best tool to fulfill the objective of this article, which seeks to identify the place of psychological knowledge in neoliberalism, through public policy.

Psychological knowledge, childhood social policies and neoliberalism in Chile

Social policies in Chile are closely related to the economic and social model, whose installation occurred more than 30 years ago. That is why there will be



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policies with mainly subsidiary and welfare objectives, where the role of the State is very reduced, and only partially concentrates on itself the tasks considered promotional and guaranteeing, delivering the most complex benefits to private institutions.

In the case of childhood, the ratification of the Convention on the Rights of the Child in 1990 catalyzed a legal and cultural change that accompanies what is happening throughout society, after the end of the military dictatorship. From that moment on, the child had to be considered as a person with progressive autonomy, with protagonism, creativity, interests and preferences, as well as responsibility, own abilities and the ability to respect the human rights of others. Specifically, it is recognized that his vital phase of development and his special needs are a source of specific rights. Today, childhood social policies in Chile aim to:

Seek to equalize the opportunities of those children and adolescents who are in situations of vulnerability, violation of their rights or both.

That is to say, the beneficiary population of these programs or benefits are those children and adolescents who have blocked the opportunities to develop their potential, to compensate for deficits, or to integrate or reintegrate into their families, their communities, the educational system or the formal labor market. (Andrade & Arancibia, 2010, p. 130)

As can be seen in Chile, social policies in childhood discursively support the terms with which all social problems in the post-dictatorship are defined: "Equalize opportunities", "Vulnerability", "Develop potentialities", "Compensate deficits" and a way of problem solving that designates as responsible in this task: 1) first: the family, 2) second: the community, 3) third: the school and lastly: the State. This operation involves the form of



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reformulating the policy based on "The new social protection policies" (Larrañaga, 2010).

It is clear that, as Billington (2000) stated, these social policy emphases: locate insufficiency in children (vulnerable, with deficit, etc.); that these insufficiencies are represented as individual failures and that allow the economic circumstances that make failure possible to remain hidden (economic, political and cultural inequality in Chile).

This recommendation for social policy on childhood in Chile can be seen transparently in the following table (<u>Table 1</u>) extracted from Dagmar Raczynski's proposal about how a policy inspired by children's rights should be operationalized (<u>Table 1</u>).



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Cuadro I. Propuesta política para la niñez temprana y principales ámbitos de acción.

Fuente: Dagmar Raczynski (2006, p. 11).

Along these same lines, the arguments for childhood policy can be found in different documents prior to its more general design and also in the designs and proposals built to operationalize said principles.

Among the child care programs from the State, perhaps one of the most notable is the "Chile Crece Contigo" program, highlighted not only by the magnitude of the resources assigned, but also by the incidence of medical-psychological hypotheses that characterize the difference between normal and pathological.



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This multi-sector policy aims to:

Reduce the gap of delays in child development (motor, cognitive, social or emotional) between extreme socioeconomic groups. Most of these interventions occur at the primary care level and are aimed at promoting healthy child development and prevention through group education for the development of parenting skills, comprehensive home visits, and coordination actions and integrated work between health centers, nurseries and kindergartens in a territory. On the other hand, the integration of boys and girls with greater vulnerability (biological or social) to some form of early stimulation is considered a priority, whether through early education or through non-conventional modalities, such as stimulation rooms. in health centers, or itinerant modalities of stimulating development in territories with greater geographic dispersion. (Molina, Cordero, & Silva, 2008, p. 16)

This program was prepared by the Presidential Advisory Council of the first government of President Michelle Bachelet and developed from a process of citizen consultation, meetings with experts and a series of participatory strategies that brought together different organizations. In it, however, the emphasis on cognitive and psychomotor lag, used as a central and definitive argument through which the "quality of motherhood or fatherhood" is evaluated, the future possibilities of said future citizens (today children).

This evolution of the discourse on the right to protection of children then transitions to the construction of indicators based on psychological categories that, in the search to be useful for a concrete design and national feasibility, are universalized, decontextualized and often become threatening. even for those who must be protected. The clearest case of this use of psychological knowledge is the controversial discussion that exists today around the use that



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professionals make of attachment theory to evaluate parenting skills and declare the children of families susceptible to adoption or not. most vulnerable who for various reasons have been subject to protection (Marchant, 2014).

The concept of attachment in the child protection system

The difficulty of operationalizing a policy that focuses on a subject of law, urged the State of Chile to build a panorama regarding what could be the elements that will most radically affect children. Based on various indicators, it was cataloged and mandated that the priority issue in childhood should be to confront the economic inequalities that limited the development of their full potential.

To this end, systematically in the evaluations of the program, the National Socioeconomic Characterization Survey-CASEN of 2011 is considered, which shows that poverty among children between 0 and 3 years old reaches 19% of the total of that segment of the population and that 4.6% live in extreme poverty. In the case of boys and girls between 4 and 5 years old, 18.6% live in poverty and 5.1% in extreme poverty (Bedregal & Torres, 2013).

These indicators are complemented with the results of different quantitative studies that are based on the application of the Psychomotor Development Test 2-5 years (TEPSI) and the Early Childhood Longitudinal Survey (ELPI) that are already available on a national scale, in which about 30% of children from low social sectors would have a psychomotor delay.

The interesting thing about the case is that, although argumentatively the link between socioeconomic situation and backwardness is the norm, social policy makes a division between the bearers of said status, by saying "poverty among children reaches 19% of the total that segment of the population and that 4.6% live in extreme poverty" (Bedregal & Torres, 2013, p. 19). However, it is



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omitted that these children are part of family units that are also victims of the same situation of poverty and exclusion. And far from setting out to correct the inequalities that the economic system causes daily, it decides to "correct deficit" (lag), a deficit that it locates in boys and girls and for whom it will have expert knowledge, who through intersectoral intervention will address the problem.

Among the many concepts used for this, that of "attachment" is crucial at certain points in this line of argument; The lags identified in Chilean children were no longer a consequence of social inequality but were an efficient indicator of the adequate or inadequate care provided by fathers and mothers:

(...) social programs and child protection systems have been transformed in one way or another by the theory that the psychiatrist and psychoanalyst John Bowlby proposed in 1969 to understand the way in which early affective interactions between caregiver and infant influence subsequent human biopsychosocial development. (Gómez Muzzio, 2008, p. 242)

It is true that attachment theory has developed rapidly in the last 30 years and has gone from ethnographic research on the bond between children and their caregivers to sophisticated instruments and questionnaires that aim to delimit "parental sensitivity" or "mental representation of attachment" of each person.

But it is no less true that many researchers have raised criticism regarding said research and concepts which are accused of having:

(...) Treated Attachment Theory as a closed system, with great resistance to changes and theoretical and methodological developments. For this reason, the theory has been seen as impermeable to characteristics of the physical, social and cultural context, without taking into account that different societies propose different objectives and parental structures to their members. (Rossetti-Ferreira & do Amaral Costa, 2012).



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Added to this are the questions to the ideal models of paternity/maternity that many of these studies carry. Such research would be loaded with gender assessments in which the traditional model prevails over any other type of family that today proposes to educate children (Ermann, Ponsford, Spence, & Wright, 2014). Furthermore, in most social interventions based on this theory, the idea that the only truly significant figure in this task is the mother continues to prevail. Which, despite having been discussed on many occasions, is still present in the imagination of social intervention teams, which tend to underestimate the role that father figures can play during this stage (Taylor & Daniel, 2000).

But perhaps the most serious thing is the indiscriminate use of the concept of "delay due to attachment disorders" to tie together various social and psychological difficulties, and thereby create a specific psychopathological condition to which a disastrous outcome is attributed (Allen, 2011). Even more so, when these predictions are used to design policies and programs that specifically target vulnerable or so-called "targeted" groups (poor families, migrants, homosexuals, etc.) to whom, apparently, some type of attachment disorder:

According to these authors, attachment intervention programs have focused on infants, parents or both, and have been applied to:

- a. groups with special characteristics, for example, ethnic minorities,
- b. groups with clinical characteristics, for example, presence of anxiety disorders or behavioral disorders in children, or
- c. groups with multiple risk factors, for example, low socioeconomic level in teenage mothers, multi-problem families, etc. (Gómez Muzzio, 2008, p. 244)



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Finally, an even more controversial element is that ultimately this emphasis on attachment theory in the design of child protection systems continues to be a device whose focus is to intervene in the adult population, which is considered the main obstacle in the development of the child's potential. The researchers, not finding a direct link between socioeconomic situation and the difficulties that boys and girls experience in exercising their rights - although there is one use psychological knowledge again to indicate that "poverty affects psychological variables of the parents, such as their state emotional, which disturbs parental practices, and consequently, child development" (Fresno, Spencer, Leiva, & Gallardo, 2011, p. 177).

Conclusions

In this long journey through the space of intersection between psychological knowledge and the ways of governing in neoliberalism, it has been possible to clearly identify the elements raised by Erica Burman, regarding the role of psychological knowledge in the configuration of a scene, which is not public nor is it private, but which therefore authorizes the State to intervene in it for multiple purposes (controlling adult workers or morally identifying social ideals).

However, this process requires the permanent action of the psychologist, producing the separation proposed by Billington between the social and the psychological, a process that sometimes takes the appearance of just the opposite, but has the same effect: psychopathologization and the creation of devices of "cure" or "mitigation" that expand in the public system, usually health and education.

The case of attachment theory in Chile is transparent in this:



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- 1. The State requests expert views that allow for the operationalization of a rights-based policy for children.
- 2. Experts analyze the specific difficulties that prevent boys and girls from being protected and becoming leading actors.
- 3. The experts and the State decide that the fundamental problem is poverty.
- 4. In the absence of solutions at the structural level of the economy, experts decide to intervene to reduce the damage that said poverty can cause: identifying a series of effects that this phenomenon would have on child development (cognitive, social and affective effects). To do this, it is necessary to use an argument based on psychological categories: poverty affects the mental health of those who care for and support young children; In this context, they cannot fulfill their responsibilities well and therefore the children would be left behind.
- 5. Poor children would then need a multisectoral intervention to correct the individual effect whose etiology cannot be attributed to structural socioeconomic conditions, but rather to a disorder in the bond whose main responsibility lies with immediate family members.

In this argument it is possible to find what was established by Billington, but also what was raised by Rose in relation to the way of exercising governmentality in liberalism. Science is at the service of government budgets, the idea of benefits creates the illusion that behind this intervention there is a real possibility of choosing and a user demand to respond to.

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