

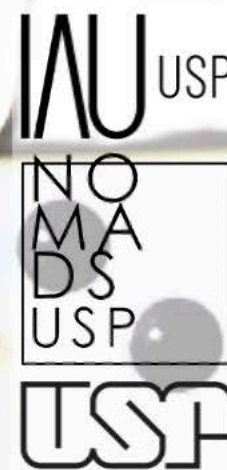
# **VIRUS**

**30**

**MULTILATERAL  
DIALOGUES  
PRAXIS  
INTERLOCUTIONS  
CONFRONTATIONS**

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MULTILATERAL DIALOGUES: PRAXIS, INTERLOCUTIONS, AND CONFRONTATIONS  
DIÁLOGOS MULTILATERAIS: PRÁXIS, INTERLOCUÇÕES E CONFRONTAÇÕES  
DIÁLOGOS MULTILATERALES: PRAXIS, INTERLOCUCIONES Y CONFRONTACIONES

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## TOPOLOGIES OF CARE: FROM THE CLEARING TO THE PARK IN PETER SLOTERDIJK TOPOLOGIAS DO CUIDADO: DA CLAREIRA AO PARQUE EM PETER SLOTERDIJK BRÁULIO RODRIGUES

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## Abstract

This article examines the articulation between biopolitics and zoopolitics in Peter Sloterdijk's philosophy, highlighting the centrality of the concept of anthropotechnics as the key to understanding the genesis of politics and civilization. Based on an ontogenealogy of domestication, the study aims to analyze how paleopolitics, understood as the original matrix of dwelling and co-immunity, allows for a rethinking of politics as the art of cohabitation and care. Methodologically, it develops a theoretical-comparative reading of Sloterdijk's works in dialogue with Heidegger and Luhmann, to reconstruct a genealogy of political space stemming from the spheres of domestication, surveillance, and interfaciality. The results indicate that anthropotechnics offers a post-anthropocentric model of multilateralism, in which care and technique are understood as mediations between the human and the non-human, the symbolic and the material. By investigating the topologies of care in Sloterdijk, the article also proposes a dialogue with the theme of spatial multilateralism, understanding anthropotechnics as a diversified practice of cohabitation and symbolic exchange between human and non-human natures. Furthermore, the reading of paleopolitics as a matrix of co-immunity reveals that every form of dwelling involves a praxis of negotiation among differences—cultural, technical, and environmental—establishing interlocutions and confrontations that configure the different modes of producing the common.

**Keywords:** Sloterdijk, Anthropotechnics, Paleopolitics, Multilateralism, Co-immunity.

## 1 Introduction

How can we rethink the foundations of politics and life in common beyond traditional models based on contract and sovereignty? This question, central to contemporary political philosophy, takes on original contours in the work of German thinker Peter Sloterdijk. His philosophical project, notable for reclaiming spatiality and technology as constitutive dimensions of the human, shifts the analysis of the political from the realms of law and discourse to the topologies of care and the architectures of coexistence. The central objective of this article is to analyze the articulation between the paradigm of zoopolitics and the concept of paleopolitics in Sloterdijk's thought, demonstrating how it redefines the genesis of the political. For the philosopher, zoopolitics should not be confused with Foucauldian biopolitics. While the latter deals with the administration of the life of the human species (*bios*), zoopolitics refers to a more originary operation: the government and domestication of human animal life (*zoē*), the process by which the human is formed, selected, and cultivated.

This exploration does not occur in a neutral field but is traversed by fundamental tensions that shape the debate surrounding Sloterdijk's work and to which this article seeks to respond. Three axes of tension are particularly central: first, the opposition between classical humanism—criticized by Sloterdijk as a literary and domesticating doctrine—and his post-humanism or beyond-the-human, which recognizes the animal and technical foundations of our existence without relinquishing an ethics of care. Second, the sometimes conflictual relationship between Foucauldian biopolitics (management of the species) and Sloterdijkian zoopolitics (domestication of animality), which raises the question of which one operates as the matrix of the other. Third, the ambivalence of domestication as a process that, on one hand, is a condition of possibility for civilization, security, and culture (a form of care), and on the other, can engender mechanisms of control, selection, and loss of vitality (a form of subjection).

The hermeneutic dimension guides the reading of Sloterdijk's primary sources, seeking to understand the internal architecture of his conceptual system—particularly the concepts of paleopolitics and anthropotechnics—from his central works. It is an interpretation that seeks to reconstruct the coherence and internal logic of Sloterdijkian thought. Complementarily, the genealogical procedure traces the genesis of these categories throughout the development of the author's work, understanding them not as abstract definitions but as conceptual tools that emerge from a specific diagnosis of contemporaneity and respond to precise philosophical problems. Finally, this work also has the merit of presenting, in the Portuguese language, an author whose reception in Brazil, especially in the field of Architecture and Urbanism, is still at an early stage, despite his immense relevance. Concepts such as spheres, anthropotechnics, and the human park provide powerful lenses for analyzing the built space as an active agent in the domestication of life, the modulation of social relations, and the creation of psychic and political climates.

## 2 From Biopolitics to Zoopolitics

If biopolitics, in Michel Foucault's famous formulation, is concerned with the administration of the life of the human species (*bios*) at the population level, Peter Sloterdijk proposes an ontogenetic step back to a more originary gesture: zoopolitics. This refers to the government and domestication of man's animal life (*zoē*), the founding process by which the human is formed, selected, and cultivated from its basal animality. While biopolitics manages the already constituted product—the population—zoopolitics investigates the very factory that produces it. The concept that articulates this factory of the human is that of anthropotechnics, defined by Sloterdijk as "(...) the continuum of advanced civilizations, the three-thousand-year empire of mental exercises, self-trainings, self-elevations and self-lowerings – in short, the universe of metaphysically coded vertical tension – in an unprecedented synopsis" (Sloterdijk, 2013, p. 34). Mastery of these techniques, as Sloterdijk warns, confers a power of command (2009, p. 19), a power that is consolidated precisely through the mediation "(...) in which participation through reading the canon reveals a common love of inspiring messages" (Sloterdijk, 2009, p. 13).

In this updated reading, zoopolitics can be understood as the governance of this continuous process of domestication, which involves the relationship between domesticators and domesticated and is expressed in a series of symbolic and psycho-immunological practices whose origin predates even written language, harking back to the first cosmological representations recorded pictorially in caves. In short, the concept of zoopolitics can be understood as an analytical category oriented by an anthropological question: humans cease to be considered mere creatures and begin to be seen as creators (Castro-Gómez, 2012, p. 69). According to the lessons of Hernán Alejandro Cortéz Ramírez (2013, p. 79), zoopolitics is understood as an agency over the brute life of men and the animal nature from which man abdicates and becomes a bastard. Both zoopolitics and biopolitics are immunological techniques for the improvement of the world, or, it could also be said, techniques for dwelling according to a typology, vital context, and rationality of the world. In his conception for *Rules for the Human Zoo: a response to the Letter on Humanism*, Sloterdijk seems to understand *bios*, and thus biopolitics, as that rationality responsible for administering the human park.

To treat humanity as a biological species and to consider humans as mere members of this species, is this not the regulatory ideal of those policies that have been grouped under the name of "biopolitics"? Politics would no longer have to settle conflicts, administer territories, or govern men; it would deal with living beings, whose reproduction would need to be managed, whose life would need to be preserved or not, and among whom balances would also need to be defined. For, to rationally manage the cohabitation between living species, the political government of men would have to make an exclusive place for an ecological administration. Is this not the dream, or the chimera, of a politics finally reduced to the essential: ecology – the management of balances between the lives of the living? But, even in a dream, this politics would prove powerless, hindered by its own principles: for what criteria would this pure ecology have at its disposal if it could not rely on the priority of preserving humanity (or rather, the "human species") – which would be an anthropocentric infringement of naturalistic egalitarianism?<sup>1</sup> (Wolff, 2010, p. 326, our translation).

Here, the French philosopher Francis Wolff refers to the problematic of administration in Sloterdijk; in explanatory terms, how to 'rationally'—and also normatively—manage the cohabitation of living species through the naturalistic egalitarianism observed in the 'human park' (*Menschenpark*)? Wolff's critique of Sloterdijk (2009) is grounded in a possible animalism advocated by the latter. In other words, a primacy of zoopolitics, to the detriment of biopolitics. It is only in a later essay that

<sup>1</sup> Original in French: »Traiter l'humanité comme une espèce biologique et considérer les humains comme de simples membres de cette espèce, n'est-ce pas l'idéal régulateur de ces politiques que l'on a pu regrouper sous le nom de «biopolitiques»? La politique n'aurait plus à régler des conflits, à administrer des territoires, à gouverner des hommes, elle aurait affaire à des vivants, dont il faudrait, selon les cas, gérer la reproduction, préserver ou non la vie, et entre lesquels il faudrait bien aussi définir les équilibres. Car, pour gérer rationnellement la cohabitation entre les espèces vivantes, le gouvernement politique des hommes devra faire une place exclusive à une administration écologique. N'est-ce pas le rêve, ou la chimère, d'une politique enfin réduite à l'essentiel, l'écologie – la gestion des équilibres entre les vies des vivants? Mais, même en rêve, cette politique se montrerait impuissante, empêchée par ses propres principes : car de quels critères cette écologie pure disposerait-elle si elle ne pouvait pas s'appuyer sur la priorité de la préservation de l'humanité (ou plutôt de l'« espèce humaine ») – ce qui serait une entorse anthropocentriste à l'égalitarisme naturalize?»

Sloterdijk will resolve this problem with animalism and reconcile biopolitics with zoopolitics. As the English translation points out already in the title, *Strangers to Nature: Animal Lives and Human Ethics*, Sloterdijk's thought cannot be framed within ethology, since his concern with ethics still starts from the human. In this sense, Sloterdijk (2012) presents a genealogy for the ontological coequality among species. According to Sloterdijk, the narrative of Noah and the construction of the ark represent this coequality, given that the responsibility attributed to Noah to protect non-human species (the animals) possesses the same measure as the protection of man.

Unlike the right to name—and to dominate—the animals granted to Adam, in Noah's case, the duty of care is an attributed one. By virtue of the coming flood, Noah is the one who brings about the first institution of biopolitics. Noah protects nature from nature itself. Non-human species are now under the shelter of human protection and share with men a dependence on covering (*Hülle*). However, regarding the theme of the dignity of human and non-human life forms, it is safe to say that, since the *Rules*, and differently from Wolff's (2010) critique, Sloterdijk is not surrendering to animalism with the aim of recognizing in the biological attribute the foundation of dignity. What Sloterdijk seems to propose is that humanity should cease to be understood as a virtual moral community, based on ideas of equality and reciprocity, and turn instead to the material and practical aspects of cohabitation as co-immunity. By turning to proximity, he seems to unfold a multifocal perspective on human behavior. It is a matter of the fact that peace is only possible in an atmosphere whose climate is favorable to the imitation of behaviors that contain bestializing instincts.

If there is one virtue of human beings which deserves to be spoken about in a philosophical way, it is above all this: that people are not forced into political theme parks but, rather, put themselves there. Humans are self-fencing, self-shepherding creatures. Wherever they live, they create parks around themselves. In city parks, national parks, provincial or state parks, eco-parks – everywhere people must create for themselves rules according to which their comportment is to be governed (Sloterdijk, 2009, p. 25).

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Considering the human as a container of animality means becoming sensitive to the individual *pathos* of every living being and to how this *sui generis* dimension of life is reflected in the inhabited space. As the citation illustrates, people are not simply kept in political theme parks whose topology of dwelling should be disregarded or reduced to a position (*Lage*). Here, Wolff's critique, by focusing on the animalist aspect of Sloterdijk's topology, overlooks that, for the German author, it is utopian to configure any community based on reciprocity. A holistic and universal human community does not exist, even in its virtuality. To be in the world is to inhabit an orbit of personal care and to share this domestic relationship of care not only through the event but also through ruptures and dissonances (Sloterdijk, 2017, p. 259). It is necessary to clarify how Wolff's critique is grounded in a Cartesian understanding of spatiality. For Wolff, spatiality is a product of extension and, by deduction, it is possible to think of a human community that inhabits the entire Earth. On animality, Francis Wolff teaches:

But to consider a "human" as worthy of respect is not to recognize in them a specific biological attribute (belonging to "my species," any more than possessing a certain skin color) nor even an intellectual one (intelligence); it is to hold them as a member of a virtual moral community, humanity. Humanist universalism is founded on the idea of equality and reciprocity: I must treat every human as they should be able to treat me; every other is an "other" to me because I can be that "other" for them, and so on. It is on this idea of reciprocity that most of our moral concepts are founded, and first and foremost the virtue of justice. With every human, I must be able to form a community precisely because it is reciprocal, if only because we can speak to each other. What reciprocity can be expected from a crocodile or a mosquito? What moral or political community can one serenely envisage forming with them? What moral community can be formed with beings I consider only as "moral patients"? To recognize the humanity of a being is to know that it would be possible to have just relations with them and to build a society, or to have moral relations because we are part of the same virtual community<sup>2</sup> (Wolff, 2010, p. 332, our translation).

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<sup>2</sup> Original in French: »Mais considérer un «homme» comme digne de respect, ce n'est pas reconnaître en lui tel attribut biologique (l'appartenance à «mon espèce», pas plus que la possession de telle couleur de peau) ni même intellectuel (l'intelligence), c'est le tenir pour membre d'une



However, for Sloterdijk, it is essential to understand that it is not possible to inhabit the world, but rather a place in the world where the extended thing (*res extensa*) and the thinking thing (*res cogitans*) merge in the definition of one's own space, be it the house or the villa. Every dwelling must be understood as a civilizational concretization of a macrosphere: a greenhouse where the tensions of rival groups and individuals who deviate from the common rules of conduct are isolated through a specific architecture. The public sphere is a general immune structure, built in focal fields. Here, the discussion surpasses animal bioethics and enters the question of terrestrial migration within the scope of paleopolitics. It is a matter of bringing to light the stress provoked by difference and of how borders represent saturation limits for this stress, whose origin lies in the tribalism of the first hunter-gatherer communities in the Paleolithic. In this sense, it is necessary to investigate how the topology of spheres composes and reflects values for the public sphere through the architecture of cohabitation spaces throughout the process of hominization. On Sloterdijk's anthropotechnology, Fabián Ludueña Romandini comments:

From this perspective, all anthropotechnology rests on a constitutive politicization of the animal life that is to be domesticated and cultivated in the process of civilization. We will call, for reasons that will become clear in the first part of this study, this originary operation on animal life zoopolitics, despite—or in a conflictual relationship with—its ecstasy towards hominization. Thus, all anthropotechnology implies a zoopolitical substratum that lies at its center. In his *Regeln für den Menschenpark. Ein Antwortschreiben zu Heideggers 'Brief über den Humanismus'*, Peter Sloterdijk has made a similar use of the term, placing at the center of his analysis the anthropotechnics that underlie the Heideggerian project of questioning classical humanism. Thus, by applying a magnifying glass to the *Lichtung*, the Heideggerian clearing in which the human emerges, Sloterdijk has sought to show that within it takes place a process of educational and eugenic domestication dedicated to the creation of *homo sapiens* as a civilizational subject<sup>3</sup>. (Romandini, 2010, pp. 11-12, our translation)

From the perspective proposed by Romandini, the anthropotechnics outlined by Sloterdijk rests on an originary zoopolitics, that is, on a constitutive politicization of animal life that precedes and sustains the process of hominization. The techniques that act upon life are simultaneously natural and artificial, and architecture, in this context, reveals itself as one of the most visible forms of this vital rationalization: a field in which biological life is continually administered, ordered, and elevated through its technical spatialization. Thus, by articulating the concept of zoopolitics with the philosophy of space, one can understand architecture as a privileged instance of this politics of life. It translates onto the material plane what, in Sloterdijk, appears as the anthropotechnical dynamic of domestication and cultivation: the construction of habitable spheres in which the human is formed, protected, and elevated. Based on Sloterdijk, Carla Cordua levels a critique of Heidegger's philosophy of space:

Heidegger's clearing is a forest metaphor, which does not evoke the realm of citizen discussions: the marketplace. And since he did not advance to the city and its center, to the square, the agora,

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communauté morale virtuelle, l'humanité. L'universalisme humaniste est fondé sur l'idée d'égalité et de réciprocité : je dois traiter tout homme comme il devrait pouvoir me traiter; tout autre est pour moi un autre parce que je peux être pour lui cet autre, et ainsi de suite. C'est sur cette idée de réciprocité que sont fondés la plupart de nos concepts moraux, et d'abord la vertu de justice. Avec tout homme, je dois pouvoir faire communauté juste parce que réciproque, ne serait-ce que parce que nous pouvons nous parler. Quelle réciprocité attendre du crocodile ou du moustique? Quelle communauté morale ou politique peut-on envisager tranquillement de former avec eux? Quelle communauté morale former avec des êtres que je considère seulement comme des «patients moraux»? Reconnaître l'humanité d'un être, c'est savoir qu'il serait possible d'avoir avec lui des relations justes et de faire société, ou d'avoir des relations morales parce que nous faisons partie d'une même communauté virtuelle».

<sup>3</sup> Original in Spanish: "Desde esta perspectiva, toda antropotecnología descansa sobre una politización constitutiva de la vida animal que se quiere domesticar y cultivar en el proceso de civilización. Llamaremos, por razones que quedarán claras en la primera parte de este estudio, zoopolítica a dicha operación originaria sobre la vida animal a pesar de -o en conflictiva relación con- su éxtasis hacia la hominización. Así, toda antropotecnología implica un sustrato zoopolítico que yace en su centro. En sus *Regeln für Menschenpark. Ein Antwortschreiben zu Heideggers 'Brief über den Humanismus'* Peter Sloterdijk ha realizado una utilización similar del término colocando en el centro de su análisis las antropotecnias que subyacen en el proyecto heideggeriano de cuestionamiento del humanismo clásico. Así, aplicando una lente de aumento sobre la *Lichtung*, el claro heideggeriano en el que surge lo humano, Sloterdijk ha querido mostrar que en ella tiene lugar un proceso de domesticación educativo y eugenésico dedicado a la creación del *homo sapiens* como sujeto civilizatorio".

or the forum, that which one approaches by transcending the city became even more foreign to him: the political space of the state (...) (Cordua, 2008, p. 56, our translation<sup>4</sup>).

That is to say, according to Sloterdijk's response, the city is only possible by virtue of the security provided by a political sovereignty, and consequently, by the vigilance of a guardian whose vital typology ensures a unity for diversity. A politics of domestication, as will be seen next, can be perceived in paleopolitics. Paleopolitics must be understood as an onto-anthropological management of human dwelling and cohabitation with domestic animals. The Heideggerian clearing, reinterpreted by Sloterdijk as the place of the emergence of the human, finds in architecture its concrete prolongation—a built clearing where the governance of *zoē* by *bíos* is realized through the configuration of the environment. In other words, architecture not only shelters life but governs and educates it, constituting itself as one of the fundamental forms of anthropotechnics and as a spatial manifestation of modern zoopolitics.

### 3 Classical Politics and the Immune System

To understand the politics of domestication and its implications for the first co-immunitary formations, it is necessary to resort to the comprehension of the hominization process. Although one cannot speak of political governance in the strict sense when dealing with the Paleolithic (Harari, 2014), it is worth remembering, as Sloterdijk (2009, p. 20) conceptualizes in his first essay on spherology, that it is within the social rafts, the hordes, and the herds in exodus crossing into the Neolithic that spaces of intimization arise. One could say that the very right to property is a modality of social experience consequent to an evolutionary process, which was possibly structured from an originary appropriation during the transition to the Neolithic, "(...) that man is a creature that could become a being in the world is rooted in the characteristics of his species that reveal themselves in the basic ideas of premature-born-ness, neoteny, and the chronic animalian immaturity of man".

The transition from nomadic groups to a common existence on the same land implies identification with a single place, a maternal affectivity directed towards the earth, from which an agro-metaphysics springs forth, and all useful plants and all "domestic animals, the domestic spirits, the gods of the fields and the paths" acquire spirit (Sloterdijk, 2011, p. 423). Before the city, still in the Paleolithic period, "(...) there was the small settlement, the sanctuary, and the village; before the village, the camp, the hideout, the cave, the mound of stones" (Mumford, 1961, p. 5). Here, it is possible to perceive how the interior of subjectivity is incorporated into the exteriority of politics. It is an integration in the vital field where the clearing appears: with the hearth and the control of fire, it becomes possible to illuminate the caves, protect oneself from the cold and climatic variations, and, of course, enable better preparation and cooking of food.

For during the majority of the evolutionary process, almost everything individual humans thought and felt was so transparent that for the others around them, those experiences were like their own. The notion of private ideas had no grounding in emotional experience or the social concept of space: no cells had been made for individuals yet, either in the imagination or the physical architectures of societies. In small groups, under the law of reciprocity, the actions of one are the actions of the other; hence the thoughts of the one are generally also the thoughts of the other. This even applies to archaic "shame cultures," where individuals would like to make their inner selves invisible because they suffer from the excessive exposure of their affects to the empathy of the others. From a paleopsychological perspective, hidden thoughts are perfectly absurd (Sloterdijk, 2011, p. 264).

As Sloterdijk points out regarding the origin of the term, "(...) 'immunity', which many believe comes from biology or medicine. In reality, immunity is originally a juridical-moral concept that has its origin in Roman law. In the strict sense, it means the

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<sup>4</sup> Original in Spanish: "El claro de Heidegger es una metáfora florestal, que no evoca el ámbito de las discusiones ciudadanas: el mercado. Y como no avanzó hasta la ciudad y su centro, hasta la plaza, el ágora o el foro, le resultó aún más ajeno aquello a que se allega trascendiendo la ciudad: el espacio político del estado (...)".

non-imputability of state officials during their time in office”<sup>5</sup> (Sloterdijk, 2021, p. 10, our translation). The function of immunity (*immunitas*) is to ensure that governance is not shaken by private dispute and that political rivalry is not escalated by the legal system. Sloterdijk extends the immune system “(...) to all cultural devices in which the way people protect themselves against the risk of suffering harm and violations becomes visible. Thus, the construction of houses and apartments, for example, implies the construction of spatialized immune systems”<sup>6</sup> (Sloterdijk, 2021, p. 11, our translation). In his approach to immunity, Sloterdijk sets aside anthropocentrism and understands immunity as a phenomenon relative to any and all forms of life in their relationship with the environment (*Umwelt*). It is under these conditions that spherology shows its debt to Niklas Luhmann and his contribution to an immunological theory of cohabitation.

While Luhmann's systems theory tends to neglect the spatial dimension as a relevant factor for communication (Stichweh, 1998, p. 343), Sloterdijk advances in an opposite direction. His spatial analytics demonstrate precisely how the organization of space—what we call society—conditions and shapes communicative processes (Borch, 2015, p. 151)<sup>7</sup>. From this perspective, inhabiting a sphere implies a double exposure: to the stress of containing internal forces and to the need for protection against external invasions. The immune system, thus, mobilizes all of life's resources in a process of “self-organizing unities, preserving and reproducing themselves” (Sloterdijk, 2013, p. 8). Although the human being occupies a singular place in the house of language (Cordua, 2008), Sloterdijk refuses any anthropocentric primacy over other forms of life. Human specificity resides, rather, in its capacity to project onto the clearing—the threshold of the sphere—the impressions of the world, using them as a basis for decision-making. In this way, man constitutes himself as the architect of his sphere by actively modifying the topography, thereby creating a simulated experience of proximity with the exterior.

In reaching this insight, psychology is initially assured the agreement of cultural anthropology: only through secession from their old nature have humans become an ontological fringe group that disconcerts itself. They cannot be adequately explained by what is natural, or rather old-natural, about them—despite the abundance of attempts to portray cultures as emerging continuously from natural processes. In the midst of outer nature and above their inner nature, humans lead the lives of islanders, at first constantly confusing their symbolic actions, their acclimatizations, their pamperings and their breakings-away from instinct-guided patterns with what is self-evident, and in this sense with the natural of old. Upon closer inspection, however, they live initially only in constructs that have grown from within themselves like second natures—in their languages, their systems of ritual and meaning, and in their constitutive deleria, which are admittedly propped up somewhere on the earth's surface. (The political is the product of group delusion and territory) (Sloterdijk, 2011, p. 84).

Man, in his course of terrestrial migration, now migrates between protected spaces where what is called civilization will reside. In the light of spherology, grand politics, which will be addressed in the next chapter, is considered dementia insofar as it confuses any distinction between interior and exterior and lapses into a generalized and paranoid surveillance even over human interiority. This confusion implies an alienation regarding the regional application of the responsibility intrinsic to the architecture of interiors: “(...) the political sphere, unlike the intimate, cannot be a space of mere biune intimacies” (Sloterdijk, 2011, p. 134). In the morphology of the Paleolithic, Sloterdijk understands the incorporation of the exterior by man and, in this regard, the taking of things for himself within the vital clearing. As Rodrigo Petronio points out (2013, p. 61, our translation), “interior and exterior resolve themselves into spheres. Not in a harmonious manner, because this outside-inside

<sup>5</sup> Original in Spanish: “(...) ‘inmunidad’, del que muchos creen que proviene de la biología o la medicina. En realidad, la inmunidad es originalmente un concepto jurídico-moral que tiene su origen en el derecho romano. En sentido estricto significa la no imputabilidad de los funcionarios del Estado durante el tiempo que estén en su cargo”.

<sup>6</sup> Original in Spanish: “(...) a todos los dispositivos culturales en los que se hace visible el modo en que las personas se protegen frente al riesgo de sufrir daños y vulneraciones. Así, la construcción de casas y departamentos, por ejemplo, supone la construcción de sistemas inmunitarios espacializados”.

<sup>7</sup> It follows that the construction of dwellings in a diversity of forms and scales—whether subjectivities, households, or institutions—constitutes evidence of how language is immanent to a spatiality that becomes particularized in a relational manner. In other words, communication presupposes an acoustics of resonance, such that it is impossible to think without sound.

and interior-exterior relationship is dyadic, not monist”, it is a constant resonance between interior and exterior and, one could also say, systemic, considering that it deals with a “fragile dyadic structure of life that unfolds through the transfer from spheres to spheres”, the place where the principles of immunity emerge.

Another Brazilian commentator, Juliano Pessanha, comments that “(...) the mutual listening of the dyad is equivalent to an acoustic umbilical cord. The initial bipolar sphere is acoustic and has no objective character. The same must be said of the breathed air: it is a medial magnitude that has no objective quality”. This perspective corroborates Sloterdijk's analysis of the vital clearing as a space of medial resonance prior to the subject-object distinction. The medial magnitude of air and sound, as described by Pessanha, perfectly illustrates the concept of primordial spherical immunity, where protection is not provided by a physical barrier against a hostile exterior, but by the constitution of a shared and permeable atmosphere. At this dyadic stage, immunization does not occur through rejection, but through the creation of a resonant and continuous medium—a true acoustic and respiratory immune system—that precedes and founds the possibility of any more complex architecture of interiors.

Where for generations, the fields need to be cultivated year after year, where stores make projects possible and dead ancestors measure out their grounds of return, two things form: a new spatial type, home, and a new thought type, land law – *nomos* (Sloterdijk, 2011, p. 270).

Although law does not possess systemic hierarchy over other forms of knowledge, there is, in the operation of the legal form, since archaic law, a political function necessary for the immunization of the first peoples. Classical politics, for Sloterdijk, therefore, does not originate in Athens or in the city-states of Ancient Greece, but in the bosom of the Paleolithic, where rules are a direct expression of the community's customs and of the relations between groups for the sake of survival. Archaic law seems to him a consequence of a good conscience, insofar as, unlike grand politics—which seems to be the object of Sloterdijk's critique—it does not fit the character of territorial domination, as it deals with a reduced sphere of care.

#### 4 Face and the Politics of Domestication

From the topology of spheres, it is possible to extract an animist and collaborationist onto-anthropology. One can even attribute Sloterdijk's concern with solidarity and cooperation, as well as the communitarian implications in the order of a zoopolitics, to his earlier writings. Being-in-spheres is the fundamental condition for human beings (Sloterdijk, 2011, p. 45). Spheres (*Sphären*) can be conceived from the systemic pragmatism of self-organization and “(...) is meant to draw attention to the fact that the circle holding humanity is neither purely made nor purely found, instead rounding itself spontaneously on the threshold between construction and self-realization” (Sloterdijk, 2011, p. 79). Regarding this anthropological constant, the project of spheres places the history of the development of architectures and the guarding of dwellings for human habitation in a central place for observations on culture and society.

Prior to spherology, in his work *Out of the World (Weltfremdheit)*, Sloterdijk records one of the earliest accounts on the structuring condition of solidarity in dwelling, and here defends cohabitation as a co-immunity permeated by a vigil (*Wache*). Thus, the domestication of man is ambiguous, insofar as the “(...) world exists only for creatures that do not have to be ready to flee at every second” (Sloterdijk, 2024, p. 187). The common vigil guarantees man a distance from the environment. With this distance, Sloterdijk develops how *Homo sapiens* can benefit from patronage in reflective thought (theory) and culture. In general, man becomes more sensitive in his sentience, with a creative appeal for himself. But it is only so because there is an attentive community to protect man and watch over the isolation of others. Therefore, theoretical thought arises through a “primitive communism of attention” (Sloterdijk, 2024, p. 188). In primitive collectivism, through a mutual effort in the construction and maintenance of an architecture of comfort and security, the anthropological difference of *sapiens* compared to other life forms was constituted.

After the collapse of a purely biological programming of orientation, due to its extreme neoteny, the instinctual framework of *Homo sapiens* no longer guides him from within and loses the firm connection between brain and environment, losses that demand compensation. This compensation is provided by symbolic systems of orientation, which replace instincts with authorities—a theme developed in the mid-twentieth century by Arnold Gehlen. Symbolic ordering systems relieve all young humans from the insoluble problem (at least on the individual level) of having to recreate the



experiences and discoveries of their ancestors all over again on their own (Sloterdijk, 2016, p. 49, our translation<sup>8</sup>).

The city is the result of an art of shepherding that begins with the mother; such vigilance consists, as we can add from spherological terminology, in climatic techniques (*Klimatechnik*) for dwelling within a comfortable and sufficiently protected sphere. In this space urbanized by techniques of breathing (*Atmotechnik*), specific rules are constituted without the exclusive pressure of the natural laws of the environment, according to the metaphor of the human park. Domestication, in this context, means neither entering a house of reason nor a house of civilization, but rather the gradual transformation of the nest's security measures into architectural protections and sociotechnological privileges. In this way, the concept of domestication is ambivalent: on one hand, it has a negative dimension and refers to the relationship between domesticators and domesticated; and on the other hand, it has the positive dimension of taming inherent to coexistence and sociality.

In this sense, culture is the incubator of the *conditio humana*, and the architecture of the city, whether in the square or the market, promotes what was until then impossible: the gathering of people without any affiliation or kinship. From here, Sloterdijk's critique of Luhmann's concept of system can be better understood. Social life is only possible in a space with a habitable configuration for the collectivity, and also for the eventual isolation of the person from society within this habitable space. With the foundation of the city and later, with the idea of the right to property, intimacy begins to resonate in the architecture of dwellings. Each house is a bubble carrying its own atmosphere, a climate whose self-referentiality cannot be derived from the simple difference between system and environment. By virtue of subjectivity being inserted into the city, socialization with difference is only feasible to the extent that man possesses an immunity towards the rest. The difference between reason (or culture) and nature echoes this process of the artificialization of human life forms.

The Platonic master finds the reason for his mastery only in the expertise he has in the odd and peculiar art of breeding. Here we see the reemergence of the expert-king, whose justification is the insight about how, without doing damage to their free will, human beings can best sort themselves out and make connections. Royal anthropotechnology, in short, demands of the statesman that he understand how to bring together free but suggestible people in order to bring out the characteristics that are most advantageous to the whole, so that under his direction the human zoo can achieve the optimum homeostasis. This comes about when the two relative *optima* of human character – warlike courage and philosophical – humanistic contemplation – are woven together in the tapestry of the species (...) the statesman has to exclude the inappropriate natures before he begins to weave the chosen ones into the fabric of the state. (Sloterdijk, 2009, p. 26).

Sloterdijk addresses here the political implications of anthropotechnics. It is in these terms that the domestication of man cannot refer, in the history of anthropogenesis, solely to the biological sense of eugenics, but rather, to that "the art of being well born" (2020, p. 143) which was cited earlier — this being the art of creating communities with peaceful and harmonious cultures. To master the regal art of anthropotechnics, the ruler must control the tension between bubbles with their own entropies, from ensuring natality to protecting small or large families, as in the case of the archaic horde. The domestication of man ultimately generates the production of the human face. Under the name protraction, a term taken from Deleuze and Guattari (1980), one understands a progressive faciogenetic process, and, inspired by Levinas (2000), it imprints the clearing of Being onto the face.

Through the opening of the face, the thrust and pull upon the poles of physiognomy—a phenomenon even more important than manual dexterity—it is possible to think of "the history of being as a somatic event" (Sloterdijk, 2011, p. 164). With the opening of the face, taming is finally achieved. Man becomes an animal open and servile to his neighbor. Interfaciality and

<sup>8</sup> Original in German: "Nach dem Abbau der rein biologischen Orientierungsprogramme infolge seiner extremen Neotenie müssen die Verluste kompensiert werden, die homo sapiens infolge der jetzt fehlenden Innenlenkung durch Instinktsysteme und die verlorene feste Umweltkopplung der Gehirne erlitten hat. Die Kompensation geschieht mit Hilfe von Systemen der symbolischen Führung, die Instinkte durch Autoritäten ersetzen – ein Motiv, das um die Mitte des 20. Jahrhunderts in den Schriften Arnold Gehlens entfaltet wurde. Die symbolischen Ordnungssysteme entlasten jedes einzelne Menschenjunge von der von ihm allein unmöglich zu lösenden Aufgabe, die Erfahrungen und Erfindungen seiner Vorfahren allein aus sich selber noch einmal zu erzeugen".

the capacity to resonate emotions in the face emerge. The mutual gaze upon the face becomes a thermometer of affective temperatures (Sloterdijk, 2011, p. 141). Not only by instinct but also by reflection, it is now possible to have an idea of what is happening in another interiority and cavity. The interactions between these cavities become increasingly luxuriant. It is not enough for man to build tools of the same use; there is now a need for dwellings for common habitation and for the coexistence of dwellings under an ordered regime of habitation.

Interfaciality, it should be clarified, is not only the zone of a natural-social history of affability. When modern art still shows faces, it simultaneously bears witness to a permanent interfacial catastrophe. From very early times, the history of encounters with the stranger was also a visual school of terror. Bacon accounts for this from a secular sacrality that iconically represents the body as flesh, as the mutilated human that returns to animality, that encloses and confronts itself, overflowing the stereotypical discourses of masculinity and the cultural construction of genders, which, obsessed with its proximity to death and its resemblance to a corpse, ends up dissolving, disappearing, or becoming a monster (Rocca, 2008, p. 194, our translation<sup>9</sup>).

From a behavioral standpoint, interfaciality is only possible because man can anticipate expectations through an interfacial greenhouse and establish bonds of trust through a serene face. It is through an emotional thickness projected onto the field of microclimates and spherical enclosures that "horde and family members are affectively transparent for one another to a high degree; their participative patterns are synchronized in bipolar and multipolar fashion *a priori*" (Sloterdijk, 2011, p. 169). In the innermost circle of these enclosures dwells the mother's care for the child. This is also the nucleus of social participation referred to as vigilance; it is the "emotionally rhythmicize" that gives life to the group and where "(...) one almost universally finds an especially protected and charged field with a highly refined character akin to the nest and the incubator: the mother-child space" (Sloterdijk, 2011, p. 169). The mother's care for the child and the excess of Eros transform the production of man (hominization) into the production of a work of art.

Starting from paleopolitics to launch the thesis of cohabitation as co-immunity in Sloterdijk is justified due to the attention the German philosopher gives to ethnology and the approach of small-scale social communitarianism. It is no coincidence that Sloterdijk (2010, p. 184) cites the maxim of Thomas Aquinas, "man is an animal more familial than political" (*Homo est animal magis familiare quam politicum*). Or, in other words, the art of politics, that is, political anthropology, is only fruitful and consequential when it directs its attention to the pre-political forms of life of men and to the small constitutions of basic relations (Sloterdijk, 2010, p. 185). In short, Sloterdijk draws attention to how tribalism is an originary and constant phenomenon in every human grouping and civilizational process. Tribalism is present not only in communities prior to the city but also resonates in those movements of factionalism and civil instability (*stasis*) of the political regime, described in Plato's *The Republic*. Subsequently, this analytics of space, both poetic and political, will turn its approach to the constitution of this great form of politics, as well as to the dangers and alienations derived from it.

## 5 Conclusion

The path taken in this article, from the Heideggerian clearing to the Sloterdijkian human park, has allowed us to defend a central thesis: the genesis of the political is zoopolitical, and not merely biopolitical. In Sloterdijk, politics is not born in the contract or the polis, but in the practices of domestication, care, and immunization that made human cohabitation possible since paleopolitics. This is not a mere shift in historical origin, but a conceptual revolution that displaces the axis of political philosophy. By articulating zoopolitics and paleopolitics as matrices of co-immunity, this article sought to demonstrate that domestication cannot be reduced to a control device, but must be understood primarily as a praxis of care and a condition of

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<sup>9</sup> Original in Spanish: "Interfacialidad, cabe precisar, no es sólo la zona de una historia natural-social de la afabilidad. Cuando el arte moderno muestra rostros todavía, levanta acta a la vez de una permanente catástrofe interfacial. Desde tiempos muy tempranos la historia de los encuentros con el extraño fue también una escuela visual del terror. Bacon, da cuenta de ello desde una sacralidad secular que representa icónicamente el cuerpo como carne, como lo humano mutilado que regresa a la animalidad, que se encierra y enfrenta a sí mismo desbordando los estereotipados discursos de la masculinidad y la construcción cultural de los géneros, que, obsesionado por su proximidad a la muerte y su semejanza al cadáver llega a disolverse, a desaparecer o a devenir monstruo".

possibility for culture. The art of shepherding that begins with the mother and extends to urbanism is the fundamental technique by which human animality is guided towards forms of shared existence.

The most radical theoretical consequence of this approach is the dissolution of the rigid boundary between nature and culture, showing that the human is a product of its own technique—an anthropodicy in act. The specific contribution of this reading lies in having shown that anthropotechnics is, above all, a spatial technology. Architecture and urbanism thus reveal themselves as the material zoopolitics *par excellence*. They are not the backdrop for political life, but its operative medium. This understanding allows us to rethink contemporary challenges in a radical way: the housing crisis is not just social or economic, but an anthropotechnical crisis—a failure in the production of viable immunological spheres. Education can be reinterpreted beyond the transmission of knowledge, appearing as a formative technology that, in the contemporary human park, disputes the criteria for good spiritual birth and the modes of life to be cultivated. Digital technologies emerge as the new anthropotechnics *par excellence*, reconfiguring interfaciality and creating new spheres of resonance and surveillance.

In this way, the Sloterdijkian proposal consolidates itself less as a closed philosophical system and more as a critical instrument aimed at denaturalizing forms of life that present themselves as self-evident. His thought calls upon us to collectively and responsibly assume the always unfinished character of the human self-domestication project. The central challenge that emerges from this for contemporary political theory consists of formulating ethical codes adequate to the 21st-century anthropotechnics—normative frameworks that, distancing themselves from any humanist idealism, are capable of regulating the power of shaping that we exert over our own animal nature and over the spaces we cohabit. In this register, politics redefines itself as the art of managing the inhabited co-immunity, a practice that reveals itself as simultaneously technical and ethical, spatial and spiritual.

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