

## **Social policies and sensibilities in the 21st century: an analysis from the population receiving cash transfers**

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### **Abstract**

This article aims to address the sensibilities of the population receiving social policies in a specific context such as the Covid-19 Pandemic. In this framework, the results derived from interviews with young people receiving social policies are explored. It concludes on the various ways of being, being, inhabiting the youths intervened by social policies. The need to carry out inquiry processes that open, problematize, identify the folds through which social policies make society, in this case, youth, is identified.

**Keywords:** COVID-19 pandemic; State Interventions; Youth; Sensibilities; Interview.

### **INTRODUCTION**

On March 11, 2020, the World Health Organization classified the spread of COVID-19 as a Pandemic. This announcement is the result of a series of previous events that have, at least, been recorded since December 31, 2019 when the Wuhan Municipal Health Commission (Hubei province, China) reported a number of pneumonia cases in the city. and later established that they were caused by a new coronavirus (WHO, 2020). Classifying COVID-19 as a pandemic implies identifying the global spread of a disease in a short period of time. Additionally, it compromises two basic criteria: transmission across borders and impact on several continents.

In the case of Argentina, it involved establishing a series of measures that could be summarized as follows. Towards the end of February 2020, the supervision of actions at the Ezeiza Airport begins, especially in preventive evaluation and self-reporting measures with monitoring for flights coming from areas affected by COVID-19. Towards the beginning of March of that same year, the creation of a special fund of 1.7 billion pesos was announced with the purpose of strengthening the possibilities of acquiring equipment and supplies for laboratories and hospitals. On March 15 of that year, in-person classes were suspended in all schools in the country, with institutions remaining open only to support food assistance, as well as administrative activities. Additionally, the readjustment of the academic calendar in all university and higher education institutions in the country is proposed within the framework of the health emergency. On March 19, 2020, the so-called Social, Preventive and Mandatory Isolation (ASPO) was decreed for the entire population, along with a set of gradual and increasing regulation measures. Four days after the ASPO was announced, the Emergency Family Income is announced, a social income

transfer policy that took center stage throughout 2020 as a strategy to address situations of poverty and unemployment in the context of the Health Emergency ( Argentina, 2020).

In this brief overview, it is then observed that what can be conceptualized as social policies have been present since the beginning of the state intervention on the Covid-19 pandemic. This scenario offers a series of challenges to problematize state interventions and continue identifying the ways in which they dialogue, interact with problems that express the social issue, many of them with which they already coexisted and that probably with the COVID-19 Pandemic exacerbate

Within this framework, this article aims to address the sensibilities of the population receiving social policies in a specific context such as the Covid-19 Pandemic. With this horizon, three analytical exercises are proposed that are complementary: on the one hand, understanding the pandemic as a context that offers a challenge to foresee social problems (Cena, 2020). That is, the context is presented as an opportunity to ask questions from the Social Sciences, to build analytical dimensions and to be able to identify axes of problematization, which allow us to envision, install, and give visibility to various social problems. In that sense, we will present some data regarding how the Pandemic allows us to notice some problems linked to the youth that preceded it and that in the aforementioned context have been exacerbated. Secondly, measures are explored that, in the form of social policies, have shown their unifying character in contemporary societies and, with more evidence, in addressing the pandemic in interaction with the sensibilities of the recipient youth. Thirdly, the sensibilities of the population receiving these social policies in the aforementioned context are problematized.

This article arises from a research project with a hermeneutic phenomenological design (Fernández Collado, Baptista Lucio and Hernández Sampieri, 2014). A first stage focused on documentary analysis (Solanilla 2007) that allowed an approach to the social interventions of the State, specifically the ways in which the problem of the pandemic is addressed from social policies. Based on the registration and analysis of documents, data sources, and official communications, all available on the web, a grid was created with the various social policies aimed at young people.

A second stage involved carrying out virtual interviews with different young people who participate in social interventions during the year 2020 and/or 2021. The objective was to know the characteristics of said population and access the frames of reference and perceptions in relation to social policies and the pandemic. That is, the approach to the perceptions regarding the state interventions in which they participate, from their own lived and felt reality. In the context of the pandemic, the interviews were carried out through the use of the internet and applications. The incorporation of virtual interviews allowed an organization of the stories, in a collective construction based on dialogue and reflection with an interlocutor who actively participates in the virtual era (Quattrini, 2018).

In terms of the population, people who have participated in 2020 and/or 2021 in social policies with an employment and/or educational component of a national, provincial and/or municipal nature in three cities in the interior of the province of Córdoba were selected. Additionally, we worked with state interventions that are aimed at young people and that refer to the issue of employment, job insertion, unemployment, informality, non-completion of secondary school, minimum, living and mobile wage, etc. In relation to the sample, it was directed non-probabilistic and the maximum variation was taken into account (gender, age, people with disabilities, nationality) and, then, confirmatory (seeking theoretical saturation of the categories used).

The following will be adopted as the argumentative strategy of this article: a) presentation of conceptual categories; b) some distinctive characteristics of the pandemic and social policies are introduced and the results linked to the sensibilities of the populations receiving social policies are analytically addressed; c) a series of final conclusions are offered.

### SOME CONCEPTUAL NOTES IN RELATION TO YOUTH, SOCIAL POLICIES AND SENSIBILITIES

This article proposes, from the Social Sciences, to understand the Pandemic as an opportunity to problematize the categories with which we work. This requires a review of the ways in which the population receiving social policies, particularly youth, is understood, addressed and defined. With this horizon, some risks or common places that have been structured in relation to youth are discussed.

The first risk is understanding youth as a unit, an identity given by age criteria. For Criado (1998) youth is not a social group, but rather brings together subjects and situations that only have age in common, hence that famous phrase that Bourdieu said about youth in 1978 in an interview: it is nothing more than a *word*. This announces the need to break with the prenotions transmitted in the categories of everyday language, since all categorization is the result of bets, struggles and disputes of meaning between different sectors. It is a common error to maintain an idea of youth as a unified whole, using a sector of youth as a metonymic expression of youth in general. Youth has different expressions and only one of them is duration (Lemus, 1998). To notice its complexity, social class, gender, region and historical moment must be kept in mind. Youth “does not have the same duration in the countryside as in the city [...] in modern societies as in traditional ones, even in both genders” (Lemus, 1998: 3). For this reason, reference is made to diverse youth and, when an analysis is carried out, to situated youth.

The second common and risky place to understand youth is linked to understanding it as preparation for the adult world. This perspective is part of the adultocratic paradigm (Brunet and Pizzi, 2013) or youth conceptualized in a negative way or from lack (Cena and González, 2020): according to what is missing to reach adult life, the latter positioned as a point of full, universal and homogeneous arrival. The conceptual construction of youth from the adult-centric perspective focuses on the incomplete and social security status of youth, accounting for a negative construction: the young person as not a girl, not an adult, establishing in this definition through the negative a distance to assume. fully roles, statuses and functions, “it is an approach made by adults, which places adult life at the center of the socioeconomic structure and full social citizenship and which runs the risk of reproducing the ideological assumptions of adulthood at the time to analyze youth” (Brunet and Pizzi, 2013: 22). This perspective conceives youth with a single horizon: achievement of adult life, naturalizing situations of deprivation of young people in relation to adults under the assumption that temporality will correct the situation of deprivation.

Third and last, that perspective that understands youth from the transition. Biographical approach or sociology of transition (Brunet and Pizzi, 2013) assumes and proposes the existence of the youth category based on uniform criteria: from what could be called adolescence to emancipation from the home of origin. This perspective focuses on two processes: the transition from school to work and from the home of origin to one's own. It has focused on the construction of ideal and generic types of transition that end in a standardized way in obtaining a job and forming a family unit, without problematizing other significant variables such as gender or the starting point of the transition. Youth is presented from this perspective as an incomplete stage of life, viewed from the transition it loses its defining characteristic and becomes an uncertain stage.

People with the same biological age are not necessarily a social group (Mannheim, 1993). For a social group to exist, it is necessary to go through the same events, the same periods of life, and the same social position. Intergenerational and intergenerational differences must be taken into account. This perspective is based on the fact that subjects with the same age only have that in common, age. Age divisions are arbitrary from a sociological point of view: just because a group shares chronological identities does not mean that it shares common social identities differentiated from other age classes.

So the invitation is to refer to youth and not only youth, as a way of noticing and expressing diverse ways of being, living and feeling. The exercise of reviewing and discussing some assumptions about youth aims to understand that the social production of youth is heterogeneous. “In other words, because there are multiple contexts, actors and the ways in which they are produced. Denaturing “youth” means, then,

ceasing to consider it as if it were a spontaneous category of perception of the world as well as the dynamics, groups and actors involved in the work of producing this social category” (Vázquez, 2015: 10).

In this writing, youth are particularly observed in intersection with the State, given that the State actively participates in the production of schemes for the division and classification of social groups. In this regard, Bourdieu maintains that "the dominance of the State is especially noticeable in the field of symbolic production: public administrations and their representatives are great producers of "social problems" that social science often limits itself to ratifying, assuming them as its own in as much as sociological problems (it would be enough, to demonstrate this, to gauge the magnitude, undoubtedly variable depending on the countries and times, of the research that deals with State problems, more or less scientifically presented)" (2016: 95). State interventions in general, and social policies in particular, express different socio-state productions from which interventions are made (Cena, 2014), in this case to youth. This production can be recognized in the different state interventions, from the classification of age groups in educational policies, to the programs that convene, make an explicit appeal to youth from various criteria, "the State shapes mental structures and imposes principles of vision." and common divisions” (Bourdieu, 2016: 106).

Now, in the context that we are interested in problematizing in this writing, social policies have concentrated the most extensive measures such as bonuses and money transfers, assistance to companies, regulation of maximum prices, food assistance, interventions on housing, regulation of layoffs, freezing of prices and credits, etc. (Dinner, 2020). The invitation to review the series of measures that have taken center stage in the context of the Pandemic under the modality of social policies, have been found directly oriented to the conditions of production and reproduction of life and it is evident that many of them have been taken Almost simultaneously, Preventive and Mandatory Social Isolation (ASPO) was decreed in Argentina (Dettano and Cena, 2021). In this direction, it becomes relevant to mention these state interventions as elements that allow us to notice what the debts are, alluding to what are the problems that were experienced before the Covid-19 Pandemic and that in any case in said scenario have been exacerbated (Cena, 2020), which is why in other writings the metaphor of writing has been used to conceptualize social policies as signs, symbols from which to re-read society.

It is also worth mentioning that these social policies are the backbone of 21st century societies. The first and most obvious thing is that in Western capitalist societies it is very difficult to imagine them dispensing with social policies when some of them even have more than twenty years of presence in the region of Latin America and the Caribbean, suffice it to mention the Transfer Programs Conditional on Income (Cecchini and Madariaga, 2011; De Sena, 2018). In the Argentine case, already in 2017 three out of every ten households were recipients of a social policy, and when focusing on households in conditions of poverty, these social policies amount to seven out of every ten households. In the context of the pandemic, 44% of the Economically Active Population was recipient of the Emergency Family Income. Complementarily in relation to this, this backbone of social policies is not a product of the Covid-19 Pandemic, but is a trend that has been observed (ODSA, 2019). The adjective of backbones in relation to social policies implies understanding them from their central inscription in the concept of social issue as state interventions with the capacity to regulate social conflict and suture the splits of the social issue (Grassi, 2003; Offe, 1990 ).

Social policies, consequently, participate in the mode of social and political regulation of the accumulation regime by establishing the regulation of conflicts, consensus and sensibilities linked to the reproduction of life. Well, these forms of intervention in society are directly related to the ways in which the lives of the recipient people will be produced and reproduced in a particular regime of accumulation, hence the observance of sensibilities becomes nodal.

From the most common and everyday uses, the Royal Spanish Academy (RAE) <sup>1</sup>has defined sensitivity as “the faculty of feeling typical of human beings.” It assumes, in other words, that human beings are sentient. The latter, first of all, refers to the capacity of a living being that, based on its organs, can experience sensations. Second, the ability to react to the action of other agents (such as a film in light). Thirdly, it implies being able to appreciate a phenomenon or react emotionally to it and, finally, to what is perceptible through the senses <sup>2</sup>.

A first review of the concept shows that sensitivity is the ability of human beings to respond to external stimuli. If, on the one hand, sensibilities constitute human faculties, on the other hand, they are strongly determined by the context in which they are embedded. The strength of the concept is, therefore, in its connection with another that is different and external to the sensitive subject. Here the impressions that another could generate are taken up and it includes sensitivity as an ability, a skill that allows us to capture, process and react to certain situations.

Philosophical developments coincide in understanding sensitivity as capacity, skill or practices that always imply an interaction. Within studies on technologies and sensibilities, these are problematized as socially determined forms of perception and expression. However, the authors maintain that there is a circularity between the context of new technologies and the sensibilities of young people, to the point that the latter are informed by the technological context as the latter is informed by the former (Ramírez Lamus, 1996). In this sense, by establishing that sensibilities have to do with a kind of exchange with the context (in a broad sense), conceptualizations advance in understanding them as affected by and affecting the contexts in which they take place.

In this sense, sensitivity is also presented as a faculty that orders, selects, and gives meaning to human experience from an emotional perspective. And as a faculty it is positioned as a formal condition of feeling and the way in which we are affected by the context. In other words, sensitivity constitutes a surface from which the different experiences of subjects are ordered. These surfaces have “structures” or images of the world (Scribano, 2002) - from which the bodies are affected - variable and social, that is, they are socially shaped although by throwing certain sensibilities from the experience of the subjects these are perceived as “natural”, own, individual, original.

From the proposal of Scribano (2009), sensibilities can be understood from three central elements: perceptions, sensations and emotions. Knowledge of the world is given by and from bodies. It is from the possibility of receiving, processing and interpreting impressions – as ways of exchange with the environment based on objects, phenomena, agents – that the world is known, interpreted and intervened.

Hence the importance of analyzing the ways in which the world is perceived, interpreted and felt by agents. Since the ways in which agents know the world depends on their bodily dispositions, the way in which action occurs in the world is strongly linked to how it is seen and said vision is shaped by schemas. of classification and division of the world contained in the images of the world. Hence, “[w]hat we know about the world we know by and through our bodies, what we do is what we see, what we see is how we divide the world. In that “there-now” the devices for regulating sensations are installed, through which the social world is apprehended and narrated from the expropriation that gave rise to the situation of domination” (Scribano, 2007: 5).

In all these cases, the problematizations carried out through the concept locate sensitivity from the senses of the subjects, a condition of possibility to receive the stimuli of the social world. They expose themselves to the environment and to others. Thus, sensitivity implies affectation, reaction and

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<sup>1</sup><http://dle.rae.es/?id=XaAackN>. Consultation date: 03/15/2016.

<sup>2</sup>Although psychopedagogy studies (Agudelo, Nubia, Estupiñán Quiñones, 2009) have addressed the concept of intercultural sensitivity since Paulo Freire, we will not use it in this context in that way. Since they define sensitivity as positive emotional responses to others. The proposal that we try to argue here understands that sensitivity exceeds mere emotional responses, although it presupposes them, and that these are not always positive.

interaction. It is framed and developed in a web of relationships and connections, whose locus is the body, making the sensory an intelligible and narratable experience.

The existence of the world occurs through and from the senses and sensations that enable its perception. This perception is not “direct” but “directed” based on the interpretations from the different conditions and positions of the agents. Hence, the possible interventions of power mechanisms on sensibilities return our gaze to the structuring processes of senses, perceptions and sensibilities. From this perspective, social sensibilities constitute a significant object of study for sociology.

### ***SOME ELEMENTS ABOUT THE CONTEXT OF ESTABLISHMENT AND ACCENTUATION OF THE PANDEMIC***

Now, these ways of addressing the sensibilities of youth in relation to state interventions are part of a particular context affected by the COVID-19 pandemic. In the time that we have been in the Pandemic, it is necessary to warn for the Latin American and Caribbean Region a drop of 6.7% GDP, which for the world as a whole is 4.3%, much more than the decrease of a 1.7% in 2009, after the global financial crisis. Available data also show that the fall in investment relative to GDP was greater in Latin America and the Caribbean than in other developing regions. “The impact amounts to 9.6 years of losses if GDP per capita is considered. Therefore, the pandemic has translated into a lost decade with a single shock of large proportions” (IBRD, 2021: 18). In terms of the labor market, more than 2.7 million companies have closed and the number of unemployed people has increased to 44.1 million. People in poverty went from 185.5 to 209 million (from 30.3% to 33.7% of the total population). In this sense, the coronavirus pandemic (COVID-19) has deepened the structural and institutional gaps and inequalities in Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC, 2021a).

If the results of a survey directed at young people in Latin American and Caribbean countries by ECLAC are observed, nine out of ten young people had access to protection materials against COVID-19 (masks or chinstraps, antibacterial gel and gloves, etc.) but the lack of access to protective materials was especially problematic for young people who live in rural areas (23%), among Afro-descendants and indigenous peoples (19% and 18% respectively), showing diverse situations of young people facing to the pandemic. Additionally, a third of the people surveyed mention that there is a shortage of food in their community and 16% indicate that they do not have enough resources to buy food. These percentages increase in the case of young people from indigenous peoples (45%), migrants (44%), people with disabilities (42%) and with dependent children (36%) (ECLAC, 2021b).

In Argentina, the pandemic had a full impact on the young population, unemployment in young people between 18 and 30 years old grew 6 percentage points, going from 20% in the first quarter of 2020 (pre-pandemic) to 26% during the second quarter, considered the most critical period of the health crisis (CEM, 2021). Of the 3.9 million jobs lost in the country, 1.3 million correspond to young people between 18 and 30 years old. This means that a third of the jobs lost affected young people, reaching 560 thousand young people. In terms of labor informality, salaried people between 31 and 65 years old was (pre-pandemic) 29%, informality in the population between 18 and 30 years old reached 51%, with the youngest age group of 18 being mainly affected. -24 years with 64% informality (CEM, 2021). If the data is observed by gender, young women were harmed more than men, since the loss of jobs amounted to 31%, while in the case of men it was 27% (CEM, 2021). “These conditions of women worsen as their age decreases. If we take into account those in the youngest sub-section (18-24), there is a drop in employment of 48%, while for men of the same age it was 34%” (CEM, 2021: 7). In relation to poverty for the young population “it stands at 49.6%, being the second age group most affected by the economic and social crisis that Argentina is going through” (CEM, 2021: 8).

With this brief overview, it can be seen that the Pandemic has been based on complex and unequal processes of social structuring, accentuating some inequalities with which people already lived. The aforementioned scenario has not had the same impact on the general population as on the population defined as “young” and within the youth category, there are many differences between urban and rural

youth, between genders, between Afro-descendants , migrants, native peoples, people in situations disability, etc.

### **PANDEMIC SENSIBILITIES**

Now, in the context described, if we advance in the ways in which youth have navigated social policies, some relevant axes are noted. The first of them is linked to a conception of youth from a homogenizing perspective , that is, assuming that youth are equal and that therefore their participation in social policies is also equal. In the quote that we present below, the person who participates in social policy indicates that they “warn” and “Inform” that they are canceling the social program in which they are involved due to the COVID-19 Pandemic.

“eh... when they said they *were dismissing him due to the pandemic* I almost set fire, I don't know, I was going to look for a government house or something [laughter] but... I remember that I wrote to him, I spoke to a cousin who works in the Government to to know if that is... because *I knew that there were several of us who were in the field who continued working in the agronomic part* , in the field part he always worked, *but it was not the same for everyone* and well we were lucky that he continued paying eh... the company But that was like the only non-formal complaint I made, that is, I think I wrote him an email or something, but well, there wasn't much of a response, that is, *“we cut it and we cut it”*” (E25/20)

Just as youth are not a homogeneous whole and susceptible to conceptual unification, because that would be a reductionist way of approaching them, their experiences in social policies are not the same either. This variability can be identified from one's own trajectory in state intervention, through the type of experience with it, to, for example, in *work farist* social policies with the different spaces for labor insertion, which precisely marks this diversity. . In the case of the shared appointment, it refers to an income transfer program with an employment component in the province of Córdoba, Argentina, where people join a company, complete a certain number of hours of work and receive a sum of money. monthly.

Adult-centric and homogenizing readings about youth are presented from different elements. The first of them is related to suspending the program due to the pandemic. Without warning that: i) this suspension of the income that young people earn for the work done was as disruptive as the pandemic and, at the same time, leaves young people in conditions of even more instability and uncertainty. Additionally, ii) the spaces where these people worked in some cases did not suspend their work activities, as in the case of shared appointments. The work in which they performed with their compensation was not a single type of work for all the people who participated in that social policy. The homogenizing view on youth permeates in this case the execution of state intervention, without even taking into account that many of the spaces for labor compensation involved the most diverse activities such as the one mentioned.

This interruption of work is not only linked to an adult-centric view by not considering it work, by assuming that it is not essential to unify the youth who participate in the program, but also by underestimating the needs of the people who had been doing their internships within the framework. of the program.

A similar reading is observed in a social money transfer policy with an educational component. The interruption of social policy is perceived as contradictory in the context of the pandemic. Given that once again the execution of the state intervention shows that “because everything stopped” due to the Preventive and Mandatory Social Isolation, the activities, practices and spaces for the insertion of youth were also suspended.

“Yes, it is a student scholarship, it has that name: student scholarship. It is linked from the uni to the municipality, here with [reference city], I think it is with all the municipalities because it is something provincial. So the municipality gives it to me here, which *by the way, they are not giving it to me, I don't know why. Supposedly everything stopped, as if we had stopped studying* .

***It's kind of contradictory , because in reality I think that now is when, at least I, it's when I spent the most money, so much photocopying because one at the university has the students' photocopier, which is good because it's much cheaper, instead Here it costs me \$5<sup>3</sup> for a double sheet, it's crazy . And it is constantly making photocopies, so I could use a tenner for that scholarship for photocopies” (E31/20)***

This unifying assumption regarding youth shows and occludes: it shows a unifying , homogenizing external view of youth without noticing the particularities, differences and diverse ways of being, living and going through the pandemic. In the case of the person interviewed, studying more than ever, and in the case of the previous interviewee, continuing with her work. And there is precisely what occludes, what does not show, what overlaps: the diverse, different and particular situations of young people, as in the case of the interviewee, not only studying more, but also investing more money because the inputs she needs to studying are more expensive in your locality than on the university campus.

These images of the world (Cena, 2014) linked to youth are not found in the design of social policy, but rather in the ways in which they are implemented, allowing us to notice – once again – the need to observe them throughout its entire life cycle. If the following fragment from one of the people interviewed is analyzed, it is clear that the adult-centric view permeates and is evident in at least 3 nodal points: firstly, due to needs that are not taken as such, " *because money is not enough*" to make a living *from it* ” beyond the fact that they have responsibilities, work and comply with work schedules; secondly, paying the floor fee, a common expression that refers to having to do something to be able to occupy certain spaces, demonstrating first to access later; thirdly, a dispute of that adult gaze positioned as the measure of the whole, by putting the place of work at the center... “it is a job, I “earn” the plan.”

“negative, well ***the money because it's very little, very... I mean you can't even say that it's the minimum to live off of that*** , it's like *we're paying the right to rent the apartment again* [laughter] which shouldn't be like that but well um... see *one does not complain but he knows that he is working so it is not that you are receiving a plan without doing anything* but well it could be a little more that and then well it would be good if the government, I don't know exactly what it is like in terms of companies ***but it would be It's good that you demand that they hire or at least you say you do it one year yes and one year no, otherwise the companies know that every year they have labor that is paid by the government, it would be good if they managed that thing that eh ...*** ” (E7/2020)

Adult centrism is thus positioned as an interpretation of the world from an adult, masculine, Western subject and youth as incomplete, who "must pay the right to rent": "it operates, on the one hand, as a device of social control that establishes the same relations of center-periphery dominance, and that allows the illusion of an evolutionary model in the psychological development of subjects, where youth appears as a transition to adulthood and therefore a subject that "is being" without "being" , and on the other, as a social moratorium in which the subject is de-responsible and placed in the scenario of “privileged” leisure or in the condition of “no future”” ( Alvarado, Posadat Gaviria , 2009: 29 ).

The allusion to “paying the right to rent” is related to the transition paradigm, which accepts the existence of the youth category delimited by identical and uniform social criteria: from adolescence to emancipation from home. This type of perspective has focused on the construction of ideal and generic types of transition, which end in a standardized way in obtaining a job and forming a family nucleus different from the one of origin, without problematizing gender or other specificities of youth. outside of training-work-housing, without warning or stressing the starting point of the transition.

***“So to say it in some way they had to pay the floor fee  
So you were supposed to go. For customer service and they made you clean***

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<sup>3</sup>It refers to 5 Argentine pesos.



*And many people I know left because of that... because I was going to learn something new and it wasn't as they said.*

***They took advantage of young people , so to speak”*** (E23/2020)

These sensibilities in relation to social policies are structured around a conception of youth with a single horizon: achievement of adult “plenitude”, naturalizing situations of deprivation of young people in relation to adults, under the assumption that the temporality that will correct the situation of deprivation. In this direction, understanding youth as an incomplete stage of life, observed from the transition, loses its defining characteristic and becomes an uncertain stage (Brunet and Pizzi , 2013).

## **CONCLUSIONS**

The context is presented as an opportunity to ask questions from the Social Sciences, to build analytical dimensions and to be able to identify axes of problematization, which allow us to envision, install, and give visibility to various social problems. Throughout this article it has been observed how social policies in the context of a pandemic dialogue with certain assumptions, readings, and definitions about youth. Along these lines, if these definitions do not emerge strongly or are not so clear in the regulations and design of state intervention, they do emerge strongly at the time of their execution and, therefore, in the sensibilities of the target population. Which indicates, or at least invites, to continue rethinking the practices linked to state intervention processes throughout their entire life cycle.

These approaches put together a puzzle regarding who and how youth are approached in contemporary societies from denial, from an age paradigm, from what they lack to achieve a series of characteristics uniformly grouped under the name of the “adult world.” This journey warns about the various ways of being, being, and inhabiting youth. About the need to carry out inquiry processes that open, problematize, and identify the folds through which social policies make society, in this case, youth.

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