Care Infrastructures in Andean Rural context: The case of Monguì

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Abstract

This article examines rural care infrastructures as spatial, political, and collective systems that challenge dominant notions of rurality as a passive or residual space. Through fieldwork in Monguí, Colombia, the study identifies three types of care infrastructures – extended family/neighbourhood, sustained collective, and emergency collective – and analyses how they emerge in response to state neglect, environmental policies, and extractive pressures. The article argues that care must be rethought as a territorial function, not a private or feminized burden, and explores how spatial strategies can redistribute care responsibilities. Collective infrastructures, often rooted in informal or community-based practices, serve as alternatives to centralized planning and financial development. The study calls for a reconfiguration of rural planning that acknowledges dispersion, autonomy, and the potential for tourists and external actors to become co-responsible participants in sustaining rural life.

Questo articolo analizza le infrastrutture di cura rurali come sistemi spaziali, politici e collettivi che mettono in discussione le concezioni dominanti della ruralità come spazio passivo o residuale. Attraverso un lavoro sul campo a Monguí, in Colombia, lo studio identifica tre tipi di infrastrutture di cura: famiglia/domestica estesa, collettiva e collettiva d'emergenza – e analizza come esse emergano in risposta all'assenza di strutture statali, alle politiche ambientali e alle pressioni estrattive. L'articolo sostiene la necessità di ripensare la cura come funzione territoriale, e non come onere privato o femminilizzato, esplorando strategie spaziali in grado di redistribuire tali responsabilità. Le infrastrutture collettive, spesso radicate in pratiche informali o comunitarie, si configurano come alternative alla pianificazione centralizzata e allo sviluppo finanziarizzato. Lo studio invita a una riconfigurazione della pianificazione rurale che riconosca la dispersione, l'autonomia e il potenziale per turisti e attori esterni di diventare partecipanti corresponsabili nel sostenere la vita rurale.

Keywords: care infrastructures; coloniality; rural areas.
Parole Chiave: infrastrutture di cura; colonialità; aree rurali.

Introduction

Colonial hegemonies, particularly those operating under the guise of protection, reveal how the rural territory is traversed by contradictory regimes of control: simultaneously legalized,

criminalized, contested and defended. This article analyses the spatialization of coloniality, understood as the attempts at subalternization of territory and rural bodies. It seeks to demonstrate, across different scales and through cases, involving reforms, surveys and organizational plans, how the notions of reserve and residuality are entangled and in tension in the planning of Andean rurality.

The article describes the infrastructures of care, understood as the social, symbolic, and affective ecologies that sustain life and develop in the interstices of these contradictory control logics. Care not only opens a broader perspective on the rurality crisis, but also serves as a critical node for rethinking the coexistences, re-existences, and negotiations among rural socio-spatial ecologies. The analysis draws on a case study of Monguí, an Andean town in Colombia.

Monguí is a small rural town 4.234 inhabitants in the eastern mountain range of the Colombian Andes. Of its 69.64 km², 0.75% is designated as urban land, while 68.9 km² is classified as rural. Monguí, along with other nearby rural villages, is dependent on the city of Sogamoso, particularly for access to public and social services, given their proximity, ranging from 30 to 180 minutes of travel time.
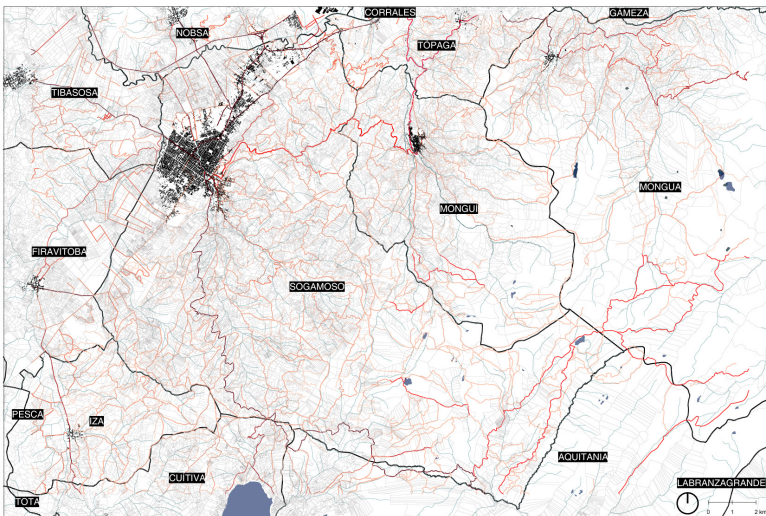

Fig. 1 Map of Monguí and Sogamoso.
Source: Author's work.

Conversely, Sogamoso depends on ecosystem services and labour from these rural areas. The relentless expansion of extractive activities (mining, extensive agriculture, and tourism) from the city into the Monguí's rural territory intersects with protectionist policies, such as the delimitation of the Siscunsí-Ocetá Regional Natural Park[1] (PNR)

In other words, rurality is marked by a dual and inherently oppositional condition of conservative and extractive reserve. On the one hand, rural areas must be preserved as sources of ecosystem services and natural resources. On the other, they are to remain economically subservient to urban centres. This paradoxical dependency positions rurality as a 'reserve', and demands protection for the rural landscape – thereby limiting local agency – while exploiting it for economic purposes.
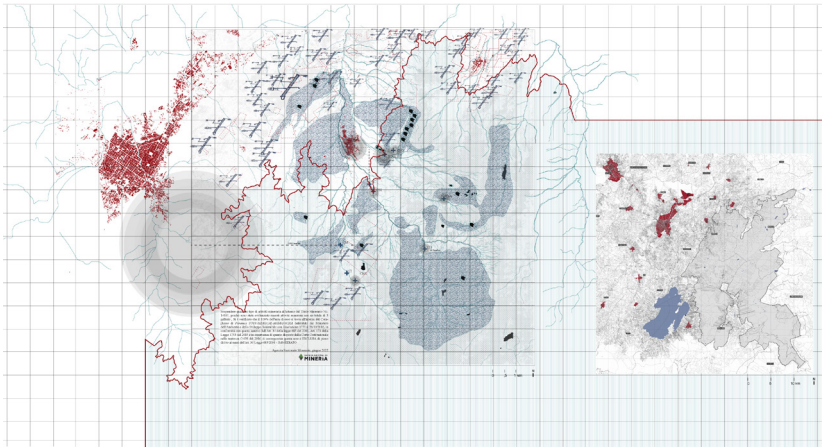

Fig 2. Cartography of Siscunsi-oceta Regional National Park. Park delimitation and mining licenses.
Source: Author's work.

The paper examines the genealogy of the notion of 'reserve' and the consequent notion of 'residuality'. Following Foucault (1984), 'genealogy' is understood as an ontology of the present: a

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1 The Regional Natural Park (PNR) is a category of protected area at the subnational level in Colombia, created by the regional environmental authorities (in Monguí is Corpoboyacá). Its main objective is to conserve strategic ecosystems, such as paramos, high Andean forests, or water recharge areas, guaranteeing environmental sustainability and the well-being of local communities.

cartography of the acting and conflicting powers of the past, used to problematize the present conditions of rurality, questioning how a hegemonic system like colonialism persists in rural territories, now subordinated as suppliers of raw materials, cheap labour, and life-reproduction functions sustaining the urban-industrial centres of accumulation. The concept of the coloniality of power (Quijano, 2000) offers a response – understood as the matrix of multiple dominations (race, class, gender, episteme, and territory) that remain anchored in the common sense of the bodies inhabiting the present.

The Notion of 'Reserve' and the Spatialization of Coloniality in Andean Rurality

A genealogical perspective on the notion of 'reserve' reveals how it has been historically materialized through bodies and space. In Andean Rurality, this process can be traced back to the historical period of the Colony and the Viceroyalty of New Granada, 1537-1777.

Building on this framework, the residual character of Colombian rurality can be approached as a trans-scalar instrument to consolidate urban and state exclusion, through agrarian reforms and neoliberal policies that have characterized the 20th century and the internal migration patterns within the country[2].

According to Herrera (1998), in Andean territories, the *pueblos de indios*[3] (Indian settlements) were among the earliest instruments of domestication of spaces and, consequently, rural inhabitants, in opposition to the *ciudades de Blancos* (white cities). *Pueblos de Indios* worked as a device to domesticate dwelling and being, aiming to control Indigenous populations by relocating them into fixed and nucleated urban settlements. This process entailed disrupting Indigenous territoriality and imposing a colonial spatial and symbolic order that aligned with the Christianizing project of the 'noble savage' (Castro-Gomez,

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2 Internal migration is part of the period of exodus of violence, refers to the period 1920-1960, with armed conflicts between Liberal and Conservative parties. The conflict caused more than 113.000 deaths and the forced migration of over two million people from rural areas to cities.
3 These are nucleated settlements, carried out with the first ordinances (1526) and with the authorization of the Spanish crown to concentrate the Indians to teach them the doctrine, through the prohibition and persecution of their living practices considered 'savages' (Suarez, 2015: 133).

2021). This was accompanied by the conception of a homogeneous rural space, and a household organization that separated male and female roles (Rappaport Cummins, 2016). The imposition of the patriarchal family model, which displaced the elongated matrilineal family model of Indigenous communities[4] (Gamboa, 2004), was accompanied by the trauma of uprooting from the land (Herrera, 1998), and the introduction of new crops and animals to meet the dietary needs of the Spaniards living in the white cities (Colmenares, 1984). These changes profoundly modified territorial power relations and represented a material attempt at subalternization. Spatial delimitation, detachment from the land, and spiritual annihilation lay at the core of the colonial project.

The Pueblo de Indios represents the political-religious project, while the notion of 'reserve' was embedded in a second spatial device, driven by economic interest (Herrera, 1998): between 1595 and 1642, the administrative and fiscal figure of the *resguardo* was created (Fals, 1957).

«*Resguardos* were a colonial institution created by the Crown to group Indigenous peoples into *pueblos* and allocate them communal lands, whose ownership remained under royal tutelage. These lands were inalienable and intended to support Indigenous communities so they could meet their tribute and labor obligations. [...] It was introduced as a means of controlling land-based production, primarily through the system of *encomienda*[5] for the indigenous people» (Colmenares, 1984: 89).

This property ownership ensured that agricultural output went directly to the Crown bypassing colonizers or newcomers. This arrangement also responded to reports of expropriation and the Indigenous demographic catastrophe, which, as Colmenares (Ivi, 139) notes, went beyond the humanitarian intentions, as claimed by the Laws of the Indies for the protection of indigenous peoples, to include economic issues as the loss of population

4 Kinship units maintained autonomy within larger coalitions. Women held central roles in households and communal realms, and maternal lineage determined descent, land rights, and leadership succession.
5 «The encomienda was the basis on which social and economic domination was organized during the first centuries of colonization. It was a mechanism of appropriation of the indigenous surplus that combined legal coercion, personal dependence and territorial control» (Colmenares, 1984: 45).

meant the loss of labour, and a decrease in capital accumulation and transfer.
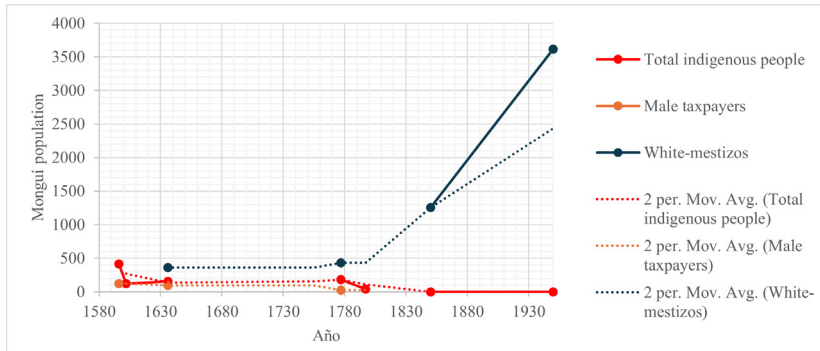

Fig 3. Monguí population chart.
Source: Author's elaboration of data collected by Colmenares, 1984: 102.

In Monguí, the *resguardo* was established on April 21, 1635, by the Visitador Juan de Valcárcel (Fals, 1957: 76). No documents specifying the geographic delimitation have been found even if the 1636 visitation records registers 362 white-mestizos. They were not allowed to own lands, therefore they settled within the *resguardos* and paid rent directly to the Indigenous inhabitants. This type of leasing, which was illegal because the land belonged to the Crown, was well-known to the authorities but went unpunished, as these payments constituted part of the tribute collected *(encomienda)*. To report or prohibit these practices would have resulted in a decrease in tribute revenue. Consequently, this arrangement remained formally intact for 119 years, until the Second Royal Decree of Pardo in 1754, when the Crown decided to sell part of these lands to the white-mestizo settlers who had already consolidated their physical occupation of the territory. These sales demonstrate the increasing power of the white-mestizo population and reveal the economic motivations of the crown behind the legitimization of private property. It is here that the paternalistic stance of the Crown towards the Indigenous peoples becomes blurred, revealing the *resguardo* land as a 'reserve' property.

«There were international difficulties that demanded money, and a quick way to get that money was through the sale of royal land. Thus, it was ordered to make compositions, deciding that all land whose owners

could not present titles should be sold, and that land that had not been occupied and used after 1700 should be put up for public auction [...] This process led to the end of many *resguardos* and the partial sale of others, and was the origin of a class of laborers: the *agregados* [tenant farmers] » (Fals, 1957: 83).

In Monguí, the reduction and partial sale of the *resguardo* was carried out in 1755 by the Oidor Verdugo y Oquendo (Mojica, 1948: 197). Finally, in 1777, the total sale of the *resguardo* to the already residing whites-mestizos was accomplished by the Corregidor Campuzano y Lanz. At that moment '*agregados*' were created, another displacement device: expelled Indigenous who had no other choice than to occupy and share other *resguardos*. In the case of Monguí, they were displaced to the adjacent *resguardo*: Mongua in 1777 (Mojica, 1948: 273), «and upon moving, they settled in a portion of territory that continued to be called Monguí, which is now a *vereda* [rural district] of Mongua» (Correa, 1938: 283).
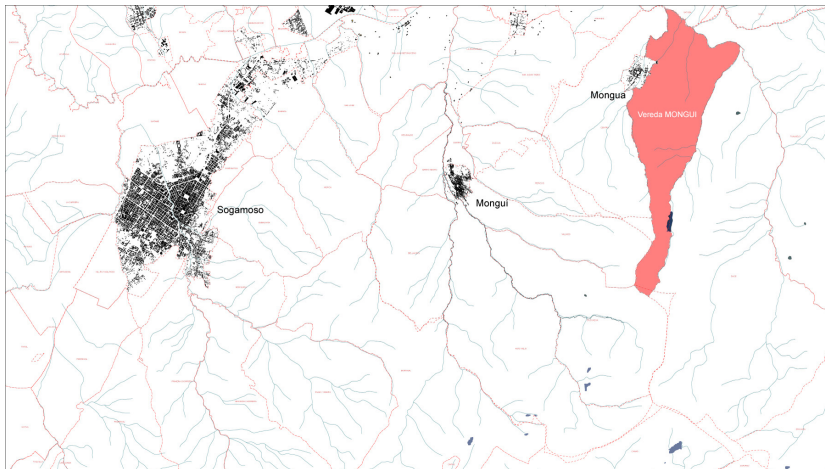

Fig 4. Cartography vereda Monguí. Possible location of the 'agregados' indigenous people in the municipality of Mongua.
Source: Author's work.

The Indigenous peoples of Monguí attempted to reclaim the *resguardo* status through the Spanish judicial system: «In 1796, Bartolo Pirateque, on his behalf and on behalf of the residents of Monguí, requested the reconstruction of the population and the return of their *resguardos*» (AGN, 1796: 114). In the archival records, it appears as received but not resolved. Migration to *resguardos* already inhabited by culturally different Indigenous

communities often led to conflict. For this reason, another request was submitted the following year, which likewise went unanswered: «The Indians of Monguí complain about the lack of land and the harassment they are victims of in the Town of Mongua and ask to be returned to their town» (AGN, 1797: 550). These petitions highlight the significance of the concept of ʿreserveʾ for the Spanish Crown and the white-mestizo population, who extended their territorial dominion by appropriating the core spaces of rural life: the *pueblo de Indios* and the *resguardo*.

Finally, it is not only land that acquires the character of a reserve for the Crown and the colonial urban elites, but also the bodies. Through the tribute, a biopolitical mechanism of control is consolidated. Tribute was collected in specific amounts of gold, agricultural products, or servitude labour, calculated according to the number of tributary Indigenous people per *resguardo*. Colmenares (1984) and Fals (1957) explain how the taxation systems imposed by the Crown were a mechanism of control and subalternization. These legitimized mechanisms of servitude included the Indigenous tax obligation and personal services (1555), the mining *Mita*[6] (1570), the urban *Mita* and rental of Indians (1578). This system was further reinforced through the implementation of the patriarchal family housing model because high taxes and demographic decline among Indigenous populations led to the inheritance of debt within nuclear family structures. Those who paid tribute were Indigenous men, either married or single, of productive age – typically between 18 and 50 years old (Colmenares, 1984: 65). However, agricultural and artisanal tribute was produced by the family unit. As such, the *resguardo* emerges as an economic and spatial institution that illustrates the threefold logic of exclusion and reservation within rurality: (1) agricultural and service-based exploitation, (2) reduction and partial sale, and (3) total sale.

The Residual Character of Rurality

With the end of the *resguardos* in 1810, individual property ownership triumphed (Fals, 1957: 98). In the 19th century, driven by ideas of strengthening the economic power of the nation-state, state policies focused on the colonization of *tierras baldías* (vacant lands). These were legitimized through Law 14 of 1870 Use of Vacant Lands and Management of Colonists. Later, in 1961

6 Forced labor system.

the agrarian reform aimed to redistribute land by promoting the colonization of 'nobody's land'. In 1970, during the Alliance for Progress in collaboration with the United States, the Properly Exploited Property (DNP, 1970) was introduced.[7] This sequence of policies reflects a recurring denial of rural subjects' presence through the legal fiction of 'nobody's land'. Through legal loopholes regarding private property or non-nucleated/urban settlement patterns, rural territories continue to be put by the State under a totalizing and residual category known as the *resto rural disperso*' (scattered rural remainder) (DNP, 2014: 7). This term was used by the Colombian State until 2001 to describe everything that fell outside the urban domain. Residuality, therefore, defines the sphere of Colombian rurality. This notion flattens the rural dimension, its spaces, ecologies, landscapes, and inhabitants, by interpreting it solely through the lens of production (agriculture) or, in some cases, protection, as with so-called 'natural reserves'. As a result, land-grabbing processes have been produced and reproduced, tied to the social and economic marginalization of certain bodies, spaces, and rural territories.

The exploitation is also carried out through legal and illegal mining. Of the 22 mines surveyed in 2022, only two held authorized extraction titles. These two companies have been operating for more than 25 years and possess titles granted before the foundation of the Siscunsí-Ocetá RNP. According to former mine workers currently seeking to legalize their mining rights, their efforts have been obstructed by the influence and power that large companies exert over regulatory agencies. This legal paradox becomes particularly evident when one considers the scale of production and the environmental harm caused by these legally sanctioned companies – revealing how environmental regulations and legislation are often subordinated to market interests. Those operating at the margins of legality are predominantly the sons of peasant farmers, equipped with technical training that enables them to explore and assess the feasibility of mineral extraction on their own land. However, tensions have emerged between these miners and local farmers and environmental advocates, particularly around issues such as poor waste management, water scarcity, and landscape degradation.

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7 To consult the thesis by Avila Torres, D. (2013). *Representaciones del campesinado cundiboyacense 1976-1990*.

Finally, the conception of rurality as a reserve is further reinforced by protectionist policies that designate peasant-owned lands as providers of ecosystem services. Although these policies aim to conserve biodiversity, their implementation frequently overlooks the subsistence economies and traditional land-use practices of local communities. This dynamic is exemplified by the case of the Siscunsí-Ocetá Regional Natural Park (RNP), where regional legislation overlaps with entire plots of privately-owned peasant land, thereby restricting customary agricultural activities. As a result, the burden of conservation, along with the conflicts it generates, is disproportionately placed on rural inhabitants, who are compelled to navigate the tensions between environmental tourism initiatives and their own need to sustain subsistence livelihoods on their land.

Care Infrastructures

In response to the absence of spatial policies beyond a protectionist and extractivist vision of rurality *care infrastructures* becomes central to understanding how rural communities sustain life. While the term 'infrastructure' typically refers to operative, artificial, and functional systems this definition proves insufficient when addressing the lived realities of Rural Andean territories. Simone, in *People as Infrastructure* (2004), expands this notion by demonstrating how in the absence of formal systems, infrastructure becomes embodied in the relational, affective, and everyday interactions between people and their environments. This broader understanding is essential for interpreting Andean rurality, where infrastructure is not merely technical, but social and ecological: built through generations of interdependence, reciprocity, and collective life-making.

This reframing invites us to recognize *care* as a central logic of territorial dynamics. Tronto (1993) defines care as «everything we do to maintain, continue, and repair our world in such a way that all can live in it as well as possible» (Ivi, 103) – a definition that resonates deeply with peasant realities, where the boundaries between care, labour, and ecological stewardship are blurred. In these subalternized contexts, the ethics of care proposed by Tronto becomes not just a moral stance but a material and political infrastructure for survival, autonomy, and resistance. It allows us to understand care not as an auxiliary function within

capitalism, but as a counter-hegemonic ecology.

The concept of care infrastructures thus emerges as a category to make visible the embodied, affective, and symbolic mechanisms that sustain life under overlapping regimes of extractivism and abandonment. From a peripheral position (Anzaldúa, 1987), rural subjects navigate and reconfigure these hegemonic conditions through practices that, while less functional to capital accumulation, are fundamental to the maintenance of socio-ecologies that uphold the collective character of the territory. Care infrastructures emerge within the interstices of contested rurality, shaped by the persistent condition of being a reserve for global, urban, and care demands, and functioning as an essential mechanism for territorial defence and coexistence.

Care infrastructures emerge as forms of resistance rooted in the body – land – territory framework (Cabnal, 2010). This perspective understands the defence of territory as an extension of caring for one's body – the first site of contestation and resistance. Caring for the land thus entails opposing extractivist practices and dispossession, confronting all forms of violence that threaten its ecological and cultural integrity. At the same time, it embraces a notion of territory as a physical, cultural, social, and political space in which collective care takes place. In this context, vulnerability and struggle transcend everyday life to become a political act of reclamation and preservation.

To understand how these care infrastructures materialize, semi-structured surveys were conducted. The findings reveal that rurality functions not only as a reserve of care but also as a collective territory for political re-existence. Carried out in 2022 with members of 24 families from Monguí, the surveys focused on household economics and community organization, allowing for the identification of three distinct care infrastructures: (1) the extended family/neighbourhood infrastructure; (2) the sustained collective infrastructure; and (3) the collective emergency infrastructure.

Extended Family/neighbourhood Infrastructure

Care relies on an expanded network of caregivers. In some families women work in agriculture, lodging, or home-based businesses and receive support from relatives and neighbours in care for children and crops.

«I have helped raise two of my cousins. My aunt is a single mother and worked all the time, sometimes having to travel outside of Bogotá. So, my cousin was raised with us until he was five years old, between my grandmother's house and ours, and she would come every 15 days when she could. Then, when he started school, his mother paid another aunt in Bogotá to take care of him in the afternoons, and when he went on vacation, he stayed with us» (M.B.)

This paid care work is informal and payments are not always monetary – ranging from 5.000 to 15.000 COP per hour – but are also made in nature, such as with food or lodging (Quevedo *et al.*, 2021). As Federici (2020) explains, the attack on social reproduction disproportionately affects women, who compensate for the lack of policies and spaces that guarantee social protection through their own labour. This has resulted in a condition of a 'double presence'[8] (Balbo, 1987) as caregivers on paid work and unpaid responsibilities. Consequently, mothers rely on other women, often within extended kin or social networks.
According to the national time use survey (DANE, 2022) in Colombia the total average working hours of women in rural areas is 14 hours per day; 62% of this time is unpaid work, which means women in rural areas receive payment for 38% of their daily working time. On the other hand, the average working hours of men in rural areas is 11 hours and 29 minutes per day; 27% of this time is unpaid work, which means they receive payment for 73% of their daily working time. The distribution of time between paid and unpaid work for men does not change between rural and urban areas; while rural women spend an average of 48 minutes more on unpaid work and 3 hours and 29 minutes less on paid work compared to urban ones. This asymmetry in the distribution of time and remuneration responds to a logic of subordination of rurality, in which subsistence economies, linked to land, feminized bodies and unpaid work, function as reserves of care. Rurality is then marginalized and actively instrumentalized as a space of life extraction and gratuitous social reproduction.
Fals explains that the fragmentation of indigenous reserves and the contradiction between dispersed property ownership and the nuclear family model are currently evidenced by fragmented and

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8 Balbo refers to the 'double presence' of women in the labour-market and in the domestic care work.

peripheral properties within the municipalities (Fals, 1957: 129). In Monguí, 18 families cultivated plots located at a considerable distance from their homes, generating dependencies and placing a greater care burden on neighbouring households.

«Right now, we have a vegetable garden, a couple of rabbits, and about 1.200 m² of crops – currently potatoes, but at other times we grow peas, corn, and beans. But it's a lot of work. If it weren't for Doña Carmen (the neighbour) or my mother-in-law, who come to help me, cook lunch sometimes, or feed the rabbits when I can't make it up there, it would be really hard. Besides, I work at a kindergarten during the week, and on Sundays I help my sister at her restaurant. My husband can rarely help me, because he works in the steel mills. […] When would I have time to do it all? » (C.A.).

Fig. 5 Fragmented property and peasant displacement.
Source: Author's own work.

This infrastructure calls for a spatial reimagining. How might certain spaces enable the redistribution of care? Reframing care as a territorial function – rather than a private or domestic responsibility – necessitates the design and planning of spaces capable of disrupting existing asymmetries. This entails the

development of collective spatial strategies that alleviate overburdened and feminized subsistence infrastructures, while fostering proximity, mutual support, and justice in rural life.

Sustained Collective Infrastructure
This refers to solidarity-based works, people refer to them as '*Mandatos*'. These are events organized by the community, at the neighbourhood, district, or inter-municipal level, to carry out maintenance, restoration, or the direct construction of structures for public use. According to residents, several rural roads, the elderly care centre[9], the church, and various chapels in the municipality have been built that way. These collective works also concern reconstruction of houses at risk, with fundraising through the «*bazar* or telethon». This is a method of collecting money, in which people are usually located in the town square on Sundays, and sell food, cultural activities, raffles and games, for a collective or private cause.

Fig. 6 Mandato del Tejal.
Source: ©Ricardo Saenz.

9 The rural elderly care centre offers daytime services, such as lunch, health, and recreational activities. It is managed by the local health centre and the municipal government.

«One '*Mandato*' was for the Tejal bridge, which was falling apart, and the mayor's office, nor anyone else, was doing anything. That bridge connects the center with the rural areas of Tebgua. We called people together through Facebook and on the street [...] The mayor's office lent the backhoe, people donated money, food, and materials, but the most important thing is those who put in their work [...] Different sessions were held, from 05/07/2020 to February 2021, people came especially on weekends, when they could take time from their chores» (R.S.).

«With the '*bazares*', we managed to buy the uniforms for the town band, raise money and materials for the community hall of the *vallado*, or for example for when people have gotten sick, that they have to pay for operations, or very expensive chemotherapy in Bogotá, and that the family does not have how else to help» (F.B.).

L.B. says «in the end we do know that today there is someone who is going through a difficult situation, then we show solidarity because we can all contribute a grain of sand and you don't know if tomorrow it will be our turn». The notion of vulnerability and collective interdependence is encompassed in the subsistence perspective (Mies and Bennholdt-Thomsen, 1999) which goes beyond the connotation of underdevelopment and poverty. It focuses on the production of life, instead of on the market. Interdependence is the mechanism on which subsistence communities are based.

Collective Emergency Infrastructure

The radical Interdependence (Lang and Mokrani, 2013) co-produced spaces where human agency and ecological systems are deeply intertwined. This infrastructure is particularly recognized in the co-care of the territory, especially after some emergencies. People organize not only to extinguish fires within the municipality, but also to protest against extractive companies and environmental protection policies that grant licenses while disregarding their subsistence economies. They also coordinate among neighbours to negotiate austerity measures and water distribution during periods of drought.

«What we do is take care of the territory, because that is what we depend on for the future, like with the moor fire [...]. The church and the mayor's office warned through the speakers, and between the people of

the town, the police and the civil defense we organized to go up and put it out. There were people cooking at night, while shifts were made to turn off what we could» (L.B.).

Open Considerations of the Spatiality of care in the Andean rurality

The first infrastructure – rooted in extended family and neighborhood networks – emerges in the domestic margins between homes and fields. It reflects a dual form of relegation: geopolitical and internal to rurality itself, where care asymmetries become more pronounced. This infrastructure must also transition toward the collective, acknowledging that care cannot continue to rely solely on isolated or feminized bodies.

Collective care infrastructures represent a means of spatial collectivization, transforming physical and infrastructural needs into shared responsibilities. Situated in streets, plazas, *páramos*, and bridges, these infrastructures challenge the conception of rurality as a reserve or residual space, instead highlighting it as a pre-existing collectivity – an alternative to financial capitalism. Giving space to care implies that these human infrastructures become spatial devices, whose redistribution demands new frameworks of participation. This prompts a crucial question: how might external actors – such as tourists – become engaged not as extractors or spectators, but as co-responsible participants?

This raises a key issue: how can care be decentralized spatially? Beyond the plaza, what other collective forms might emerge that resist centralized planning while recognizing rural fragmentation as a condition for autonomy?

To break with the dominant dialectic of care infrastructures, the state, the market, and urban disciplines must become active agents in repairing historically extractive territories. This requires a shift away from protectionist planning toward the recognition of rural dispersion, non-urban settlements, and community-based care as essential spatial strategies.

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