# Landscapes of Care. Public housing across multiple geographies: crossing theories and practices



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## Revitalizing housing: the vital trajectories of cooperative systems

Luisa Frigolett

#### **Abstract**

In a present time of crisis. Disruptive, turbulent and problematic (Haraway 2022), cooperative housing have re-emerged as a resilient network. These dynamic systems came to challenge prevailing narratives about housing and city production, offering alternatives through an innovative social technology. These cooperative systems become authentic collaborative and supportive cells of habitat generation, thus forming a complex assemblage of multiple entities.

This essay invites to think about the vital and cyclical nature of housing cooperatives, by observing the phenomenon as an open system capable of establishing complex relationships that transcend the built object, towards giving value to the role of self-management and self-construction played by the community.

The Mutual Aid Housing Cooperatives developed in Uruguay since 1968 is an example of comprehensive and sustainable solutions to the country's housing needs. Supported by the National Housing Law of 1968, these cooperatives have established an alternative system that integrates environmental relationships and strengthens cross–sector collaboration between the community and the State.

The concept of vitality in cooperativism, which this essay addresses, aligns with the organic and biological approaches to perception and world-building proposed by authors such as John Turner, Donella Meadows and Donna Haraway.

Additionally, it seeks to consolidate the importance of collective ownership in mutual aid cooperatives as a safeguard mechanism against real estate speculation and as a symbol of popular resistance. Furthermore, it underlines the relevance of community practices and active participation in the construction and management of housing as essential pillars to sustain the vitality of the system.

Keywords: systems; cooperative housing; collective housing; habitat production; communities.

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[Fig. 1.]
Own author. 2023. COVIMT9 Cooperative (1970)

#### I. The vitality of Cooperative housing systems.

According to the English architect John Turner, a house is a vital function of human life. In reference to it, he used the verb "housing". Understanding housing as an evolutionary process between users and the space they inhabit throughout life, rather than as an isolated object (Zimmermann 2018).

This relational and vital understanding of Turner's concept of housing recognizes the organic nature of society. An influence of Patrick Geddes who, in his biosociological interpretation, assumed the social whole as organic by nature and function (Turner 2018).

In cooperative housing, the community plays a pivotal role in shaping the habitat. Architect Cristina Gamboa from Lacol raises a fundamental question: Does the process of building housing creates a sense of community, or does community itself precede the construction process? She emphasizes the crucial role that users and citizens play in configuring urban space and in the process of making architecture (Gamboa 2024).

Community agency, through processes such as self-construction and self-management, builds a systemic framework that provides alternative and transversal solutions to current housing needs. Self-construction involves not only the physical production of housing, but also a continuous process of management and improvement. This approach expands the notion of time within the system, adding complexity to its characteristics and requiring a dynamic understanding.

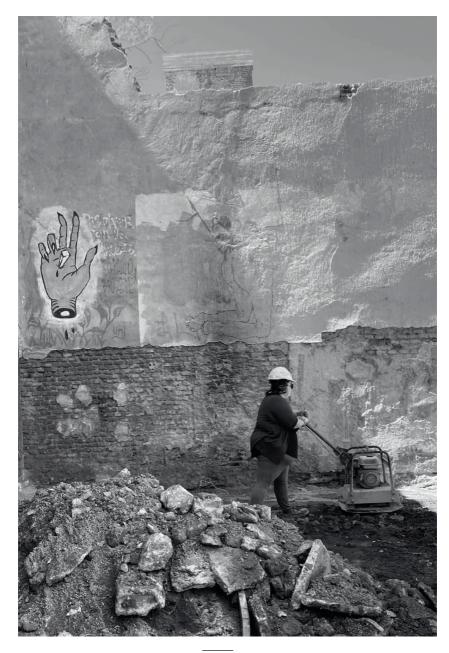
Interpreting the cooperative housing model as a system of vital relationships, where the community and its agency are key components, allows for a more comprehensive and dynamic understanding of cooperative housing. This perspective highlights the cyclical nature of space production sustained over time.

These social relationships not only ensure the survival and resistance of the system, but also promote a transformation in the perception of the world. This allows us to recognize nature and other beings as sources of wealth and knowledge, rather than threats (Federici 2020). These new perspectives of the world integrate variables such as: gender and race inclusion (Fig.2), care concerns, urban gardening development (Fig.3), implementation of renewable technologies, as well as the promotion of leisure and culture. All these concerns are being incorporated by cooperative housing as part of a common agenda, where the relevance of community relationships within the system and their impact on the built environment are once again emphasized.

This article adopts an organic and vital perspective for understanding cooperative housing, where everything is interted: constant, dynamic processes between people, their environment, objects,

[Fig. 2.]

Own Author, 2023. UFAMA Cooperative under construction. Cooperatives of Afro-descendant women heads of households



and other species, creating a multidimensional and multi–entity network. This holistic approach, as envisioned by John Turner and inspired by Patrick Geddes "notation of life" method, integrates a wide range of variables, contrasting with a reductionist and static approach that isolates them for analysis (Zimmermann 2018).



### II. Mutual Aid Cooperative Housing in Uruguay

Mutual Aid Housing Cooperatives in Uruguay have experienced significant growth and evolution since the 1960s. Driven by labor union movements, they emerged as a comprehensive solution to the country's housing needs. Led by the Uruguayan Federation of Housing Cooperatives through Mutual Aid (FUCVAM), these initiatives have been building an alternative system that intertwines and weaves sustainable relationships with the environment, as well as crosscutting collaborations between the community and the State.

[Fig. 3.]

Own author, 2023. "Urban gardening development". – "Nuevo Amanecer" neighborhood (MESA 1) a complex of 5 cooperatives of mutual aid (1971)

The production and management of habitat led by cooperatives create a multidimensional and multiscale system that transcends the built object. From searching a plot of land to its protection and care – "sereneadas" – each stage becomes a crucial part of a vital process of social cohesion that strengthens over time. Additionally, the active participation of cooperative members in assemblies and periodic committees contributes to the development of a comprehensive system that keeps the community active, engaged and united.

In 1968, Uruguay enacted Housing Law 13.728, which established a legal framework for the construction of cooperative-based housing. This law facilitated the development of two cooperative models: Savings-based and Mutual Aid. While both share the goal of providing housing, they differ in their approach. The Saving-based model focuses on the individual savings of each member and operates under private property ownership, while the Mutual Aid model emphasizes in an active participation and collective ownership, with members defending their status as users, as a mechanism of resistance against speculation and market dynamics.

For Piotr Kropotkin, Mutual Aid represented an essential factor for humanity evolution. Opposed to individualism and self-affirmation, he highlighted collaboration and solidarity as key mechanisms for human progress (Kropotkin 2020). These principles are fundamental to the development of mutual aid housing cooperatives, where the obligation to contribute work hours toward housing construction, has not only ensured the participation of all members, but also strengthened community ties from the very first stages of the project.

Cross–sector collaboration between the State and the community is essential for shaping the structural framework of the cooperative housing system. Each party plays a crucial role: The State provides funding and oversight, while the community contributes labor and manages the project (Nahoum 2013). According to Benjamín Nahoum, an engineer from FUCVAM, the system's effectiveness and sustainability rely on both public funding and the active involvement of communities throughout the entire process. The construction phase, in particular, stands out as a challenging yet educational experience for cooperative members. During this period, forge meaningful tions that lay the foundation for social cohesion and community identity. It also serves as a critical learning environment, where cultivate cooperative values and acquire practical and technical skills in areas such as project management, administration, development and construction. These skills not only build human capital but can also be transferred to new cooperatives, fostering a virtuous cycle of housing production.

# III. Dancing with systems: A systemic perspective of housing cooperatives.

Raúl Vallés, an Uruguayan architect, describes housing cooperatives as highly complex subsystems for habitat production. This definition requires a dynamic and holistic understanding, moving away from a mere synthesis of parts toward a global and systemic perspective that reveals how these systems function.

Donella Meadows, in her book "Thinking in Systems" defines systems as "a set of interrelated elements organized in a coherent way to achieve a purpose". Meadows elaborates on this definition and describes its main components: elements, interrelationships and a function or purpose. She emphasizes the need to focus on the interrelations rather than the elements, as a system is more than the sum of its parts. It is the interrelations that hold the system together and allow it to function. An example is the relationships among neighbors, where mutual knowledge and dialogue sustains the vitality of the social system. (Meadows 2008)

The integrity or wholeness of a system resides in a set of active mechanisms designed to preserve it. These mechanisms can be organized in different ways, allowing the system to change, adapt, heal, and sustain itself as if it were a living organism – even when it is composed of inanimate elements. These inherent abilities provide systems with qualities such as resilience, self–organization and hierarchy, which grant them vitality and the potential to create new and previously unanimagined complementary systems (Meadows 2008).

The ability to create new systems and understand their trajectory and vitality requires a comprehensive understanding that views systems as dynamic wholes. American anthropologist Anna L. Tsing, in her discussion of vital trajectories in forests, invites us to see community movements as a kind of dance, a form of knowledge not encoded in reports but expressed through diverse community stories, each with disparate aesthetics and orientations (Tsing 2023).

This idea resonates with what Meadows expressed in her posthumous book "Dancing with Systems", where she invites us to view systems as complex, nonlinear, and unpredictable entities. These systems, composed of multiple interted elements, cannot be fully understood through a reductionist science, as they generate additional information through their different combinatorics. A reductionism that also John Turner sought to overcome in his effort to understand community systems and their capacity to produce holistic habitats.

The possibility of creating new alternative systems through different combinatorics is one of the qualities of those "strange kinships" identified by Donna Haraway. Unusual relationships that can help to restore and heal the vitality of damaged environments. In this sense, cooperative housing should be understood as an open system of production, allowing for new combinations in a flexible process of constant change and evolution. As Meadows noted, systems cannot be controlled or predicted, but we can "dance with then".

### IV. Social Technology: Dialogues and cooperative practices.

The International Cooperative Alliance (ICA) defines cooperatives as an "autonomous association of people who have voluntarily joined together to meet their common economic, social, and cultural needs and aspirations through a jointly owned and democratically controlled enterprise" (ICA 2024).

A fundamental aspect of cooperativism, as defined by the ICA, is the pursuit of common goals through a collective structure that promotes horizontal relationships, thereby strengthening democracy. This pursuit is based not only by deeply held values, but also by a significant commitment to dialogue, which facilitates agreements and build consensus toward the creation of a common project.

We understand each other through conversation, said the German philosopher Hans-Georg Gadamer, often misunderstanding each other, but ultimately it is through words that we achieve mutual understanding in a common space–time. For Gadamer, uncovering meaning or discovering the truth was part of a process he called the "dialectical miracle". In this process, through dialogue and the use of language, we create a space of understanding that enables the development of common projects. Similarly, South Korean philosopher Byung–Chul Han, based on the concept of "ritual", suggests that such action serve as a way to revitalize communities and restore ties.

Whether due to the excessive scientific-technical focus of society (Gadamer 1998) or the technological encroachment of the neoliberal model, as proposed by Han, contemporary society faces an increasing phenomenon of alienation and loneliness, which have eroded community bonds. In this context, dialogue and ritual emerge as essential tools to rebuild and reconnect communities once again, directing them toward a common collective project, as promoted by cooperatives. These tools serve as fundamental pillars for fostering meaningful interactions, consolidating a shared vision in the pursuit of a common well-being.

Modern society, which emerged from the Industrial Revolution, with its accelerated growth, serialized production, and technologization of life, represents, for both Han and Gadamer, one of the crises that has led to increasing individualism, with negative impacts on holistic human development. Both authors, in different times and with a certain sense of nostalgia, caution that the technologization and mathematization of the world have resulted in the loss of personal growth centered on reflection, dialogue, and establishment of interpersonal relationships within a broader community.

This transformation has been eroding the community, weakening the creation of networks that promote a collective vision for shaping the world. Society has fragmented into isolated individualities, materializing in disconnected urban environments that lack meaningful connections. This shift reflects an increasingly individualistic society, one without common goals and devoid of solid systemic relationships.

The assemblies held periodically in mutual aid housing cooperatives have become spaces for ongoing dialogue throughout the entire project process. From the initial formation, through construction, to its use, these assemblies, organized through various committees, discuss and decide on the cooperative's future. These instances of dialogue, held in the community rooms of each one of these cooperatives in Uruguay, have helped maintain unity even during crisis such as the dictatorship or, more recently, the COVID-19 pandemic. Dialogue, associated with a defined physical space, materializes and strengthens the sense of community within each cooperative, with these community rooms often being the first to be built.

### V. Healing vital relationships.

Following the call of this edition, which invites us to reflect on how to heal the connections between humans and their environment, certain features of mutual aid cooperative housing systems offer potential insights.

Cooperatives create beyond physical structures; they weave relationships with the habitat in a vital process that operates outside the predominant space–production dynamics proposed by the State or the market, thus promoting community self–management (Ostrom 1990). In doing so, the community becomes a dynamic agent, activating vital trajectories (Tsing, 2023) and sustaining the system alive, through a self–management process that not only provides housing solutions, but also creates high–value urban pieces.

### Some of the key aspects of cooperative systems are:

## 1. Recognition of a damaged planet

Healing the relationships between humans and their environment requires first acknowledging our current reality. Donna Haraway describes the era we inhabit with the concept of the "Chthulucene", a space–time where we confront a damaged planet. Recognizing that we are in an era of climate, social and economic crises allows us to address the problem, act responsibly and seek new strategies for its solution.

Similarly, Rosi Braidotti, in her book "Posthuman Feminism", emphasizes the importance of listening to marginalized voices in times of transformation. A vital and democratic project, in this context, would combine social justice with community-based experiments, forming a dense network of interactions that raise awareness of environmental impact and foster response-ability, what Haraway describes as a novel ability of agency.

Mutual aid housing cooperatives embody values and principles such as equity, democracy, social responsibility, equality, solidarity, and a commitment to collaboration with other cooper-

atives and the broader community. These qualities enable their members to work across local, national, regional and international structures. In turn, they are committed to the sustainable development of communities through policies approved by their members (ACI 2024).

These values and principles contribute to a greater sensitivity of the crises we face. Cooperatives have provided alternative solutions to cyclical problems that have persisted since the Industrial Revolution. The Rochdale Society of Equitable Pioneers, which founded the cooperative system in England in 1844, sought alternative measures to uphold these principles during the  $19^{\rm th}$  century, a time when access to goods and services was critically problematic, a situation not so distant from what we experience today.

Housing cooperatives have responded to environmental and social challenges by creating sustainable housing solutions that respect the environment and promote solidarity. By focusing on the creation of sustainable communities, they reflect Haraway's idea of the need to generate unexpected connections and transform the notion of subjectivity within a broader context, recognizing environmental damage and adapting their practices to contribute on a collective scale.

#### 2. Collective creativity

Questioning traditional forms creates opportunities to find new solutions. Challenging preestablished networks allows for cutting and weaving new relationships. Haraway introduces "sympoiesis" as a collective and systemic approach to face contemporary challenges through unconventional connections and generative collaborations. Both Haraway and Braidotti draw inspiration from Lynn Margulis, an American biologist who, in the field of biology, explored ecological interdependence through the concept of symbiotic life. Margulis explain how bacteria come together to create emergent properties and evolve into complex cells. Similarly, by joining forces and recombining in a cooperative effort, productive relationships among organisms from different kingdoms generate changes in organic systems! (Braidotti 2022).

Just as John Turner drew inspiration from Patrick Geddes's organic perspective when addressing housing issues, emerging feminist movements are inspired by biological systems and the richness of their networks to better understand the world. In the case of cooperatives, they have developed complex systems that innovatively and transversally assemble agents, resources and construction methods. This represent an alternative way of creating and organizing space, one that promotes an equitable and supportive vision for housing development.

1. In 1974, Margulis and James Lovelock developed the Gaia hypothesis, arguing that the Earth is a self-regulating physiological system created by collaborative bacterial communities. They highlight the self-organizing or autopoietic activity of the planet. (Braidotti, 2022:144)

Examples of this system include collective ownership of users, the use of labor instead money as an initial contribution, the active participation of women from the earliest stages of construction, and the collective building of the project without individualizing ownership of units until the end of the project, at which point housing units are raffled and assigned. Additionally, cooperatives have been formed by marginalized or excluded groups such as Afro descendant women, LGBTQ+ communities, the elderly, and people with reduced capacities, among others.

Mutual aid housing cooperatives are based on the principles of collective ownership and shared use of assets. This collective approach challenges the traditional notion of private property, transforming housing into an asset for use and enjoyment. According to Benjamín Nahoum, collective ownership has a range of impacts on both the physical and social dimensions, joining together the community in shared rights and obligations.

This type of collective ownership unites cooperative members in areas such as shared access to financing. While the cooperative assumes the debt, each member commits to paying their share. Another relevant aspect is the care and maintenance of common spaces and housing. These actions transform into a way of enhancing the collective heritage over time, improving both the quality of social life and the condition of the property (Nahoum 2013).

Collective ownership, being indivisible, cannot be commercialized. Prioritizing the value of use over the value of exchange means that the property cannot be sold, mortgaged, rented, or transferred. Emphasizing use value rather than exchange value protects families from foreclosures or loss of property. Although this model faces many criticisms, Nahoum argues that this feature is one of the keys to its success, as collective ownership ensures resident's permanence and consolidates the system over time. In contrast, individual ownership regime tends to create separation, building boundaries between "yours" and "mine", whereas the mutual aid cooperative system fosters a bond of unity (Nahoum 2013).

This system of collective ownership resonates with Donna Haraway's concept of "sympoiesis", which promotes a collaborative and generative approach in contrast to traditional ownership and capital models. It offers a model of self–management and cooperation that reinforces the idea of collective construction.

For Haraway, "sympoiesis" (generative-with) represents a dynamic and meaningful way to collectively address contemporary challenges. It encourages the creation of unexpected connections across different scales and species, fostering unusual collaborations that could be key to collectively tackling the issues our planet faces today. This concept calls for action, promoting the development of collective and transformative thinking. (Haraway 2022)

# 3. The Multidimensional Space of Cooperativism: Adaptability and Flexibility as Essential Qualities.

Flexibility dissolves boundaries, allowing new relationships to form and fostering the development of innovative ways to inhabit the world. This flexibility should encourage the creation of novel and coherent solutions that are tailored to the specific needs of each community in its unique context. As a result, we cannot promote methods that are merely exportable and universalizable, as each community faces its own complexities that must be managed specifically.

The adaptability of cooperatives has allowed for the development of alternative solutions for housing production. Rather than enforcing a one–size–fits–all model, cooperatives have crafted approaches tailored to the unique characteristics of each context and community.

This dynamism resonates with Haraway's concept of challenging static, traditional structures to embrace new forms of coexistence and spatial organization. Haraway's inquiries into novel forms of kinships highlight the importance of forging innovative relationships and actions that are essential for multispecies flourishing. In the context of cooperatives, this approach addresses a wide range of differences and needs within communities, fostering a more inclusive and adaptive environment.

Questioning the type of space that hosts these initiatives shows the importance of their typological, programmatic and spatial qualities. These characteristics must support the diverse needs of communities, reflecting the specific context and the identity of each group.

For Haraway, a space that supports broad–spectrum coexistence possesses multidimensional qualities that enable the agency of diverse species. Such a space is co-created by various participating entities, allowing for the formation of unexpected companionships. Consequently, the attributes of the space should offer the freedom to forge and adapt to these new relationships, accommodating the needs and actions of multiple entities.

Additionally, Haraway distinguishes between "sympoietic" and "autopoietic" systems. Sympoietic systems are characterized by collaboration, evolution, and openness to unexpected changes, while autopoietic systems are closed, controlled, and predictable. She advocates for a systemic approach that fosters collaboration and challenges the concept of closed systems, promoting a more dynamic and cooperative environment that encourages "becoming–with". (Haraway 2022)

## 4. Autonomy and Independence:

Cooperative principles provide the framework through which cooperatives express their values (ACI 2024). Of the seven principles identified by the ACI, autonomy and independence are ranked fourth. This principle emphasizes the self–managing nature of cooperatives, where members exercise control and self–help. It underscores that any agreements with external

organizations—including governments—or efforts to secure additional capital from outside sources must ensure that democratic control remains firmly in the hands of the members, thereby preserving the cooperative's autonomy (ACI 2024).

The principle of autonomy and independence has been crucial to the development of mutual aid housing cooperatives, enabling them to function effectively across the housing production sector. While they benefit from State support, such as land access and financing, this assistance does not compromise the cooperative's democratic integrity.

The Gaia theory, proposed by James Lovelock and Lynn Margulis, presents Earth as a living organism that naturally seeks self–regulation and balance, emphasizing its inherent autonomy<sup>2</sup>. Similarly, cooperatives operate as independent entities, separate from State structures and market forces, granting them greater freedom to innovate and address their unique needs. This autonomy translates into a more democratic and participatory approach to managing housing projects, resonating with Haraway's critique of the Anthropocene and the *Capitalocene*. It supports, through self–governance, more collaborative and horizontal forms of organization.

Autonomy is essential for habitat production systems to adopt diverse forms. It allows for cross–sector commitments without being tied to specific political interests, creating spaces for free action and democracy. This independence helps to avoid dominant tensions that could undermine autonomy and ensure the freedom to operate without constraints.

One might consider cooperative members as the "chthonic" beings described by Haraway—inhabitants of the Chthulucene—whom she portrays as both ancient and contemporary entities, free from ideologies and affiliations. She envisions them with tentacles capable of transversal articulations, opposing the dichotomies and exclusions of the current world (Haraway 2022).

Although the State provides funding and facilitates the necessary conditions for these initiatives, its support does not compromise the autonomy of the cooperatives. Despite political affinities, these cooperatives have demonstrated the ability to engage across party lines and with various governments, even during periods of significant political upheaval. During Uruguay's dictatorship (1973–1985), they were known as "islands of freedom," offering safe havens for those opposing the regime and providing spaces of security, trust, and resistance. The cooperatives' neutrality and independence, inherent to their autonomous structure, enable them to foster environments that genuinely promote freedom and democracy.

2. By incorporating Maturana and Varela's concept of *autopoiesis*, Margulis emphasizes the ability of living systems to autonomously self–produce. This perspective illustrates how, despite Earth's finite limits—visible in early images like the Blue Marble (1972)—the planet sustains its vitality through self–regulation and the effective use of solar energy for its continuous self–production.

[Fig. 4.]
Own author, 2023. COVICIVI Cooperative. (1998)



Nowadays, Mutual Aid Housing Cooperatives, according to FUCVAM data, have established nearly 550 cooperatives across Uruguay, providing homes for over 22.000 families. Additionally, 60 projects are currently underway, which will offer housing solutions to more than 1600 families nationwide.

#### **Conclusions**

Mutual aid housing cooperative systems become collaborative and supportive cells for habitat generation, forming a network of multiple entities. These cooperatives establish complex relationships that go beyond physical construction, emphasizing the community's role in self-management and self-construction, which bring dynamism and vitality into the system. These organic and dynamic systems show an ability to reshape their relationships with their environment, leading to inclusive, supportive, and sustainable solutions.

Community practices and active participation in the construction and management of cooperative housing are fundamental pillars for the integral habitat production. This involvement imbues the process with a vital quality, enabling transversal relationships with other entities and fostering alternative solutions beyond those offered by the State or the market. Furthermore, by promoting collective ownership and the right to use and enjoy housing, these cooperatives reimagine other forms of tenure, transforming themselves into a symbol of resistance against real estate speculation.

The transversality of cooperativism could be crucial in weaving relationships across different categories and disciplines. This approach fosters connections and creates resonances between seemingly incompatible positions, while also promoting the integration of different generations and collaboration among various social actors, such as the interactions between the community and the State, federations, and other institutions.

The vitality discussed in this article, when compared to biological and organic approaches, highlights qualities within cooperative housing that parallel the complexity of living systems, where the community plays a key role in revitalizing the habitat. These habitat–generation projects can be understood as dynamic processes that encompass the life cycle of what is built, where horizontal social relationships, transversal connection with other entities, and maintenance practices become essential for the long–term sustainability of the cooperative system.

Similarly, qualities like autonomy, flexibility, and dynamism inherent in mutual aid housing cooperatives enable the creation of unexpected connections that embrace a broad spectrum of diversity. This autonomy, regardless of any affinities with specific political sectors, allows them

to act transversally, independent from the government in power. By avoiding rigid models and ideologies, cooperatives remain dynamic and adaptable, empowering them to act freely and across different sectors. This flexibility and vitality enable to forge unexpected relationships that uniquely address the specific needs of the community itself, its culture, or a particular territory.

Comparing mutual aid cooperative networks to organic and biological systems also provides valuable insights into revitalizing the relationship between humans and their environment. Understanding habitat production systems as collective, organic and dynamic frameworks reveals them as open and continuously developing projects. The connections between the community and the collectively built common project, as Donna Haraway suggests with her concept of "sympoiesis" or "becoming-with" -understood as a collaborative and evolving process- can create new pathways for building resilient and vital cooperative systems.

Adopting a holistic approach –rather than a reductionist one that fragments systems into isolated components– is essential for recognizing the interconnectedness that create new opportunities for innovation. Moreover, dialogue, as a social technology that promote collective thinking, is essential for scaling projects across sectors and levels. Finally, acknowledging that we live in a time of crisis compels us to embrace our responsibility to restore the environment. As Haraway suggests, we must view this response–ability as a novel ability of agency.

In conclusion, habitat production can be recognized as a dynamic system: an open and constantly evolving porcess. Although these systems can be complex, it is possible to develop analytical methods that help us understand them as a whole and, as Meadows suggests, learn to "dance with them." It is essential to understand the collective vital trajectories that aim to preserve and restore the planet's continuity through multi-entities and trans-scalar connections. These relationships not only sustain the vitality of our immediate environment but also enable us to expand solutions that restore how we inhabit and care for our planetary system as a whole.

**Note**: This essay was based on a series of interviews conducted with the communities of mutual aid cooperatives in Uruguay in November 2023 (COVICIVI, TEBELPA, COVIESS 90, COVIMT 9, COVIREUS, ICOVI, ZONA 3, MESA 1, El Hormiguero, and the Mundo Afro cooperatives UFAMA CORDON 1 and UFAMA all Sur). Special thanks to FUCVAM for their management and support, especially to Ramón Fratti, who accompanied and guided me throughout this journey. I would also extend my gratitude to Gustavo González, Enrique Cal, Benjamín Nahoum, and Isabel Zervoni from FUCVAM, as well as to Horacio Pérez from the Uruguayan Cooperative Center CCU and Raúl Vallés, architect and academic from FADU-Udelar.

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