

**TOWARDS A THEORY OF URBAN DESIGN
UNDER NEOLIBERALISM**
The Urban Revolution as methodology

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DECLARATION

I, José Francisco Vergara Perucich, confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own under the supervision of Professor Camillo Boano and Dr Catalina Ortiz. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated accordingly in the thesis.

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April 2018.

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ABSTRACT

This thesis critically discusses the current status of urban design as a disciplinary field and as practice. It maintains that urban design has been wholly reshaped by neoliberalism. It has become a discipline that has neglected its original ethos – designing good cities – in order to align its theory and practice with the objectives of neoliberalism. In investigating the neoliberalisation of urban design, this thesis puts forward an object of study: urban-design-under-neoliberalism. This object situates the conceptual analysis, and illustrates the way neoliberalism compromised urban designers' ethics, practices and theories, becoming instrumental to the neoliberal transformation of urban society represented in contemporary urbanisms.

Methodologically, the thesis is inspired by the critical reflections of Henri Lefebvre in *The Urban Revolution*. This book puts forth an essential critique of urban studies, challenging the methods and ethos of practitioners and researchers, and calls for a non-capitalist practice for developing the city. The thesis employs three methodological strategies to critically unpack urban-design-under-neoliberalism. These strategies are transductive reasoning, levels and dimensions of analysis, and spatial dialectics. These strategies are complementary and provide an analytical framework to understanding how neoliberalism subsumed urban design using economic, political, social and spatial strategies. Urban-design-under-neoliberalism represents an approach to the production of spaces in which revenues and profits are the main criteria used to decide the form of the space. Therefore, this thesis embraces the far-reaching methodological framework developed in *The Urban Revolution*, and contributes to the development of critical theoretical reflections in order to disentangle how the disciplinary field of urban design has become an instrument for accomplishing capitalist goals in relation to extracting value from urbanisation processes. This framework addresses the contradictory relationship between the ethos of urban design and the neoliberalist practices such as entrepreneurialism, public-private partnerships, and the privatisation of social services. The thesis uses Santiago de Chile as the contextual spatial site to ground the research and analysis. Santiago's urban form is investigated through three main approaches: (i) historical research of the relationship between urban practices and political-economic goals; (ii) recent urban strategies that illustrate the actual neoliberalisation of the city; and (iii) a discursive analysis of urban designers' practices under a neoliberal regime, focusing on their ethical reflections. As a result, the thesis offers an assessment of the practice of urban design under neoliberalism. A set of theoretically informed reflections aim to the much-needed discussion on the ethical, practical and theoretical dimensions of urban design. It aims to unravel the contradictions and cracks in the virtual object of study – urban-design-under-neoliberalism. Ultimately the thesis seeks to contribute towards building a potential alternative theory of urban design under neoliberalism as an act of resistance and revolutionary strategy.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

AFP	: Administradora de Fondos de Pensiones (Pensions Funds Administrator)
CA	: Colegio de Arquitectos (Architects Association)
CASEN	: Encuesta de Caracterización Socioeconómica Nacional (National Socio-
CCHC	: Cámara Chilena de la Construcción (Chilean Chamber of Builders)
CEDLAS	: Centro de Estudios Distributivos, Laborales y Sociales (Study Centre on
CIAM	: Congrès International d'Architecture Moderne
CIT	: Centro de Inteligencia Territorial (Territorial Intelligence Centre)
CLP	: Chilean Peso
CNCA	: Consejo Nacional de la Cultura y las Artes (National Council of Culture and
CNDU	: Consejo Nacional de Desarrollo Urbano (National Council of Urban
COES	: Centro de Estudios de Conflictos y Cohesion Social (Study Centre of Social
CORHABIT	: Corporación de Servicios Habitacionales (Housing Services Corporation)
CORMU	: Corporación de Mejoramiento Urbano (Urban Renewal Corporation)
CORVI	: Corporacion de la Vivienda (Housing Corporation)
COU	: Corporación de Obras Urbanas (Urban Works Corporation)
ENEL	: Empresa Nacional de Electricidad (National Company of Energy)
FAU	: Facultad de Arquitectura y Urbanismo Universidad de Chile (Architecture
GDP	: Gross Domestic Product
GOREM	: Gobierno Regional Metropolitano (Metropolitan Region Government)
IEUT	: Instituto de Estudios Urbanos y Territoriales (Institute of Urban and
INE	: Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas (National Institute of Statistics)
IRR	: Internal Rate of Return
ISAPRE	: Institucion de Salud Previsional (Private Health Insurance Institutions)
IVA	: Indice de Valor Agregado (VAT: Value Added Tax)
MIDESO	: Ministerio de Desarrollo Social (Ministry of Social Development)
MINVU	: Ministerio de Vivienda y Urbanismo (Ministry of Housing and Urbanism)
MKI	: Capital and Assets Market Reform of 2001
MOP	: Ministerio de Obras Públicas (Ministry of Public Works)
NPV	: Net Present Value
ODEPLAN	: Oficina de Planificación Nacional (Office of National Planning)
OECD	: Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
PNDU	: Política Nacional de Desarrollo Urbano (National Policy of Urban
PNUD	: Programa de las Naciones Unidas para el Desarrollo (United Nations
POU	: Plan de Ordenamiento Urbano (Urban Development Plan)
PPP	: Public-Private Partnership
RD	: Revolucion Democratica (Political Party)
SBIF	: Superintendency of Banks and Financial Institutions
SEREMI	: Ministry Regional Secretary
SINAP	: National System of Saving and Credits
SNI	: Sistema Nacional de Inversiones (National System of Investments)
SVS	: Superintendency of Securities and Insurance
UF	: Unidad de Fomento (Indexed unit account)

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CHAPTER 1. Introduction

“What is urbanism? A superstructure of neocapitalist society, a form of ‘organisational capitalism,’ which is not the same as ‘organised capital’– in other words, a bureaucratic society of controlled consumption. Urbanism organises a sector that appears to be free and accessible, open to rational activity: inhabited space. It controls the consumption of space and the habitat. As superstructure, it must be distinguished from practice, from social relationships, from society itself.” (Lefebvre, 2003, pp. 163-164)¹

I start this research stating that urban design has been wholly subsumed by neoliberalism. It has neglected its original ethos of designing good cities for living. Historically, the successful stories on urban design referred to cohesive sociocultural values that shaped cities, maintaining an equilibrium based on human values (Golany, 1995), “the discipline through which social aspirations can be realized physically” (Canniffe, 2006a, p. 1). Under neoliberalism, the disciplinary field of urban design aligned its ethos with a set of profit oriented modes of production aiming to maximise the efficiency of land markets and facilitate the transaction of spaces in the city. This statement implies an apparent truth (a hypotheses) that requires further discussion. Thus, this thesis studies urban design under neoliberalism, responding the question: What is urban design under neoliberalism? For doing so, the thesis focuses on exploring how urban designers participate in neoliberal contexts as instrumental actors by commodifying urbanisation processes, and therefore – essentially - undermining the very possibility of developing good cities.

¹ Original language: “Qu’est-ce que l’urbanisme ? Une superstructure de la société néo-capitaliste, autrement dit du ‘capitalisme d’organisation’, ce qui ne veut pas dire ‘capitalisme organisé’. Autrement dit encore : de la société bureaucratique de consommation dirigée. L’urbanisme organise un secteur qui semble libre et disponible, ouvert à l’action rationnelle : l’espace habité. Il dirige la consommation de l’espace et de l’habitat. En tant que superstructure, il se distingue et il faut le distinguer fortement de la pratique, des rapports sociaux, de la société elle-même.” (Lefebvre, 1970, p. 217)

This thesis argues that neoliberalism constrains urban design and it requires a change for liberating its potential in providing better urban life. The neoliberalisation of cities influenced the ethics, theories and practices in the disciplinary field of urban design. These changes can be analysed, tested and refuted adopting the book *The Urban Revolution* of Henri Lefebvre as methodological framework thus allowing to elaborate a series of theoretical reflections about the relationship between neoliberalism and urban design. Therefore, on the one hand, the thesis enquires into the relationship between neoliberalism and urban design in a particular case; on the other hand, it tests the suitability of Henri Lefebvre's *The Urban Revolution* as a strategy for guiding research in urban design. As an advance of the conclusions of this research, I state that to contribute to developing better cities, urban design under neoliberalism will require a revolution.

The idea of revolution employed in this research is not about social violence but refers to a change in social relations through a deep transformation in the disciplinary field of urban design. For Henri Lefebvre, the concept of revolution is used analytically for understanding reality from a critical stance to comprehend social phenomena but also for transforming it through praxis (Lefebvre, 2003). In this context, revolution implies an urban strategy² represented by a set of theoretical reflections on urban design under neoliberalism. Through this process, the research aims to illuminate the contradictions of the practice, theory, and ethics of urban design under neoliberalism. In summary, revolution in this research refers to the possibility of replacing the current urban design under neoliberalism by a different way of shaping cities. To doing so, as a research strategy, I have constructed a virtual object under dispute: urban-design-under-neoliberalism. The virtual object is dynamic; it changes during the research adopting findings and reflections as part of its theorisation

² Lefebvre explains the revolutionary practice of urban strategies: "What is to be done? I would like to put forth again the concept of an urban strategy. This implies making distinctions between political and social practice, between day-to-day and revolutionary practice, in other words, between structure and praxis. Social practice can be analyzed as industrial practice and urban practice. The first objective of this strategy would be to strip social practice from industrial practice and orient it toward urban practice, so that the latter can overcome the obstacles barring its path." (H. Lefebvre, 2003, p. 76)

at the time is the deception of a supposed reality and in other is the speculative future anticipated, as an object of analysis, in this thesis. Therefore, urban-design-under-neoliberalism changes across the thesis in order to record how its meaning is enriched based on grounded reflections. A virtual object is an analytical instrument, and it takes preliminary information from reality for constructing a possible future. This future has no clear positive or negative connotations. Instead, it is a provocative reflection of how reality may be if certain social relations are further deepened in the future. In a way, it is a speculative assumption. Therefore, in my case, the actual existence of urban-design-under-neoliberalism is real but must be tested unveiling its actual nature and what would be a future in which this virtual object becomes a reality. Urban-design-under-neoliberalism is a virtual object because it is a possibility of a future reality based on preliminary reflections that evolve throughout the text as new historical, practical and ethical reflections are incorporated to its theorisation. Specifically, the virtual object is useful for setting up a series of characteristics of urban design practice which the neoliberal project has transformed in a dynamic way, which progress as the research advances. Thus, the virtual object is used for tracing what is the potential trajectory of the phenomenon observed because it chronologically organises the thesis, from the general (the global) to specific (the private). It starts from the initial assumptions of this practice under a neoliberal regime and moves to a series of contextualised theoretical reflections for a specific case (Santiago's urban design decision environment). Throughout the research, it is changing based on the evidence collected. Therefore, a virtual object is not a fixed element, because it presents several stages in which it is adding new information to its theorisation. Also, it is not a finite outcome, and instead it invites to discuss its outcomes. In the particular case of this research, the virtual nature of urban-design-under-neoliberalism is also the opportunity to reflect on how urban design can be transformed and emancipate from neoliberalism. Through the understanding of the complexities of the virtual object, urban-design-under-neoliberalism, therefore, becomes a way to advance building strategies for subverting it.

Urban-design-under-neoliberalism implies a practice that gives too much preference to a set of profit-oriented methods for shaping the city for the sake of a select group of individuals,

disregarding the possibility of creating better spaces for the majority. This reflection is further developed in the Chapter 8. By using this strategy, urban-design-under-neoliberalism represents a disruptive approach to the disciplinary field of urban design because it can mislead the pursuit of a good city. Neoliberalism is understood as a political strategy for privatising public institutions (Harvey, 2005) and a cultural phenomenon that fosters an individualistic stance on everyday life (Eagleton-Pierce in Springer, 2016), then, the public space under neoliberalism is in crisis. Urban design's main task is defining the rules, qualities, and shapes of public spaces (Carmona, 2015; George, 1997; Barnett, 1982), thus neoliberalism represents a threat to this disciplinary field³. To this premise, I add that urban design in the contemporary world requires of the pursuit of the creation of good cities (Amin, 2006; Friedmann, 2000). Therefore, the focus on privatising and neglecting of the pursuit of good cities characterises urban-design-under-neoliberalism which represents a threat to the role of urban designers in society, transforming the ethos of the disciplinary field of urban design. Another problem with urban-design-under-neoliberalism is related to the appreciation of originality of design itself.

The work of urban designers is based on imagining different futures, and this work is constrained by the neoliberal framework. The profit-oriented scheme that prevails in neoliberal contexts fosters a homogenised vision of cities and their aesthetics, because it is preferred to use already tested models for urban products ensuring their economic success. Any attempt for defining spaces over the profit margins is discarded. The efficiency of investments and their revenues are the main criteria for innovative solutions to public spaces. Hence, under neoliberalism urban design must consider not only the feasibility of certain projects but preferably their profitability. This research tests these conflicts by enquiring into the disciplinary field of urban design in a neoliberal context.

³ The definitions about urban design are varied. Chapter 2 elaborates on how the disciplinary field of urban design has been understood for the analysis of this research.

The object urban-design-under-neoliberalism emerges from the review of the extensive theorisation elaborated by diverse authors on the relationship between neoliberalism and the disciplinary field of urban design (Foroughmand Araabi, 2017; Langhorst, 2015, Sorkin, 2013; Cuthbert, 2011; Goonewardena, 2011; Gunder, 2011; Short, 2006; Carmona, 2001). Although the definitions over this relationship are multiple, it is possible to assert that they vary depending on the context and that neoliberal urban design may be used as a category of analysis. As a descriptive category, urban design under neoliberalism depicts the spatial, temporal, material and discursive practices as an operative capacity of producing urban spaces for the sake of capital (Boano & Vergara-Perucich, 2017a). For advancing in the creation of good cities, urban designers should think beyond the limits of the present state of the discipline, however, neoliberalism fosters urban strategies that contribute to reproducing its dominance by preserving the status-quo in relation to the production of spaces. This thesis aims to reveal the eventual existence of an opposition between the possibility of a good city and the practice of urban-design-under-neoliberalism. This opposition is further developed in the Conclusions.

By confronting the good city with urban-design-under-neoliberalism, the thesis provides a theoretical reflection about the intellectual framework of urban design which has been widely criticised for being undetermined and soft, broad, and irrelevant (Boano, 2017; Carmona, 2014a; Cuthbert, 2006a). These critiques allude to the importance of theorising urban design given the relevance of the public space in the formation of a more collective society. The under-theorised status of urban design facilitates the reproduction of neoliberalism whose consequences depend of each context. The study will be grounded in the case of Santiago de Chile to elaborate over an urban context to illustrate urban-design-under-neoliberalism based on empirical evidences to explain the effects of neoliberalism in urban design. By doing so, this thesis contributes to knowledge by offering a series of theoretical reflections on the disciplinary field of urban design under a neoliberal context in a metropolis of the Global South. For doing so, I have based the research on the

methodological framework elaborated by Henri Lefebvre in his book of 1970, *La révolution urbaine* (*The Urban Revolution*).

Henri Lefebvre was a French philosopher and sociologist⁴, whose career contributed to developing a holistic Marxist understanding of society, developed in more than 60 books published together with an impressive number of papers. With 70 years of intellectual production, he underwent several phases of scholarship, which may be divided into philosophy (1920 – 1946), social theory (1947 – 1965), the urban phenomenon (1965 – 1978) and the state and capitalism (1979 – 1991), with a crosscutting interest in everyday life in the capitalist era (which he called the urban era). Along with his vast work, Lefebvre developed diverse approaches to urban problems; some were literary or historical essays, others were radical statements. Although he developed mostly theories, he constantly proposed methodologies for a critical diagnosis of reality. Among his most spatially oriented methodological contributions there are *The right to the city* (1968) a political approach to the urban, *The Urban Revolution* (2003 [1970]) an ethical questioning of the *urbanismes*, *The production of space* (1974) a sociological interpretation of the role of space in society, and *Rhythmanalysis* (1992) an empirical examination of everyday practices in space.

However, *The Urban Revolution* of 1970 represents a turning point in his *oeuvre*, passing from testing the ground of urbanism to providing a methodology for urban studies. This methodology emerged from a spatial interpretation of Marx and his own understanding of the complexities that urban society would face if urbanisation continued to be captured by capitalism. The urban society is the success of the industrial society, so, in the theorisation of Henri Lefebvre, we all live in the era of the urban society. For Neil Smith “the concern with urbanism as an ideological Blind Field is likewise broadened into an interrogation of spatial ideologies; urban practice becomes a subset of

⁴ Chapter 3 elaborates a more extensive reflection on why Lefebvre’s contribution to knowledge is important for studying cities.

spatial practice” (Smith in Lefebvre, 2003, p. xiii). For Lefebvre, urban design practice – as in other urbanisms – are blind fields⁵ that have been subjugated to the aims of capitalist development, defining economic growth as the main goal of human activities.

Through the work of Lefebvre, it is possible to articulate the processes of capital accumulation within the production of spaces (Harvey, 2012). In urban society, industrialisation left behind its role as a capitalist engine and consequently the capital needed to find new ways of reproducing itself. Urban space is immobile, it is fixed, it cannot be destroyed easily, and it cannot be moved away, making it an excellent long-term fixed-income asset. Therefore, it is possible to channel large amounts of capital investments through spatial production. The space efficiently produces surplus value through its construction, and profit when selling it. Moreover, the processes of spatial production allow the double capitalist exploitation of labour: first as a work force in the making of the built environment, second as mortgagors when purchasing the space – in the case of housing – or using it, as in the case of public facilities through taxes. The cycles of urban production are stable, efficient and apparently endless, given the constantly increasing numbers of people living in cities (Aravena, 2016). However, Lefebvre exposes the moment of crisis, which will be when urbanisation reaches its maximum, when the totality of people moves to cities and when the demand for space approaches its peak. Lefebvre labelled this stage of history as the *critical zone* (2003). Chile represents a pertinent subject of enquiry given that nowadays 90% of Chileans live in cities (World Bank, 2017). Henri Lefebvre states that the practices of organising and designing the urban in the critical zone require a deep understanding and a transformation from a capitalist to a humanised approach.

⁵ For Lefebvre, the idea of blind field refers to a blind spot in the retina that acts as a negation of vision. It is a paradox that the eye cannot see by itself “it needs a mirror” (Lefebvre 2003, p. 29). Lefebvre argues that these blind fields are paradoxes extended to thought, awareness and knowledge. The center of vision doesn't see and doesn't know it is blind. Do these paradoxes extend to thought, to awareness, to knowledge? In the past there was a field between the rural and the industrial-just as there is today between the industrial and the urban-that was invisible to us. “What we find in a blind field is insignificant, but given meaning through research. Was sex significant before Freud? Yes. Sin and shame were part of Western (Judeo-Christian) culture. As were ideal patterns in poetry, for certain poets at least. Giving these things a meaning was an act. Before Freud, sex was isolated, torn apart, reduced, rejected (repressed). It passed through a blind field, populated with shadows and phantoms, driven back from any concrete identity under unrelenting pressure, some fundamental alienation. Nothing was better suited to a "mystical chiaroscuro.”” (Lefebvre, 2003, p. 31)

“Theoretical knowledge can and must reveal the terrain, the foundation on which it resides: an ongoing social practice, an urban practice in the process of formation.”(Lefebvre, 2003, p. 17). Nowadays, most people are living in cities (In Chile, 90% of the population), but just a few are deciding how to conduct the processes of urban development. The form of the built environment is out of people’s reach. In *The Urban Revolution*, Lefebvre was quite clear and direct:

“The production of space is not new in itself. Dominant groups have always produced a particular space, the space of the old cities, of the countryside (and what will become the "natural" landscape). What is new is the global and total production of social space. This enormous expansion of productive activity is carried out on behalf of those who invented it, manage it, and profit from it. Capitalism appears to be out of steam. It found new inspiration in the conquest of space – in trivial terms, in real estate speculation, capital projects (inside and outside the city), the buying and selling of space.” (Lefebvre, 2003, p. 155)

Urbanisation ⁶processes reproduce capitalism, and urban society is experiencing the problems caused by this reproduction: fragmentation, alienation, segregation, and an everyday life oriented towards producing wealth for just a few people. Humanity in cities became a profit-oriented group of individuals struggling for their everydayness, and hence social relations underwent a deep – and perhaps irreversible – transformation. A dominant class controls society through markets and urbanisation.⁷ Although the scenario seems apocalyptic, Lefebvre was optimistic about the potential of urban design. From his perspective, in planetary urbanisation, several cracks in capitalism (crisis) would allow possibilities for igniting a ‘revolution’: one that would strip urban practices from capitalism. For this reason, *The Urban Revolution* constitutes an applicable

⁶ The term “urbanisation” has a confusing translation from French to English. Throughout *The Urban Revolution*, Lefebvre speaks on urbanisation refers to what in English is understood as urban development. In his words, urbanisation is composed by "piles of objects and products in the warehouses, mounds of fruit in the marketplace, crowds, pedestrians, goods of various kinds, juxtaposed, superimposed, accumulated – this is what makes the urban.” (Lefebvre 2003: 116). In Lefebvre’s interpretation, the word urbanisation refers to the processes and outcomes of urban transformations, including people and its relations as part of the outcomes. In English, the word urbanisation is used to characterise the increasing growth of urban population. To avoid confusions, throughout this thesis I have attempted to keep a clear difference between one concept and the other when required.

⁷ This statement emerged from the findings of Chapter 5.

methodology for unpacking contemporary urban design because the main objective of the book written by Lefebvre was to reveal the importance of urban practices to overthrowing capitalism.

Therefore, in this research, I use instrumentally *The Urban Revolution* as a tool to shape the structure and methods of the entire research process. Three aspects explain the contribution of the book as a methodological piece of work (further developed in Chapter 4), principally:

First, it is a book, an object ‘designed’ by Henri Lefebvre that employs a dialectical logic in each topic analysed, thus providing a different interpretation of Marx’s work. By contrasting theory with practice and ideology with knowledge, Lefebvre aims to untangle the relations between capitalism and urban development. The results are similar to the aims of this thesis with regard to the relations within the object of urban-design-under-neoliberalism. Interpreting the structure of the book as a strategy facilitated the analytical structure to unveil how urban design works under neoliberal dominance.

Second, it is a historical category. *The Urban Revolution* refers to the period after the industrial revolution. In this period, society advances towards its total urbanisation following the objectives of a capitalist hegemonic class. Hence, the role of disciplines related to spatial production is crucial, whether for facilitating the goals of capitalism or for providing alternatives. In this case, neoliberalism represents the deepening of the capitalist ideology criticised by Lefebvre. Accordingly, this research enquires into the neoliberal era, as a period of time in which political, economic and social transformations changed the way of practicing urban design in Santiago.

Thirdly, it is a manifesto – a manifesto for the possibility of revolutionising practices related to urban development so that they are resistive and antagonist to capitalism by changing the modes of spatial production. It is also a manifesto for somehow producing a second urban revolution stripped from capitalism and embedded into social processes to create a democratic society. For this reason, the term revolution, for Lefebvre, is both a historical moment of change and a complete transformation of a practice. The historical moment of change corresponded to the urbanisation of society when most of the population moved to live in cities and these social agglomerations became the main resource for capitalist reproduction. For Lefebvre, this is the era of urban revolution, a complete transformation of the way in which social relations occur. This is a multiscale dimension; it may refer to the relations between neighbours, between a seller and a buyer, between a practitioner and a group or between the state and the people. Thus, using this book for research focuses on the ethos of urban design practitioners. By doing so, I studied their historical context to recognise how urban form has been related to ideologies, politics and economics.

In *The Urban Revolution*, Lefebvre refers to several examples of urban phenomena in Europe, and specifically in France. By doing so, he implies that with regard to grounding his critical analysis of

reality, the study of cases provides a corpus of social relations to review. Just like Marx focused his analysis on the most advanced industrial society of his time (England), this thesis focuses on one of the most radical expressions of neoliberalism in the current world by taking the case of Santiago de Chile, a city where the rule of free-market economics has transformed the whole structure of society. Santiago offers an extensive set of neoliberal urban policies and practices, whose spatial representations and historical developments provide evidence that contributes to understanding the origin and logic of the object of study: urban-design-under-neoliberalism.

For Henri Lefebvre, capitalism and urban practices are theoretically and empirically articulated in a co-dependent relationship by reproducing the hegemonic dominance of a social class. In the case of Santiago, this is understood to be an oligarchy that has found a means of controlling society in certain ways and of organising the urban for the sake of profit and the defence of private property, as will be explained in the thesis.

In order to illustrate how urban design was subsumed by neoliberalism, this thesis employs *The Urban Revolution* as a methodological resource, taking three specific research strategies from it:

Transductive reasoning, an approach to research that mixes inductive and deductive methods in order to contest a theoretical object built in the form of a hypothesis about future reality, a utopia (or dystopia) of a possible society. In this research, the theoretical object is ‘urban-design-under-neoliberalism’.

Levels and dimensions of analysis, for unpicking urban-design-under-neoliberalism are defined: (i) a global level (G), used for analysing the historical dimension of the object, building its base line for analysing the ethics and practices of urban design in Santiago; (ii) a mixed level (M), which serves to unravel how urban-design-under-neoliberalism was implemented and its effects on the city; and (iii) a private level (P), which focuses on the ethical dimensions of urban designers under neoliberalism, in order to unpick their theoretical and critical views of their practice.

Spatial dialectics, a method that situates the urban space at the centre of a dispute between different actors. It assumes that whoever controls space also defines how economics and politics are developed. Therefore, spatial dialectics enquire into the relationship between groups of society when struggling to define the urban form. Furthermore, in studying this relationship, the spatial dialectics serve to illuminate the contradictions and cracks emerging from the contestations of the processes of urban production.

By using these methodological strategies, the research values the contribution of *The Urban Revolution* to researching urban design. *The Urban Revolution* is a fundamental work within the vast literature on urban studies elaborated by Henri Lefebvre (Harvey, 2014a; Smith in Lefebvre, 2003; Merrifield, 2002; Moravanszky, Schmid, & Stanek, 2014) because it illustrates how spatial practices and its disciplines (urban planning, urban design, architecture) can play a key role in catalysing social transformation through separating capitalism from processes of urban development (Lefebvre, 2003). This thesis takes Henri Lefebvre's contribution to urban studies for researching urban-design-under-neoliberalism and offers a radical critique of the urban development trends under neoliberalism based on the evidence obtained in Santiago. Thus, the thesis fosters a controversial debate on the relationship between a spatial practice – urban design - and the politico-ideological project of neoliberalism. If urban spaces are used by neoliberalism for its own reproduction (Harvey, 2012b, 2014b), cities are the perfect battlefield for critically understanding its operation and its cracks.

In the Latin American context, cities like Santiago offer diverse examples for understanding how neoliberalism is contested by spatial practices. Indeed, Santiago is considered as the first city in the world where neoliberalism was implemented in 1975 (Harvey, 2005; Klein, 2011). Therefore, Santiago constitutes an archaeological-like example for studying neoliberal urban practices. In this city exists an active group of scholars criticising the spatial consequences of neoliberalism. On a more general approach, neoliberal urbanism has been studied as a set of methods and practices that characterise the spatial development of Santiago (Aguilar, Oliva, & Laclabere, 2016; Janoschka & Hidalgo, 2014; López & Meza, 2014; Rodriguez & Rodriguez, 2009a). From the perspective of how neoliberal urban policies have become a way to perpetuate segregation and fragmentation of the city, the research is rich and abundant (Cociña, 2016; Daher, 1991; Gurovich, 2000; Hidalgo Dattwyler, Voltaire, & Rivas, 2017; Vicuña, 2013). In the very process of the decision making for designing the form of cities, significant advances emerged from the research of Jorge Inzulza. He explores the relationship between the design of public spaces, urban form, and neoliberalism as

ideological influence on deciding the way of shaping spaces. Also, he has advanced in the importance of incorporating urban design to the curricula of architecture schools to highlight the importance of shaping public spaces and cities from a critical stance under a neoliberal context (Inzulza, 2011). My work is contributing to Inzulza's investigation, to valorise the education of urban design and the production of good public spaces toward fostering a more collective society. Then, as urban design is comprehended as an activity that organises cities for people's activities, analysing the methods of urban-design-under-neoliberalism is central to contesting neoliberalism. In this logic, I wanted to explore how space was transformed into a financial asset, an elemental resource for capital accumulation, for the particular case of Santiago.

Unpacking the case study, the thesis develops a radical analysis of the history, praxis, and spatial products of Santiago to understanding its neoliberal transformation. Radical urban theory is considered by this thesis as a thoughtful positioning of the researcher in relation to the ruling political and economic model on cities, aiming to unveil the contradictions of the model and presenting them to the reader. As John Rennie Short explains, a radical urban analysis aims to respond to "Who gets what?" and "Why does who get what?" (Short, 2006, p. 2). In this thesis, the radical approach follows Lefebvre's posture on reality. "Lefebvre's many works gather around a deep commitment to a project of the radical transformation of society. As a Marxist, even a heterodox one, he understood radical transformation to mean a move beyond capitalist society" (Purcell, 2013a, p. 36). Radical in this work entails a critical standpoint about neoliberalism and its appropriation of the production of the space processes for reproducing the hegemony of a social class (Lefebvre, 2003).

The hyphenation of urban-design-under-neoliberalism is a strategy for identifying it as a complex study object. Urban-design-under-neoliberalism serves to characterise the commodification of urban spaces by urban design practice. The radical stance on this object of study comes from: (i) observing critically the links between urban and design (as an exploration of how space is formed

and under which principles), (ii) enquiring into the connections between urban design and neoliberalism (providing a critical diagnosis), (iii) explaining why neoliberalism dominates urban design (by building theoretical constructs), and finally (iv) highlighting the cracks for triggering a revolutionary transformation of its ethics, theory and practice. Taking the reflections of Henri Lefebvre (2003), by revolutionary transformation I refer to a process of analysis that aims to find cracks in a phenomenon to produce deep changes or the total replacement of a failed theory by another. Furthermore, the hyphenation represents a productive linkage between the urban and neoliberalism. By building this radical critique, the thesis contributes to filling a gap in knowledge related to the practice of urban designers under a neoliberal regime in Latin America, and opens a debate about the role of urban designers in the overthrowing of neoliberalism. After the financial crises of 2008, diverse researchers found in this crisis the empirical connection between urban development and cycles of capital accumulation (Harvey, 2012b). Urban design is fundamental for capitalism (Cuthbert, 2006b; Garreton, 2017), so unveiling the cracks of urban-design-under-neoliberalism may be useful for counter-capitalist research agendas.

In this thesis, I expose how urban design in Santiago emerged as a discipline controlled by a ruling class, in order to form actions for spatialised social control, using urban development for the sake of capital accumulation and reproduction. The aim of this thesis is to elaborate and explore the complicity of urban design in relation to the objectives of neoliberalism for the particular case of Santiago - profit and social control by a ruling class (Bourdieu, 1998; Harvey, 2005; Springer, 2016; Weber, 2002), and also to illuminate the cracks in order to liberating urban design from neoliberalism. The analysis of urban-design-under-neoliberalism as a virtual object may help to develop a set of theoretical reflections that evaluates the revolutionary potential of this object by unveiling its contradictions. These reflections could illuminate paths for emancipating urban design from profit-oriented goals and the hegemonic intentions of the ruling class.

1.1. Research design

This part explains the decisions for framing this research. Urban-design-under-neoliberalism is a complex object of study because it is constructed from political, economic and spatial strategies. Its effects, though, are multiple and it may be observed not only in the built environment, but in the design of institutions, regulatory frameworks, the functioning of markets, and social relations. The research sets out to study urban-design-under-neoliberalism and specifically:

- Elaborate and exploring Henri Lefebvre's contribution to researching the disciplinary field of urban design, generating a heterodox Marxist approach for analysing the case of Santiago de Chile.
- Produce a methodological reflection of urban design discipline based on *The Urban Revolution*, by analysing urban-design-under-neoliberalism, focusing on its ethics, theories and practices, and thus expanding the tradition of Marxists urban studies using the insights of Henri Lefebvre (Harvey, 1974; Merrifield, 2002; Elden, 2004; Smith, 2009; Brenner, 2014; Moravansky et al., 2014).
- Enquire into the effects of neoliberalism in the disciplinary field of urban design in the Chilean capital based on the methodological strategies proposed by Henri Lefebvre.

Consequently, searching for the relationship between neoliberalism as a complex ideological project and political, social and economic agendas, and urban design practice, the main research question of this research is:

What is urban design under neoliberalism?

This question demands deep reflection on how urban designers work and the ethos of such a discipline. Urban development is vital for reproducing the cycles of capital accumulation in space, which also spatialises social classes. From 1961, Henri Lefebvre studied this condition and started to claim a change in urban practitioners, demanding that spatial specialists must play a more active role in producing the change from capitalist urban development to a social production of the space, embedded in the interest of the common and stripped from the leashes of capitalist goals: capturing surplus value and reproducing cycles of capital accumulation. In *The Urban Revolution*, Lefebvre exposed the potential of urban design practitioners to catalyse social transformations (Lefebvre,

2003), and yet their role remains open to critique. Through this enquiry, I attempt to open the way towards understanding the position of urban designers in the neoliberal ruling regime, how this ideology affects their practice, and ultimately, the relationship between neoliberalism and the form of the city.

The main objective of neoliberalism is not the production of liveable and just cities but extracting profit from them (Harvey, 1978; 2005; 2012). This particularity would be reflected in a neoliberal aesthetic form. For urban designers, this aesthetical code would constitute an epistemological contradiction because it imposes a form of design; undermining creativity and hindering the possibilities of thinking beyond the limits of capitalist interests. On the other hand, what possibilities can urban design offer for subverting neoliberalism? Analysing the relationship between neoliberalism and urban design using transductive reasoning may illuminate its cracks and unveil its contradictions, providing insightful ideas on how to subvert neoliberalism from the very practice of city making. In order to deepen this analysis, the discipline of urban design has to be analysed beyond its products – space, urban space – reaching the realms of the decision-making processes, its historical development and the ethos of the practitioners who shape and make city to reveal its complex production. This research aims to reflect on these issues and advance toward responding to this question. In order to tackle this main question more precisely, I have formulated the following secondary questions:

What are the ethical contradictions of urban-design-under-neoliberalism?

This secondary question dives into the actual practices of urban design and investigates how its mode of operation, complicit, resistive, neutral or otherwise is constructed and justified while operating under a neoliberal regime. Chapter 7 was designed to answer this question, but also relevant the findings of Chapter 5 and 6 contribute to develop a deeper reflection. Particularly, the question necessitates to elaborating and disclosing how urban designers are resisting neoliberal ideology, or under what circumstances they succumb to their precepts, developing alternative narratives, justifications and epistemological reasoning. Lefebvre explicitly accused architects and urbanists of being cynical, hiding behind a mask of social practices for the reproduction of the

cycles of capitalist accumulation and its consequences. He demanded a subversive behaviour against a hegemonic power. Therefore, while investigating the positioning, the gestures and the professional tactics, of architects and urban designers, I will aim to understand and depict the performance of urban designers in the neoliberal context of Santiago.

How to analyse urban-design-under-neoliberalism using the instruments of critical analysis developed by Henri Lefebvre?

Generally speaking, Marxism is composed of a set of discourses and methods that aim to understand the modes of production of capital. Its main goal is unveiling the social implications of these capitalist processes for the everyday lives of people (Eagleton, 2011). Lefebvre was a heterodox Marxist (Merrifield, 2002) whose focus was to understand how society might unleash a new creative process, similar to the one of the Renaissance, but in modern times, with new tools, technology and deepening in democratic projects (Elden, 2014; Kipfer, Saberi, & Wieditz, 2013; Merrifield, 2006a). In doing so, Lefebvre found in urbanisation a social process that offered an opportunity for social engagement, collective creativity and cooperative organisation. The instruments of social analysis, as far as Lefebvre is concerned, come from a spatialised interpretation of what Marx developed throughout his career. Henri Lefebvre articulated the Marxist critique of political economy under capitalism with the accelerated urbanisation of a global society (Lefebvre, 2016). He switched the focus from commodities, which Marx used for dissecting the nature of industrial capitalism, to space, which Lefebvre conceptualised as the main capitalist asset in post-industrial society. Following Lefebvre's approach, this research investigates the city of Santiago as a case to uncover how neoliberalism and urban design are interwoven to transform cities into capitalist assets, commoditising urban life.

What theoretical approaches does urban design need to resist urban-design-under-neoliberalism?

The very nature of urban design is producing a series of rules and outcomes based on projective, imaginative, future-oriented, realistic and complex understanding of how improve urban life. However, since neoliberalism dominates the political, economic and social agenda, urban design

adopted the logics of a chrematistic⁸ approach to disciplines, pursuing profit and maximising investment, thus abandoning its ethos of designing a good city (Amin, 2002). In the present, there is a disciplinary field recognised as spatial political economy, which has incorporated urban design as part of its main interest (Cuthbert, 2006a), filling its theoretical gaps with a set of appropriate knowledge for organising its ethos.

“Urban design is in fact a mongrel discipline that draws its legitimising theories from diverse intellectual roots: sociology; anthropology; psychology; political science; economics; eco-logical, physical and health sciences; urban geography / studies; and the arts; as well as from the professional or applied theories and practices of: architecture; landscape; engineering; and management. planning; law; property; Indeed, wherever it can.” (Carmona, 2014, p. 2)

The mongrel condition of urban design opened the gate to its potential total neoliberalisation. Specifically, this question aspires to uncover the cracks in urban-design-under-neoliberalism. While explaining the relationship between both subjects (urban design and neoliberalism), there are also possibilities of developing strategies for breaking their hyphens and creating new critical approaches to this complex object of analysis. Unveiling its weakness would reveal the potential of urban design as a revolutionary praxis.

1.1.1. . The Virtual object as hypothesis

“For Lefebvre, virtual objects are not merely philosophical exercises. They are intended to be practical tools for political action. Once a virtual object has been extrapolated from actual practices, it becomes a powerful lens through which we can view the world. This lens helps us better perceive the elements of the virtual object that already exist (2003, p. 23). In Lefebvre’s terms, when we extrapolate urban society as a virtual object, it can help us see incipient elements of urban society that already exist in the body of the industrial city. These elements of urban society are difficult to see because they are emergent and ephemeral; they exist amid the over-whelming light and noise of the industrial city.” (Purcell, 2013, p. 24)

⁸ Chrematistic is a concept used by Aristoteles for classifying studies in economics, focused on understanding the best way to extract profits from certain productive activities.

A virtual object results from a deep reflection of the possibilities of transformations of the current urban society in a future yet to come. In this case, my reflection is focused on how the cities are made under a neoliberal regime and what would happen if neoliberalism prevails over the whole society to its total neoliberalisation. Coherently following transductive reasoning, the hypothesis of this thesis is that urban design has been neoliberalised; in this thesis, it is hyphenated as urban-design-under-neoliberalism. This means, mainly, that an economic theory and an ideological project penetrated all structures of the urban life, making profit and money the main objectives of urban designers. This is revealed when applying a spatial dialectical analysis to the process of the production of urban space. Neoliberalism – as a theory - emerged from monetarism, which was the economic theory developed by Milton Friedman in the fifties, and it proposed that economies are more efficient with an increasing supply of money in the long term in order to ensure the circulation of money in markets and broadening the purchasing capacity of people (Brunner & Meltzer, 1972). This political economy became a political project whose influence on diverse governments around the world was fuelled by the governments of the United States and the United Kingdom in the seventies and eighties (Harvey, 2005). “Urban neoliberalism refers to the interaction of processes of neoliberalisation and urbanisation and how such ideology is shaping and producing the form, the image and the life in the cities.” (Boano & Vergara-Perucich, 2017a, p. 10). Neoliberalism was implemented in Chile by Augusto Pinochet’s dictatorship, in 1975. Since then, the whole Chilean state apparatus transformed its logic, becoming neoliberal. Therefore, urbanisation processes suffered from the dogmatism of neoliberal implementation. Consequently, urban design practitioners transformed in its theoretical, ethical and practical dimensions in order to survive neoliberalism. Given that the main goal of neoliberalism is to build a profit-oriented society, urban design (just like other creative disciplines) had to renounce imagination and utopian thinking in order to become a profitable pragmatist discipline whose main reason for existing is optimising capital investments in the production of the urban. It was more concerned with developing optimal economic solutions than better urban spaces, creating a dialectical contradiction within the discipline: the good city and the profitable city are often not the same in reality. Therefore, the

profitable city has subjugated the possibility of developing a good city. This change represents the neoliberalisation of urban design by adopting monetarism as its own epistemology.

My virtual object assumes that the main ethical and practical contradiction of neoliberal urban design in Santiago is that urban designers are aware of the neoliberalisation of their discipline and its effects. I hypothetically assume that urban designers know that their practice has been distorted to make it profit-oriented, but still, they keep using the same methodological apparatuses to shape city spaces and urban life because the decision-making power remains in the hands of an oligarchy. Hence, the theory behind this behaviour needs to be constructed from the very practice and mind-set of its practitioners, while observing the spatial outcomes of urban-design-under-neoliberalism.

One of the achievements of the neoliberal project has been the alienation of people; hence, urban designers are not yet capable of fighting to emancipate their practice from monetarist epistemologies. Instead, they are dealing with the urgencies of urban life (poverty, transport, agglomeration, and so on) and they have no time for theorising their subjugated condition or for imagining a different future. In practice, urban designers are struggling alone because of the lack of organisation, and in the meantime, they need to ensure they have a job in order to survive. Fear, individualism and the supremacy of profit-oriented practices are the obstacles between urban designers' self-criticisms and the final destruction of the problematic urban-design-under-neoliberalism. Therefore, the main strategy for overthrowing the neoliberal regime starts with an organised collective discussion about building a broad social agreement (contract) capable of stopping profit-oriented urbanism and advancing toward a people-oriented design of cities.

Justification of the research

In 1975, Milton Friedman sent a letter to Augusto Pinochet, explaining to him the strategies that Chile should follow to reset its economic problems. After this letter, in May, the neoliberal project started its implementation across the world. Chile was the first place in the world where neoliberalism started (Brenner, Peck, & Theodore, 2012; Harvey, 2005; Klein, 2011) and from an urban perspective, it was in Chile that the first neoliberal urban policy, in 1979, determined that the

market should lead urban development processes. This will be further explained in Chapter 6. The neoliberal conditions of Chile have been widely studied from the perspective of education (Stillerman, 2016), health (Labra, 2002) and even urban development, with a vast literature covering the issues of neoliberalising the production of space. Nevertheless, the specific process of neoliberalising the disciplinary field of urban design in its ethos and practice remains open to critique. Most of the literature regarding neoliberalism and the urban are related to its spatial consequences or the social effect of a neoliberalised city. These consequences in this research will be exposed in chapters 6 and 7. Urban design, as a disciplinary body of individuals deciding on how to shape city, offers a valuable case for dissecting the way in which neoliberalism and urban design are co-dependent and responsible for making urban form and space. Through the political, economic and social transformations implemented with the neoliberal project, Santiago de Chile provides a series of possibilities to investigate the cracks of the practice in neoliberal urban design. The interplay between neoliberalism and urban design will be further illustrated in Chapters 6 and 7, but it is assured that Santiago provides a complete case for collecting evidence of diverse approaches towards building a theory that explains urban-design-under-neoliberalism.

Consequently, this thesis contributes to knowledge by providing a series of theoretically grounded constructs on urban-design-under-neoliberalism. Diverse authors have reflected on the way neoliberalism has been spatialised (Addie, 2008; Johnson, 2011; Peck, Theodore, & Brenner, n.d.; Schipper, 2014; Theodore et al., 2012) tackling the phenomenon from a broader perspective. About the relationship between neoliberalism and urban design, the focus is oriented to a critique of the disciplinary field of urban design. For Camillo Boano and Giorgio Talocci, urban design has become a commodifying machine and at the same time object of commodification, all as products of neoliberalism (2014). These products of neoliberalism are displayed in the built environment to represent exchange value (Gunder, 2011) and they fetishize the space of cities by using design as a mechanism for increasing profitability of spaces (Carmona, 2009). In the particular case of Santiago, the critique is also oriented to the metropolitan effects of neoliberal urban development (Daher,

1991; Hidalgo Dattwyler et al., 2017; Vicuña, 2013) or to specific effects such as public transport (Garreton, 2014), gentrification (López-Morales, 2016), segregation (Agostini, Hojman, Román, & Valenzuela, 2016; Lambiri & Vargas, 2011), or the failed social housing policies (Imilan, Olivera, 2016; Rodríguez & Sugranyes, 2005). This thesis, takes these advances in the study between urban design and neoliberalism but focuses on the role of practitioners. By doing so, the research contributes to the theorisation of the practices related to urban-design-under-neoliberalism building on the work already advanced by Dr Jorge Inzulza about how neoliberalism influences decision making in processes of designing cities (2014; 2016; 2016; 2011). His approach tackles the relationship between the practitioner and the neoliberal products in Chile criticising the passive role of practitioners in a neoliberal context. Inzulza argues that the right to the city needs to be resituated as a priority through changing the ethos and educational focus of urban design education in Chile (Inzulza, 2011). The focus proposed by Inzulza remains open to contributions and this thesis aims to collaborate in this aim.

The lack of an epistemology for a neoliberal condition in urban disciplines is an issue that Lefebvre already observed in *The Urban Revolution* as sign of contradiction and as an opportunity for research. This thesis also attempts to interpret the insinuation of Lefebvre about urban practices under a neoliberal regime, aiming to explain why this disciplinary field may be so strategic for the prevalence of capitalism and a hegemonic class. By doing so, this research has the potential of advancing from a Global South perspective to the scholarship studying Henri Lefebvre's urban theories, such as David Harvey, Neil Brenner, Christian Schmid, Lukasz Stanek, Stephan Kipfer, Mark Purcell, Andy Merrifield, Stuart Elden, Nathaniel Coleman, and others.

1.1.2. Santiago as a case study

The process analyses the past of Santiago through its archival and historical trajectory; it surveys the present of Santiago in order to understand its socio-spatial relations, and it builds a virtual object that pushes the research towards a projected reality based on possible outcomes. Selecting a Chilean

case for dissecting neoliberal urban design is an advantage because my mother tongue is Spanish, which facilitates the analysis of primary and secondary sources. Over nine months I was immersed in the realm of urban design in Santiago. Beyond the structured schedule of the field (semi-structured interviews, archival research and gathering data from the observations), I connected with practitioners of the Colegio de Arquitectos (equivalent to the Royal Institute of British Architects). Also, I participated in different seminars related to the urban processes. I took part sporadically in research groups about the city and had the chance to work with scholars either in lectures or discussing some initiatives related to urban design. Throughout the development of this thesis I wrote articles for journals, three book chapters and I edited a book (together with professor Camillo Boano) named “Neoliberalism and Urban Development in Latin America: The case of Santiago” published by Routledge in 2017. In this book, I included a chapter of my authorship that did not fit in this thesis, on Milton Friedman’s ideas for Santiago. Being a Santiago based urban designer, I have significant advantages and access to sources linked with universities and the Colegio de Arquitectos (Architects Association). Besides, after some time working at the Chilean government in the Public Works Ministry, my contacts there facilitated me substantial information about urbanisation and construction in Chile. Therefore, my situatedness in the design and the activist realm of Santiago was the locus of my research interests, sources and trajectories.

Another advantage of being a Spanish native speaker is related to the collection of secondary data. In 2008 the Chilean government promulgated the Law of Transparency (Ley 20,285), which commands public institutions to implement an open access policy regarding information. Therefore, I had access to archives, official documentation, statistics developed by the state, and almost all the information that the state uses for formulating its public policies. This is an advantage, although many sources of quantitative data about cities are recent (from 1990 onwards) and discontinued because of the change in the methodologies used for sampling data. The process of collecting the information is slow (services have 60 days to respond to requests from researchers) but reliable. In addition, I participated in basic courses on statistical analysis and qualitative research analysis, both in the Skills Development Programme of UCL and in other institutions.

In order to gain a profound understanding of Henri Lefebvre's literature and theorisation, I learned to read in French. Although I need the aid of a dictionary, I am capable of reviewing literature in French and fully understanding the contents. After acquiring this skill, I travelled three times to Paris to gain access to and review some original books of Lefebvre. Reading his works in English, Spanish and French gave me a broader understanding of his style of presenting ideas. Archival work was fundamental in this research, both in Paris and Santiago. While in Paris I visited the Bibliothèque National de France. While in Chile I worked several weeks at the Archivos Nacionales, a facility where it is possible to find most of the historical documents about Chilean history. The results of my archival work in the Archivos Nacionales are mostly presented in Chapter 5.

1.1.3. Timeframe of the research

I started my MPhil in Development and Planning on September 2013 and then upgraded to a PhD in October 2014. The first year of my studies focused on the literature review, specifically deepening my understanding of neoliberal theories and Henri Lefebvre's work, with particular interest in *The Urban Revolution*. Since the beginning of this research, I have used this book as my main reference; it has been a part of the whole process because one of my personal goals with this research is to assess the importance of Henri Lefebvre's urban revolution for the practice of urban design in Chile. Coincidentally, during the first years of my PhD studies, several books were published to valorise the work of Lefebvre. The thriving literature on Lefebvre's works reinforced the pertinence of selecting him as a methodological framework for orienting my research. I contribute to this debate from a regional perspective analysing a contemporary urban problem in a metropolis such as Santiago.

In December 2014 I travelled to Santiago to start my fieldwork. I planned to spend 9 months in the city doing research. Most of the research was conducted in Santiago. I rented a flat near Plaza Italia (the core of the city) and took advantage of my centrality to participate in several public events such as marches, cultural festivals, protests, and just walking around as a *flaenur* in order to recognise the everydayness of this city, enquiring how neoliberalism may be represented during my time in

Santiago, exploring the situatedness of the cultural milieu of this city. Furthermore, I became involved in the everyday debates of urban design, participating in events at the Colegio de Arquitectos – I assisted with seminars related to urban development in the city and lectured in universities. I also activated links with critical urban theorist groups in order to be able to read the city beneath the official analysis represented in scientific papers, books and official discourses from authorities or stakeholders. From my perspective, it was important to live these nine months as an urban designer of Santiago, renting a flat, paying household accounts and discussing the future of the city with specialists. Also, I was interested in how urban designers in other cities viewed Santiago. I visited Buenos Aires in Argentina, where I had the chance to discuss Santiago with urban designers from other countries, and also I travelled to Valparaiso to understand how Santiago was observed from the outside. The process of interviewing specialists only started once I already immersed myself in the everydayness of Santiago's urban phenomenon, in the fourth month of my fieldwork (March 2015). From March 2015 to July 2015 I conducted semi-structured in-depth interviews with specialists and I also had the chance to lecture in two universities on urban design (at Universidad Central de Chile) and urban planning (Universidad de Santiago de Chile). Finally, in June-July 2015 I applied the survey to 70 urban designers; the aim of this process was to consolidate the data provided by the interviewees. In August 2015 I returned to London in order to begin the process of data analysis and the interpretation of the findings.

It is important to mention that I travelled three times to Paris to review the French writings of Lefebvre that were particularly difficult to find in London.

1.2. Outline of the thesis

This thesis is organised using transductive reasoning, and therefore I created a virtual object (urban-design-under-neoliberalism) to encapsulate how neoliberalism influences the disciplinary practice of urban design. These concepts are further explained in Chapter 4 on Methodology. The construction of this virtual object is the spark that ignites the research process because it raises

questions and demands the design of a methodological strategy for revealing its contradictions and features. From there, the thesis uses the case of Santiago for exploring how this virtual object advances toward its actual materialisation in a real case.

As a rationale, the first two chapters of the thesis illustrate how this virtual object named urban-design-under-neoliberalism is constructed. Then, chapters 3 and 4 elaborate on the methodological contributions of Henri Lefebvre for conducting urban design research, and specifically to study its relationship with neoliberalism. Chapters 5, 6 and 7 explain the relationship between urban design and neoliberalism based on the information gathered from the fieldwork in Santiago. Finally, chapter 8 reflects on the thesis' findings and outlines a possible path to overcome urban-design-under-neoliberalism. Along the different part of the structure, the thesis presents an interpretation of how much the virtual object is already present in the case of Santiago and what theoretical reflections emerged may lead toward revolutionising the practice of urban design in a broader neoliberal context.

In order to produce a more detailed description of the structure the eight chapters, as described below:

Chapter 2 presents a literature review to problematize the relationship between the disciplinary field of urban design and neoliberalism, and how it can be studied in the case of Santiago de Chile. In this chapter, I present the definitions and perspectives on urban design as a mongrel discipline whose aim is to produce good cities. Also, the chapter exposes what are the political and ideological dimensions of neoliberalism with a focus on Chile and its relationship with the processes of the production of cities. Furthermore, this chapter briefly introduces the main discussions on how neoliberalism has changed the city of Santiago. A final part illustrates why the relationship between neoliberalism and urban design in Santiago may be tackled by using the work of Henri Lefebvre.

Chapter 3 presents the work of Henri Lefebvre as a fundamental author for articulating a Marxist critique of capitalism and urban studies, through the relationship between urban design and

neoliberalism. It situates Lefebvre as a key thinker for understanding the role of urban development in the processes of capital accumulation and sustaining the dominance of a hegemonic class over society. The chapter begins by providing a brief journey through Henri Lefebvre's contribution to urban studies. After contextualising his work, the chapter positions Lefebvre along with other Marxist thinkers who articulated Marx's work with urban processes. This second part illustrates how Lefebvre has been used by diverse scholars to analyse the urban. For instance, it describes the work of Rob Shields on the fragmentation of spaces, that of John Allen and Michael Pyke on the financialised space, Neil Brenner's on the notion of planetary urbanisation, which Lefebvre coined in *The Urban Revolution*, Stephan Kipfer's for categorising urban processes, Nathaniel Coleman's work on the contributions of Lefebvre to architectural education, and the production of space in architecture by Lukasz Stanek. Finally, the chapter presents the significant contribution contended in *The Urban Revolution*, stressing its importance as a methodological framework for urban design.

Chapter 4 explains the research methodology, based on the methodological insights contended in *The Urban Revolution*. Specifically, the chapter explains the relevance of transductive reasoning, the levels and dimensions of analysis and the spatial dialectics. It explains how these three strategies for research contribute to illuminating the ethical, theoretical and practical conflicts contended in urban-design-under-neoliberalism. The chapter also highlights the mechanism for interpreting data and research methods.

Chapter 5 provides a global level of analysis that aims to present a baseline to contextualize and understand the historical origins of Santiago's neoliberalisation. This chapter unveils the urban history of Santiago from a spatial dialectic view, by situating land at the centre as the object disputed by social classes. It shows the struggles for control as the engine of Santiago's urban history. The organisation of the chapter responds to a dialectical strategy for illustrating different spatial contests. At first, the Spaniard conquerors fought against Mapuches; these clashes pitted the productive land of the conqueror against the sacred land of the latter, which was then reflected in a specific mode

of city design, based on the aggregation of private plots of land. A second trend emerged when urban design appeared as an *urbanismo* copied from the *urbanisme* of Haussmann transformation of Paris that divided the city between the barbarians (urban poor) and the civilised (oligarchy). This was finalised with what is named the city of the masses – typified by a strong role of the state in planning the city in order to alleviate urban poverty and distributing better public goods. This was an approach that clashed with the historical prevalence of private property, as a means of shaping the urban form. The city of the masses ended in 1973 when the process of neoliberalisation started, after the coup d'état commanded by Augusto Pinochet.

Chapter 6 presents the key practices that have emerged with the neoliberalisation of Santiago, focusing on the way these changes influenced the disciplinary field of urban design. This chapter explores the spatial outcomes from the institutional transformations that generated the practice of urban-design-under-neoliberalism. This process produced a particular set of urban outcomes that reflect how this neoliberalisation was spatialised. The chapter provides a contextualised perspective of Santiago as a metropolis and how it was transformed by neoliberal policies, such as the National Policy of Urban Development of 1979, the social housing programmes of the nineties and the strong development of public-private partnerships in urban development. This chapter analyses examples that illustrate Santiago as a neoliberal city. Likewise, the chapter also shows how urban designers developed strategies to contest urban-design-under-neoliberalism based on institutional changes, contestation in the public space and criticising the modes of production.

Chapter 7 is an exploration of the praxis and ethics of urban designers in Santiago, aiming to unveil their own concerns, contradictions and convictions about their disciplinary involvement under the neoliberal regime. Most of this chapter is built upon a set interviews and a survey applied to urban design practitioners. It also provides a third approach to analyse urban-design-under-neoliberalism, by tackling its ethics. To do so, I interviewed Santiago's urban designers to hear them speaking about the contradictions that they see in their practice. From these interviews, it was possible to

reveal their self-criticism and find concrete revolutionary possibilities towards transforming this disciplinary field starting by a critical understanding of urban design in Santiago.

Chapter 8 develops a series of theoretical reflections towards building a theory of urban design under neoliberalism. This chapter serves as a conclusion and assessment of the findings, answering the research questions and providing a series of reflections for setting an agenda for further researching urban design in neoliberal contexts. Furthermore, the chapter reflects on the methodological contributions contended in *The Urban Revolution*, in order to reassert its value for conducting research in urban design. By answering the research questions, the chapter introduces some key reflections that contributes in the creation of a theory for explaining the object urban-design-under-neoliberalism.

Throughout the thesis, I have made decisions in relation to how to present the information in order to illustrate my research with diverse strategies. I have employed pictures to show some historical references that complement the text. Maps and plans have been collected and developed, in order to show both the space as it was lived (pictures) and how it was measured (maps). I used a similar strategy for representing complex ideas, using diagrams that aim to synthesise concepts. Also, in order to preserve an accurate representation of my sources, I decided to maintain the original language every time I was unable to find an official translation of documents. However, when texts are presented in their original language, I add a footnote with a translation in English. Furthermore, in some parts of the thesis, particularly when quoting Lefebvre, I intentionally present the text in French because in my interpretation the original text may present slight differences to the official translation and it is more transparent to present both. Although these clarifications are related to format they also introduces some of the strategies for designing the thesis in relation to how to present research in English, when the main sources are in Spanish and French.

CHAPTER 2. Discussing urban design and neoliberalism in Santiago

“As it currently exists, that is, as a policy (having institutional and ideological components), urbanism can be criticized both from the right and the left. The critique from the right, which is well known, is focused on the past and is frequently humanist. It subsumes and justifies a neoliberal ideology of "free enterprise," directly or indirectly. It opens a path for the various "private" initiatives of capitalists and capital. The critique from the left, frequently overlooked, is not associated with any so-called leftist group, club, party, apparatus, or ideology. Rather, it attempts to open a path to the possible, to explore and delineate a landscape that is not merely part of the "real," the accomplished, occupied by existing social, political, and economic forces.” (Lefebvre, 2003, p. 6)⁹

2.1. Introduction

This chapter presents the current discussions that serve to articulate neoliberalism with the disciplinary field of urban design, and explains why Santiago is a suitable case for studying the relationship between these elements. By doing so, the chapter presents relevant discussions in literature about the way neoliberalism – as ideology and political project– has influenced the practice of urban design and briefly introduces how these features have been studied in Santiago. The analysis of the relationship between urban design as disciplinary field and neoliberalism is not particularly abundant in literature. However, the use of cities in study cases for explaining certain features of neoliberalism may be found in various publications and studies that serve for exploring

⁹ Original language: “Tel qu’il se présente, c’est-à-dire comme politique (avec ce doublé aspect institutionnel et idéologique), l’urbanisme relève d’une doublé critique : une critique de droite et une critique de gauche. La critique de droite, personne ne l’ignore, est volontiers passéiste, souvent humaniste. Elle couvre et justifie une idéologie néo-libérale, c’est-à-dire la “libre entreprise”, directement ou indirectement. Elle ouvre la voie à toutes les initiatives “privées” de capitalistes et de leurs capitaux. La critique de gauche, beaucoup de gens l’ignorent encore, n’est pas celle que prononce tel ou tel groupe, club, parti, appareil, idéologues classés “à gauche”. C’est celle qui tente de frayer la voie du possible d’explorer et de jalonner une contrée qui ne soit pas seulement celle du “réel”, de l’accompli, occupé par les forces économiques, sociales et politiques existantes.” (Lefebvre, 1970, p.14)

the theoretical links between these two objects of study. So far, the case of Santiago and its neoliberal urban development has been mostly focused on public policy and social consequences, but not much on how the space is designed under a neoliberal regime. This chapter presents the main discussions about urban design, neoliberalism, and introduces Santiago as a suitable case for this research. By doing so, the chapter serves to explain the reflections that constructed the hyphenated object urban-design-under-neoliberalism.

2.2. Urban designer's ethos

The ethos refers to the guiding beliefs and ideals that characterise the behaviour of a certain group of individuals. The study of an ethos implies the observation of conducts and habits of people for accomplishing certain goals (Fubini, 2010), which also implies a reflection on the ontological characteristics of urban design as a disciplinary field. In this case, the urban designer's ethos refers to the set of beliefs and attitudes of urban design practitioners when deciding on urban form and shaping spaces.

The theoretical scope for outlining the ethos of urban design is not clear in literature. This lack of clarity represents one of its values: being a mongrel disciplinary field that borrows methods and frameworks from other disciplines for studying and theorising the urban space. (Carmona, 2014). For Michael Sorkin, one of the problems of the disciplinary field of urban design is that it operates prescribing solutions for cities neglecting the social consequences of these ideas (Sorkin, 2013). As a practice oriented discipline, the decisions made by urban designers have physical representations in space which are lasting. Aseem Inam said that the mongrel nature of urban design creates a vague and ambiguous set of methods constructed by multiple disciplines (Inam, 2002), which reflects the absence of a theoretical base of its own (Cuthbert, 2011). On the other hand, Matthew Carmona recognises part of these critiques but still values the importance of urban design in resolving issues in cities:

“But, if one accepts that urban design is already a distinct field of practice, as seems evident by the spread of universities around the world with programmes dedicated to the education of urban design professionals, and if, as many have observed, urban design addresses some of the most complex and fundamental of urban problems, then it seems improbable to deny at least the potential for a distinct intellectual tradition.” (Carmona, 2014, p. 3)

While the epistemology of urban design is not definitive and open to critique, the outcomes and goals of its practice are clearer. Specifically, the disciplinary field of urban design deals with the creation and shaping of public spaces and facilities, organise private initiatives, reflecting social needs and defining the way in which cities are developed.

A public space is not only the pavement and the street, but also refers to public goods, all those spaces that are available for the free use of people. Streets, roads, and pavements; parks, plazas and squares; public and private housing, hospitals and educational facilities; transport systems and communications also are part of the most elementary scope of urban design practice. For Jonathan Barnett, the role of urban design is a practice that gives the physical design to urban transformations, including landscape.

"Good architects will do all they can to relate the buildings they design to their surroundings, but they have no control over what happens off the property they have been hired to consider. As we have seen, there may well be a conflict of interest between good urban design and the needs of an architect's client, so that cities full of good modern buildings." (Barnett, 1982, p. 238)

Urban designers define the form and processes of what is between buildings, designing the city with what is considered a good urban design understood as the provision of quality spaces for urban life (Barnett, 1982). Many times, urban design is practiced through "policies, programs and guidelines rather than by blueprints that specify shape and location in detail" (Lynch 1982 in George, 1997). Therefore, it is possible to assert that from the early theorisations of the disciplinary field of urban design it has been defined as a practice that not only draws over the map an urban form but also plays a relevant role by acting in the political and economic realm for defining norms and regulations that ensure the development of a good city.

These norms and regulations are embedded in an institutional framework (government, local authorities, companies, organised communities) that define certain goals and expectations in relation to the urban space for social needs. In this context, most of the work developed by urban designers in the built environment is to create a decision environment for guiding the process of shaping the city following certain goals and aims. "The invisible web that urban designers spin is the decision environment within which designers make design decisions: urban design involves manipulating and structuring this environment." (George, 1997, p. 149). For Varkki George (1997), contemporary urban design is not directly involved in the design of urban objects so it may be considered as a "second-order design" (George, 1997, p. 150), acting as ghost designers. Following this premise, a fundamental role of urban designers is setting the criteria and principles for designing cities. Hence, the skills of urban designers for defining a good city through these criteria and principles are critical for enhancing urban life, even if the private interests attempt to take advantage of urban processes. Urban design may contribute actively in resolving the conflicts of interest over the space between capital and communities, for finding the better solution for both parties.

However, not all urban designers are working at public institutions. Also, real estate developers need urban designers to define the layouts of their urban projects, or to analyse the regulations to find investment opportunities and to design the public areas of commercial projects. Diverse architectural projects need urban designers as well to define public spaces, such as shopping malls, housing buildings, suburbs, and other examples. Hence, as counterpart of those urban designers working at public institutions, the private practitioner attempts to maximise the investments at the same time as creating good urban spaces.

Because of the mongrel nature of urban design, the approach to city making can have as many manners as urban designers exist, with not necessarily much in common. Methodologies for studying urban design vary depending on the particular interest of the practitioner. For instance, Kevin Lynch explored the elements of space for categorizing a city, Christopher Alexander studied the

patterns that explain cities, and Bill Hillier the fluxes that shape the space, but all these three approaches are insightful and significant despite their differential methodology. Urban design as a disciplinary field cannot be subsumed under a total methodology that eliminates the richness of conflicts for defining the methods to study the urban form (Cuthbert, 2007). Generalisations on urban design are discussable because methodologies are not fixed but also because each city has diversity and complexities that are unique. A general theory of urban design explaining all forms of cities in the world seems unreasonable. Theories of urban design do not seek a general theory of urban design, instead, they focus on its outcomes: wellbeing of inhabitants, fair distribution of resources in cities, good access to public transport, accessible leisure facilities, affordable housing, to mention some examples of desirable urban design outcomes.

Rather than searching for a general theory of urban design, it is possible to explore the theoretical elaborations on these examples. These explorative approaches may lead towards creating an idealised urban environment in order to orient the decision-making processes for city making. This means that it could be more realistic to advance in theories for explaining the effects of urban design practices rather than a theory on the spatial characteristics of spaces. A theory of urban design would be more universal when being capable of setting the principles for understanding the decision making on urbanization processes rather than explaining the outcomes of urban design practices.

Urban design is a disciplinary field whose impact on society is high because it determines the organisation of the city; so the views on urban design should be weighed against the way people see their cities, their expectations and needs. Therefore, the aesthetics of spaces, the experimental practices, the economic effects of spatial transformations, the environmental value of projects and the social preferences are more certain elements for judging the assertiveness of urban design approaches (Biddulph, 2012). Urban design is an applied disciplinary field that confronts the use of social science methods with arts, discussing the imperious necessity of transforming research

findings on urban form by either norms, regulations, designs or actions. The creative nature of this disciplinary field should not be excluded from the analysis of its ethos.

"Urban designers must not be misled into assuming they could be applied scientists. They must remember that there is an art to their work, that their methods are partly arts (or, for example, studio) based, but also that they need substantive criteria or principles which need to be debated, updated, tested and applied. Urban designers must embrace the interpretive and very political nature of the context in which they work, and the solutions that they propose. A tendency to dismiss normative thinking in other related disciplines like planning merely reflects a perceived need for knowledge to be justified by tests applied from within, and framed by social science methodologies. Urban design needs to have no such insecurity. Although research for urban design might usefully choose to embrace social science methods, ultimately the relevance of any lessons emerging from any such work might only nudge practice in a particular direction given the complexity or wickedness of practice." (Biddulph, 2012, pp. 16–18)

Urban design as a mongrel disciplinary field synthesises its scientific-artistic feature under a set of theoretical reflections with empirical outcomes. Social science methods are employed for analysing reality and informing decisions, to then use political and artistic techniques in developing proposals.

In recent disciplinary categorisations, urban design has been situated as a disciplinary field that articulates different modes of producing and studying the built environment (geography, urban planning, urban studies, architecture) in order to situate public space at the centre of the discussions on how to improve urban life through spatial changes (Bentley, 1976; Carmona, 1998; Madanipour, 2006). If in the eighties the idea of urban design was mostly associated to defining public spaces' form, in the present it also involves the political arena and the research on how cities help to improve the life of people. Recently, urban design has become more holistic because public space has been conceptualised as a political arena for social struggle against the dominant neoliberal ideology (Brenner, Marcuse & Mayer, 2012). Mike Biddulph (2012) contended that urban design professional practice encompasses the use of theoretical developments about the built environment at a range of different scales for designing forms that improve the character of the public realm, which makes of urban design a very political practice.

“Thinking about urban design refers to the body of thinking which attempts to locate urban design activities within social theory. In this respect, the built environment is the object of inquiry typically being viewed from the outside and judged, for example, by urbanists, anthropologists, sociologists or geographers.” (Biddulph, 2012, p. 3)

Considering urban design as part of social theory, the study of processes or the production of spaces represents a social praxis driven by specific means and aiming to goals defined by a dominant class, which makes it as an appropriate discipline to be analysed under a Marxist framework (Cuthbert, 2007). Urban designers’ tasks are embedded in the chain of production of spaces the urban society, extracting value from urban transformations and using the city as a resource for capital accumulation (Lefebvre, 1991b). Just as Lefebvre suggests, urban design may play a critical role in stripping urban processes from capitalism (Lefebvre, 2003). Urban designers are agents capable of changing social relations working within the urban system (Biddulph, 2012, p. 3) regardless of the dominant ideology. Urban designers may infiltrate a political apparatus and ignite strategic transformations in society by changing the way cities are organized.

The organisation of public spaces also involves a defence of common spaces from the potential threats coming from a possible greedy way of developing the city by the private or pragmatic ideas from some authorities aiming to gain votes from urban development. Matthew Carmona has developed an extensive work creating categories that illustrate the central conflicts that urban design faces in the contemporary development of cities. Throughout his vast literature on urban design, it is possible to summarise the way urban designers are responsible for specific spatial consequences that undermine the quality of cities, most of them related to an uncontrolled market force that ends by shaping spaces for the sake of capitalists interests.

The categories of these spatial consequences may be summarised as follows:

Table 2.1. Critical outcomes of urban design practice. Source: (Carmona, 2015, p. 3-4).

<i>Neglected spaces:</i>	neglecting public space, both physically and in the face of market Forces
<i>Invaded spaces:</i>	sacrificing public space to the needs of the car, effectively allowing movement needs to usurp social ones
<i>Exclusionary space:</i>	allowing physical and psychological barriers (fear of “the other”) to dominate public space design and management strategies
<i>Consumption space:</i>	failing to address the relentless commodification of public space
<i>Privatised space:</i>	allowing public space to be privatised, with knock-on impacts on political debate and social exclusion
<i>Segregated space:</i>	reflecting the desire of affluent groups in many societies to separate themselves from the rest of society, reflecting a fear of crime or simply the desire to be exclusive
<i>Insular space:</i>	failing to halt a more general retreat from public space into domestic and virtual realms
<i>Invented space:</i>	condoning the spread of a placeless, formula-driven entertainment space
<i>Scary space:</i>	where crime, and more often fear of crime, are allowed to dominate the design management and perceptions of place
<i>Homogenised space:</i>	generally presiding over a homogenisation of the public built environment in the face of the relentless forces of globalisation, over-regulation and the claims culture

The importance of the market in shaping urban spaces has increased after the emergence of neoliberalism (Harvey, 2006). As part of the neoliberal transformations, state expenditures are re-directed from social goods – such as housing, education, healthcare, pensions– toward security measures controlled by market agents and using the strategy of subsidising the private sectors for providing these services (Johnson, 2011). Neoliberalism weakens the public sector, which directly influences the importance of urban design in this ideological understanding of society. Under a neoliberal regime, urban design plays specific roles that are often related to branding cities in order to attract capital investments or increasing the economic efficiency of spatial investments, rather than producing reflective designs that actually represents people needs and addresses urban problems (Langhorst, 2015). This condition is stressed by the globalised networks of cities in which diverse iconic works are constructed by the interests of the transnational capitalist class that employ

the fame of architects (namely starchitects) for attracting investments (Sklair, 2005; 2006). Aspa Gospodini (2002) argues that the economic development of cities in the globalised era requires significant investments in the urban space for ensuring its growth. Thus, for Gospodini, urban design serves as a mean of economic development. Joern Langhorst illustrates the new role of urban design in neoliberal contexts with the example of how the High-Line project in New York served as a catalyser for increasing land value and accelerating the revitalization of an great urban area of the city:

“The replacement of the ecologically transgressive corresponds to the exclusion and displacement of the socially transgressive (paralleled by the "clean-up" of the Meatpacking District with its pasts of marginal industrial production and subsequent image of sexual deviancy). The physical expression of previous "layers" of urban culture are de facto erased, and the structure of the High Line, while remaining, is de facto relegated to the function of a "picture frame." In this context, the High Line operates as a powerful sign, an icon and symbol, that represents, advertises and "mediates" a neoliberal version of urban renewal. Urban renewal and gentrification processes were already well on their way, and had displaced large numbers of the poorer residents before the High Line, but it will, without doubt, be instrumental in accelerating these processes." (Langhorst, 2015, p. 9)

As Langhorst explains with the case of the High-Line, urban design in neoliberal environments changed the focus to prioritising the pursuit of high revenues through spatial transformations. Urban design in neoliberal contexts is used for allocating investments to add value to urban areas. As Matthew Carmona has explained, good urban design raises capital and rent in the surroundings of interventions for more than a 20%, thus increasing the possibilities of ensuring the selling of spaces. For Carmona, good urban design helps to break into new markets for expanding businesses, and contributes to enhancing company image in communities (Carmona, 2001). Under neoliberalism, entire areas of the city are benefited by the production of high-quality urban developments, but also less attractive spaces for capital are neglected. Despite being privately owned, most of the open spaces designed for catching value are publicly accessible spaces (Foroughmand Araabi, 2017). So, from the perspective of the provision of good spaces, one of the problems of urban design with neoliberal policies is the uneven distribution of good spaces

throughout the city (Smith, 2009). In under-developed cities, the profit-oriented logic of urban design plus a neoliberal set of ruling policies will undermine the possibility of allocating capital investments in more deprived areas of the city where the value of investments may be affected (Harvey, 2012a).

Neoliberalism is a political-economic project that uses the competition between products as a measure for optimising investments. If spaces are products (Lefebvre, 1991c), then the less competitive spaces receive less attention from the market and their chances of receiving investments for improvements is reduced because it is riskier for capital. From the perspective of the urban designers' role of physically organising the city, this uneven logic of making compete for areas of the city based on its profitability hampers the possibility of developing just cities. It is a problem of supply and demand that installed as a mantra for decision-making which undermines the very possibility of providing spatial justice.

John Rennie Short explains that the neoliberal agenda has undercut the funding for urban design in the sense that the public sector could advance toward providing a good life through urban spaces. (Short, 2006). For him, urban disciplines have been refashioned by neoliberalism in order to generate economic growth through urban development. Michael Gunder goes further and observes that the disciplinary field of urban design's lack of critical postures against the neoliberal agenda because contemporary urban design is a creation of neoliberalism. Urban design adopted the economic approach to society imposed by neoliberalism. In his view, urban design served to the neoliberal ideology as a mean to use the built environment as a commodity (Gunder, 2011). This view echoes with the interpretation of Henri Lefebvre who stated that urban disciplines are masked instruments of capitalism (Lefebvre, 2003) that transformed urbanisation into a mechanism for provoking cycles of capital accumulation through the production of space (Harvey, 2009; Lefebvre, 1991). "Following on from this argument, when topics such as social justice, emancipatory design and gender are discussed under the titles of urban design, they cannot act otherwise than required

by neoliberal forces.” (Foroughmand Araabi, 2017, p. 4). The articulation between urban design and neoliberalism may have originated in the lack of theoretical reflections in urban design (Lefebvre, 2003), which hinders the possibility of framing critical approaches to its practice (Cuthbert, 2011). Instead, neoliberalism has been efficient in filling the theoretical hollows of urban design and dominating it.

From the theoretical articulation with neoliberalism, Alexander Cuthbert asserts that urban design provides theoretical resources for an urban political economy (2006a) because in the current scenario urban development is fundamental for absorbing value from capitalist activities.

Cuthbert explains that urban design has efficiently adopted frameworks from history, philosophy, politics, culture, gender, environmental sciences, aesthetics, typologies and praxis in its approach to explain the conditions and complexities of urban forms in the contemporary context, which also serves to illustrate how capitalism works in cities (Cuthbert, 2011). Both Matthew Carmona (2014) and Alexander Cuthbert (2011) coincide in their interpretation of urban design as a multidimensional discipline working with given circumstances and using borrowed methods for explaining urban form and shaping it. Their main critique is the absence of theory in urban design that addresses spatial transformations under a certain disciplinary autonomy.

“The difficulty here is of having too much, rather than too little, and if this is a rational observation from the perspective of the environment, it is a radically different issue from the perspective of what is to be done. What is missing is an idea of justice, a theory that addresses not simply the reconfiguration of space but also the redistribution of wealth. The reduction of urbanism to a battle of styles is a formula for ignoring its most crucial issues.” (Sorkin, 2013, p. 180)

I agree with these definitions, and also with the diagnosis provided by Carmona (2014) and Cuthbert (2011). Nevertheless, more practically, I am concerned about how urban design may actually become an influential discipline for pursuing social justice when it is facing the powerful forces of capitalism (Grazian, 2004; Harvey, 2009; Swyngedouw and Heynen, 2003). The lack of theory hampers the possibility of making urban design an autonomous disciplinary field, and in the absence

of a self-consciousness of urban design's own political dimensions, neoliberal domination will continue. In this case political action implies that urban designers have to recognise neoliberalism as a main contextual feature of their practices. It will require the study of the urban beyond the analysis of urban forms in order to enter the politics of space, acting more consciously with respect to their social responsibility, building a disciplinary agenda and aiming to provide a different idea of an urban society in which the different classes of society would thrive equally.

A politicisation of urban design could follow the example of other disciplines, such as lawyers with human rights, referred to in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, medical doctors with abortion rights, fostered by the Human Reproduction Programme of the World Health Organization, and scientists with global warming, who are sponsored by the Paris Agreement. While different disciplines are advancing towards a shared ethical commitment as a baseline to address their own politics, urban designers remain mostly oriented towards providing solutions, avoiding deep reflections on the processes and the modes of such production, including its social and political implications.

In the current state of the debate, the existence of urban design theory is under constant contestation (Dovey & Pafka, 2015), which provides an opportunity to add a more political stance to new theoretical developments. Some small-scale experiences aim to deliver a better-built environment by contesting neoliberalism, although broader reflection is needed to scale-up their influence, passing from acupuncture practices to metropolitan applications. The scale-up is a big challenge when considering planetary urbanisation based on a global capitalist network (Brenner, 2013, 2016; H. Lefebvre, 2003). Thus, a theory of urban design should also embrace a radical stance for contesting neoliberalism from the processes of the production of space.

Urban designers that already took a critical stance on the theory of their practice are questioning the disciplinary field and demanding more profound reflections on its scope, assuming new

responsibilities with the urgencies of society. Kanishka Goonewardena (2011) establishes key questions for the urban design discipline, explicitly asserting the co-dependence of capitalism and the processes of the production of space. Furthermore, Goonewardena demands disarticulation between capitalism and urban production for developing what he called critical urbanism, a way of critical thinking in order to inform practice. Margaret Kohn proposes the use of critical theory borrowed from political science to analyse urban processes. In her interpretation, "critical theory is an approach that reads the city itself as a text in order to reveal patterns of domination, exclusion, and power relations that are difficult to recognise because of the way that they are taken for granted in our experience of daily life" (Kohn in Banerjee & Louaitou-Sideris, 2011, p. 195). Accepting the question proposed by Goonewardena as a reflective challenge, this research enquires into the theoretical problems contended in urban-design-under-neoliberalism.

I elaborate this analysis using a radical political, economic approach developed by Henri Lefebvre. Indeed, in *The Urban Revolution*, Lefebvre reveals that one of the leading problems of urban society is the practitioners entitled to shape the city. By questioning the entanglement of neoliberal processes, this research centres on urban designers' decision making, their proposals, their ideas and their mindset, in order to determine their dependency (or not) on neoliberal ideology.

A final reflection is needed to illustrate what urban design aims would be different than those fostered by neoliberalism. For instance, it is possible to assert that urban designer's ethos in a neoliberal context will be exposed to significant contradictions between the pursuit of good urban design and the interests of the investors. However, it will also depend on how to understand a good city. For stating a clear position, I will use the definition provided by Ash Amin:

"I have chosen to redefine the good city as an expanding habit of solidarity and as a practical but unsettled achievement, constantly building on experiments through which difference and multiplicity can be mobilised for common gain and against harm and want." (Amin, 2006, pp. 1020–1021).

Based on these ideas, the possibilities of developing a good city regarding the ethos of urban designers under a neoliberal regime will be one of the explorations that this research enquires into. My definition of urban design embraces the pursuit of the good city. For me, urban design is a disciplinary field that organises the decision environment, defines the methods and procedures for shaping the space, and develops a series of tactics and strategies that guide the design processes toward producing a good city for the sake of the whole community. Hence, urban design sets the frame for fostering solidarity within communities and providing a good environment for enhancing urban life. This, of course, is an idealisation of urban design. In order to test the feasibility of this idealisation, I will inquire what challenges face the disciplinary field of urban design under neoliberalism when dealing with the complexities of urban development and see what needs to be re-calibrated to enrich this practice toward reducing the spatial manifestations of injustices and aiming toward producing a good city.

2.3. Spatial dimensions of neoliberalism

“Consequently, the manifold forms and pathways of neoliberal urbanization should be seen not as coherent, sustainable solutions to the entrenched regulatory dilemmas and contradictions of contemporary capitalism, but rather as deeply contradictory restructuring strategies that are significantly destabilizing inherited landscapes of urban governance and socioeconomic regulation.” (Peck, Theodore, & Brenner, 2017, p. 64)

In this research, the concept of neoliberalism is conceived as an extreme understanding of capitalist principles. Andrew Zimbalist and Howard J. Sherman explain that capitalism in its pure form “is defined as a system wherein all of the means of production (physical capital) are privately owned and run by the capitalist class for a profit, while most other people are workers who work for a salary or wage (and do not own the capital or the product)” (Zimbalist & Sherman, 1984, pp. 6–7). In neoliberalism, these assumptions expand from economics to the whole social spectrum (politics, social relations, culture, and economics itself) and the promoters of neoliberalism (also known as free-market economics or new economics) propose that society will thrive if a free-market political

economy controls it (Harvey, 2005). Accordingly, it is intended as a theory, ideology and a political project.

Neoliberalism emerged from an influential group of liberal thinkers who organised to contesting the Keynesian economic theory¹⁰, in a post-war context Europe and USA, in order to produce an alternative governance towards the realisation of economic freedom. Mont Pelerin members claim: "Again without detailed agreements, the members see the Society as an effort to interpret in modern terms the fundamental principles of economic society as expressed by those classical economists, political scientists, and philosophers who have inspired many in Europe, America and throughout the Western World" (Mont Pelerin Society, 2016). Although the members of the Mont Pelerin society prefer to speak about new economics, in this thesis, I will use the definition of neoliberalism, most commonly used in Marxist literature.

Neoliberalism as a concept refers to the laissez-fair economics, whose goals were economic liberalisation, defence of private property rights, governmental austerity and free trade. Neoliberalism situates the private (individual, enterprises) at the centre of the economic activities.

"At a base level we can say that when we refer to 'neoliberalism', we are generally referring to the new political, economic and social arrangements within society that emphasize market relations, re-tasking the role of the state, and individual responsibility. Most scholars tend to agree that neoliberalism is broadly defined as the extension of competitive markets into all areas of life, including the economy, politics and society." (Springer, 2016, p. 2)

In practice, neoliberalism is also a governmental model that eliminates control over prices, deregulates capital markets, fosters free international trade, and advances toward the privatisation of social security (Boas & Gans-Morse, 2009). In this research, I adopted David Harvey' definition of neoliberalism which is "either as a utopian project to realise a theoretical design for the

¹⁰ The Keynesian economic theory was developed by the British economist John Maynard Keynes. This theory argued that the markets are not self-regulated and the state has to play a key role in the economic development of countries. For instance, Keynes stated that full employment is vital as well as ensuring social security, so then the workers can spend their salaries on good and services.

reorganisation of international capitalism or as a political project to re-establish the conditions for capital accumulation and to restore the power of economic elites” (2005, p. 19). I will explore both sides, the utopian vision of a free-market society and its actual realisation in spaces. I am interested in researching what are the potential coercive relationship between states and the hegemonic class for privatising as many aspects of society as possible: social services, culture, arts, politics and sciences, focusing on how cities have played a key role in this dynamic.

“We live in an age in which both urban “problems” and urban strategies are framed in neoliberal terms. But the logic of neoliberalism is not static. Cities have become increasingly central to the reproduction, transmutation, and continual reconstitution of neoliberalism during the last three decades. Indeed, we contend that a marked urbanization of neoliberalism has occurred, as cities have become strategic targets and proving grounds for an increasingly broad range of neoliberal policy experiments, institutional innovations, and political projects. Under these conditions, cities have become the incubators for, and generative nodes within, the reproduction of neoliberalism as a living institutional regime.” (Theodore et al., 2012, p. 25)

While the urbanisation of neoliberalism refers to a broader scale of analysis, its representation at microscale is significant for getting into how this ideology has transformed the way we see cities. For instance, neoliberalism fosters individualism (Stiglitz, 2010) and one of the main spatial expressions of individualised space is the dwelling. Under neoliberalism, the push for homeownership by governments has been a common feature (Rossi & Vanolo, 2015). Starting in the early 1990s, after the Washington Consensus, banks have reduced the requirements for credits on mortgages which facilitated the access to homeownership at the time that involved the financial sector more actively in the production of spaces (Fernandez & Aalbers, 2016). The access of low-income communities to multiple mortgages without financial background and the coercion of the financial sector to maximise the earnings from the housing market were the main causes of the great financial crisis of 2008 (Fernandez & Aalbers, 2016; Follain & Giertz, 2012; Rossi & Vanolo, 2015). It is important to highlight, because the greatest crisis that neoliberalism has faced emerged from the processes of the production of spaces. Therefore, a critical theorisation of neoliberalism from the perspective of urban design seems like a suitable approach to unpacking how this ideological

project affected cities. Because of the subprime-crisis of 2008 and the real-estate bubbles in Europe, neoliberalism entered a profound crisis of credibility, and a significant number of political manifestos began to circulate announcing its end. Neil Brenner, Nick Theodore and Jamie Peck refer to this stage with a metaphor:

“Dead but dominant, neoliberalism may indeed have entered its zombie phase. The brain has apparently long since ceased functioning, but the limbs are still moving, and many of the defensive reflexes seem to be working, too. The living dead of free-market revolution continues to walk on earth, through with each resurrection their decidedly uncoordinated gait becomes even more erratic.” (Brenner, Peck, et al., 2012, p. 52)

In theorising this *walking dead* ideological project, Paul Mason developed an agenda for what he named a ‘post-capitalism’ stage. He stated that, in order to replace neoliberalism, “we need something just as powerful and effective; not just a bright idea about how the world could work but a new, holistic model that can run itself and tangibly deliver a better outcome” (Mason, 2015, p. 13). A different future, in the view of Slavoj Žižek (2015), may be possible only with a highly bureaucratic but efficient state, and in his opinion, we should not be afraid of a huge state apparatus if it ensures the emancipation of social relations. In Mason’s proposal, such a new paradigm has to be based on micro-scalar economic relations inserted into a globalised network of social interactions. In line with transformative agendas, Philip Smith and Manfred Max-Neef (2011) proposed that change has to start in economics schools because that is the place where neoliberal ideology was and is reproduced. Both demand a new ethos for economics and a new teaching paradigm. Besides, Smith and Max-Neef’s agenda of transformation requires more respectful social relations, human-scale development, eco-municipalities, among other suggestive ideas. Similarly, David Harvey (2014c) proposed 17 strategies for a political praxis for a post-capitalist future. There are more examples of agendas for a post-capitalist future, which represent radical approaches to the neoliberal loss of credibility. Indeed, even Joseph Stiglitz, former director of the World Bank, has exposed the necessity of overcoming neoliberalism:

“The set of ideas that came to dominate has been called neoliberalism. By boosting inequality and a dependency on finance, the ideas of neoliberalism fed directly into the crash of 2008. The ideas have now been shown to be wrong, to have failed for over a third of a century. It’s time for us to think about alternatives.” (Stiglitz, 2017, p. 2)

Neoliberalism expanded the idea of an entrepreneurial society, and it produced several effects in cities. David Harvey illustrated the idea of entrepreneurial cities as spaces where politico-economic elites work together for experimenting through innovative ways of capital accumulation which implied a series of socio-spatial restructuring processes as consequence of the speculative dynamics that had driven these entrepreneurial strategies (Rossi & Vanolo, 2015). Urban entrepreneurialism was one of the main consequence of the implementation of neoliberal urban policies (López Morales, 2009) and in the present, the design of cities obeys mainly to the interests of private investors. The neoliberal regime of institutional governance that facilitated capital accumulation is a process in which the capitalist state is reshaped following the logic of entrepreneurialism in which business and political interests are aligned (Tickell & Peck, 2002). Despite the criticism, 11 years after the crisis neoliberalism remains in its ‘walking dead’ phase, dominating the scene with its profit-oriented decisions. Although pessimistic in nature, as Slavoj Žižek said, it seems easier to imagine the end of life on Earth than a modest transformation in the neoliberal modes of production (Žižek, 2012).

Critical reflections on the neoliberalisation of urban practices are abundant (Brenner, Madden, & Wachsmuth, 2011; Fezer, 2013; Harvey, 2012a; Spencer, 2016) but the image, the design of the post-neoliberal space is an open field for explorations because yet not many feasible urban design projects for a post-neoliberal city have been presented. What does a post-neoliberal city look like? A radical urban design has not developed this idea of the future. Hence, the post-capitalist humanity remains as a fantasy without a space to inhabit. Instead, urban design projects still represent a continuity with the current neoliberal ideology. At this time, proposals for overcoming neoliberalism lack a spatial project. The post-neoliberal city does not exist as a virtual object constructed as a consequence of a series of discussions on how to overcome neoliberalism through

urban production processes. Without an imagined future, it is hard to convince society to struggle to overcome neoliberalism. What are we offering to society? Only erasing the current system? And what then? So far, neoliberalism seems to be a comfort zone for urban designers. Perhaps, urban designers do not see this ideology as a threat to their ethical commitment. After years of neglecting the political role of urban design (Madanipour, 2006; Cuthbert, 2010; Banerjee & Louaitou-Sideris, 2011), urban designers started to question their role in society as political actors. This thesis aims to record this moment too, the very moment in which urban designers are waking from being zombie-like neoliberalised practitioners and start contributing to the idea and the space of a post-neoliberal urban life.

In this period of time, society faces its historical peak of wealth inequality: “Indeed, the distribution of wealth is too important an issue to be left to economists, sociologists, historians, and philosophers. It is of interest to everyone, and that is a good thing. The concrete, physical reality of inequality is visible to the naked eye and naturally inspires sharp but contradictory political judgments” (Piketty, 2014, p. 2). This inequality is represented in the built environment, and adequate responses seem quite demanding. Studying the relationship between neoliberalism and urban design would lead toward developing potential reactions in this realm.

“The unfolding effects of the global economic recession are dramatically intensifying the contradictions around which urban social movements have been rallying, suddenly validating their claims regarding the unsustainability and destructiveness of neoliberal forms of urbanization.” (Brenner, Marcuse, & Mayer, 2012, p. 1)

Neoliberalism needs urban development just as liberal projects required industrialisation (Lefebvre, 1970). In this assumption, urban design is quite central given that it has been “transformed from an expression of the production of needs to the industrialist to an expression of the controlled power of financial capital, backed by the power of the State, over the totality of the production process” (David Harvey, 1974, p. 254). Furthermore, for contesting neoliberalism, the urban design discipline may serve to explore more generous and collective cities rather than being only focused

on reproducing capital and wealth. Neoliberalisation of urban design accelerated the process through which the city became a simple commodity (Stanek, 2008), so enquiring into its spatial forms may represent a method for contesting the adverse effects of this ideology in urban life.

2.4. Santiago de Chile and neoliberal urban development

Urbanism (*urbanisme*), in the French tradition, is a lens and practice for analysing, theorising and shaping cities, so when Lefebvre criticises its role in society, he refers to an intellectual approach to spaces as well as to its practices. However, in Anglophone academia, urbanism is divided into different sub-disciplines.

“In the U.S. we use the terms Urban Planning, Urban Design, Urban Studies, Urban History, Urban Sociology. In Europe and to some extent in the U.K., these separate disciplines are all considered parts of urbanism, a term becoming more familiar in academic discussions in America. But urbanism as a subject is being fragmented by conflicting ideologies, and different definitions have been proliferating in books, articles, and conferences.” (Barnett, 2011, p. 19).

Notably, the practitioners who shape cities are named urban designers, and they also seek to theorise the practices of the production of space. This linguistic difference opens the possibility to reframe Lefebvre’s statement, “What is urban design?” Situated in the present, this question demands an enquiry to reveal whether urban design is a superstructure of a neoliberal society, whether its ethos aims to foster organisational neoliberalism, and how urban design contributes to the production, consumption, and distribution of capital by ordering the space. Henceforth, for this research I will focus on urban design enquiring into its ethical, practical and theoretical constructs, using Santiago de Chile’s *urbanismo* as a source of data. This distinction is important because the focus of the research is on the disciplinary fields involved in the design processes of Santiago de Chile, studying its urban form and the decision environment under neoliberalism. Hence, for studying this city I draw upon urban planning, urban design, urban studies, urban history and urban sociology.

Gustavo Munizaga argues that urban design works in between social theory and architectural theory, and for the particular case of Chile it is possible to recognise a *Diseño Urbano de Mercado* (Market Oriented Urban Design), focused on supply and demand of real estate investors, and a *Diseño Urbano Social* (Social Oriented Urban Design) that produces an urbanism aiming for social justice and contesting capitalism (Munizaga, 2014, p. 91). Alejandro Aravena explains that discussing the future model of the city of Santiago is a waste of time. Instead, *urbanistas* should reflect on how a given city with given conditions should face its extension and densification to become a better city (Aravena in Galetovic & Poduje, 2006).

From the return to democracy in 1990, Santiago as an urban phenomenon has experienced significant transformations in relation to the flexibility in the urban development processes, the market-oriented predominance in deciding the future of urban areas, changing lifestyles of inhabitants, increasing needs of mobility and the new means of social communication systems. Because of the speed of these changes, the city of Santiago has become more fragmented and uneven (Bresciani in Greene et al., 2011). In Chile, the primary strategy for responding to these changes is through urban projects, understood as specific urban interventions that aim to resolve or relieve certain urban issues or gaps for providing better public goods (Greene et al., 2011). However, the metropolitan form of Santiago has been shaped by policies favouring urban sprawl (Figure 2.1).

An urban development model under a neoliberal regime was implemented for the first time in Chile, and particularly in Santiago, by a new urban policy introduced in 1979 (Lawner in Boano & Vergara-Perucich, 2017b). This policy defined that the urban space should be designed and controlled by market rules (supply and demand, cost-benefit, and profitability of interventions). After some modifications in 1985 (Gross, 1991), space was then organised as a public-private agreement between the state and free-market agents. This was the work of the Chilean dictatorship commanded by Augusto Pinochet.

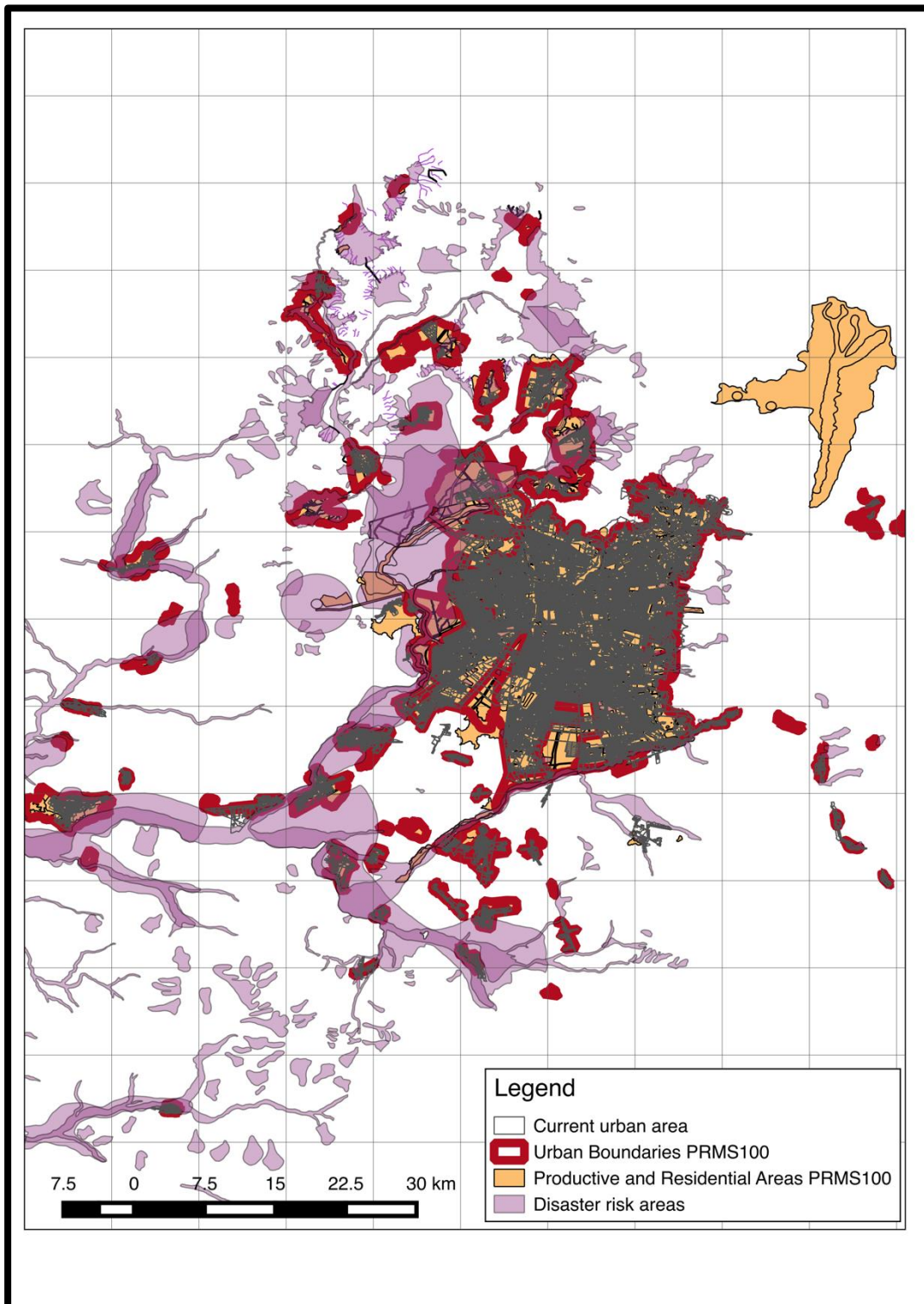


Figure 2.1. Metropolitan Regulatory Plan of Santiago number 100 (*Plano Regulador Metropolitano de Santiago #100 or just PRMS100*). This map represents the only legal metropolitan instrument for defining the urban form of Santiago. Basically, it defines the extension of the city. The other instruments depend of each *comuna* and the mayor's criteria. Santiago has 32 *comunas*, without a metropolitan authority for coordinating the urban transformations. Source: Own elaboration using shapefiles available at www.minvu.cl

In the world, what we know as neoliberalism “began famously with the US-supported 1973 coup (11 September) overthrowing democratically elected Salvador Allende and the subsequent involvement of the Chicago Boys (Chicago economists including most prominently Milton Friedman) with Pinochet’s murderous and fascist regime” (Smith, 2009, p. 55). It was Milton Friedman himself who in 1975 dictated a set of eight guidelines to Augusto Pinochet for transforming Chile into a free-market economy (this will be further developed in Chapter 6). These strategies aimed to restore the supremacy of private property rights, reduce the influence of the state in public affairs and accelerate the privatisation of public institutions.

For Andres Solimano, the neoliberal model “was not only an economic program of market liberalisation and integration with the global economy. It was also an attempt to introduce a new set of values and to change the culture of Chilean society. It amounted to a cultural revolution. This new utopia was built around an idealisation of the free market, the promotion of an individualistic ethic, the legitimisation of the profit motive extended to a vast array of new activities (education, health, pensions, roads use). The new view also held a hostile (or at least reluctant) attitude toward the traditional roles of the state as a producer, regulator, and redistributing agent.” (2012, p. 39).

Solimano theorises this utopia for the Chilean elite as the *neoliberal trap*, an ideological black box that framed Chilean society and forced it to remain within the limits of what capitalists defined as the priority. As will be further developed in Chapter 5, the urban-design-under-neoliberalism in Santiago can be explained by the historical development of the Chilean elite, which followed a pattern characterised by their attempts to exploit labour and productive territories for maximising profits and preserving a hegemonic domination over society (Salazar, 2003b). In summary, in 1979, the Chilean dictatorship promulgated the first neoliberal urban policy in the world, inspired by a paper by Arnold Harberger – Milton Friedman's colleague and the advisor of Pinochet– where he stated that limiting the urban area of the city by a regulatory instrument was the reason for the unbalanced differences in land value between urban and rural areas.

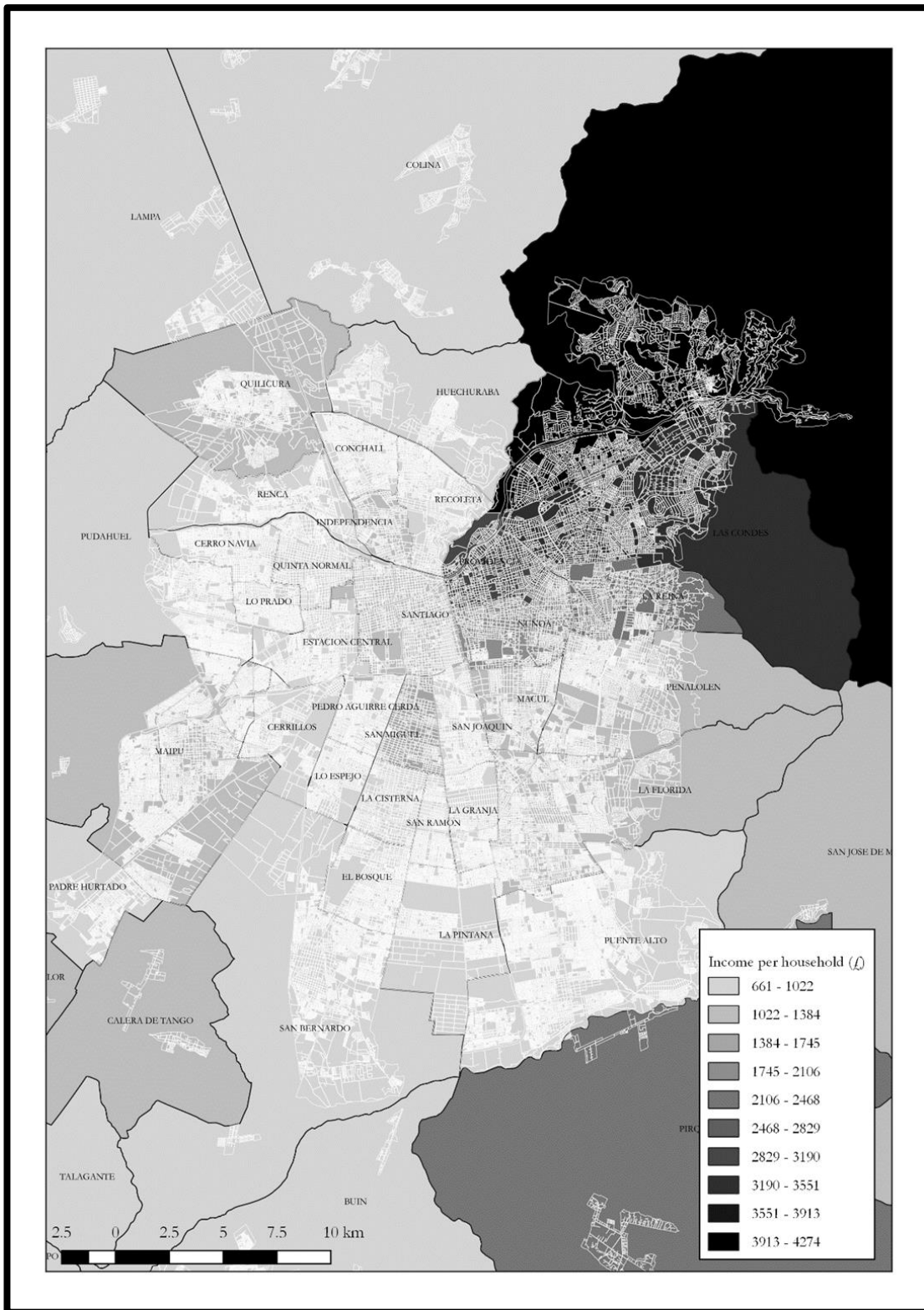


Figure 2.2. Socio-spatial typologies in Santiago. The darker areas are the richest *comunas* of the city. Source: Source: Own elaboration based on CASEN 2015.

For Harberger, the solution to this problem was to eliminate the regulation of urban boundary. Specialists widely criticised the implementation of this policy from its beginning because it fostered residential segregation (Sabatini, 2000), as it is shown in Figure 2.2. For Pablo Trivelli (1981), this was a failed attempt of public policy to improve the speed of urbanisation and the provision of housing for the poor. Trivelli exposed the contradictory nature of this policy. Notably, he criticised the absence of a plan for the future, an imagined reality of Santiago after the implementation of the policy. Also, he points out the senseless idea that land was a non-scarce resource, and he demonstrated why this policy increased the price of urban land instead of reducing it.

Pablo Trivelli argued that the idea of Harberger –and the urban policy of 1979– was a fiasco. In the end, the urban policy of 1979 accelerated the formation of informal settlements and exposed the deficiency of roads, facilities and the plans for reducing contamination in the city. Moreover, he stated that the reduction of the role of the state in urban development would add more problems in the long term. Indeed, in 1989 the number of households living in informal settlements was close to a million.

The critique of the problematic urban policy, together with the earthquake of 1985, forced the government to develop a new National Policy for Urban Development in 1985. For Patricio Gross (1991), this new policy amended some of the mistakes of the previous policy but kept the logic of an urban development mostly guided by free-market rules and a permissive set of ad-hoc regulations geared towards extracting as much profit as possible from urban development processes. The *política ajustada* (adjusted policy), as it was named, declared land as a scarce resource, the market trading of which had to follow national regulations. It established the conditions for expropriating private property for infrastructural projects (although constrained by the constitutional defence of property rights), and determined that the state would define some basic regulations for the urban development market. Also, such policy defined the necessity of creating planning instruments at a municipal level, coordinated by local authorities. Finally, this policy fostered urban growth within

the existing urban limits (Gross, 1991, p. 51). This policy signalled the beginning of a public-private partnership in Chile, paving the way for the following 30 years of urban development.

Chilean urban development has been considered exemplary for the Latin American context by economists that value prosperity and growth (Galetovic & Poduje, 2006; Glaeser & Meyer, 2002) but it presents diverse problems that for decades practitioners and scholars have strived to resolve, mostly related with the uneven development of cities and the creation of housing without ensuring the provision of public goods per area, as it is shown in Figure 2.3 (Rodríguez & Sugranyes, 2005). Responding to this claim over the urban development model in Chile, in 2012 the president Sebastian Piñera created a board of specialists with the remit of designing a new National Policy for Urban Development (CNDU 2015). A wider group of actors¹¹ participated in this policy design than in the two previous policies mentioned (Jimenez in Gobierno de Chile, 2014). In this case, the board of specialists gathered together people with different perspectives about urban development, with a diverse range of political positions. Also, this policy was developed in a democracy, so its advances were open to public discussion. Even though it was born in a democratic and open manner, Leopoldo Prat (in Lopez et al., 2014), the Former Dean of Architecture and Urbanism at Universidad de Chile, criticised the absence of regulations related to the human experience in the space and the low relevance given to how inhabitants value their spaces (either historical, economic, political, and/or personal values).

¹¹ The process took three years until its final text was published and scholars, practitioners, social organisations, unions, politicians, and entrepreneurs were invited to take part in its formulation.

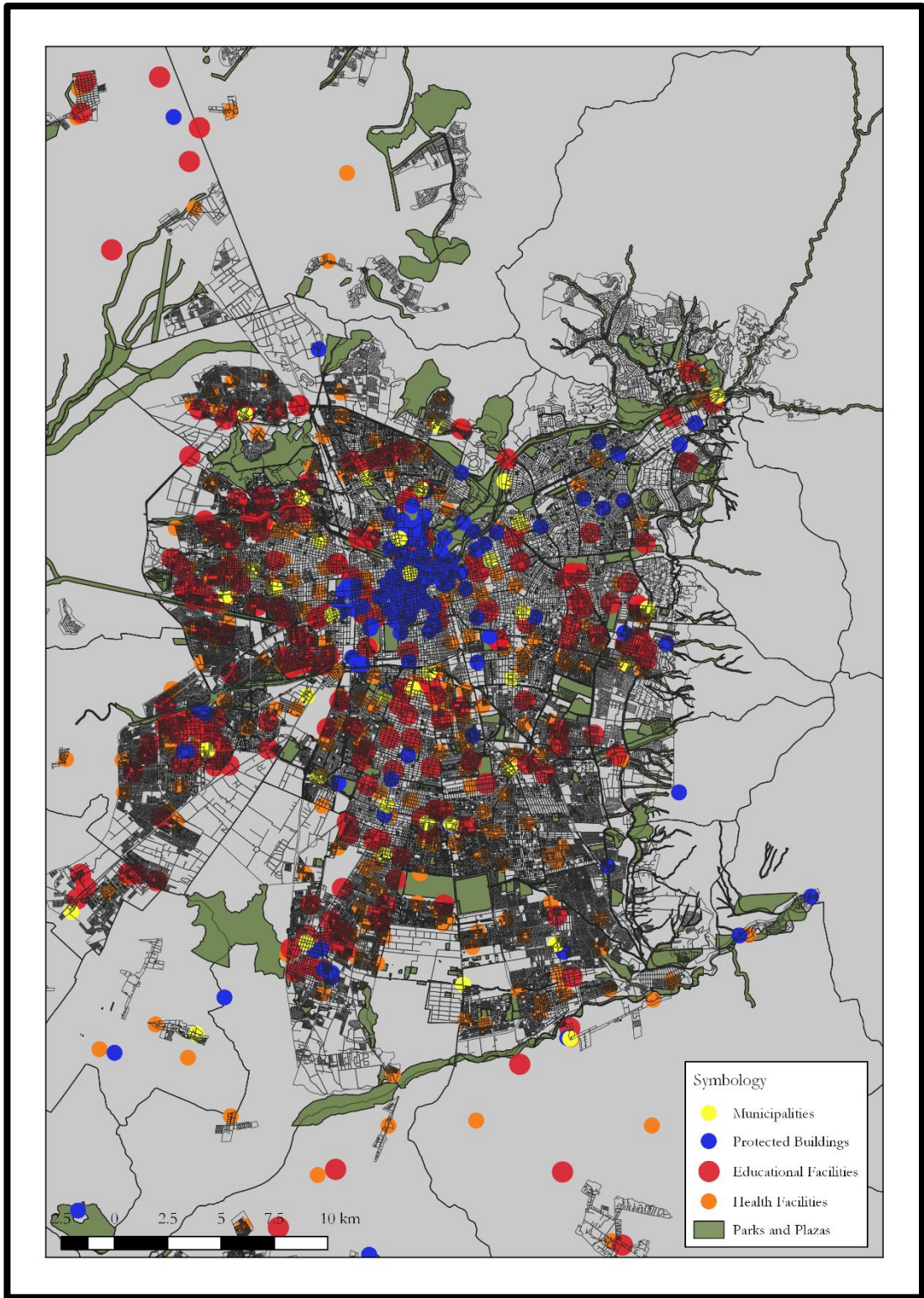


Figure 2.3. Accessibility to public facilities in Santiago. Source: Source: Own elaboration.

Also, Prat revealed his concern over the absence of aspects related to the geographical differences of spaces depending on their environment and the scarce theorisation on sustainability, which in Chile is an important matter because of the extreme differences between the north, the centre and the south. Despite this criticism, the policy advanced more substantially than the previous ones towards the production of fairer cities. The national policy of urban development emerged after the earthquake of 2010 as a necessity for new instruments to the twenty-first century. A main problem that the policy addresses is spatial segregation, considered to be the most visible expression of how economic growth is misdistributed throughout the urban fabric of Santiago. Indeed, Santiago is the most segregated city among OECD members (OECD 2013).

Usually, the cause of this segregation is attributed to the Public Housing Policy. "In order to reduce the accumulated housing shortage and to control the slums and poverty-stricken urban settlements, the Chilean government implemented large-scale housing production during the 90s. This policy was relatively successful in achieving its main goal of reducing the housing deficit from 771,935 to 543,542 (Rodríguez & Sugranyes, 2005) but "it generated residential segregation as a collateral effect" (Lambiri & Vargas, 2011, p. 3). For Francisco Sabatini, the most complex problem of spatial segregation is the stigma: "people are stigmatised twice, first for being poor and also for living in a neighbourhood for the poor" (Sabatini, Wormald, & Rasse, 2013, p. 25). On the other hand, segregation in business terminology could be understood as a strategy for allocating resources, better known as segmentation.

This means that the market has to be divided into clusters of clients depending on their demands, purchase capacity and interests (Silbiger, 2009). In the neoliberal city, the design of the spaces may well fit into the same logic, creating spaces for the poor and the rich, dividing qualities and supply depending on the customer (Figure 2.4). In doing so, urban designers are the executors of these urban policies. Therefore, their participation in developing these regulations is not only significant, but it should help to inform the creation of a theoretical position on the production of spaces under a neoliberal regime. In the whole discussion of the new urban policy, no images or ideas of future cities were presented.

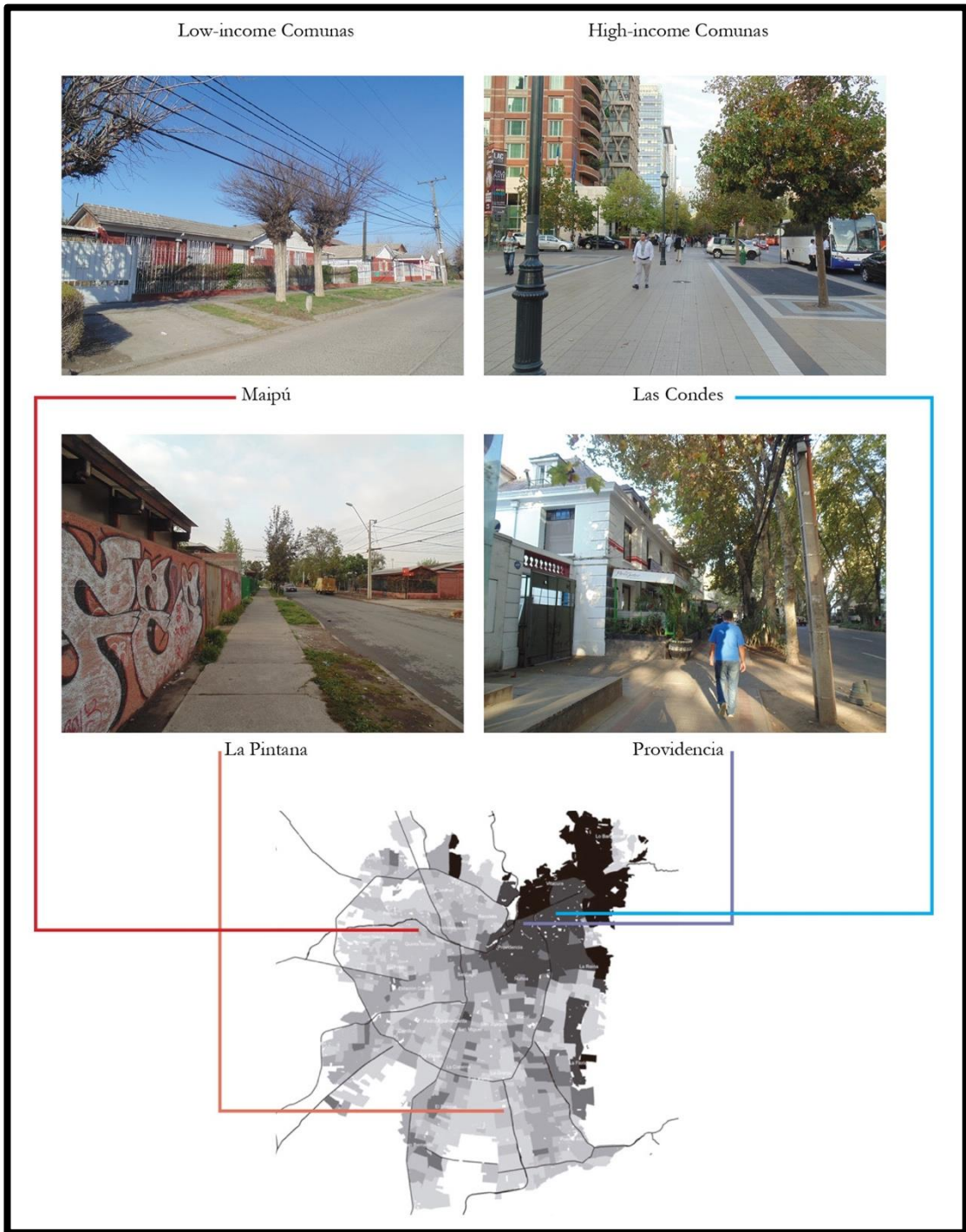


Figure 2.4. A parallel between public spaces in high and low-income areas of the city. Source: own elaboration.

Gentrification is another consequence of urban-design-under-neoliberalism. It is related to the segregation of the space as both follow the logic of segmenting the city by clusters of consumption. Ernesto Lopez-Morales defines gentrification as “a class-monopolised spatial restructuring that generates material and symbolic exclusion of less affluent original users” (Lopez-Morales, 2016, p. 1128). Additionally, he defines five features that inform this particular phenomenon in Santiago: the state subsidising the demand for housing for upper-income classes of society, which facilitates the expulsion of lower income communities; the disparity for capturing rent between the original owners and the large-scale redevelopers; the purchasing power of developers when acquiring land; and the zoning method for defining land use and hence localising rent gaps in the urban fabric. These processes contribute to changing the scale of segregation in the whole city, pushing people to more affordable areas (Lopez-Morales 2016). While in the case of segregation the cause seems to be public policies, in the case of gentrification the role of developers as urban speculators appears to be a significant factor to consider, although both are deeply related.

In this research, both segregation and gentrification are symptoms of the urban design illness. Looking for its cure, Ivo Gasic (2016) and Rodrigo Cattaneo (2011) have pointed out the infection, the possible main cause of the zombie phase of urban design: the financial system. The role of the financial institutions in funding urban development projects is directly related to the verticalisation of Santiago’s skyline and to the localisation of urban projects in specific areas of the city. Cattaneo states that the financialisation of Santiago determined specific typologies of space, selecting those that were more profitable for the system. Following this interpretation, it is possible to assert that the market has defined the new urban form of Santiago and that urban design practice is entirely framed by the interest of the financial institutions, either private (banks) or public (state). While the financial system may be the virus that infected Chile’s principal city, this thesis works with the hypothesis that the illness is neoliberalism, influencing the practice of urban design.

Beneath the neoliberal ideology, a model of spatial production had advanced and refashioned itself for not only using urban development for the sake of capital but also as a means to relieve the social claims for solutions in relation to urban life. Neoliberalism has been adapted, and instead of refusing the demand of better provision of public goods in cities, it is using this claim for generating new resources emerging from the fiscal budget in the form of subsidies or tax benefits (Hidalgo Dattwyler et al., 2017; López Morales, 2009). A neoliberalism with a human face uses the construction industry and real estate for socially legitimate capital accumulation through urban development. For instance, in 2014 the Chilean Chamber of Builders (the main organisation of Chilean construction companies) organised an event named as *La Revolución Urbana* (in English, The Urban Revolution). However, the claim was not for using the Marxist approach of Henri Lefebvre to cities but for fuelling a debate on how to make cities more prosperous from the perspective of economic development. As Rodrigo Hidalgo Dattwyler et al. (2017) observed, social demands emerging from critical theory such as spatial justice or the right to the city may be transformed into new resources for the sake of the neoliberal hegemony. The study of urban-design-under-neoliberalism may help to illuminate how these new approaches are also having a spatial representation and a practice of urban design.

Recalling the definitions of Cuthbert (2008) and Carmona (2014) in their acknowledgement of a gap in knowledge in urban design theory, the influence of the financial system, the capitalist state and the profit-oriented goals of design are fundamental to understanding the nature of urban-design-under-neoliberalism. In practice, as Goonewardena suggests, this thesis will outline the nature of urban design as a neoliberal instrument that has transformed Santiago. It will also trace a possible emancipation of urban design by suggesting an unveiling of the cracks and contradictions that urban-design-under-neoliberalism presents in Santiago. In order to do so, I embraced the radical critique of urban practitioners developed by Henri Lefebvre in *The Urban Revolution*, making it a specific method of enquiry.

2.5. Concluding remarks

The aim of this chapter was introducing the relevant literature that informs the theoretical position taken in relation to the disciplinary field of urban design and its potential connections with neoliberalism. Also, this chapter introduced briefly how these two components are present in the context of Santiago. The current discussions about the urban effects of neoliberalism are not particularly precise when analysing how this ideology transformed the way of designing the space between buildings. The focus of the studies on urban design under neoliberalism is on the space as a resource for capitalists, but not much has developed when referring to the decision environment in which urban designers work at. Also, reflections about the ethos of urban designers when defining the urban form in the case of Santiago are not abundant. There is a gap in the literature when searching for critiques to the role of urban designers in shaping the city of Santiago.

The decision environment of urban designers in the case of Santiago remain obscured. Investigating it may illuminate the way neoliberalism actually influenced the decision-making that allowed the possibility of an actually existing urban-design-under-neoliberalism. I argue that decisions made by urban designers under neoliberalism are the main engine of the spatial reproduction of neoliberalism, which is reflected in Santiago's urban life.

The case of Santiago seems suitable given that it is claimed to be one of the first places in the world where neoliberalism influenced the modes of producing spaces in cities. Thus, using Santiago as a case to inform the research would lead to understand urban-design-under-neoliberalism as an object to study, and to explore how ideology and spatial practices are embedded in a professional body composed by urban designers.

From my perspective, while urban design and neoliberalism are abstract categories for analysing a phenomenon, in the end, people are behind these activities. Neoliberalism is not a ghost or an invisible hand that moves automatically. Neoliberalism is the conceptualisation of a political-

economic project related to free-market economics and monetarist theories for shaping the social relations that have been implemented by individuals with certain interests and beliefs. This research contributes by discussing the role played by urban designers – as a disciplinary body– in the reproduction of neoliberalism, with particular focus on the ethos and contradictions faced by these practitioners under such regime.

In the following chapter, I will elaborate an introduction and analysis of the work of Henri Lefebvre and why his methodological insights contended in *The Urban Revolution* are useful for unpacking the relationship between urban designers and neoliberalism in Santiago.

CHAPTER 3. On Lefebvre and The Urban Revolution

“The possible-possible
 To settle into life (the bourgeoisie, today, in France).
 To search for a job, a flat (which is not so easy . . .).
 To quietly dream of unruffled tranquility.
 To ground oneself in love.
 To consider the life of other men and women as a spectacle (worthy of
 attention and of a certain interest).
 To take one’s distances in the present, and in relation to the present,
 to render oneself invulnerable.
 To implicitly or explicitly pose commodities, or success, or money, or
 more humanly, kindness (etc.) as a criteria for what is real.
 To use jargon.
 If one is a writer, to place language above all else.
 To cherish technicality.
 To enjoy problems for their own sake (and pseudo-solutions which
 bury the problems). To become a man-of-problems.
 To go to the point of cynicism and of false challenge (as far as some-
 times making it one’s business).
 To fall back onto cars and speed, dancing, quantitative love.
 To arrange for oneself lines of retreat, exits, etc.

 The impossible-possible (the most remote)
 The participation of the everyday man and woman in the accumulated
 power of the spheres of technology, of the state, of wealth.
 Communication, using an appropriate language, between private
 consciousness’s.
 Calm without monotony, enjoyment without cruelty.
 Plénitude. Wholeness.” (Lefebvre & Grindon, 2012[1957], p. 297)

3.1. Introduction

This chapter presents Henri Lefebvre and his Marxist contribution to urban studies. It situates Lefebvre as a key thinker to analysing the role of urban design in perpetuating the dominance of a hegemonic class through space. The work of Henri Lefebvre infuses this research with a radical understanding of the disciplinary field of urban design by providing the methodological strategies that unpack its practice. This will be further explained in the Chapter 4.

The work of Henri Lefebvre was widely criticised in his time, and most of his critics were Marxists as well. Paul-Henry Chombarat observed that Lefebvre developed an interesting set of reflections but that he lacked fieldwork experience and had little connection with architects and their practice (Chombart de Lauwe, Paquot, & Tailand, 1996). Similarly, Manuel Castells voiced his doubts about developing theories on space based only on philosophical elaborations and reflections that exclude the way that economic research is conducted (Castells in Stanek, 2011). Also, Lefebvre was labelled as an urban prophet by Jean-Claude Chamboredon and Madeleine Lemaire (Chamboredon & Lemaire, 1970). Perhaps, as it will be exposed in the chapter, Lefebvre was not so uncomfortable with these critiques. As Fredric Jameson pointed out, the Marxist understanding of cities of Henri Lefebvre was in opposition to the views of Manfredo Tafuri. Both Marxists, both interested in the way capitalism controls the processes of the space, but at the end, their approaches to the capitalist production of cities was diverse. Tafuri, argues Jameson, was much closer to the view of Louis Althusser, who claimed that sooner or later capital would block all resistances against it. The view of Tafuri was essentially pessimistic, while Jameson said that Lefebvre had a more optimistic position. The approach of Lefebvre was similar to Antonio Gramsci in political struggles. Lefebvre valued the importance of understanding production processes as a means of informing the struggle for overthrowing capitalism (Jameson, 1985). However, the lack of empirical value of Lefebvre's work has been largely discussed to be a void critique. Through Lefebvre's methodological contributions it is possible to advance towards theoretical formulations on space, taking empirical evidence as a main input for research (Stanek, 2011). This thesis contributes by evidencing the value of using Henri Lefebvre's work for theorising urban design from a Marxist approach, exposing certain aspects of his methodological ideas for analysing the process of city making in different contexts.

The chapter explains the contribution of Henri Lefebvre, precisely, to conducting a research on a Marxist approach to urban studies, based on the conceptualisation of space as a social product. Marxist urban studies refer to a spatialised Marxism, which aims to highlight the importance of

socio-spatial peripheries in producing a revolution through urban strategies (Kipfer & Goonewardena, 2013). For Andy Merrifield, the combination of urban studies and Marxism resulted in an analysis of the historical embodiments of the capitalist city, represented in a “metropolitan dialectic” (Merrifield, 2002. p. 178). After a short contextualisation of Lefebvre's work within the Marxist tradition, the chapter illustrates how he has been used by different scholars in urban studies for theorising the concept that he referred to as the urban society, a post-industrial stage of humanity characterised by its urbanisation. Finally, this chapter presents how the significant contribution of *The Urban Revolution* provides fundamental insights to examine the virtual object urban-design-under-neoliberalism.

3.2. Lefebvre: A Marxist interpreter of spatial relations

It is June of 1901 and in the little town of Hagetmau, Henri Lefebvre is born, surrounded by the rural taste of the charming south of France. This *ville* was settled in the middle of the Chalosse *canton*, which may well have influenced Henri Lefebvre's urban critique: rejecting the fast pace of life in cities and recovering the humanised everyday practices of little towns. The work of Lefebvre was fuelled by nostalgia for the countryside; he pined for the rurality that had been devoured by urbanisation. From Hagetmau he moved to *Panthéon* in Paris, where he started as a philosopher at La Sorbonne. By 1924, Lefebvre had joined a group advocating a philosophical revolution, engaging with the progressive forces of the time in Paris. Michel Trebitsch explains that the transition of Lefebvre to Marxism represented the “quest for a theoretical method capable of reconciling thought and life, of changing life completely, of producing one's life as one creates a work,” (Trebitsch in Lefebvre, 1991a, p. 20), which would lead Lefebvre to build a Marxist ontological approach. Consequently, Lefebvre developed a Marxist urban theory based on the interpretation of space as the key asset of contemporary capitalism (Goonewardena, 2011; Kipfer, Saberi, & Wieditz, 2012; Merrifield, 2002). This theory recalled the exquisite everydayness of Hagetmau on a broader scale, at a planetary magnitude, aiming to transform the overwhelming life in cities into a pleasant experience.

The academic productivity of Lefebvre was unquestionable; he published at least one book per year from 1925 until 1991. For Lefebvre, the process of writing was a way to record ideas after diverse real experiences, rather than a predefined plan to guide his theorisation of the urban, everyday life and capitalism: first experiences, then writing. Jose de Souza Martins, a close friend of Lefebvre, said that most of his work was handwritten (De Mattos, 2013). This may sound anecdotic, but it exposes Lefebvre's approach to the analogue modes of production, revealing a nostalgic memoir to the lost techniques of social production. This was his ethos. He mentioned that none of his writings fully represented his exciting ways of interpreting everyday life (Hess 1988). Lefebvre found it much easier to talk about his ideas, rather than writing about them. His writings attempted to succeed in the struggle against the simplification of everyday life and, intentionally, he employed a complex writing style for communicating his ideas. Indeed, the complexity was a strategy for fostering a richer understanding of social relations (Lorea in Lefebvre, 2014). The reductionism of social complexity was one of the biggest concerns of Lefebvre. He rejected the modern modes of production in architecture and urbanism promoted by CIAM¹² and particularly by Le Corbusier. He loathed the geometrical techniques for designing spaces, arguing that such methods impose a capitalist mode of production onto the urban, undermining the social value of the space and the creativity of its inhabitants. In Lefebvre's view, the methodology of modernist architecture eliminates the possibility of the community shaping space based on their own needs – a rich social process that usually takes decades (or centuries) is resolved in days. As Andy Merrifield explains, "every time, he [Lefebvre] sees these Corbusierian 'machines for living in', he's terrified. He's adamant that such an urbanisation paradigm is Cartesian through and through, compartmentalising

¹² CIAM is the acronym for *Congrès International d'Architecture Moderne* (in French), which means International Congress of Modern Architecture, which was an international organisation founded in 1928 that promoted the principles of the Modern Movement for transforming the way that space was produced and how culture was conceived. They had a particular focus on approaches to landscape, urbanism, industrial design, art and architecture. This organisation aimed to spread their ideological understanding of the production of space, trying to incorporate capitalist modes of production into the very same processes of spatial design.

different spheres of human activity, zoning things here and there, creating functional spaces but despoiling everyday life at the same time, turning people inward, not outward, turning them away from each other" (Merrifield, 2002, p. 81). Moreover, he thought that space suffered a profound simplification that urgently required methodological inquiry. In Lefebvre's view, this quest was possible by revisiting Marxism with spatial lenses. Fundamentally, Lefebvre was a Humanist-Marxist whose demands for urban design attempted to foster a liberation of humanity from a capitalist and imposed mode of living. "Lefebvre wanted cities to release repression, not keep it under wraps" (Merrifield, 2002, p. 84). This claim is central to this research, because the wrap makes urban designers renounce their creative capacity, just to fit into the predefined set of spatial possibilities defined by neoliberalism.

Marx aspired to explain the progress of human history by using dialectical materialism¹³ to study society based on concrete reality, through the mundane motivations of humanity and their representations in space. In other words, dialectical materialism observes the way that society employs its technology and institutions for shaping the material environment in which it lives (Mandel in Marx 1976 [1867]). In 1939, Lefebvre published the book *Dialectical Materialism*, which gave him a new status as a major Marxist theorist. In this book, Lefebvre emphasised the importance of the phenomenological origins of dialectical materialism in Marx's manuscripts of 1844, proposing the use of these texts as an inspiration for developing new research methodologies based on praxis. Lefebvre rejected the dogmatic approaches to dialectical materialism, advocating an actual human realisation, challenging the certainty of predefined truths. In this book, Lefebvre discusses Hegel and criticises the dogmas of the French Communist Party. Indeed, Lefebvre was expelled from the

¹³ Dialectical materialism is a reinterpretation of Hegel's materialism. While Hegel's materialism is metaphysical, dialectical materialism is a method for analysing the subjects as a part of a series of relationships. These relationships are dynamic and evolve with time. Marx argued that dialectics should analyse the material world, the concrete, such as the processes of production. (K. Marx, 1976) Lefebvre contributed to dialectical materialism by stressing the importance of analysing the material condition of space as part of the production in his time (Henri Lefebvre, 1991c). The conceptualisation of Lefebvre may be understood as spatial dialectics.

party because of his critical stance. Through his works, he suggested that the Communists in France (and Europe) were doing exactly the opposite of what Marx proposed – instead of liberating society they were subjugating it with other types of leashes, based on a centralised means of control and an omnipresent state.

Lefebvre added space to the Marxist analysis, exposing how the urban and the rural were not fixed elements of the environment but social products (Lefebvre, 1991c). He viewed space as being similar to commodities: fluid, with contradictions. Lefebvre used the methodological framework of Marx to theorise the space as a product of capitalist modes of production and, therefore, as a fundamental component for understanding the complexities of post-industrial capitalism. As he said in 1983, “my initiation (in urban research) was neither from the point of view of philosophy, nor sociology, though these were present implicitly, nor was it historical or geographical. Rather it was the emergence of a new social and political practice” (Burgel, & Dezes, 1987, p. 28). For him, space was a means of capital accumulation and a form of class division. Space was a key asset for reproducing hegemonic domination, because it facilitated the division of society according to purchasing power. “Here, I use the term “urban society” to refer to the society that results from industrialisation, which is a process of domination that absorbs agricultural production” (Lefebvre, 2003, p. 2). Just like capital, space was a process; an unfixed, socially produced element that changes over time. Whoever owns space occupies a more privileged position in society. In order to transform space into a capitalist asset, the hegemonic class took control of the production of space. “They saw the metropolis as the creator of capitalism, a result of the manoeuvring of the bourgeoisie to better control the working class.” (Lefebvre, 2003, p. 91). For Lefebvre, the changes in space that divided the rich from the poor were commanded by a dominant class, in an explicit dialectical struggle to control the main object of desire of our era: the city.

Lefebvre uses the idea of revolution as a derivation from the critique by going beyond the analysis and proposing ways of action. Revolution, thus, is not only a consequence of social struggle, but

also a method for social research. The goal of using revolution as a method is to provide the intellectual means to achieve a new era of human creativity, a type of renaissance in the modern world. In his interpretation, this revolution is only possible when people engage with democratising everyday life, stripping it from the domination of the capitalist superstructure. The fundamental shift in space that Lefebvre observed is related to the commodification of space. In the urban society, the purchasing of space has become a naturalised behaviour, “space as a product that one buys and sells” (Lefebvre in Burgel et al., 1987, p. 30). Thus, space is alienated from its social functions (providing shelter and fostering the encounter between different people), increasing its exchange value and relativising its use value. In order to arrive at these assertions, Lefebvre discussed Marxism by defining it as “a method of analysing social practices; it is not a series of assumptions, postulates, or dogmatic propositions, although that is the way things are happening” (Lefebvre in Burgel et al., 1987, p. 29). Lefebvre denounced the fact that using Marxism otherwise undermines democracy. Because of this view, he considered himself as the only living Marxist (Merrifield, 2006b), which is certainly a provocative statement. Lefebvre thought that revolution must happen in everyday life, in the daily experience of living, and that such liberation was only possible by empowering the grassroots (Merrifield, 2002).

When reading Lefebvre’s early works, we can see that he consistently attempts to expose theoretical conflicts in order to update Marx’s *Capital*. He was pursuing the essential element of post-industrial capitalism as a guide for his critique of this ideology. Finally, in the sixties, between *La Proclamation de la Commune* (1965) and *Le droit a la ville* (1968), he found in space an essential *problématique* of the post-industrial world. If Marx set his political agenda in *The Communist Manifesto*, Lefebvre did the same with *The urban revolution*. Also, while Marx set out his methodology in *Capital*, Lefebvre did so in *The Production of Space*. In a way, Lefebvre urbanised Karl Marx, providing a new contribution to the epistemology of social sciences.

Despite his significant contributions to Marxism, and the magnitude of papers and books written by Lefebvre, classifying him under a sole intellectual motivation and disciplinary interest may be difficult. Just among his books it is possible to find philosophy (i.e.: *Descartes*, 1947), politics (i.e.: *Hitler au pouvoir, bilan de cinq années de fascisme en Allemagne*, 1938), literature (i.e.: *Littérature et société : problèmes de méthodologie en sociologie de la littérature*, 1967, with Roland Barthes and others), sociology (i.e.: *Critique de la vie quotidienne*, 1947, 1961, 1981), urbanism (i.e.: *The urban revolution*, 1970), geography (i.e.: *La production de l'espace*, 1974), and architecture (i.e.: *Vers une architecture de la jouissance*, 1974). However, I dare to say that his main intellectual contribution consisted of retheorising Marxism from industrial capitalism to urbanised capitalism. He understood that the revolution required to overthrow capitalism was found in everyday life. Among his findings, Lefebvre theorised urban disciplines (architecture, urban design and urban planning) both as capitalist tools and as revolutionary instruments for action (Lefebvre, 2003). He wanted to reconquer Marxism through urban practices and epistemological constructions of the urban. Marxism represented a useful instrument for understanding the complexities of everyday life (Lefebvre, 1961) from the *urbanisme* approach.

Lefebvre interpreted the essence of the human being as dialectical: “man is a being of nature in the process of self-transcendence, a being of nature struggling with nature in order to dominate it, a being emerging from nature, but doing so in such a way that in the very process of emerging from and dominating nature its roots are plunged ever more deeply therein” (Lefebvre, 2008, p. 70). Connected to this vision, the urban is seen as a collective representation of (social) forces struggling to control space. These spatial dialectics should unveil the cracks of capitalism and allow the introduction of revolutionary practices into these fissures. In urban society, the reproduction of capitalism occurs through the processes of urban development, so its failure lies in its contradictions.

As portrayed by Andy Merrifield, Lefebvre was never an orthodox Marxist and he "always emphasised open-ended practice as central to democratic socialism" (Merrifield, 2002, p. 72), aiming to use Marx as a methodological framework for the production of a humanist Marxist urbanism (Merrifield, 2002, p. 88). Lefebvre rejected the totalitarian urban planning apparatus and proposed – though not directly – a grass-rooted model of urban design, building an actual socialist democracy in which the production of urban space serves as a social catalyst towards a revolution for stripping social relations from the rule of capital. Nevertheless, in order to achieve a revolution in everyday life, it was necessary to comprehend the complex construction of urban space as an entangled information network. The only way to unveil its contradictions was through multidimensional approaches to its theories and practices. For Lefebvre as for Marx, the possibilities of overthrowing capitalism resided in its inherent contradictions.

Delving into the possibilities of revolutionising society, Lefebvre stressed the relevance of acknowledging the mundane level at which a socialist revolution should act: "To put it another way, socialism (the new society, the new life) can only be defined concretely on the level of everyday life, as a system of changes in what can be called lived experience" (Lefebvre, 2008, p. 49). Everyday life was rich, complex and multiple. Hence no single method would be capable of representing it entirely. Instead, Lefebvre fostered the development of holistic analyses to provide a comprehensive understanding of the urban, confronting qualitative with quantitative methods, inductive with deductive reasoning, instrumentalising the dialectical method. In doing so, he proposed transductive reasoning as a research method. Transduction was a borrowed methodology from literary studies; it is intrinsically dialectical, resolving the mono-dimensional perspective of either quantitative or qualitative research in social sciences by comprehensively incorporating more variables in the analysis of phenomena. Although nowadays in social sciences both methods are commonly mixed in research, in the seventies it was not particularly accepted by scholars as a valid option.

“Thus, the method passes between the neat theorisation and the pure practicism. For defining these rational operations, for compatibilising it uses, shall we introduce a new vocabulary, concepts and methodology? Indeed, we could use the <transduction> as an irreductile reasoning of induction and deduction, constructing a virtual object based on information emerging from reality and from a particular problem” (Lefebvre, 1961, p. 192)¹⁴

The transductive method of Lefebvre is essentially a way of using utopian thinking as an engine for both imagination and a possible future based on reality. He coined the idea of researching society based on *utopie expérimentale*, a mix between the possible and the imagined, a dialectical critique that pushes the boundaries of the human condition to new phases. Indeed, transductive reasoning is the way that both architects and urbanists work: using imagination and utopian thinking for defining new spaces that have not been imagined before, but which are feasible, based on the technological, social and economic conditions of the present. Therefore, in Lefebvre’s transductive reasoning, researching in social sciences is always a process of shaping a possible future, fostering a revolutionary approach to researching human relations.

Exploring the methodological challenges of his work, Lefebvre stated that “one cannot be both a Cartesian and a Marxist” (Lefebvre, 2009, p. 55), referring to the dogmatic interpretations of Marx’s work. In the seventies, Lefebvre criticised left-wing scholars – such as Manuel Castells, Louis Althusser and Manfredo Tafuri, for using Marx as a toolkit or a to-do list of activities for building a critique of capitalism. In doing so, Lefebvre stressed that the richness of Marxism was missing. For him, Marx’s work represented a fruitful methodology for studying social relations. By criticising the Marxist dogmatists of Europe, he gained many detractors in the left-wing. Provocative and building a type of intellectual insurgency, his style of writing and speaking also created resistance among his colleagues. In the seventies “somebody asked Lefebvre if, in fact, he was really an

¹⁴ Original language: “La méthode passe donc entre le pur praticisme et la théorisation pure. Pour désigner ces opérations de la pensée rationnelle, pour les employer de façon cohérente, ne faut-il pas introduire un vocabulaire, des concepts et une méthodologie? On pourrait nommer « transduction » le raisonnement irréductible à la déduction et à l’induction, qui construit un objet virtuel à partir d’informations sur la réalité et d’une problématique déterminée.” (Lefebvre, 1961, p. 192)

anarchist. ‘No,’ he replied. ‘I’m a Marxist, of course, so that one day we can all become anarchists!’” (Merrifield, 2006b, p. xxvi). Being so radical, he faced not only admiration but detractions. For example, when speaking about Lefebvre, Manuel Castells suggested:

“We were very good friends. [His] style, in my opinion, was metaphysical. And I don't think metaphysics helps too much. Now, the ideas of Lefebvre were so powerful that, in spite of the fact that he had not the slightest idea about the real world—not at all: he didn't know anything about how the economy work, how technology work, how the new class relations were building—but he had a genius for intuiting what really was happening. Almost like an artist. And I think that's invaluable.” (Castells, 1997, p. 146)

Beyond Manuel Castells’ resistance to validating Henri Lefebvre’s methods, as he said, his genius has been effective in intuiting – with high accuracy – the future of capitalism and urban spaces. For instance, the struggle for *the right to the city* – another very well-known Lefebvre theory, is becoming the main urban agenda around the globe, transforming the conception of urban planning and design (Brenner, Marcuse, et al., 2012; Harvey, 2012b; Maden & Marcuse, 2016). More to the point, planetary urbanisation is a productive resource for scholars around the world (Brenner, 2014a). Indeed, even mainstream institutions like Harvard have allocated resources to investigating the thesis of a Marxist humanist urbanist, creating the Urban Theory Lab in the Graduate School of Design and naming as director Neil Brenner, a recognised Lefebvorean academic. Additionally, hegemonic states imposing a fake socialism have failed (the Soviet Union has collapsed, and China has become a totalitarian capitalist society). Even Lefebvre’s predictions exposed how the scarcity of space for building housing would become an economic problem in the near future, as recognised by the UN through the creation of the UN-Habitat and the urgency assigned to implementing the right to the city in all nations. Furthermore, everyday life has been commoditised, meaning that capitalism has shaped human behaviour, using consumption as an instrument of domination. The contribution of Lefebvre to social sciences is undeniable in terms of building a radical critique and theories of urban society.

When reviewing the contribution made by Lefebvre to urban studies, it is possible to find three particular trajectories: the critique of institutions, the politicisation of the urban and a methodological framework for articulating Marxism with space. These become visible when reviewing the sequence of ten publications: *Humanisme et urbanisme: certaines propositions* (*Humanism and urbanism: some proposals*) in 1938; *Théorie de la rente foncière et sociologie rurale* (*The Theory of Ground Rent and Rural Sociology*) in 1956; *Les nouveaux ensembles urbains* (*The new urban settlements*) in 1960; *Utopie expérimentale: Pour un nouvel urbanisme* (*Experimental Utopie: Toward a new urbanism*) in 1961; *Propositions pour un nouvel urbanisme* (*Proposals for a new urbanism*) in 1967; *Le droit à la ville* (*The right to the city*) in 1968; *La révolution urbaine* (*The urban revolution*) in 1970; *Le pensée marxiste et la ville* (*Marxist thought and the city*) in 1972, *Espace et politique* (*Space and politics*) in 1973, and *La production de l'espace* (*The production of space*) in 1974.

The first trajectory offers a critique of the institutions and dogmas of the processes in which society and space are articulated. In *Humanisme et urbanisme: certain propositions (1938)*, Henri Lefebvre emphasises the urgency of transforming the disciplines of urbanism, architecture, geography and sociology, in order to effect change in everyday life. Lefebvre proposes the use of transduction¹⁵ for researching urban questions and promotes the development of what he called experimental utopias. These are hypotheses of possible futures – virtual objects – in which certain social relations change to produce a new social order – a projectile aiming to explore virtually a new experience of everydayness. Empirically, Lefebvre approached these problems in *Les nouveaux ensembles urbains*, where he questioned the urban phenomenon of Lacq-Mourenx in order to ground his criticism of the modernist urban development used in this particular settlement.

¹⁵. Transduction for Lefebvre is a method in which a future object is constructed based on information available that inform the design and thus aid the creation of a possible utopia of the future. This is further developed in chapter 3 of Methodology.

The first research period lasted almost 20 years. In those years, Lefebvre studied the complexities of urban society under capitalism. Furthermore, he advanced to present space not only as a material reality but also as a sociological phenomenon and a social product. In the *Théorie de la rente foncière et sociologie rurale* of 1956, Lefebvre anticipated what would become one of the main contributions to the question of land in urban studies, by criticising the capitalist modes of production in urban society. Then, his thesis on space as a capitalist asset and a social product was published under the name of *La production de l'espace* (1974). Building a conceptual spatialisation of the economic problem, Lefebvre reinstated the relevance of analysing the relationship between landowners and class, setting a bridge between space and capital. “Marx confirmed Ricardo’s important viewpoint: the landowner (historically of feudal origin, although in many parts of the world [globe] the bourgeoisie displaced and replaced the feudal “latifundium”) tends to take all the rent, leaving the exploited with only a minimal part: the average profit for his capital, wage labour for the work accomplished” (Lefebvre, 1958, p. 68). The transition from a philosophical to an urban interpretation of Marx characterised his intellectual production during this period. In these years, Lefebvre progressively incorporated urban life and its disciplines into his criticism of capitalism.

The second trajectory presents the revolutionary potential that Lefebvre found in studying urban space. In *Propositions pour un nouvel urbanisme* (1967) Lefebvre sets out the ideas that would shape his claim for the right to the city in 1968. The new urbanism that he demands refers to imagining a city where every human owns his everyday life and can do whatever he wants with it. This premise has its echo in *Le droit à la ville* of 1968, where he defines the right to transform society by transforming cities, using space to empower people and to shape and re-shape their built environment, based on collective forces. In this second stage, Lefebvre developed the political virtuosity of struggling for spatial transformations. During these years he activated a strategy for articulating Marxism with urban processes: the ultimate necessity of an urban revolution that aimed to take urban development away from capitalist forces. This revolution implied the upgrade of space (as a social product) from a commodity only, to fuel for catalysing transformations towards a more democratic

society. In his analysis, the overthrowing of capitalism would occur after stripping profit-oriented goals from urban practices. This political stage of Lefebvre's work consolidated decades of studying the relationship between space, society and capitalism. It also delivered numerous strategies and political agendas for combating capitalism, broadly represented by the movement for the right to the city. Nevertheless, the following stage provided his major contribution to Marxist knowledge. Between 1938 and 1974, Lefebvre built his main contribution to Marxist theory: the production of space as a reproduction of capitalist hegemony. "Just as the mature Karl Marx never chose political-economy as his vocation but rather political-economy chose him, space now seemed to choose Lefebvre as its critical conscience" (Merrifield, 2006, p. 100).

In *La production de l'espace* (1974), Lefebvre established spatiology, a discipline that considers the comprehensive study of physical space, represented in nature; mental space, represented by formal abstractions of space; and social space, represented by human interactions. The study of these modalities of space would lead to decoding it and to the incorporation of the spatial dimension into Marx's critique of capitalist production. Space is a product. Therefore, it is socially produced, and it is affected by the rules of capitalism. Space is not inert but an organic object that is in constant change. It flows and interacts with other spaces. People, the other, are spaces too, because they build the city and have the capacity of changing the environment. Space is composed of great movements, vast rhythms, immense waves – these all collide and interfere with one another; lesser movements, on the other hand, interpenetrate (Lefebvre, 1974). Hence, space is not a platform – a *tabula rasa* – that supports social relations; instead, it is another component of the restless process of production that also exposes the way that the history of society has been shaped. "The history of bourgeois geography is a historical geography of expropriation, both of property and of peoples, resounding with shattering glass and toppling masonry; it's written in the annals of civilisation in letters of blood and fire" (Merrifield, 2006, p. 142). This interpretation is particularly useful in post-colonial societies of the global south (Kipfer & Goonewardena, 2013). In these nations, foreign invaders installed new social rules based on capitalist exploitation that, by force, divided people into

property owners and the dispossessed. This is the case with diverse examples of invasion and the capitalist appropriations of geographies: the Spanish Empire in America, the Portuguese in Brazil and Mozambique, and the British Empire in India and African countries, just to mention a few examples. As will be presented in Chapter 5, this is the case with Santiago as well.

For Lefebvre, capitalism acquired time from the space that it captured, transforming geography and built environment into niches for absorbing exchange value. This is a strategy of capital accumulation. As a capitalist outcome, space reflects its contradictions and space also contains the possibility of its subversion. Capitalism uses space as a long-term fixed income asset, reducing its use value in order to increase its exchange value.

“The link between time and space remains a fundamental problem, both theoretically and practically . It consists of the use of time in relation to space, the division of space in relation to time, and the measurement of time and space, which are relative in relation to one another. I think that the idea of relativity in space and time penetrates all thinking, including geography and sociology, but only very slowly.” (Lefebvre in Burgel et al., 1987, p. 34)

Following the revolutionary nature of space, Lefebvre proposed a method for analysing and dissecting the production of space, in what he called the spatial triad (Lefebvre, 1991). This was built upon transductive reasoning (Lefebvre, 1961, 1968, 1970) and it combined inductive and deductive methods in the research of social phenomena. This triad is composed of representations of space, spaces of representation and spatial practices. The representations of space are spaces conceptualised by professionals and technocrats (engineers, architects, urban designers, lawyers and geographers). They are an abstraction of space, an expression of an imagined space rather than its actual form. This space is intimately related to production processes, and it follows a hegemonic order commanded by capital. The spaces of representation are the use of these spaces, the space of everydayness. Spaces are alive, and their forms depend on the way that people behave in their lives. The spaces of representations are liquid, expressing an elusive feature whose appropriation as a totality may be possible only under repression and domination. Spatial practices refer to the social

relations and how they form specific spaces; these are difficult to trace because they are composed of interactions, networks, routes and patterns. These practices are built from dialectical relations between imagination and reality, work and leisure, decisions and actions. In Lefebvre's work, the conceptualisation and comprehensive interpretation of this triad may lead to a strategy for producing a differential space, space where democratic socialism may happen, where human beings conquer their right to be different.

The articulation between capitalism and space has gained particular relevance due to the financial crisis of 2008 – triggered by a housing bubble. The conceptualisation of space for researching social relations has since then become an important topic of research for academics, so that they may contribute to alleviating a crisis of humanity that involves migrating to cities and losing homes because of debt, while democracy falls apart in several countries. In the meantime, capitalism is resisting dying out, and critical theory may be needed to bring it to its euthanasic end. A critical approach to the notion of the production of space is very much needed (Lefebvre, 1991); recalling Marx through the work of Lefebvre seems to be not only a legitimate method to find solutions but also a pathway to questioning liberal democracy and designing a democratic socialism as a feasible utopia (Merrifield, 2002), as a virtual, distant, but possible future. In Lefebvre's terms (2003), this may be possible through an urban revolution.

3.3. Henri Lefebvre in urban studies

Once, students of the MIT invited Lefebvre to review an urban project for building a small town developed by General Motors in the US, and he exclaimed: “it was built in an outrageously functionalist style, quite extreme, and everything was planned in advance. The different functions were juxtaposed and dispersed; it was quite astonishing” (Lefebvre in Burgel et al., 1987, p. 32). The annoyed reaction of Lefebvre to these types of projects derives from one of his original convictions: it is people and not urban designers who have to define their spaces, otherwise it becomes a

totalitarian attempt to control everyday life (Lefebvre, 2003). In spite of the fact that sometimes the work of Lefebvre seems abstract and beyond the limits of reality (as Castells repeatedly said), most of his theories came from real experiences: first observation, then theorisation. Hence, the correct sequence of designing a space should be to understand everyday life, then to design its architecture – comprehending urban life for the production of urban space.

Nevertheless, Lefebvre deliberately rejected the simplification of urban production under the strict frameworks of positivist approaches to the city. Instead, he hailed the value of slowness and the importance of considering cities as open-ended processes, as areas in constant transformation, in the movement, vivid. The idea of a fixed city was a failed theory for Lefebvre. Consequently, Lefebvre was one of the main critics of the modern movement in architecture and urban design. He repeatedly exposed it in his books, railing against Le Corbusier's ideas of future cities (Lefebvre, 2003). Also, he dared to be critical of the critics of the modern movement as well, exposing his radicalised position on how urban design should support the building of a socialist democracy. For example, when Lefebvre met Christopher Alexander in New York they discussed the possibility of an ideal city. While Lefebvre had in mind a more holistic, ephemeral and open idea of a city – a spatial process rather than a fixed image – Alexander was already thinking about the cybernetic combination of patterns. Talking about this encounter, Lefebvre highlighted how his idea was more accurate than that of Alexander:

“Christopher Alexander had found numerous architectural parameters; he thought he could combine them, but he had so many that finally the selection was empirical, practical, and experimental. Then he agreed to reject the question of the perfect and ideal city. He left to build Zen communities, thinking that he would be dealing with concrete and specific issues and with a few specific persons. With architecture for monasteries and small communities, one could perhaps achieve something, but on the urban scale, he thought there was nothing to be done.” (Lefebvre, 1987, p. 36)

For Lefebvre, the making of the city has to be an open process “for one wastes space and time” (Lefebvre, 1987, p. 36), facilitating the unpredictable to happen. This vision was provocative and,

as with most of his work, activated a heated discussion on the importance of developing more socially rooted methods for designing cities. Furthermore, the dialectical method of questioning a concept would be one of the characteristics of his method for research. This approach theorises by establishing that every social phenomenon is related to every other, and a change in one implies a change in the other, making social studies a complex discipline for an undividable net of social relations. Specifically, the dialectical method (from a Marxist approach) established that social knots (people, organisations, individuals) have different interests that are in constant struggle for prevalence (classes) and the clash between them produces social transformations. Hence, for Lefebvre, the dialectical method pursues the origins of these confrontations and the reasons for the struggles, and he attempts to unveil the contradictions (cracks) that would lead to significant transformations in the organisation of society. Therefore, analysing a phenomenon dialectically from the perspective of the production of space may reveal its internal crises. For decades, Marxist analysts avoided the question of space in understanding urban society. Infused by the positivist approach and overly attached to understanding industrial relationships, Marxism was mostly focused on a limited understanding of commodities or labour struggles, and space was not considered to be a commodity. Although previously Walter Benjamin initiated a reflection on cities, the Marxist interpretation of the space goes deeper with Lefebvre. He built a suitable set of theories for outlining Marxist urban studies. Consequently, different authors (Elden, 2001; Goonewardena, Kipfer, Milgrom, & Schmid, 2008; Harvey, 1985; Shields, 2005; Soja, 1980a) have employed these methods for analysing the problems of urban society, building a new branch of Lefebvorean scholars whose work aims to understand the contradictions of the production of space under capitalism.

Anglophone Lefebvorean academics can be classified by both period and methodologies. Andy Merrifield suggested division by periods in 2006, and he situates two waves: the first composed by David Harvey, Edward Soja, Fredric Jameson, Peter Marcuse, Mark Gottdiener, Derek Gregory, Kristin Ross, Eleonore Kofman and Elizabeth Lebas, and I would add to this first wave Andy Merrifield himself. Rob Shields, John Allen, Erik Swyngedouw, Stuart Elden, Stefan Kipfer, and

Neil Brenner composed the second wave. Furthermore, I would add a third wave, including Lukasz Stanek, Christian Schmid, Kanishka Goonewardena, Mark Purcell and Nathaniel Coleman. This classification of Lefebvrian scholars by periods allow us to make evident the progress of Lefebvre's work in social sciences, exposing how influential his work has been, considering that it has been only 26 years since he passed away, in 1991.

In Latin America, the work of Lefebvre has been widely studied. Carlos de Mattos has dissected the work of Lefebvre, employing it to build a Latin American interpretation of the processes of the production of space over the last 30 years. Less in the space and more in the dialectical approach of Lefebvre appears the Mexican Jose Revueltas, who also collaborated with Lefebvre in the methodological interpretation of Marx's philosophy. Also in Mexico, Enrique Ortiz has used the contribution of Lefebvre to inform the idea of the right to the city, fostering a social engagement to build more democratic cities. In Spain, Henri Lefebvre's interpretation of urban processes has a long number of contributors as Jordi Borja and Mario Gaviria, who also was a good friend of the French sociologist. In the particular case of Chile, both the *Instituto de Estudios Urbanos* and *Corporación Sur* have used some Lefebvrian approaches for understanding Latin American cities, but in addition, Lefebvre has impacted policy making.

Regarding the specific contributions made by Henri Lefebvre's urban theory to Latin America's spatial practices, the most recognisable examples emerged from the right to the city. In 2001, Brazil institutionalised this urban agenda by the *Estatuto da cidade*¹⁶, a legal instrument that determines that cities have a social function and its citizens have the right to participate in the implementation and making of urban policy. Marie Huchzermeyer explains that "if Lefebvre influenced the urban reform trajectory in Brazil, it would have been in the late 1960s and the 1970s" (Huchzermeyer, 2015, p.

¹⁶ In English: City act

19). John Holston also recognises the importance in Brazil of Lefebvre's contribution to operationalising the right to the city (Holston, 2009; Holston & Appadurai, 2008). Going further, Edésio Fernandes points out that the concept of the right to the city "has been hugely influential in Latin America, and since the mid-1970s a consistent socio-political mobilisation has tried to realise it in both political and legal terms." (Fernandes, 2007, p. 208). Indeed, this assertion connects with the influence of Lefebvre in other legalised achievements of the right to the city, similar to Brazil's, such as the constitutional recognition of the right to the city in Ecuador's political constitution and recently the National Policy of Urban Development in Chile, which is designing a series of transformations aiming to implement the right to the city.

In the case of Chile, two recent publications briefly outline the relationship between Lefebvre and urban studies in this country. The first is *Lefebvre revisitado: capitalismo, vida cotidiana y el derecho a la ciudad*¹⁷, edited by Carlos de Mattos and Felipe Link. The book reinstalls Lefebvre's contributions to urban transformations under a neoliberal context, attempting to revalidate some theories that may be used to analyse the complex, ongoing urban processes in Latin America. Similarly, Ivo Gasic, Angelo Narvaez and Rodolfo Quiroz edited a book entitled *Reapropiaciones de Henri Lefebvre: crítica, espacio y sociedad urbana*¹⁸. In this book, the authors gathered a series of works from 2014 that reflected on the pertinence of using Henri Lefebvre's work for analysing current social processes and for valorising this radical approach to urban society. Both works appeared to resituate Lefebvre in the centre of urban studies in a country like Chile, where neoliberalism hegemony is widely questioned, and its reform is in progress. Therefore, Chilean urbanists from academia attempt to provide a radical understanding of urban development, and recalling Lefebvre as a methodological instrument for formulating profound critiques seems to be a strategy for stripping urbanism from

¹⁷ Revisited Lefebvre: capitalism, everyday life and the right to the city

¹⁸ In English: Reappropriations of Henri Lefebvre: critique, space and urban society

the traditional positivist approach and embracing a more comprehensive conceptualisation of the urban phenomenon. When classifying Lefebvre's work by topics, the map becomes more diverse. In 1973, David Harvey published *Social Justice and the City*, and he acknowledged the significant contribution of Lefebvre to the advancement of urban studies:

“It was in this context [May 1968 in France] that Henri Lefebvre wrote *The Urban Revolution*, which predicted not only that urbanization was central to the survival of capitalism and therefore bound to become a crucial focus of political and class struggle but that it was obliterating step-by-step the distinctions between town and country through the production of integrated spaces across national territory, if not beyond. The right to the city had to mean the right to command the whole urban processes.” (Harvey, 2009, p. 320)

For Andy Merrifield (2006), David Harvey was fundamental to introducing the work of Henri Lefebvre in the Anglophone world, given his interpretations of radical geography. Harvey provided a more empirical understanding of Lefebvre's work, grounding his contributions in various fields, from abstract conceptualisations to social practices. Consistently, Harvey incorporated Lefebvre's literature beyond the limits of philosophy, urbanism and sociology, and situated his work in the realm of political economy. It is possible to say that David Harvey was the leader of the first wave of Lefebvrian academics, although several times he pointed out the differences between himself and the French author with regard to some of their theoretical approaches to the urban phenomenon. In brief, the work of David Harvey introduced Lefebvre to the Anglophone world, employing three main aspects: spatial, political and economic.

After Harvey, Henri Lefebvre's influence in social sciences extended. Some specific authors have a recognised presence in the academic media because of their studies related to Henri Lefebvre's work (see Figure 3.1). Using their work alone, a broad classification by specific topics may be suggested, in which Lefebvre serves as the provider of a theoretical framework. These topics are the development of a Marxist urban theory, the struggle for the right to the city, and the political economy of space.

Rob Shields in 1989 applied Lefebvre's theory when analysing the fragmentation of space in the West Edmonton Mall in Canada. In concrete, he used the triad developed by Lefebvre in *The Production of Space* for analyzing how this shopping mall represented a spatial organisation that is multi-scalar. For Shields, it was possible to find the spatial practices that occur in the shopping mall on local, national and global levels. Shields aimed to contest the scholars who said that Lefebvre's work was vague and lacking empirical content (Shields, 1989). In Shields' study, the methodology of analysis was mainly dialectical and constituted an attempt to implement the triad of the production of space in a real case study. This triad is one of the richest contributions of Lefebvre to social sciences, and Shields, since then, has been one of the scholars that has worked fruitfully with this methodological framework of Lefebvre.¹⁹

In 1994, John Allen and Michale Pryke declared that they would "demonstrate the use and limitations of Henri Lefebvre's *The Production of Space* as an approach to questions of social space"(Allen & Pryke, 1994, p. 453), when analysing the City of London. Allen and Pryke operationalised the theory of the production of space, which at the time had recently been published in English, in 1991. They presented three levels of analysis: representation of space, the spatialisation of finance, and how the financial space of the City of London invisibilised the labour of urban services. In their interpretation:

“According to Lefebvre, the modern form of space is abstract space; a social space in which difference and distinction are continually eroded by the commodification of space. When one reads *The Production of Space*, it is obvious that Lefebvre wishes to tie the production of space to the prevailing social relations of production and exchange. Thus it is capitalism which has produced abstract space, whereas absolute space (a space which embodies the very spirit of an age or social grouping) is best seen as a legacy of past social relationships from a precapitalist era.” (Allen & Pryke, 1994, p. 457)

¹⁹ For instance, in 1999 Shields published the book: *Lefebvre, Love, and Struggle: Spatial Dialectics*.

Hence, this study presented how the financial space and the financialisation of the city may be analysed using the methodological framework provided by Henri Lefebvre in *The Production of Space*. Furthermore, the article of Allen and Pryke's article provides an example of how to operationalise Lefebvre's work for analysing urban life in an empirical case such as the City of London.

Another essential Lefebvorean scholar is Neil Brenner, who it is imperative to mention as one of the most influential social scientists who has successfully applied Lefebvre's contributions to social research. Leading the Urban Theory Lab at Harvard, Brenner is studying the planetary urbanisation that Henri Lefebvre developed in *La Revolution Urbaine*.

“Whatever its ideological dimensions, and they are considerable, the notion of the urban cannot be reduced to a category of practice; it remains a critical conceptual tool in any attempt to theorize the ongoing creative destruction of political-economic space under early 21st-century capitalism. As Lefebvre recognized, this process of creative destruction (in his terms "implosion-explosion") is not confined to any specific place, territory or scale, it engenders a "problematic," a syndrome of emergent conditions, processes, transformations, projects and struggles, that is connected to the uneven generalization of urbanization on a planetary scale.” (Brenner, 2016, p. 70)

Brenner is aiming to develop a theory of planetary urbanisation using the methodological framework and the dialectical methods of Henri Lefebvre, fostering holistic research and complexifying how the urban is defined and studied. Neil Brenner has frequently used Henri Lefebvre's work for interpreting social relations in the neoliberal world in which we live, using the theories and ideas presented in *The Production of Space* and *The Urban Revolution* for connecting neoliberal ideology with the urban phenomenon. The work of Brenner is of particular importance to this thesis because through the Urban Theory Lab he is putting in practice one of the hypotheses of Lefebvre about capitalist domination: A theory of a planetary urbanization. This theory explores the relationship between neoliberalism and the processes of urbanisation in a globalised world, as a worldwide network of connections that advance towards a spatialised global capitalist supremacy. Another revealing aspect refers to the most significant theoretical contributions that Lefebvre made to the study of urban processes. In 2012, Stefan Kipfer, Parastou Saberi and Thorben Wieditz

briefly illustrated how the work of Henri Lefebvre influenced the development of research methodologies for what they called a dialectical approach to the urban question. In this approach, they presented social movements, colonialism, post-colonial spaces, the state, the scale of the urban, spatial regulations, urban political ecology, spatialised gender studies and the right to the city as a set of methodologies for dissecting urban society:

"Lefebvre's dialectical approach to the urban question (1970a, 1972, 1996, 2003) differs from other Marxist formulations about the 'city'. It foregrounds the role of everyday life, state, and political action in centre-periphery relationships rather than the role of collective consumption in social reproduction (as in Castells, 1977) or the role of switching crises of accumulation in the political economy of the built environment (as in Harvey). Much less concerned with projects to isolate the objective determinants of the city and urbanisation than Castells and Harvey, Henri Lefebvre identifies the urban with the socio-spatial form of centrality. This is a tricky affair. For, as form, the urban is dialectically tied to its content. The urban can be considered an intermediate level (M) which mediates the social totality as a whole. The urban is related to the level of the large social order (G) (the state and state-bound knowledge, the capitalist world economy), on the one hand, and the contradictory level of everyday life (P), the daily rounds of lived experience, on the other." (Kipfer et al., 2012, pp. 118–119)

As Kipfer et al. explained, the methodology of Lefebvre for studying urban life is multidimensional, comprehensive and complex. Lefebvre fully develops this approach in *The Urban Revolution*. For instance, the levels and dimensions for analysing the urban are open categories that aim to unravel the spatial phenomenon whose scale – neighbourhood, city, region, nation, the past, present, future, and so on – makes it difficult to tackle as a whole in social sciences. Therefore, an analysis of urban spaces that considers them as mere fixed forms that constitute only platforms for everyday life is an incorrect approach when using a Lefebvorean methodology. Instead, the space, just like social relations, is in constant contradiction, movement and contestation. Spaces are reshaped by social interaction. In reality, space is part of social processes just like any other living entity that participates in society.

In conceptualising space as a social entity, the dialectical method provides insightful methods. Dialectical analyses of the urban space reveal its history and the processes that shaped it. The actual urban space comes from various attempts at dominating and controlling it. For Lefebvre, under

capitalism, a hegemonic class dominates space. As the urban form represents the wishes of the hegemonic classes in specific spatial forms (buildings, neighbourhoods, financial districts, political towns, religious facilities, fences, walls and so on) the subjugated classes also have spatial representations of their struggles (protests, slums, middle-class districts, occupations, squatter houses, segregated areas of the city, to mention just a few). A dialectical analysis, thus, explores the contradiction between hegemonic spaces and contested spaces, unveiling the contradictory nature of a supposedly unique urban form (city).

Just like a psychologist analyses a person's history in order to understand his current problems and provide further solutions, the urban designer has to analyse the historical processes of space in order to transform it for the better. Hence, regarding the dialectical method, it is not only the urban form that needs analysing in order to transform spaces, but also the political, economic, cultural, social, technical and historical forces that attempt to dominate its production. Essentially, the research methodology provided by Lefebvre did for urban processes what Marx did for capitalism – they focused on the processes in order to reveal their cracks, using the dialectical method for research and building theory. The emphasis on space is certainly the main element that Lefebvre introduced in the seventies, but in the eighties he advanced towards a more complex analysis by incorporating time into the question of everyday spaces. Specifically, as he did not see the analysis of space as a replacement for other analyses, he suggests that it must take into account rhythm, through the human body and “rhythmanalysis” (Lefebvre, 2004). This process incorporates the analysis of biological, psychological and social rhythms and it would complete the analysis on the production of space, unveiling the relationship between space, time and everydayness.

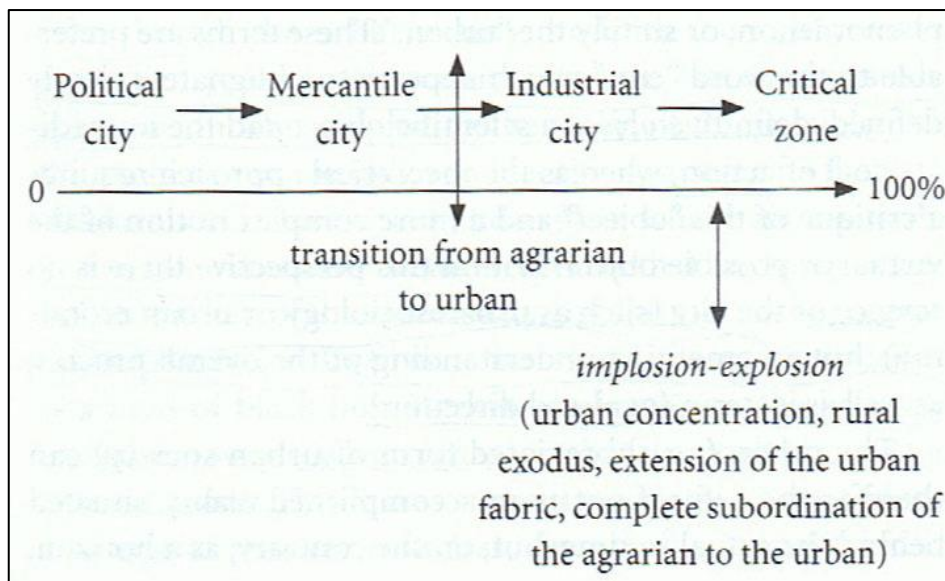


Figure 3.1. From the rural to the urban society. From the political city to the explosion of capitalism. Source: Lefebvre, 2003, p. 15

Recent studies (Coleman, 2015; Lefebvre, 2016; Moravanszky et al., 2014; Stanek, 2017) based on Henri Lefebvre have articulated his work with regard to the ethics of disciplines such as architecture and urban design, as well as providing a theorisation of these disciplinary fields in order to build a radical practice for the production of space. In other words, Lefebvre has provided a theoretical framework for analysing the consequences of neoliberalism in the processes of designing space, and also a toolbox for contesting neoliberalism from the everyday practices of design. In this field, the contributions of Lukasz Stanek and Nathaniel Coleman deserve attention because they went beyond the political agenda that usually characterised the use of Lefebvre in design disciplines. Furthermore, Coleman and Stanek developed a critique of the way that architecture and urban designs are practised, becoming tools of capitalism instead of instruments of social liberation.

In 2015, Nathaniel Coleman published *Lefebvre for Architects*, a book in which he summarises and exposes how the work of Lefebvre may be useful in developing a counter-capitalist practice of architecture. The argument of Coleman is that "the central themes of Lefebvre's thinking have been considered in an attempt to show the continuing relevance of his work for imagining alternatives to the spaces of neoliberal consensus. Lefebvre's enrichment of Marxism is key for transforming his theories into localised (rather than totalising) practices that resist state and corporate domination

of space while encouraging the production of places for individual and group sociability" (Coleman, 2015, p. 91). Coleman is not calling upon architects to march and claim what would be a right to design the city. For him, significant change refers to developing an alternative practice for mainstream design in order to transform the processes of spatial production, starting at the very core of the discipline, questioning its ethics under neoliberalism. In other words, the demand of Coleman challenges the teaching of architecture, how to learn and design spaces for the better.

Lukasz Stanek developed three substantial books, building a corpus of Lefebvrian studies in design disciplines: *Henri Lefebvre on Space* (2009), *Urban Revolution Now: Henri Lefebvre in Social Research and Architecture* (2014) and the translation of *Toward an Architecture of Enjoyment* (2014), an unpublished work of Lefebvre from 1973. In the chronological order of Stanek's works on Lefebvre, it is possible to find an attempt to argue that using Henri Lefebvre for the study of architecture practice is not abstract but deeply concrete.

Stanek exposes various empirical works led by Lefebvre and also shows how his approach to everyday life may be extremely accurate for researching urban life nowadays. "What becomes clear is that Lefebvre's concepts are not technical, well-defined and ready-to-hand tools to be instantly implemented. In that sense, doing research 'with' Lefebvre goes far beyond a simple application of concepts and ideas. It is not possible to apply them using a unified method, not even with a standardised set of methods" (Moravanszky et al., 2014, p. 17). Using the work of Lefebvre for researching urban design requires further theorisation and reinterpretation of concepts and methods. He never provided checklists and to-do lists. Instead, he provided critical approaches for understanding the urban phenomenon.

It is beneath the critique of the production of space that Henri Lefebvre exposed synthetically the dialectical method, transductive reasoning, and Marx's methodology for developing urban studies. Therefore, using the work of Henri Lefebvre for investigating urban design constitutes an open methodology that requires an exploration of fields using mixed research tools by combining quantitative with qualitative methods. Researchers have to propose a solidified version of

researching with Lefebvre, and further, it is probable that these methods will expire as soon as another Lefebvrian researcher analyses them. In the field of urban design, one of the main works of Lefebvre criticising the reasoning behind the production of cities is *The Urban Revolution*, a book from 1970 in which he describes how urban practitioners became capitalist tools for capital accumulation (Lefebvre, 2003), social segregation and spatial fragmentations. Like many works of Lefebvre, *The Urban Revolution* also relies on a methodological approach for analysing a spatial practice and for unveiling its ethical and theoretical contradictions.

3.4. Researching urban design with *The Urban Revolution*

“Just as Marx based his analysis on England and English capitalism, the political analyses of the urban transformation are based on a detailed study of North and South America.” (Lefebvre, 2003, p. 145)

Urban revolution is a concept that Lefebvre uses for explaining a shift in history from the industrial revolution to what he theorised as the urban society (Figure 3.1). In this initial historical approach to the concept, Lefebvre explains that we live in a critical phase of the urban in which the ethics of spatial practices and the theorisations about the city require a profound reflection. Another time is coming, and the direction of the shift remains open to potential radical approaches to capitalism. Nobody can control the future so the new revolution may well mean the overthrowing of capitalism to install a new hegemony. Here, Lefebvre was optimistic about the possibility of creating a new socialist project (going beyond the failure of the USSR), but in order to do so, he demanded social action and political commitment. As Neil Smith points out in the foreword of *The Urban Revolution*: "space holds the promise of liberation: liberation from the tyranny of time apart from anything else, but also from social repression and exploitation, from self-imprisoning categories- liberation into desire. Space is radically open for Lefebvre" (Smith in Lefebvre, 2003, p. xiii).

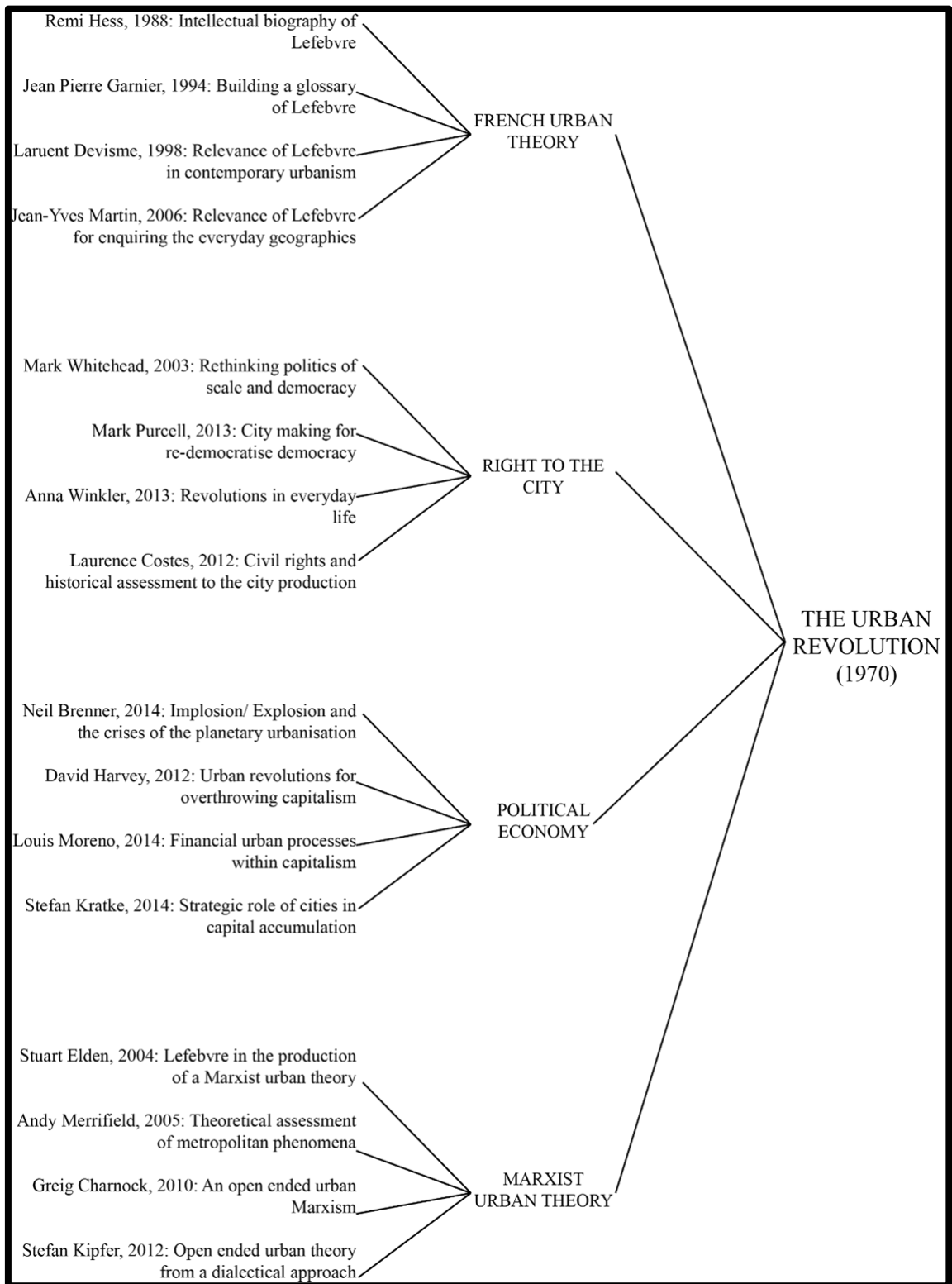


Figure 3.2. Diagram of Authors that have used *The Urban Revolution*. Source: own elaboration.

People may control changes in society if they take control of the processes of the production of space, and to do so, Lefebvre proposed urban strategies that “strip social practice from industrial practice and orient it towards urban practice, so that the latter can overcome obstacles barring its path” (Lefebvre 2003, p. 76). Primarily, *The Urban Revolution* provides a historical conceptualisation of the urban process, a radical critique of modern modes of spatial production and a political agenda for using space as a catalyser of social transformations. The book is a rich intellectual work with different layers of information. A first layer is the one described above – a conceptualisation of urbanisation in historical and political terms (Figure 3.2).

For Lefebvre, the history of humanity may be explained when analysing the history of its spatial struggles to shape the city. All the time, the city (the urban centre) has been disputed by diverse forces: political, mercantile, industrial, capitalist, and nowadays neoliberal forces. A secondary information layer is a critique of the failed urban riots and protests of May 1968 in France, where Lefebvre vents his discontent with a potential revolution that was then co-opted by the hegemonic structures of power or by the naïvety of their leaders (most likely, a direct critique of his former student, Guy Debord). A third layer may be read in the context longitudinally, where *The Urban Revolution* constitutes the prelude of *The Production of Space*, in the same way that Karl Marx's *Grundrisse der Kritik der Politischen Ökonomie* is the prelude of *Capital*.

It is possible to find in this layer the entire conceptual apparatuses that both authors used to build their most famous works. Reading its pages provides diverse ideas on how to approach the urban as a capitalist phenomenon. Finally, *The Urban Revolution* is an object (a book) designed by Henri Lefebvre. This design was made strategically for presenting ideas for provoking and triggering discussions on the themes. It has a strategy for allocating certain information in a specific sequence: (i) historical context of urbanisation, (ii) problematizing the contemporary city, (iii) presenting opportunities for change, (iv) developing a strategy, (v) reflecting back and further actions to take.

The design of this object is based on tracing a trajectory from data analysis, contradictions and actions for changing the current reality. By doing so, *The Urban Revolution* is a revolutionary object.

In the historical development of Lefebvre's literature, *The Urban Revolution* marks a moment in which he finally articulates the social production of space by connecting subjects such as urban life, capitalism and Marxist methodologies. In this book, Lefebvre introduces the notion of the production of space:

“Dominant groups have always produced a particular space, the space of the old cities, of the countryside (and what will become the "natural" landscape). What is new is the global and total production of social space. This enormous expansion of productive activity is carried out on behalf of those who invented it, manage it, and profit from it. Capitalism appears to be out of steam. It found new inspiration in the conquest of space – in trivial terms, in real estate speculation, capital projects (inside and outside the city), the buying and selling of space. And it did so on a worldwide scale. This is the (unforeseen) path of the socialisation of productive forces, of the production of space itself. Capitalism, to ensure its survival, took the initiative in this.” (Lefebvre, 2003, p. 155)

Marxism exists to criticise capitalism and finding its contradictions (Eagleton, 2011). Its goal is to define the path towards overthrowing it from its hegemony and sustaining it in an accurate theoretical construction. Therefore, understanding space as Lefebvre theorised it is fundamental to plotting the end of this ideological constraint. Indeed, for Lefebvre, urban design (urbanism)²⁰ masks a capitalist strategy for controlling space and thus ensures the constant increase of profitability in urbanisation processes (Lefebvre, 2003, p. 156). Lefebvre determined that *urbanisme* reproduces classist configurations of society in the urban. For him if "the urbanist realises this, when he attains this level of knowledge, he becomes cynical or simply resigns. As a cynic, he may

²⁰ It is important to mention that urbanism and urban design, under the lens of Lefebvre, may be considered as the same discipline. While urbanism is usually understood as a discipline that analyses and explains the urban phenomenon, and urban design is related to the practice of shaping cities, in the literature of Henri Lefebvre, both disciplines are melted together. For Lefebvre, an urbanist is not only concerned with understanding the city but is also actively involved in designing it. The difference is that in 1970 the discipline of urban design in France was not yet implemented as such and its practice was still contained within the boundaries of urbanism or architecture. This thesis is focused on the processes of understanding and shaping the neoliberal space, hence, in the Anglophone academia, this is an urban design research, although in France it would be considered as an 'urbanisme recherche'.

even sell freedom, happiness, lifestyles, social life, even community life, in phalansteries designed for the use of modern satraps" (Lefebvre, 2003, p. 160). Therefore, urban designers are subject to a radical critique. It is important to unmask their practices and strategies in order to unveil the way that capitalism uses their practice for producing (highly-profitable) space. If Karl Marx, in the industrial society, started his critical analysis of capitalism by studying commodities, Lefebvre proposes that in the urban society we should start by criticising urban design practice, because it "organises a sector that appears to be free and accessible, open to rational activity: inhabited space. It controls the consumption of space and the habitat" (Lefebvre 2003, p. 164). In the current context, the critique of production of space in neoliberal society seems to be a necessary methodology to understand how the commodification of space has undermined urban life. For Lefebvre, the term revolution has methodological potential for challenging the urban processes, conducting research to understand and change reality. Thus, revolution is also a method.

The Urban Revolution represents the willingness of Lefebvre to criticise the ethics of urban designers and architects, exposing how the imagination of these supposedly creative practitioners has been captured by a pragmatic ideology such as capitalism. Indeed, in *The Urban Revolution*, Lefebvre delivers a series of insightful interpretations that show the real ethos of urbanism, which is not a discipline of specialised practitioners entitled to design the city and its policies; instead, Lefebvre argues that urbanism has always been a practice exercised by a hegemonic class in order to define the best shape for reproducing its domination over society. Therefore, given that we live in the age of the urban society and that planetary urbanisation is happening right in front of our eyes, the contestation of urbanism is more important than ever before. In the current urban form, we face the most complex configuration of the city: "It is simultaneously differential and symbolic, yet also controlling and repressive. Urban space takes on the homogenising, grid-like features of industrial space, but then links them into a hyper-signified, representational, globally connected late capitalist modernity" (Jones, 2004, p. 601). Since capitalism has dominated the production of space, architects and urban designers have drastically reduced their capacity to imagine alternative futures and they have subjugated their capacities to the rule of profit.

Lefebvre exposes how urban scientists and urban planners have implemented a reductionist method for designing cities, making of urbanism a technique in positivists terms. They have relativised the social richness of the production of spaces and the framing of cities into an abstraction of reality similar to neoclassical economic approaches, thus ignoring the complexities demanded by people intending to inhabit cities. This theoretical construction, in Lefebvre's view, implied a potential ethical contradiction. The results of the so-called scientific urbanism is more like a cage than a social platform, and its roles seem to be an attempt to repress and control urban life for the sake of capital, defining a practice whose ethos was reformed following a profit-driven logic. Lefebvre fosters the idea that urbanism are a complex process of dialectical relations in space which need a critical analysis of the material, ideological, social, political, economic, and cultural components that constitute the matter of a society. Despite these critical ideas on urbanism, *The Urban Revolution* is an optimistic manifesto of the actual possibilities of generating a progressive political transformation based on potential shifts in spatial disciplines such as urban design, urban planning and architecture. For Lefebvre, space is political, hence it may be turned, contested, struggled with, subverted and changed. Nevertheless, in order to do so Lefebvre argues for exploring beyond the limits of the blind field imposed by capitalism. He demanded a critique of the ethical contradictions of urbanists working for the sake of profit instead of building better spaces, and he defined the importance of politicising space to locate the city at the centre of politics.

3.5. Concluding remarks

In this chapter, I presented the importance of the work of Henri Lefebvre for social sciences and how *The Urban Revolution* constitutes a fruitful source for researching urban design. Lefebvre was a Marxist that criticized other Marxists of his time. He reimagined Marxism, adapting its methodologies for the financial and urbanised world that he observed. One of his main critiques was the understudied relationship between space and capital. Lefebvre successfully articulated capitalism with the production of space and delivered a set of methodological insights that triggered a new branch of Marxist urban studies focused on practitioners and the revolutionary potential of

urban disciplines. In this line, Lefebvre suggests the use of revolution not only as a political agenda but also in sciences for challenging certain social phenomena and unveiling contradictions. The revolution, thus, may be interpreted as the moral stance for Marxist researchers when analyzing the object of study. This implies that Marxists facing certain phenomena may question themselves: Why this praxis not doing revolutionary actions for change? This may seem as a generic question, but it may open paths for further research. Revolutions bring changes, progress, collectiveness, and critical stand points. From the interpretation of Lefebvre's works, these reflections on revolution are suitable in the realm of social sciences.

In *The Urban Revolution*, Lefebvre is particularly critical with urban practitioners, but he also illustrates the power of space professionals in developing strategies for stripping capitalism from urbanization processes. In the following chapter (on methodology), I will explain how the ideas of Lefebvre presented in *The Urban Revolution* are transformed into the core methodological strategies for framing the research of urban-design-under-neoliberalism.

After the financial crises of 2008, housing and urban development processes caught the attention of a broader audience, and the city became a principal political subject and economic concern. Lefebvre's critical approach to the urban phenomenon was revalorised. His mixed and unorthodox approach to researching space from a stance critical of the urban processes under a capitalist regime became an insightful way to investigate the status of the disciplinary field of urban design and its relationship with economic understandings of the society. His methods meant a significant shift in social sciences in terms of reinvigorating Marxism for the understanding of socio-spatial means of capital accumulation and the spatial division of social classes in cities. Nowadays, a diverse set of specialists analyse Lefebvre's work, attempting to resituate the value of radical critique as a research method.

"What could philosophy provide? Initially, a form of radical critique. Then, a radical critique of the fragmentary sciences as such. This approach would reject any form of dogmatism, including that of totality or its absence, the efforts of the fragmentary sciences and their pretension to comprehend and clarify everything, as well as the withdrawal of the individual sciences to a well-defined object, sector, field, domain, or system considered as private property. In this way radical critique can define a methodological and theoretical relativism, an epistemological pluralism, which affects objects (including the corpus constituted for and by a given specific field of research, and therefore including the urban phenomenon considered as a corpus) as well as models, which are always provisional. No method can ensure absolute "scientificity," whether theoretical or practical, especially in sociology (whether urban or not)." (Lefebvre, 2003, p. 65)

This thesis attempts to contribute to resituate the value of Henri Lefebvre's work for researching urban design, with focus on Latin American cities. Lefebvre provides theoretical resources for articulating neoliberal ideology, that has marked the recent history of Latin America with the disciplinary field of urban design that remains undertheorized. This articulation between ideology and practice, illusion and reality, is discussed and dissected by Lefebvre in *The Urban Revolution*.

For my work, *The Urban Revolution* is more than a political manifesto, a critique of urbanisation or a theory for understanding the urban society. *The Urban Revolution* constitutes a very methodological instrument for analysing the ethical, theoretical and practical dimensions of urban-design-under-neoliberalism. Chapter 4 will explain in detail how I constructed a specific methodology for the case of Santiago and its particular condition of urban-design-under-neoliberalism.

CHAPTER 4. Methodology

“To designate the rational thought of these operations and to employ them coherently, should we not introduce a vocabulary, concepts and a methodology? We could name as "transduction" the irreducible reasoning using deduction and induction which constructs a virtual object on the basis of information about reality and a determined problematic (it is in a similar sense that I eminent theorist of information, B. Mandelbrot, uses this term) (3). We could also call it an "experimental utopia" for the exploration of human possibilities, with the help of images and imaginaries, accompanied by an unstoppable criticism and an incessant reference to the given problem in the "real." Experimental utopia goes beyond the usual use of the hypothesis in the social sciences.” (Lefebvre, 1961, p. 192)²¹

4.1. Introduction

This chapter introduces the methodological framework originated from *The Urban Revolution*. Its goal is to explain why *The Urban Revolution* is a useful methodological framework for examining the urban-design-under-neoliberalism in Santiago. As Smith (in Lefebvre 2003), Merrifield (2002) and Stanek et al. (2014) have argued, and as I presented in the previous chapter, the work of Lefebvre substantially advanced the understanding of capitalism in decoding spatial dialectics. He provided a Marxist critique of capitalism from the perspective of urban processes. Although he criticised the theoretical voids of urban practitioners (*urbanistes*), he triggered a series of critical reflections on the field of urban design, opening new interpretations to its revolutionary potential as praxis and ethos.

²¹ Original language: “Pour désigner ces opérations de la pensée rationnelle, pour les employer de façon cohérente, ne faut-il pas introduire un vocabulaire, des concepts et une méthodologie ? On pourrait nommer « transduction » le raisonnement irréductible à la déduction et à l'induction, qui construit un objet virtuel à partir d'informations sur la réalité et d'une problématique déterminée (c'est d'ailleurs dans un sens analogue que l'éminent théoricien de l'information, B. Mandelbrot, emploie ce terme) (3). Nous pourrions aussi nommer « utopie expérimentale » l'exploration du possible humain, avec l'aide de l'image et de l'imaginaire, accompagnée d'une incessante critique et d'une incessante référence à la problématique donnée dans le « réel ». L'utopie expérimentale déborde l'usage habituel de l'hypothèse dans les sciences sociales.” (Lefebvre 1961, p. 192)

This chapter develops the methodological strategies and methods for unravelling the virtual object, urban-design-under-neoliberalism, and its relationship with Santiago's urban form.

Adopting the framework of *The Urban Revolution* implies the acknowledging of its theoretical stance in relation to spatial disciplines such as urban design. *The Urban Revolution* is a rich work that carries several messages and theoretical reflections that raise questions about diverse dimensions of the urban society. The urban society is our time, a post-industrial society that migrated massively to live in cities. In my interpretation, the urban society is deeply influenced by neoliberalism. To unpack the instrumentalisation of urban disciplines for the sake of a ruling class, *The Urban Revolution* constructed three main critiques of the disciplinary field of urban design: its lack of epistemology, which implies the absence of a theory; it being a practice serving the goals of capital; and ethical contradictions on the part of practitioners who make decisions based on a profit-oriented set of goals instead of pursuing democratic cities.

The Urban Revolution is a methodology because it presents a particular counter-capitalist philosophical stance that guides the decisions for conducting research on urban affairs. From my perspective, the methodological stance that pushes forward *The Urban Revolution* adopted Marx's approach to research presented in *Capital*. Both works started by defining a conflictual object of analysis (for Marx: value-form; for Lefebvre: urban society) which serves as a symbol to engage in a critical analysis of how this object influences social relations either as a physical element (material) and/or as a meaning (abstract). In both cases, the objects were theoretical constructions or hypothesis of social relations. Both, Marx and Lefebvre, used their respective objects for narrating the oddities and the contradictions of their time in relation to certain subjects: Marx on economics, Lefebvre on urban disciplines. Marx and Lefebvre promoted a way of researching that seeks to offer a brief categorization of the elements under analysis and then connecting these reflections with other social phenomena and giving importance to the virtual object. By advancing in theoretical reflections and critical analysis, the virtual object is infused with sense and meanings. At the end, Marx gave substance to the idea of value-form, while as Lefebvre consolidated the urban

society as a category of analysis. In this research, my virtual object is urban-design-under-neoliberalism, which will be unpacked through the methods presented in this chapter.

The hyphenation of concepts to build an object of research is a technique that has been employed with other approaches to research such as the Actors-Network Theory (Latour, 1999), the Hyphen-Spaces (Cunliffe & Karunanayake, 2013), or implosion-explosion (Lefebvre, 2003). Indeed, in *The Urban Revolution*, Lefebvre recalls other hyphenated concepts such as non-city, anti-city, rural-peasant fields, and the possible-impossible as a mode for exploring utopian thinking in urban theory (Lefebvre, 2003). The hyphen implies that two objects cannot be separated for study. The hyphenation eases the reading of complex concepts as an entity, just like complex chemical compounds. Thus, urban-design-under-neoliberalism is addressed as an instrument useful for advancing toward understanding the disciplinary field of urban design under a neoliberal regime.

The first section elaborates an explanation of the three methodological strategies extracted from *The Urban Revolution*: transductive reasoning, levels and dimensions, and spatial dialectics. The methodology is mixed because the research employs quantitative and qualitative techniques to inform the analysis. The mixed research was suggested by Lefebvre for conducting investigations about the urban phenomena (Lefebvre, 2003), because he fostered the pursuit of comprehensive analyses to cities, embracing multi-scalar and transdisciplinary approaches for rendering social complexity accurately. In the second part, I present the methods used in this thesis. These methods were selected to illuminate the cracks and contradictions contended in the object urban-design-under-neoliberalism. After the research methods, the chapter presents the theoretical stance. The last part of this chapter defines the standpoint of the researcher by defining my theoretical and ontological positioning and it elaborates on the limitations of this research methodology.

4.2. Methodological strategies from *The Urban Revolution*

Within *The Urban Revolution* is possible to find diverse insightful proposals that Lefebvre presented as being suitable for unravelling the complexities of urban disciplines in a society controlled by a capitalist hegemony. These proposals are presented as methodological strategies for conducting research related to urban disciplines and urban development. For example, the concept of blind field is presented as a set of social constructs whose aim is to hinder the possibility of thinking beyond the limits of the imposed reality. Similarly, Lefebvre delves into the idea of urban illusions, which are discourses about urban life that come from the ideological conceptions of everyday life. More oriented towards action, Lefebvre also develops the whole book as a progressive critique of urban practices in order to produce an urban strategy that strips *urbanismes* from the capitalist ideology. This approach to urban practice has been already theorised by Mark Purcell in relation to democratising cities (Purcell, 2013b), Peter Marcuse on social housing as an engine for struggle (Maden & Marcuse, 2008; Marcuse, 2010), Lukasz Stanek for researching architecture as an ideology (Stanek, 2011). David Harvey has provided a substantial spatialised interpretation of capital (Harvey, 2014a). The list of social scientists that have used critically the work of Lefebvre for studying urban phenomena is long (Allen & Pryke, 1994; Brenner, 2014a; Coleman, 2015; Elden, 2004; Goonewardena et al., 2008; Harvey, 2014a; Shields, 2005; Soja, 1980b). By using Henri Lefebvre's framework contended in *The Urban Revolution*, I complement the methodological contributions already elaborated by these authors with my own research applied in the case of Santiago de Chile in order to respond to the research questions. Here I present the strategies that I adopted from *The Urban Revolution* for conducting this research:

4.2.1. Transductive reasoning

The approaches to urban studies of Henri Lefebvre are transductive. He interpreted that spatial disciplines (e.g. urbanism and architecture) work with the imagination of a possible future – concrete utopias. Lefebvre fostered the idea that researching urban phenomena would start with

recognising the very possibilities of change. In his approach, the purpose of researching the urban was not only to explain the nature of cities but also to understand the ways in which they could be transformed. Transduction is a type of analysis that produces a diagnosis with transformative outcomes from research but in which the outcome is already present from the beginning of the formulation of the research in the form of a virtual object. As Mark Purcell explains, transduction is “a way to cut a path that leads beyond the actual world already realised and toward a possible world yet to come” (Purcell, 2013a, p. 21). In *The Urban Revolution*, Lefebvre introduced urban society as a virtual object triggering an understanding of ongoing urban revolutionary processes which were not only the replacement of industrialised capitalism by an urbanised capitalism, but also a possibility of revolutionising everyday life and rip-off capitalism from urban practices. In his explanation, the urban society was a concrete utopia of the future when the right to the city²² has been broadly implemented, and society finally controls the production of space, stripping spatial practices from the influence of capitalist rules. In Lefebvre’s terms, this future of the urban society was possible although not yet realised. Hence, the research and theoretical contributions made in *The Urban Revolution* aimed to explain the obstacles in developing this urban society.

The virtual object of research – urban society – becomes a political instrument that politicises the research itself because it aims to develop transformative conclusions and purposeful outcomes. Therefore, under a transductive reasoning, the research abandons neutrality and embraces a political posture, becoming transformative. While Lefebvre employed urban society, my virtual object is urban-design-under-neoliberalism. Although in my interpretation neoliberalisation is more a

²² The right to the city is a political project elaborated by Henri Lefebvre in 1967 in Paris, for fostering a new understanding of the urban as a right and not only as a support for actions. Lefebvre proposes that the right to the city is the struggle for a renewed access to urban life. By saying so, Lefebvre defined urban life as the benefits of urbanisation: housing, access to knowledge, and the idea that citizens own the city and therefore they have the right to make and re-make their spaces according to their desires. For Lefebvre, this right to the city was the best way to democratise urban life. After Lefebvre, several scholars have employed this theory for repoliticising urban practices (Boano, Lamarca, & Hunter, 2011; Garretton, 2014; Harvey, 2012a; Kipfer et al., 2013; Marcuse, 2009; Merrifield, 2011; Mitchell, 1995; Purcell, 2013b), and nowadays even the United Nations has embraced its aim as part of UN-Habitat 3 agenda.

dystopia than a utopia, because urban-design-under-neoliberalism for my own interpretation has a negative condition for the practice of urban design. In urban-design-under-neoliberalism in Latin America, profitability is the priority over any other criteria (Cattaneo Pineda, 2011; Daher, 1991; Hidalgo Dattwyler et al., 2017), reducing the possibilities of acting creatively and developing urban strategies to advance to more just cities. Independent of the negative/positive value of the virtual object, it pushes this research towards producing theoretical constructs to explain the symbiotic relationship between neoliberalism and urban design in the case of Santiago de Chile.

The purpose of contributing to the theoretical reflection on neoliberal urban design in Santiago is to explain the ethics and the decision-making processes of urban design practitioners. This research delivers an interpretation about the decision environment of urban design under a neoliberal regime in Santiago. Also, transduction is employed to understand why such a relationship is occurring and its spatial effects. The theory is used to produce the potential strategies toward a revolutionary and transformative actions in the field of urban design, towards emancipating its ethos from the ideological constraints of neoliberalism. This is grounded in previous research that has articulated the neoliberal ideology through the processes of urbanisation and critical urban studies (Harvey, 2012; Brenner et al., 2012; Cattaneo Pineda, 2014; Hidalgo & Janoschka, 2014). The literature developed on protests in the street as political action against neoliberalism (Künker and Mayer in Brenner, Marcuse, et al., 2012). It has been focused on the policies and institutions that have been reshaped to revitalise neoliberalism (Peck, Theodore, & Brenner, 2013). Also, research have been conducted about the planetary effects of urban development (Brenner, 2014b; Shaw, 2015; Slater, 2017). However, the connections between practices and design processes analysing the actions taken by urban design practitioners in Santiago, remain unrehearsed. Transductive reasoning, which articulates a dialectical relationship between inductive and deductive methods, is utilised to illuminate the gaps of the hyphens urban (-) design (-) under (-) neoliberalism.

I argue that rather than provide a simple to-do list based on a prescriptive method, Lefebvre opens a path exposing contradictions that inform actions because its nature works simultaneously with theory and practice.

“Transduction. This is an intellectual operation which can be methodically carried out and which differs from classical induction, deduction, the construction of 'models', simulation as well as the simple statement of the hypothesis. Transduction elaborates and constructs a theoretical object, a possible object from information related to reality and a problematic posed by this reality. Transduction assumes an incessant feed-back between the conceptual framework used and empirical observations. Its theory (methodology), gives shape to certain spontaneous mental operations of the planner, the architect, the sociologist, the politician and the philosopher. It introduces rigour in invention and knowledge in utopia” (Lefebvre, in : Kofman, & Lebas, 1996., p. 151)

In using transductive reasoning, this thesis provides a significant contribution to further research in urban studies. Although Lefebvre mentioned the use of transduction for researching the urban in at least five of his works on cities (*Utopie expérimentale: pour un nouvel urbanisme* (1961), *Le droit à la ville* (1968), *La révolution urbaine* (1970), *Du rural à l'urbain* (1970), *La survie du capitalisme* (1973)), its implementation in social sciences as a more conventional method is not widely seen. Initially, Lefebvre operationalised transduction by promoting the use of an experimental utopia (Lefebvre 1961), a methodological instrument that he then changed to a *concrete utopia* and *virtual object* in 1970. Furthermore, the use of the term ‘utopia’ implies some sort of desirability in the future projected, although this will always depend on what is understood as a utopian future by the specific group leading the research. For different researchers, utopia may be socialist (Owen, 2011), communist (Marx, Engels, Lowy, & Kohan, 2013), anarchist (Bakunin, 1975), capitalist (Žižek, 2008), neoliberal (Bourdieu, 1998) or a something else. Instead, in this research, rather than using the term experimental utopia, I will use the idea of a virtual object – urban-design-under-neoliberalism, which for me implies the total neoliberalisation of urban designer’s ethics, theory and practice.

Lefebvre assumed a critical standpoint to urbanism as a disciplinary field. For instance, in *The Urban Revolution* (2003), he observed that urban practitioners helped to consolidate the domination of a hegemonic class. Thus, urban designers assume the role of organisers of space for the sake of capital, highlighting the power of design to shape space and capitalism itself, hiding its objectives of capital accumulation beneath an illusion of social practices.

“Urbanism encompasses this enormous operation, dissimulating its fundamental features, meanings, and finality. Beneath its benign exterior, humanist and technological, it masks capitalist strategy: the control of space, the struggle against the trend toward lower profits, and so on.” (Lefebvre, 2003, p. 156)

By saying so, Lefebvre criticises the ethical commitment of urbanists²³ to producing better cities. He points out that this result is contradictory because capitalism does not look for the best for everyone but for the most profitable solutions at the convenience of a selected group of individuals. In general, capitalism may be defined as a system for organising the production of goods and services based on the principles of private ownership, technological advances in industry, and the extraction of surplus value from labour by a dominant class (Marx, 1976). For Ha-Joon Chang (2014), capitalism is an economic model in which production is organised in pursuit of profit rather than for consumption or for political obligations. He stresses that capitalism needs a profound revision of its ethos and methods for the 21st Century.

“The task that Marx sets himself, primarily for capitalism, and which he recognises as extremely demanding with, in his own words, no royal road to science, is to trace the connection and the contradictions between the abstract and the concrete. It involves adopting an appropriate method, a judicious starting point in choice of the abstract concepts, and a careful unfolding of their historical and logical content to reveal the relationship between the way things are and the way they appear to be.” (Fine & Saad-Filho, 2010, p. 4)

²³ As was stated previously, urbanist in this thesis will be used for urban design when taking literature from Lefebvre. This is necessary because in Chile the disciplinary field of urbanism covers the sub-disciplines of urban design, urban planning and in some cases regional planning as well. An urbanist in Chile is not only the person in charge of thinking and analysing the city but also the one who is entitled to transform its shape and form.

This critical interpretation of reality will be tested through this research, questioning a group of urban design specialists in Santiago and analysing their interpretation of provocative statements made by Lefebvre against urban practitioners. Consequently, this research advances to understand what are the concrete (material) and abstract (relational) categories of urban-design-under-neoliberalism in Santiago, having a critical review of the material outcomes of the city under a neoliberal regime and its decision environment. *The Urban Revolution* presented transductive reasoning as an analytical tool for addressing critical reflections about the object of study. Transduction's virtual objects generate both a provocation and a method to activate dialectical discussions on urban phenomena.

By adopting the transductive reasoning demands, the results also provide a strategy for changing reality. As Marx stated in the *Thesis on Feuerbach*, "The philosophers have only interpreted the world, in various ways; the point is to change it" (Marx 1976, p. 65). In contributing to this challenge, the thesis reveals the potential role of urban design practitioners in overthrowing capitalism from spatial practices, turning the disciplinary field of urban design into a revolutionary tactic for addressing social transformations through urban strategies. The historical decision-making processes that shaped the urban form of Santiago are explored by investigating the mind-set and the practices of urban designers, as part of the configuration of the object urban-design-under-neoliberalism. Discussing history, praxis and spatial production of urban design in Santiago de Chile, the thesis situates profit-oriented urban development at the centre of the analysis, trying to unpack how the processes of urban design has been conducted in accordance to a hegemonic aspiration of dominance. Santiago de Chile provides evidence of the subjugation of urban designers in the processes of the production of spaces under neoliberalism.

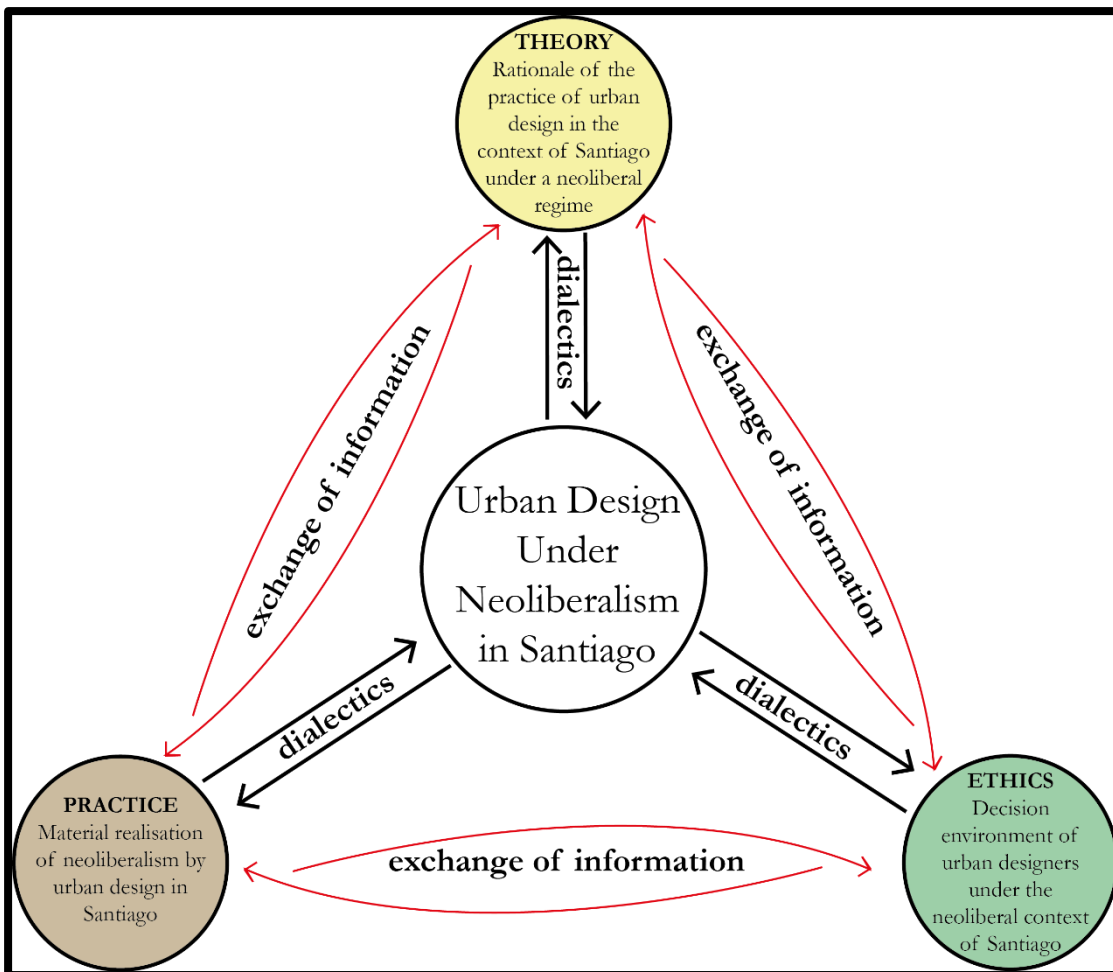


Figure 4.1. A synthesis of the transductive reasoning for the case of this research. Source: own elaboration.

The diagram (Figure 4.1) illustrates the process of the transductive reasoning working with the dialectics of the space. At the centre of the figure is the virtual object, urban-design-under-neoliberalism. By inquiring this object ethically, practically and theoretically, a series of contradictions are revealed in the relationship between the disciplinary field of urban design and the neoliberal political-economy. The analysis applied these dialectics (further explained in subchapter 4.2.3), and it aims to provide a critical understanding of how urban design is affected by neoliberalism. Then, there is a fruitful exchange of information between the ethical, theories and practices of urban-design-under-neoliberalism, which in this thesis will be grounded in the city of Santiago, starting from the historical origins of this city until its present urban form.

For collecting the evidence, this thesis explores the trajectory of the urban design process from the Spanish conquest of the territory until the present, exposing that the struggle for land (political, agrarian, mineral and urban) has been the main engine of Santiago's history. In doing so, the thesis stresses the role of private property rights in building the neoliberal regime and also, the importance of profit for defining priorities for spatial transformations. In the case of Chile, there is not abundant work that connects the historical formation of the city of Santiago with capitalism. All these aspects are then assembled towards contributing to a theoretical reflection about urban design under neoliberalism. Figure 4.1 represents the structure of transductive reasoning and how has it been implemented for this research. For the construction of a three-part dialectical relationship between significant elements for unpacking urban-design-under-neoliberalism, I have selected the ethical, practical and theoretical dimensions.

The ethical explores the mind-set, concerns, ideas and critiques of urban design actors in the city of Santiago. The practical explores the policies, regulations, disciplinary developments and applications of urban design in Santiago since the implementation of neoliberalism in 1975. Finally, the theoretical contribution aims to explain the methods for shaping cities used by urban designers in Santiago and how these methods may be considered as neoliberal.

4.2.2. Levels and dimensions of analysis

Henri Lefebvre was aware that implementing transductive methodology implied some complications regarding a twofold methodology comprising theory and practices. In order to deal with this, he proposed the organisation of analysis around levels and dimensions. In his words, these “concepts enable us to introduce a degree of order into the confused discourse about the city and the urban, which mixes text and context, levels and dimensions” (Lefebvre, 2003, p. 77).

Lefebvre aimed to codify the urban as a body of conceptual dimension and scale for the phenomenon under observation. In essence, he proposed a structure for organising the data obtained from texts, writings, maps, objects, subjects and processes that characterised urban life.

This research strategy allowed information to be merged into organised categories of analysis. The goal was providing a coherent discussion of the urban reality in order to comprehend how urban designers participate in the production of the city under a neoliberal regime and review their possible instrumental contribution to this ideology. In this thesis, the object urban-design-under-neoliberalism will be studied from three different “levels”: historical origins, applications in the urban space, and the ethos of urban design practice under neoliberalism. The goal is to unveil the conflicts that are inherent to urban-design-under-neoliberalism.

Levels of analysis have been widely used in social research. Coleman (1986) explains that different levels of analysis help to articulate a causal mechanism for collective action, which is interrelated with building a social condition. In Coleman’s experience, there are micro-macro and macro-micro factors that influence a particular phenomenon. Similarly, Elinor Ostrom (1996) proposes the use of an analytical framework considering micro, meso and macro levels for the analysis of political affairs, exploring the properties and typologies of institutions, actors and their interactions. Fritz Scharpf proposes a connection between different theoretical dimensions of a political phenomenon, using theories for linking modules and outcomes of research and thus enabling interaction across multiple levels (Scharpf, 1997). The use of levels and dimensions provides a comprehensive method for study social relations (Mouton & Marais, 2010), which in this case is the object urban-design-under-neoliberalism.

Considering the openness of the levels and dimensions, I applied a reinterpretation of this proposal, particularly for the use of levels. While Lefebvre defined levels based on spatial scale, I will add to that spatial scale a dimension of time. Hence, global, mixed and private levels are interpreted to construct a consistent methodology toward the aim of building a theory of neoliberal urban design.

In this thesis, the levels of analysis proposed by Lefebvre – global, mixed and private – are intended and adapted as historically encompassing. Specifically:

The global level frames the historical analysis of the social, economic and political base for the formation of urban-design-under-neoliberalism. “The global level accommodates the

most general, and therefore the most abstract, although essential, relations, such as capital markets and the politics of space.” (Lefebvre, 2003, p. 79). In this thesis, this level organises the process whereby the city advanced from its colonial phase, which started in 1541, to the coup-d’état in 1973. It is a global level because it observes the historical relations between economic power, class and space. The urban implosion, in this analysis, started when the private ownership of land was contested, with the help of the state. This will be further developed in Chapter 5. As can be seen in Figure 4.2, the global level advances from 0% of neoliberalisation until the historical threshold when neoliberalisation starts. The analysis of this level in the ethical, theoretical and practical dimensions provides a dialectical understanding of the spatial history of Santiago. Essentially, the global level collects archival data, historical narratives, maps, policies and images from secondary sources to build an interpretation of the way that the urban phenomenon of Santiago has evolved from a specific period. These methods will be further developed in this chapter too. Similarly to Lefebvre’s historical synthesis of the city, the global level gathers information so that the same exercise can be conducted for the case of Santiago (Figure 4.2). The consultation of secondary data was possible thanks to the archives of the National Library of Chile in Santiago and the literature developed by diverse Chilean authors.

The mixed level is historically located between the implosion and the consolidation of the object urban-design-under-neoliberalism. In this thesis, also, the mixed level narrates the shift from implosion (a series of historical urban problems and features concentrating in Santiago) and the explosion (the neoliberalisation of the city). The implosion is Lefebvre’s interpretation, and it implies that a series of theories, ideas, events, issues and interests are concentrated in the urban. From the implosion, just as in physics, comes the explosion. The explosion, thus, is the transformation of urban life as a consequence of the implementation of new theories, practices and ethos in society. In this case, the effects of the explosion are represented by the virtual object urban-design-under-neoliberalism. While the global level possesses a historical approach to the urban phenomenon of Santiago, the mixed level registers the socio-spatial and the urban outcomes emerging from the process of producing urban-design-under-neoliberalism. “This specifically urban ensemble provides the characteristic unity of the social “real” or group: forms-functions-structures” (Lefebvre, 2003, p. 80). Therefore, the mixed level elaborates an analysis based on spatial dialectics²⁴, using information about urban planning scopes and spatial

²⁴ Spatial dialectics is further explained in section 3.2.3.

transformations in Santiago since the implementation of neoliberalism in 1975. The main goal of this level is to outline the ethics, theories and practices of urban-design-under-neoliberalism represented in a set of urban material conditions in Santiago. Therefore, the sources of information for the ethical, theoretical, and practical dimensions of this level come from secondary data composed by official documents, statistics from the government, semi-structured interviews with specialists, publications and also primary data from observations in the fieldwork that allowed me to produce maps and images of Santiago in the present.

The private level engages mainly with the ethics and practices of designing the city. It is focused on the decision-making processes and the decision environment that urban design specialists face in their everyday lives as professionals. This level attempts to understand the conflicts and contradictions that urban designers in Santiago have already detected from their practice. Strategically, I have selected actors that have publicly presented their critical discourses on neoliberalism in order to see if their radical arguments against this ideology are reflected in their practices, and if so, how. Henri Lefebvre stressed the importance of observing how individuals understand their urban life not from an abstract interpretation but in their everydayness.

For Lefebvre, the possibilities of a revolutionary transformation of society lie in routine and in the critical stance that individuals assume against their own everyday experiences. Therefore, the private level dialectically complements the findings of the mixed and global levels. The elaboration of the private level is based on semi-structured interviews with 27 specialists in Santiago's urban practices. For complementing the responses of the semi-structured interviews, a survey was designed based on interviewees answers and then applied to 70 urban design practitioners. Hence, the private level enquired into the mind-set of urban designers, unravelling how they see themselves immersed in urban-design-under-neoliberalism and recording their critical reflections about their practice in Santiago. Reflecting and dissecting the approaches adopted by urban professionals when 'designing' in the neoliberal city shows the emergence of ethical, theoretical and practical contradictions in their decisions to transforming spaces.

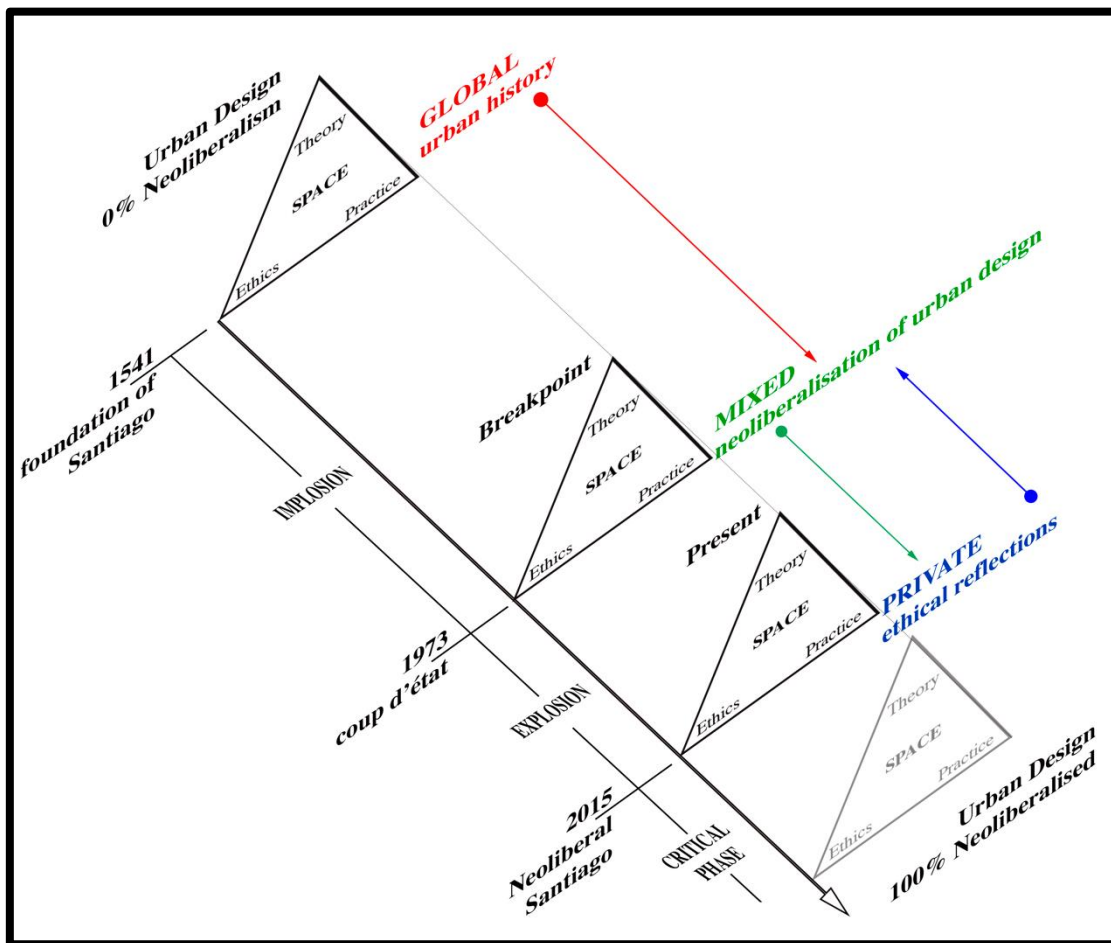


Figure 4.2. Analytical framework for urban-design-under-neoliberalism, as an adaptation of Lefebvre’s diagram. Source: own elaboration.

As illustrated in Figure 4.2, the whole structure of the empirical work developed in this thesis was based on the transductive reasoning, levels and dimensions, and the spatial dialectics directly taken from Lefebvre's work. This diagram is an adaptation of the one elaborated by Henri Lefebvre (Figure 3.1) to show the diverse stages of urban design, starting from 0% of neoliberalisation to the critical phase which for me is the current times, a process that Lefebvre interpreted as the implosion/explosion of the urban. I have defined three stages of urban design in Santiago, corresponding to three levels: global, mixed and finally private level. The global level studies the process of implosion, or how the urban was concentrating diverse activities, functions, programs, uses and problems as part of the development of Santiago’s urban history. This first level is further

developed in chapter 5 and aims to illustrate the causes that may have originated urban-design-under-neoliberalism. Thus, global level covers from 1541 (year of the foundation of Santiago) until 1973, marked by the coup-d'état and the instalment of the dictatorship of General Augusto Pinochet that implemented neoliberalism. I identified the critical phase of urban-design-under-neoliberalism between 1975 and 2015 (when I did the interviews and surveys in the fieldwork) which I illustrated in chapter 6 and 7 from two different approaches. Chapter 6 explores the mixed level or how the neoliberal implementation changed urban design practice and how these changes are represented in the urban space of Santiago. Complementary, chapter 7 assessed these changes in a private level by enquiring the ethical reflections of urban designers in Santiago about the transformations experienced by the city during its neoliberalisation. As it will be further explained in the following subchapter, the spatial dialectics is present throughout the whole process of analysis, tackling the theories, practices and ethics of urban-design-under-neoliberalism, producing then a Marxist understanding of this virtual object. As Lefebvre asked:

“Can theoretical knowledge treat this virtual object, the goal of action, as an abstraction? No. From this point on, it is abstract only in the sense that it is a scientific, and therefore legitimate, abstraction. Theoretical knowledge can and must reveal the terrain, the foundation on which it resides: an ongoing social practice, an urban practice in the process of formation. It is an aspect of the critical phase that this practice is currently veiled and disjointed, that it possesses only fragments of a reality and a science that are still in the future. It is our job to demonstrate that such an approach has an outcome, that there are solutions to the current problematic.” (Lefebvre, 2003, p. 17)

The critical zone in which this research enquires aims to, precisely reveal the problems that emerge during the implementation of urban-design-under-neoliberalism in Santiago. In this zone is explored the set of theoretical assumptions and findings that explain the nature of the virtual object.

4.2.3. Spatial dialectics

The spatial dialectics is the way of understanding the historical dispute over controlling urban production. Basically, spatial dialectics is the lens of analysis for each phenomenon studied. It attempts to unpack its contradictions and understand what confrontations occurred in order to

control the urban processes. The term 'spatial dialectics' refers to diverse levels for analysing space. These levels are related to physical dimensions, mental creations of space, and the cultural aspects of spatial arrangements (Singleton, Taylor & Singleton 2001) These elements that comprise space are analysed separately but at the end they are articulated in a triad, whose aim is to unveil the contradictions of the space as an abstract-absolute form, as a practice and ideology, as a social form and capitalist outcome.

“The (relative) autonomy achieved by space qua 'reality' during a long process which has occurred especially under capitalism or neocapitalism has brought new contradictions into play. The contradictions within space itself will be explored later. For the moment I merely wish to point out the dialectical relationship which exists within the triad of the perceived, the conceived, and the lived.” (Lefebvre, 1991c, p. 39)

When Lefebvre conceptualises the dialectics of space he is implying that space is “a field of force full of tensions and distortions” (Lefebvre 1991, p. 145), as an interaction between opposites and an exchange “between signifying and signified elements” (Lefebvre 1991, p. 146). Spatial dialectics is a narrative of the contradictions and fragmentations that emerge when space is analysed, not as a fixed element, but as a process that varies in time and reflects social relations. The productive nature and the continuous struggle over the production of urban space in Lefebvre’s philosophy and politics, it is based on an understanding of the urban space infused with time and history, that is why the chapters of this research have been structured chronologically.

For Lefebvre, “the urban is dialectical in nature, as urban space is socially produced by three dimensional (material, ideological-institutional, and imaginary-affective) processes” (Lefebvre 1991b cited in Kipfer et al. 2012, p.119). Prior to Lefebvre, the modernist way of defining relations between time and space had been based on the Kantian way of conceiving space as something passive, pre-existing, or an empty formal container which exists within itself (Goonewardena et al., 2008). Elden (2004) explains further that Lefebvre critiqued the Kantian way of conceiving space in which time dominates space. To contribute to these approaches to urban studies, I’m adopting spatial dialectics for informing a critical stance in the relationship between neoliberalism (and its

historical origin) and urban design (as a disciplinary field) in Santiago. For doing so, I focus on how a discipline related to the production of space (urban design) operates under a political and economic regime that sees the urban as a source of wealth (neoliberalism).

“I would say the same thing about dialectics. We have a lot of trouble with dialectics. Logic itself is defined forcefully, powerfully. Who doesn't talk about logic? Who doesn't have his own logic? Whereas dialectics is much more obscure than logic. It works differently. It works in depth, with all its ambiguities, with all the difficulties of theoretical expression. We are therefore not concerned with a doctrinal unity, with a unity which positions itself on the plane of the conceived, in the conceived, in the concept. We are concerned with something complex in quite a different way, with quite another aspect.” (Lefebvre, 1980, p. 26)

For the case of this thesis, Santiago, spatial dialectics situate its urban products (the metropolis, the urban project, the plan, the public space) at the centre and evaluate how different actors struggled to ensure the domination of space. Methodologically, it implies that in order to understand a phenomenon it is fundamental to review the relationship between space, conflicts and social transformations. Therefore, the analysis of each level aims to reveal not only the contradictions between capitalist ideology and urban design practice, but also the contradictions between levels, unveiling the lack of continuity in the struggle for space and evaluating the possible politicisation of space in order to make it more explicit that whoever controls space controls society. The use of spatial dialectics for enquiring into neoliberal urban design cannot offer a specific outcome but a series of interpretations towards building a theoretical understanding of urban-design-under-neoliberalism. Spatial dialectics is a method that in this case is vital for applying a transductive reasoning, lending specificity to the study of urban design through the articulation of ethics, practices and theory (Figure 4.1), all together at the same time as is shown in Figure 4.2. Specifically, in this research, the spatial dialectics is applied to each level (G, M, P) throughout the chapters 5, 6 and 7 in order to unveil the contradictions of the processes related to shaping the city of Santiago. In everyday practices of urban design, the practitioners do not divide their actions by theory, ethics, and practices, but they produce a complex process of decision making. A series of social relations inform their designs, while the urban needs inform their social relations:

“The key notion introduced by Lefebvre in the last sentence suggests the fundamental premise of the socio-spatial dialectic: that social and spatial relationships are dialectically inter-reactive, inter-dependent; that social relations of production are both space-forming and space-contingent (insofar as we maintain a view of organized space as socially constructed).” (Soja, 1980, p. 211)

However, spatial dialectics require different types of data: they require images, maps and observations in the field to understand the physicality of the studied elements. They also require interviews and surveys with stakeholders to unveil the mind-set that frames the behaviour of the actors, and it requires critical thinking to analyse the data collected and transform it into a set of theoretical constructs. Both methods previously mentioned – transductive reasoning and levels and dimensions – are necessary for addressing an analysis based on spatial dialectics.

4.3. Research methods

The research methods were selected for collecting data in order to respond the research questions by using the methodological strategies from *The Urban Revolution* previously presented. Using methodologies from *The Urban Revolution* (transductive reasoning, levels and dimensions, and spatial dialectics) to research the urban does not entail a particular set of methods traditionally used by a consolidated body of scholars or disciplinary practices. Given that transduction remains relatively unexplored in urban studies, the methods used are exclusively based on what was considered as the most suitable approaches for unpacking the virtual object in Santiago. The methodological approach demands the examination and characterisation of the relationships between a practice of producing space as part of the disciplinary field of urban design, an ideology (and political project) such as neoliberalism, and a specific case such as Santiago de Chile. The selection of methods, thus, is organised so as to collect data about how urban designers participate in neoliberal contexts. The following are the specific methods adopted in this thesis.

4.3.1. Urban History

The first method aims to collect data to expose what are the historical conditions that favoured the emergence of the object urban-design-under-neoliberalism. Urban history covers most aspects related to urban life and urban design processes that adopts methods coming from geography, sociology, political sciences and economics. For Zeynep Celik and Diane Favro (1988) urban history investigates social, economic, political, and cultural issues to explain the built form of cities. The focus is often on urban transformations and it remains open to the use of diverse research techniques and methodologies in order to interpret and represent the urban past for future researchers. For this thesis, most of the data collected in relation to urban history was included in Chapter 5. As Celik and Favro stated, most of methods used in urban history come from the *new social history*, which in Chile was implemented as methodology by Gabriel Salazar, Armando de Ramón and Mario Góngora. This thesis uses the contribution about the history of Santiago made by these authors and also data collected from archival research.

Archival research involves the use of primary sources held in repositories. Archival sources can be manuscripts, documents, records (including electronic records), objects, sound and audio-visual materials, or other materials. In this case, the difference between archival and secondary data is that for this research I used records from official institutions, represented in documents, policies, reports and statistical information. Therefore, the archival work aimed to contrast and compare with the secondary data consulted, mostly composed of research developed by Chilean scholars. In the particular case of the investigation in this thesis, the archival work was useful for tracing the historical transformations of the city of Santiago. Most of this work was undertaken in the National Library of Chile and the Congress Library, both in Santiago. I have to recognise that although some data was inaccessible (this is further explained in the part 4.6. *Limitations of the research*), the people in the National Library were quite efficient in systematising the information, easing the way for researchers. They were also quite helpful in defining a strategic way of reviewing the documentation.

The strategy was first to read the secondary sources that related to urban history (explained in the following paragraph), in order to then recognise the elements that I needed to search for in the files and data of the archives. It was important to note down dates, events and actors. Then, I searched information about these events in the archives of the mass media, mainly those of *El Mercurio*, a Chilean newspaper that had been published since the beginning of the 20th Century. The main goal of this method was collecting statistical information and checking the diverse versions of the secondary sources. Mostly, the information gathered in the archival research helped to construct the global level of analysis, although some information (especially that referring to the economics of urban development in Santiago) helped to build the mixed level of analysis. In relation to historical visual data, such as maps and pictures, were obtained from the National Library Datacentre and also by asking public organisations. I attempted to present information as pure as it emerged from archives, but in some cases, I had to redevelop maps and intervene images in order to make it clearer or more legible. In the particular case of maps, when they were developed by myself, I added scale and legend if they lacked of it. When the map is a reference from other sources, I did not alter the map.

Furthermore, in relation to secondary sources I consulted the works of diverse historians. A general structure was provided by the work of Chilean new social history, with particular interest in the contributions of Gabriel Salazar (*Historia de la acumulación capitalista en Chile, 2003*), Mario Góngora (*Ensayo histórico sobre la noción de Estado, 2006*) and Luis Vitale (*Interpretación Marxista de la historia de Chile, 1999*). These authors have developed an extensive literature on what is called the popular history of Chile. Their methodological approach to historiography is based on collecting narratives from everyday people, from the low-born ('bajo pueblo' as Salazar (2003) theorised it). Their focus was on the urban poor, the elderly, children and women, in contrast with the traditional way of narrating history, mostly dedicated to relating how oligarchy had shaped Chilean society. Nevertheless, the narratives of Salazar, Góngora and Vitale are not abundant in information about how social history has a spatial correlation. The work of these Chilean historians served as secondary sources about the historical information in relation to politics and social history of

Santiago. Therefore, another body of secondary sources was required to fill this gap. For this goal, I mainly employed maps gathered from the archival work, and literature developed by three Chilean urban historians: Armando de Ramón (*Santiago de Chile, 2007*), Gabriel Guarda (*Historia Urbana del Reino de Chile, 1978*) and Patricio Gross (*Santiago de Chile, 1991*). The references provided by these authors and the archival research allowed me to connect the social, political and economic events of Santiago's history with its spatial transformations, and to build an interpretation of the spatial dialectics of Santiago. Articulating how social relations in Santiago have a representation in space was only possible through the data collected with this method.

4.3.2. In-depth semi-structured interviews

The second method aims to explore how urban-design-under-neoliberalism is assessed and critically analysed by specialists involved in the disciplinary field of urban design in Santiago. A semi-structured interview is a variation of an in-depth interview (May, 2001). This method may be considered as a conversation with a purpose, in which the interviewer and the interviewee face each other as equals, in a horizontal dialogue about some specific topic. In order to apply this method effectively, the interviewer should know the areas that he/she wants the interviewees to cover. It allows the exploration of diverse approaches to the theme and provides new information or interpretations about the study. An in-depth semi-structured interview involves open-ended questions to foster the development of responses without specific boundaries, although it is recommended to preserve certain time-frames in order to facilitate the coding and interpretation of the responses. The purpose of using in-depth semi-structured interviews was to tease out from the interviewees the diverse strands of their particular experiences as urban designers, in order to understand the conflicts and trends that they observe in their everyday practice of this discipline. The use of this method has been fundamental for gaining a thorough insight into the disciplinary field of urban design in Santiago. Mostly, my aim was to understand how urban designers make sense of their practice when it has been under a neoliberal regime.

The sample of informants were composed followed the judgement sampling technique explained by Martin Marshall (1996): an intellectual assortment of actors, looking to interview those who will be most productive in answering the research question, in this case, to untangle the relationship between neoliberalism and urban design in the city of Santiago. When building the list of interviewees (Table 4.1), I had the advantage of being familiar with the disciplinary field of urban design in Chile, which helped me to determine which specialists would be most valuable for responding to my research questions. Following the ethical code of UCL, the list is anonymised but it highlights their institutional connections.

Following Marshall's recommendations, I had a set of questions, but I accepted the suggestions of the interviewees to add more informants whose contribution may be useful to my research. Therefore, I added three more interviewees to the original sample. This decision was made in order to unpack the mind-set of urban designers, thus unveiling their motivations, concerns, interpretations and expectations with regard to Santiago's urban phenomenon. Because I was searching for the contradiction between a critical stance against neoliberalism and the practice of urban design, my sample was mostly composed of urban design professionals with experience in academia and of carrying out consultancy work for the private realm. Furthermore, I needed a list of informants with recognised analytic capacity in urban studies. My sample, thus, is composed of leading authors of projects and research on the disciplinary field of urban design, with the active participation of recognised institutions related to urban development such as academia, civil organisations, the government and private practitioners.

The interviews took place in Santiago (24), Valparaiso (1), Viña del Mar (1) and Valdivia (1). Narratives on how neoliberalism and urban design are interrelated were collected from these interviews, which allowed me to organise a set of qualitative data to inform the way that neoliberal ideology has influenced disciplinary field of urban design. I contacted the interviewees directly by email and in Spanish. I sent the invitation to 30 actors but 27 accepted the invitation to an interview

and 3 declined. Most of the interviewees' responses were audio recorded, and all interviews included written notes. In five interviews the recording device failed but sadly I did not realise until I attempted to start the analysis of the data. The notes taken during the interview were fundamental for resolving these problems. After realising these failures, I decided to use two recorders for the interviews. On average the interviews lasted about one hour each, although I told the interviewees not to restrain their responses because of time, and many of them took their time and gave lengthy responses, in order to better explain their responses. All of the interviews were in Spanish. A list of open questions was provided previously to the interviewees in English and Spanish (Appendix 2). The list of questions was constructed around two main components: the first was related to the practice and relationship of the interviewee with urban design and the second part was based on a series of provocations elaborated in *The Urban Revolution*, directly questioning the ethics of urban designers. The goal was to understand both their practice and their reaction to provocative statements against the urban design discipline.

During the development of the semi-structured in-depth interviews, a preliminary analysis of the responses was conducted in order to extract some of the most common arguments about the relationship between urban design and neoliberalism. After the interviews, I reviewed the notes taken, and at the end of each week, I contrasted these interviews with the audio recordings. This allowed me to have a list of the common issues mentioned by the specialists regarding urban design under a neoliberal regime. This information was useful to then develop a computer-based questionnaire and survey other specialists contrasting their views with the general arguments of the interviewees.

Table 4.1: Sample of interviewees. Source: own elaboration.

<i>Interviewee</i>	<i>Date of Interview</i>	<i>Gender</i>	<i>City of interview</i>	<i>Institution</i>	<i>Realm</i>
I1	14-01-15	m	Santiago	IEUT	Academia
I2	04-05-15	m	Santiago	COES, CIT	Civil Organisation
I3	05-05-15	f	Santiago	Montealegre Arquitectos	Practitioner
I4	07-05-15	f	Santiago	FAU	Academia
I5	07-05-15	f	Santiago	GOREM	State
I6	08-05-15	m	Santiago	MOP	State
I7	11-05-15	m	Santiago	FAU	Academia
I8	14-05-15	m	Santiago	MOBIL Arquitectos	Practitioner
I9	15-05-15	m	Santiago	CNDU	State
I10	18-05-15	m	Santiago	Plataforma Urbana / Metropolitana	Practitioner
I11	19-05-15	m	Valparaiso	SEREMI Valparaiso	State
I12	19-05-15	m	Viña del Mar	Viña del Mar Municipality	State
I13	22-05-15	m	Santiago	RD	Civil Organisation
I14	26-05-15	m	Santiago	Revista de Urbanismo	Academia
I15	27-05-15	m	Santiago	CORMU (former)	Civil Organisation
I16	28-05-15	m	Santiago	CA	Civil Organisation
I17	02-06-15	m	Santiago	El Quisco Municipality	State
I18	08-06-15	m	Santiago	Marca AC	Civil Organisation
I19	04-08-15	m	Santiago	Social LAB	Civil Organisation
I20	11-08-15	m	Valdivia	Universidad Austral	Academia
I21	15-08-15	m	Santiago	CNCA	Practitioner
I22	17-08-15	m	Santiago	Ariztia LAB	Practitioner
I23	17-08-15	m	Santiago	Ariztia LAB	Practitioner
I24	17-08-15	m	Santiago	Ariztia LAB	Practitioner
I25	19-08-15	m	Santiago	Grupo Toma	Practitioner
I26	01-09-15	m	Santiago	CA	Civil Organisation
I27	18-05-15	m	Santiago	Providencia Municipality	State

4.3.3. Surveying urban design practitioners by computer-based questionnaire

The third method complements the second method through surveying a broader audience of urban designers for collecting data about the concerns and appreciations of the urban phenomenon of Santiago under neoliberalism. As it was mentioned, from the preliminary analysis of the semi-structured interviews I developed a computer-based questionnaire in order to determine whether the perspective of a broader audience of urban design practitioners coincided with the critical views of the specialists interviewed (Appendix 1). As emerged from the semi-structured interviews, two concerns arose while analysing the data: the lack of ideas about a possible future of the city of Santiago beyond the possibilities of neoliberal urban design. While questioning how they imagined Santiago in the future, interviewees took much more time to respond and usually started recognising that this was a difficult question. A second concern was that I observed some vagueness when asking on the specificity of what was the actual problems of Santiago's urban design practice. I decided to get a second source of information for testing topics such as governance, policies, projects, and methods in order to clarify the meaning of practising urban design in Santiago under neoliberalism.

Regarding the sampling strategy, I defined a target population based on information facilitated by the Colegio de Arquitectos (Architects Association), who shared with me the total number of architects affiliated to this institution in Santiago: 1827. As it was mentioned before, in Chile, urban design is a profession conducted by architects mostly. To this target, I applied a random sampling for providing equal chances of being picked for each member of the target group. The sample size was defined as follows:

$$\text{Sample Size} = \frac{\frac{z^2 \times p(1-p)}{e^2}}{1 + \left(\frac{z^2 \times p(1-p)}{e^2 \times N} \right)}$$

$$= \frac{\frac{1,652 \times 0,5(1-0,5)}{0,12}}{1 + \left(\frac{1,652 \times 0,5(1-0,5)}{0,12 \times 1827} \right)} = \frac{68,0625}{1,03725369} = \boxed{66}$$

Where:

Symbol	Meaning	Value
Z	Standard deviation	1,65
p	Population proportion	0,5
e	Margin of error	0,1
N	Population	1827

As an implication for the conclusions, this survey broadened the sources to interpret what is urban-design-under-neoliberalism in Santiago, providing a different type of data and actually complementing the reflections emerged from the semi-structured interviews. The questionnaire was sent to 70 urban design professionals living in Santiago (I sent a request to respond to the survey to 80 professionals). This questionnaire was a mixture of quantitative and qualitative questions. It was composed of:

5 multiple-choice questions: the respondents were offered a set of answers referring to a topic, of which they had to choose just one. The use of multiple-choice questions aimed to test the agreement of a broader audience of urban designers with some statements and ideas suggested by interviewees.

5 scaling questions: these presented options for the respondents so that they could rank their choices. Some interviewees mentioned certain priorities toward de-neoliberalising urban design practice in Santiago. Thus, this set of questions aimed to test what was the relevance given by other urban designers to some of these ideas.

Four open-ended questions: a question was posed, and the respondents had an open space to share an answer of up to 100 words, mostly referring to Santiago’s urban development processes and to trace their thought when asking about the future of this city.

A summary of the responses used for the analysis in this thesis is presented in Appendix 1. Using an online survey system has advantages:

- 1.-Ease of data gathering which takes advantage of internet for increasing the speed of data collection.

2.-I used Google docs for building the survey with no additional costs. Then, the responses were automatically stored in a database providing a small possibility of data errors and speeding up the analysis process.

3.- Respondents did not feel pressured to respond in a specific time/space and they were able to access the survey link whenever they wanted, using their personal email as the only restriction.

However, this method has some downfalls:

1.- Absence of the interviewer may have undermined the potential of open-ended questions because respondents are not necessarily motivated to answer aiming to the goal of the survey. Also, because the absence of an interviewer respondents could misinterpret the questions.

2.- The respondents who do not have access to internet were automatically excluded from this survey. It is possible to say that this limitation may have troubled the participation of elderly practitioners in the survey.

The gathered information helped to consolidate the private level of analysis, offering a complement from a wider sample to the arguments provided by the specialists. All survey responses were confidential and based on voluntary participation, and the participants were informed that they could withdraw from the survey at any time until they had completed the survey. In order to manage the open responses, I used the software NVIVO for analysing the most frequent concepts and construct tables 7.5 and 7.11.

4.3.4. Building theoretical reflections as constructs

This method aims to organise the interpretation of the data in order to develop a set of theoretical reflections about urban-design-under-neoliberalism in Santiago. The method used for building constructs is useful to guide the process from data analysis to reflecting on a strategy of action. For instance, the conceptual idea of neoliberal urban design as such has not been developed under a specific theory, although there are explorations and research that shed light on the possibilities of building a series of theoretical constructs about neoliberal urban design. There is a scarce literature that articulates urban design and its theory. In the last 20 years, urban design has become a more open field that is not only concerned with the urban product but also with the processes for producing the urban. By doing so, the theory of urban design has fallen into an ambiguity

(Madanipour, 1997) because nowadays it faces the challenge of developing both images of the city and also dealing with its processes of imagining the city (Munizaga, 2014). This implies that a theory of urban design processes cannot think only in spatial terms but also must result from reflective theorisation on the realms of social, political, economic, cultural, environmental, and ideological conditions of society. Such complex articulation has been advanced by diverse authors (Cuthbert, 2006b; Madanipour, 2006; Banerjee & Louaitou-Sideris, 2011; Carmona, 2014; Oc, 2014; Dovey & Pafka, 2015; Boano, 2017). From my perspective, the use of Henri Lefebvre for developing specific theories of urban design has been underutilised and mostly based on the theories of the production of space (1974) and the right to the city (1968). There are more possibilities in the work of Lefebvre for theorising urban design. In this research, by using the transductive approach, levels and dimensions, and spatial dialectics I advanced towards elaborating a set of potential theoretical constructs, based on the findings from the analytical review of urban-design-under-neoliberalism in Santiago.

The method for building these constructs employs grounded theory in order to inductively interpret the way that urban design has been developed under a neoliberal regime. Therefore, in part, the theory is constructed from the analysis of data obtained from the research but also from the creativity of the researcher while interpreting data (Martin & Turner, 1986). Nevertheless, not all the theory is obtained by analysing data, and there are inputs from existing theories related to the spatialisation of neoliberalism developed by authors like David Harvey, Neil Brenner, and Alexander Cuthbert. A construct in social sciences is an ideal object (as urban-design-under-neoliberalism or the good city), where the possible existence of something depends upon the interpreter's mind (Bunge, 1974). This contrasts with a real object. In this thesis, the use of constructs serves to reflect on further actions to take for subverting the element urban-design-under-neoliberalism.

4.3.5. Statistical Data

This section explains the sampling, techniques and methods for analysing the statistical data presented throughout the thesis. In order to inform the complexities of the virtual object, urban-design-under-neoliberalism, this research utilises the analysis of data sets for illustrating some specific features about the city making processes in Santiago. The analysis of these sets served to provide an assessment of the spatial implications of urban-design-under-neoliberalism.

Quantitative analysis is employed descriptively. It relies on official information to establish associations with the analysis that emerges from the qualitative analysis. Therefore, this research collected data to elaborate these data sets from governmental institutions and international organisations, as it is detailed for each of the analyses. This data is used to depict how a series of politico-economic changes along the story of Santiago have influenced or are related to its spatial transformations. Most of these data-sets are related to economic indexes, urban development and economic growth.

The process of gathering data was mostly through requesting information to the government and its diverse institutions taking advantage of the Transparency Law which obligate public institutions to share their datasets with researchers. In the case of international organisations, I used data that was publicly available in web-based databanks. For presenting the results of this analysis, I used a succinct format composed of tables and charts. Most of the charts are linear, but I used also bar charts. I have preferred to privilege the presentation of information in tables to give structured numeric information. However, in some sections, charts have been used to demonstrate trends, making comparisons or showing relationships. I elaborated self-explanatory tables and charts for facilitating its understanding to the reader without a necessary reference to the text.

Throughout the thesis, the use of databases for illustrating certain aspects of urban-design-under-neoliberalism has been presented. In some cases, the databases or a certain type of information was processed and analysed using particular techniques. Here I present some of the details on how these

techniques were applied to elaborate quantitative analyses in tables and charts that were elaborated by me and whose process of elaboration required more specific types of calculation.

In Table 5.2: Levels of Segregation in Santiago in 1802.

This table uses the information presented by Armando de Ramon in his book Santiago de Chile. It is based on a report made by the *Cabildo* of Santiago in the beginnings of the XIX Century. The

$$D = \frac{1}{2} \sum_{i=1}^n \left| \frac{a_i}{A} - \frac{b_i}{B} \right|$$

analysis of the data exposes the levels of segregation in the city of Santiago, based on the use of the Duncan and Dissimilarity index. The dissimilarity index is also known as "D Index." It works by defining different groups of the population (by race, incomes, educational level, etc.) in a geographical unit (block, neighbourhood, *comuna*, city, region) and the calculations imply the proportion of groups present in the geographical unit. The proportional difference indicates how groups have different shares in that geographical unit. Greater differences indicate the dominance of one group over the others.

Where "a_i" and "b_i" are the population of the groups counted in the geographical unit i.

"A" and "B" are the total population the groups in the entire study region.

"n" is the number of areal units in the study region.

The Duncan index indicates the distribution of a certain group of population in a geographical unit and goes from 0% (an even spatial distribution) to 100% (a totally uneven spatial distribution).

$$IS = \frac{1}{2} \sum_{i=1}^n \left| \frac{x_i}{X} - \frac{t_i - x_i}{T - X} \right| \quad 0 \leq IS \leq 1$$

Where

“ x_i ” : Minority group in geographical unit “ i ”.

“ X ” : Total population of minority group in the whole area under study.

“ t_i ” : Total population in geographical unit “ i ”.

“ T ” : Total population in the whole area.

“ N ” : Name or label for each unit.

In Figure 5.19. Increase in the Land Value of plots in the centre of Santiago between 1856 and 1873.

This chart illustrates a data presented by Armando de Ramón in his book, Santiago de Chile. In the book, de Ramón was attempting to elaborate on the process of speculation with land in the XIX in the centre of Santiago. The chart is based on that information, and its aim is only illustrative.

In Table 5.4. Urbanisation rate as the percentage of the GDP in Chile.

This table presents the results of the urbanisation as a share of the GDP. In Chile, the calculation of the GDP is elaborated by summing diverse, productive areas by surveying their yearly productivity. However, the productive areas that have direct participation in the processes of urbanisation are not organised as such. In other words, there are not indicators of what percentage of the GDP results from the contribution of the urbanisation. This table aimed to illustrate its importance for the traditional measurement of economic growth in the country.

The calculation uses secondary data elaborated by Diaz et al. (2016). It sums the shares of Construction, Utilities, Transport and Communications, and Housing Services. Each of these elements is based on information directly related to the functioning and spatial development of cities. The year 2003 was fixed as the reference for ensuring that the measurement is comparable throughout the analysed period in the table.

In Table 6.3: Evolution of sale prices per square metre in Santiago from 1980 (neoliberal implementation) until 2016 (UF/m²).

This table is based on my archival research in the National Archives in Santiago. I used as a source the newspaper named *El Mercurio*, in its section named "Avisos económicos" where people and companies publish offers of renting and selling properties in diverse areas of the country. Hence, I took a monthly sample per year, composed of at least three properties per comuna each Sunday of each month. I selected Sunday because it was in the newspapers published on Sunday where I found more amount of properties offered.

Once I had the dataset, I transformed the prices from pesos to *Unidad de Fomento* (Indexed unit account). The *Unidad de Fomento* (UF) is a financial instrument used mainly in the construction industry for defining a value that is readjusted by the CPI in time, avoiding a devaluation of investments and prices. It means that the UF of 1980 is comparable with the UF of 2016 because its value is updated.

I measured the properties surveyed in UF/m², which is the measurement employed in the construction industry for defining comparative prices, and for outlining the budget of construction. The *comunas* selected for the survey were aimed to be a diverse sample, having rich, poor and working-class comunas. Also, in 1980 the number of *comunas* in Santiago was the half than in 2016, so I attempted to use comunas that have existed along the whole period of analysis.

In Table 6.4. Comparing the profitability of high-rise buildings in 1980 and 2016.

Profitability in real-estate development is measured by the Internal Rate of Return (IRR). For calculating it, it is necessary to have the money invested in a business, the incomes obtained for its selling, and the time between the initial investment and the sale of the product.

In the case of real estate development, for the initial money invested considers mainly the costs of construction, the cost of the land. In this case, for reviewing the construction costs, I used the data obtained by consulting the ONDAC and the data provided by the Housing Ministry. Mainly, the

Housing Ministry determines an average cost of construction per square meter depending on the quality of the building. In this case, I employed the category used for define the cost of construction of reinforced concrete buildings which is the best category. The Ministry adjust this cost depending on the labour wages and the variations in costs of materials. The value of land was calculated from the archival research in the National Archives, using as source El Mercurio where every Sunday is published a list of land available for construction in diverse areas of the City. About the criterion for defining three years for selling the whole project, the Chilean Chamber of Builders says that in average a real estate development in Santiago took about 29 months in being completely sold when things are doing regularly good. I used a measurement based on 36 months for taking a more conservative posture to the calculation, avoiding a bias.

For elaborating this table, I employed the data presented in Table 6.3 and the calculation of the IRR was applied using MS Excel which has a function for calculating IRR.

In Table 7.5. A summary of responses from the internet-based survey to the question: How would you define Santiago? And Table 7.11. Summary of proposals for improving urban development in Santiago

Table 7.5 and 7.11 are based on the qualitative data obtained from interviews and the web-based survey. For doing the analysis, I used a software named NVIVO which allow the analysis of long texts for codifying its information. Particularly, I used a tool that takes the texts and extracts what the most repeated concepts in the text are. I applied this tool to the transcriptions of the interviews and the results of the survey for building both tables.

In Table 7.9. The balance of a family living in Santiago by socioeconomic quintile.

The data contended in this table emerged from different sources as it is detailed below:

<i>Dataset</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Details</i>
Average Income	Encuesta CASEN 2015	<i>Obtained from the index in STATA labelled as “yautcor”</i>
Renting	Encuesta CASEN 2015	<i>Obtained from the index in STATA labelled as “r22”</i>
Basic Goods	<i>Based on Encuesta de Presupuestos</i>	<i>Obtained from the analysis of the data presented by INE and MIDESO</i>
Transport	<i>Transports Ministry considering 2 daily</i>	<i>Obtained from the analysis of the survey “Encuesta Origen-Destino” of the</i>
People per house	Based on CASEN 2015	<i>Obtained from the index in STATA labelled as “numper”</i>

The transformation from Pesos (\$) to Pounds (£) was based on the difference between currencies of August 2017.

4.4. Theoretical stance of the research

This thesis acknowledges the existence of a gap between neoliberal critique and urban design practices. This acknowledgement aims to justify the need of explaining their relationship and co-dependence. This gap is explored using *The Urban Revolution*. My reasoning is that the gap is only circumstantial to a discipline, urban design, whose ethos and practices were co-opted and transformed by the neoliberal project. My virtual object – urban-design-under-neoliberalism – is a hypothesis of the future of this discipline, characterised by the total neoliberalisation of urban design, in Santiago particularly. By saying so, I stress that these reflections apply to this city only by questioning the way neoliberalism influenced the decision environment of city making in Santiago. Although some other cities may have similar conditions to Santiago, this thesis is not aiming to construct a theoretical reflection that generalizes a particular phenomenon. This being said, the thesis does aim to contribute to a more general understanding of the disciplinary field of urban design under a neoliberal regime, advancing in problematise the ethical contradictions that emerge, what practices characterise this way of making cities, and what theories may help to explain it.

Urban-design-under-neoliberalism is a possible object represented in the future projection of discourses and spatial changes, historical antecedents and present actions, policies and practices. The total neoliberalisation of urban design is not yet a reality but it might be in the near future. This investigation aspires to reflect on the current status of this critical phase of the disciplinary field of urban design. The construction of this virtual object is complex and requires quantitative information that exposes how urban design operates under profit-oriented logic, but it also needs the discourses and criticisms of this practice informed by a qualitative approach. This confirms the importance of transductive reasoning because provides a multidimensional methodological framework to interpreting reality reflecting on the possibilities of changing it. This methodology, therefore, comprehensively mixes quantitative with qualitative thereby providing a correct diagnosis of the existence (or not) of a neoliberal urban design. One of the main critiques of Henri Lefebvre to social sciences was the compacting and fragmentation of knowledge. He criticised the creation of methodological divisions from one discipline to another. In his view, these divisions hinder the possibilities of allowing knowledge to be built comprehensively. Therefore, Lefebvre advocated a transdisciplinary approach to researching the urban, assuming the risk of developing less orthodox methodologies but aiming towards a more wide-ranging understanding of the phenomenon.

The argument of this thesis is that neoliberalism coerces urban design by subsuming its practice under a set of profit-oriented modes of spatial production. Neoliberalism undermines the potential of urban design in providing better urban life. The neoliberalisation of cities influenced the ethics, theories and practices in the disciplinary field of urban design. This thesis enquires into the relationship between neoliberalism and urban design in the case of Santiago using Henri Lefebvre's *The Urban Revolution* as a the methodological framework for structuring the research. *The Urban Revolution* of Henri Lefebvre sets out to challenge the capitalist orientation of urban designers, unmasking their ethos from a cynical mask of socially committed practitioners, thus stripping out the profit-oriented determinations from spatial practices. Following the reasoning of Lefebvre, I seek to test three subjects for adding to the argumentative line of this thesis:

- Urban design as practice, lacking theory and serving only the interests of an elite neglecting the low-income communities and the public space
- Neoliberalism as the apex of the capitalist distinction of classes, which have been spatialised using the state and market as moulders and urban designers as executors
- A Marxist interpretation of urban processes built by Henri Lefebvre in order to unpack the subjugation of urban disciplines to capitalist objectives.

In the process of advancing towards a theoretical approach to urban-design-under-neoliberalism, the case selected – Santiago de Chile – provides possibilities for grounding these discussions. It allows the examination of how neoliberalism was justified and implemented by the elite, and the effects of these processes on the behaviour and decision making of urban designers when thinking about the future of this city. Furthermore, this examination offers the evidence for building a series of theoretical reflections about urban-design-under-neoliberalism as an object that has been realised in Santiago de Chile. The construction of urban-design-under-neoliberalism has the purpose of setting an instrument with analytical value which may then be used for the study of another urban phenomenon. Also, given the Marxist approach used by Lefebvre, this thesis takes on the challenge of not only analysing the problem but also reflecting on how to produce actual transformations to the urban design under a neoliberal regime. These reflections attempt to unveil the weaknesses of urban-design-under-neoliberalism and consequently elaborate a counter element to oppose to this virtual object, another virtual object which will serve to develop further research. This second virtual object is one of the outcomes of this research, and it will be identified as the-good-city, which is illustrated in chapter 8. This is a revolutionary stand-point of the research because it aims to advance toward transforming the reality under observation. To clarify, by revolutionary I do not mean to say that the findings or the methodologies used by this research will revolutionise the social sciences or so. Revolutionary refers to the famous quotation of Marx presented in the 11th part of Theses on Feuerbach, which I paraphrase as researchers have hitherto only interpreted Santiago in various ways; the point now is to change it.

This thesis is theoretically positioned near a vast literature related to neoliberalisation of the urban space, critical urban studies, studies on Lefebvre's urban phase, urban design theory, Santiago's spatial unevenness and Marxist urban studies. Firstly, the literature on urban studies that this thesis is contributing to is based on a critical stance about profit-oriented urban development and aiming to emancipate urban practices from capitalist modes of production (Amin, 2002; Brenner & Theodore, 2002; Gandy, 2011; Harvey, 2014c). Within the broad and rich literature that encompasses critical urban studies, I have used the critique of how neoliberalism has influenced and transformed the way that spaces are produced, changing completely the disciplines related to urban development. In this approach, it is assumed that neoliberal urban development implies an uneven provision of spaces for people (Short, 2006; N. Smith, 2011), which determines the production of geographies whose spatialities are determined by the fluxes and contradictions of capitalism (Brenner & Theodore, 2002; Harvey, 2005, 2012a). In the scenario of urban disciplines conquered by the profit-oriented logic of capitalism, the possibility of developing a just city is hindered (Harvey, 2009). Therefore, new theories and practices are required in order to amend the stream of urban development, aiming for the creation of more even spaces. With regard to transforming the stream of urban development from profit-oriented logic towards a just city, the discipline of urban design offers a series of possibilities to catalyse social transformations and change the patterns of exclusion characterised by neoliberal urban development (Goonewardena, 2008). Along this line, specialists agree on the problematic reality of the lack of a theory of urban design (Carmona, 2014; Cuthbert, 2011; Gehl, 2010; Stanek & Schmid, 2011). While urban design remains theoretically empty, neoliberalism has filled its practice, taking advantage of the lack of theory. Therefore, it is worth to investigate if urban design has been conquered by the neoliberal project and how. The literature developed by diverse authors makes me trust that the theoretical positioning of this thesis, represented in the object urban-design-under-neoliberalism, is a feasible reality, a possible future, and one that deserves further study.

In order to reveal how the research aims to construct a critical stand-point about urban design under a neoliberal regime, the thesis is focused on the ethical, theoretical and practical peculiarities of urban design under a neoliberal regime. I believe that these three focuses of analysis may shed light on cracks in urban(-)design(-)under(-)neoliberalism. It is important to mention that given the epistemological hollowness of urban design, the definitions of its ethics, theories and practices depends on how to tackle these three concepts. This research categorises the analysis as follows:

Ethics of urban design in this research will refer to the pursuit of definitions of the right and wrong about the production of spaces. For resolving what is considered as a good city as consequence of ethical urban design, I adopted contributions from Marxist theory. George Lukács speaks about socially correct goals as the primary input for a Marxist ethics, emphasizes that “ethics relate to the individual and the necessary consequence of this relationship is that the individual's conscience and sense of responsibility are confronted with the postulate that he must act as if on his action or inaction depended on the changing of the world's destiny, the approach of which is inevitably helped or hindered by the tactics he is about to adopt.” (Lukács, 2014, p. 7). For Lukács, anybody can use individualistic excuses for escaping from the responsibility that every person has to accomplish in society. Of course, the disciplinary field of urban design is working by developing a material platform for the society. Thus, this particular discipline has a significant responsibility in providing adequate spaces for society. In relation to their practice, a Marxist approach to urban design ethics should consider decisions that benefit the majorities increasing the possibilities of equality (Smith, 2010), pursue the common good by a design that engages communities (Lefebvre, 1970) and constructing cities under the premise of spatial justice (Harvey, 2009). This differs from the idea of a city considered as good when its outcome is profitable from the perspective of business (Silbiger, 2009). By enquiring into the ethical dimension of urban design, this thesis aims to determine what is a good practice of urban design in the context of Santiago, and how these practices have been theorised to create a system of beliefs that sustain the reproduction of urban-design-under-neoliberalism. In this research, the most suitable branch of ethics to enquiring the

object of study is applied ethics for professional activities, which comprises the analysis of moral issues in actual private and public life situations (Chadwick, 2012). Given that this thesis uses a case for informing a theory, the ethical approach to urban-design-under-neoliberalism employs a bottom-up model which consists of the way decision-making happens.

“Some writers in applied ethics centre their attention squarely on how practical decision are made, rather than on general principles and theories. They believe that moral reasoning and justification proceed bottom-up, not top down. They point out to our use of existing social agreements and practices, insight-producing novel cases, and comparative case analysis as the starting-points from which we commonly make moral decisions.” (Frey & Wellman, 2003, p. 8)

In the structure of the thesis, the information along the chapter advances for building information capable of having a descriptive understanding of the ethics of urban-design-under-neoliberalism. Moreover, to construct this description, it is necessary to obtain information on the theoretical basis of urban design and the facts coming from its practice.

Theory regarding urban design has an explanatory purpose. It refers to the result of a scientific approach to this disciplinary field in order to explain rationally the way decision-making processes are conducted for producing city spaces. The scientific approach refers to having a method of objective, questions, hypotheses and fieldwork for testing. For the particular case of theory in urban design concerning another phenomenon such as neoliberalism, it explains how urban products are elaborated by a series of social relations that then becomes a practice. To enquire into urban-design-under-neoliberalism, I theorised this object to contributing to developing a body of knowledge (Thomas, 2007) and build the theoretical constructs toward understanding urban-design-under-neoliberalism. The way to theorise it was through assuming that I was analysing a city which was the result of social relations and historical development. Therefore, urban design was only a small component of its process of production, although a significant one in order to understand its spatial formations. I positioned urban design between political economy, socio-spatial history and the very practice of thinking and shaping the city. This is one of the limitations of the research because by

using only these three dimensions for analysing urban-design-under-neoliberalism in Santiago I excluded other significant approaches that also inform this object of study (e.g. health, international politics, warfare, psychology, media, technology). In any case, the thesis embraces the idea that Lefebvre preferred not to put forward a codified methodology with rigid structures for analysing society. Instead, he developed a general orientation of the relationship between space and social relations in order to theorise the urban only as a component of a more general social theory.

“Theory, not method: this is Lefebvre’s legacy in urban research, to which this volume subscribes. Even in those few contexts in which he characterised his own work by means of a ‘method’, he did not prescribe a systematic research formula. Rather, he preferred the term ‘démarche’ (procedure) to indicate the openness of his research.” (Moravánszky, Schmid, & Stanek, 2014, p. 17)

Thus, theoretically speaking, this thesis is not building a theory but providing a set of theoretical reflections that contribute to the broader body of knowledge of Marxism in urban studies.

Practice is the third lens for observing urban-design-under-neoliberalism. Practice, in this case, represents the moment in which the theory becomes an action and ethos are embodied in spaces, ideas, and events in the city. The practice has been a fundamental resource for studying the materiality of social relations from a Marxist approach. This would be one of the persistent calls of Antonio Gramsci to labour (Francese, 2009). Georg Lukács also proposed that a revolution may start in a disciplined practice in everyday life (Lukács, 2014). In the same argumentative line, Lefebvre calls for a transformative practice in urban design. Lefebvre would criticise the responsibility of urban practitioners in masking capitalism instead of assuming a role as potential catalysers of social changes by encouraging people to appropriate the process of the production of spaces (Lefebvre, 2003). In this thesis, the practice focuses on the way the city of Santiago has been produced during the elaboration of the practices related to urban-design-under-neoliberalism. Thus, the urban design practices infuse the ethical reflections and provide facts for building theoretical constructs of urban-design-under-neoliberalism.

The above outlined conceptual references are delineated for methodological purposes, framing the approach to the study. However, the thesis will contribute towards elaborating a contingent and somehow preliminary definition of ethical, theoretical and practical dimensions of urban-design-under-neoliberalism for the particular case of Santiago.

4.5. Ontological positioning of the researcher

Ontology explains the system of beliefs used by the researcher for interpreting the way of searching for facts and truths. Therefore, in a way, urban-design-under-neoliberalism represents an ontology in crisis. In the particular case of this research, my ontological position has a Marxist origin. Georg Lukacs explains that the Marxist approach to reality may be classified as teleological because it tends to describe things about its apparent purpose following a principle guided by human goals. For Lukacs “only in the activity of humans that, as will be shown, consciousness becomes the directive, central, moment of a process really teleological, in which the result of the action is mentally anticipated and then executed in practice” (Lukács, 1980, p. 22). In looking for the way that materialism has been the engine of the reproduction of humanity, Lefebvre’s contribution is changing the logic proposed by Marx, which situates labour at the centre of history, and replacing it with space. Therefore, the ontological positioning of this research is based on a Marxist approach but sustained and redefined under a Lefebvrian perspective: the control of the production of space is at the centre of human behaviour in the post-industrial society; hence, understanding how space is shaped is also a way to analyse how social relations develop in history. In my case, this assumption is fuelled by my own history of life as an urban designer. Based on these experiences of life and embracing the theoretical constructions of Henri Lefebvre, the urban space, rather than representing social relations, is social life itself. Urban represents a series of historical constructions, and spatial dialectics explain its developments. This means, at first, that human behaviour is socially constructed: the contextual conditions, the environment and social experiences define people’s decisions. This ontological positioning fosters the idea that society is complex and research may

only provide subjective interpretations of social relations. Indeed, for this research I assume that the findings and results of this thesis are open to new interpretations depending on the positioning of other researchers, thus avoiding deterministic and prescriptive stances.

Reality is not fixed but an ongoing process whose analysis cannot be fixed either. Given their constant flux, deterministic approaches should not be part of urban studies following the methodological proposals of Henri Lefebvre. Furthermore, “The urban (urban society) is not a prefabricated goal or the meaning of a history that is moving toward it, a history that is itself prefabricated (by whom?) to realise this goal” (Lefebvre, 2003, p. 67). Urban society is a complex formation. Therefore, its study demands analytical approaches beyond the limits imposed by disciplinary fields.

My ontological position suggests that assuming a positivistic understanding of reality would not be sufficient for achieving comprehensive results, but also an interpretivist approach on its own may be not sufficient. The resolution of this conflict is achieved in this research through the use of transductive reasoning, as it has been explained in this chapter. In part, transductive reasoning emerged because Lefebvre rejected the overconfident scientific disputes in favour of the truth when analysing urban phenomena: “The urban phenomenon is universal, which would be sufficient justification for the creation of a university devoted to analytic research on the subject” (Lefebvre, 2003, p. 54). By saying so, Lefebvre highlights the importance of reducing the priority of dividing “research and disciplines that are already institutionalised – the humanities, arts, and sciences” (Lefebvre, 2003, p. 54). For Lefebvre, what is important when researching the urban phenomenon is identifying its contradictions. Likewise, in his interpretation, the main barrier to advancing towards more innovative and useful urban studies was the rigid existence of institutionalised methodological frameworks. “How can we manage to convince specialists that they need to overcome their own terminologies, their lexicons, their syntax, their way of thinking, their jargon, their professional slant, their tendency toward obscurantism, and their arrogance as owners of a

domain?” (Lefebvre, 2003, p. 55). This question is particularly difficult in my position as a researcher, given that this thesis has to be approved, precisely, by a specialised scholarly body who are not necessarily familiarised with Lefebvre’s work or simply disagree with his positioning for developing social science research. Aware of this limitation, I have attempted to organise and present the methodological innovations neatly and clearly, sustaining my position as research on the vast and recognised literature developed by Henri Lefebvre. Transduction, thus, has been my way of articulating the requirements of a PhD thesis with less traditional ways of developing research. Nevertheless, this thesis’s comprehensive approach to urban design and its relation to the neoliberal project, in particular, will require openness in the consideration of not only the research proposal but also its findings and results. In light of that, it is important to stress that the objective of this research from the methodological perspective is to test whether the methodologies proposed by Henri Lefebvre are sufficient for addressing research and producing knowledge for the disciplinary field of urban design.

There is also a set of beliefs that guided my interpretation of data during this research, an ontological positionality based on interpretivism in which social actors and actions constructed the meanings for understanding a social phenomenon. Therefore, my ontological positionality is deeply influenced by my own experience as an individual that was trained, lived, and worked in Santiago as an urban designer. I was 16 when I first visited a *campamento* in Santiago. As a volunteer mending roofs and leaks in shacks built with leftover materials. For me, a kid living near the downtown, the materiality and living conditions of those families were shocking. Just ten kilometres away from my home people was struggling for surviving. Many friends of mine, coming from wealthy families, were living just two kilometres away from that *campamento*, in opulent houses and many of them repeatedly blamed low-income communities for being poor as they were lazy.

After knowing this face of Chile in different territories throughout the country, I empathised with the poor, the segregated, the unevenly excluded from urban life. I learned that Chile was not the tiger of Latin America as our ruling class was attempting to install as a truth. The tiger of Latin

America was only an illusion, a trick. It was outrageous to see how these families in *campamentos* were absent from mass media, invisible to most of the population. Instead, media, authorities, and a great part of the elite was committed to convincing everyone that Chile was an exemplary model of development for the whole world. It was (and it is) a contradictory discourse. Since then, I followed a career in urban studies because I have observed how people became powerful when building a house for their families and how they believe in their own capacities when they have the chance of testing their self-sufficiency. The processes of producing spaces for living empowers people, which is quite necessary for changing the condition of the powerless. The urban production may become not only a tool for empowerment but also a microphone for the voiceless. Santiago's gaps and lacks made me an urban designer so this research aims to fulfil this initial commitment to finding an understanding for the reproduction of inequality and how to change it.

4.6. Limitations of the research

Although this research was carefully prepared and reached its aims, I am aware of its limitations and shortcomings that I summarise as follow:

- a) Henri Lefebvre's framework for analysis. The design of this research has been based on a methodology put forward in the work of Henri Lefebvre. By doing so, I am valorising the contribution to social sciences of a key author, while also embracing the virtues and limitations of his proposals. Lefebvre has been criticised for using an abstract and sometimes convoluted way of explaining ideas. In all the relevant reflections presented in this thesis, I have attempted to sustain ideas with evidence and other works that may help to illustrate his ideas and reduce the confusion in the arguments. In the beginning, I tried to use Lefebvre's verbatim as my own, adopting not only his theoretical contributions but also embracing his narrative style. I realised that this would be conflictive because I needed some distance from his work in order to remain critical of his contributions. I deal with such limitation with the help of my supervisors and with broadening some source of literature.
- b) The absence of a formal disciplinary body of urban designers in Santiago. In Santiago, urban design is conducted by architects whose specialisation made them “designers of

the urban". There are no schools of urban design, only postgraduate programmes. This was problematic for the sampling of interviewees. In order to deal with this limitation, I selected specialists based on their experience and education, privileging those with postgraduate studies on urban planning, urbanism or urban design (abroad). Furthermore, the absence of urban design schools in Santiago made it difficult to trace what is understood as urban design, so part of the interviewees aimed to clarify what was the understanding of practitioners in this regard. Indeed, this is one of the key problems of this disciplinary field around the world, so it is not an exclusive problem of cities where there are no urban designs schools, such as Santiago. One of the aims of this thesis was defining urban design for the case of Santiago, but I recognise that there was a limitation based on the scarce literature useful for informing what the meaning of this discipline in Chile was.

c) Reliance on secondary data. Bowen (2009) explains that work with archives and secondary data may also be biased because the original objective of the consulted sources may present methodological mistakes that are difficult to identify, or the documents could have been designed for a different audience. In order to maximise the reliability of information taken from secondary sources, I attempted to use official information from the government and then test that information with peer-reviewed articles published in recognised journals.

d) Analysis of data. The analysis of the data and its interpretation depend on the researcher's own limitations and personal history. The possibility of a biased interpretation of data is natural in research that incorporates qualitative methods (Wisdom & Creswell, 2013), so to manage the potential inaccuracy of the premises, collaboration with the supervisor has been crucial. In this collaboration, I have had the chance to publish advances in journals and books to expose the theoretical formulations to colleagues and receive some feedback. Also, I have socialised my advances with colleagues to maintain a constant discussion about my position and views, in order to reduce bias. This helped me to reduce my bias and situate this thesis within a broader context of urban specialists of Santiago that also have adopted a sceptical stance before neoliberalism. Yin (2003) states that in-depth interviews may present a bias if the sample is not sufficiently extended,

as it is then difficult to build a representative set of responses and to provide broader data for more generalised conclusions. I reviewed the number of interviews developed by other PhD theses to see how many interviews can be managed by a single researcher. An average of 20 interviews in other PhD research made me decide to aim for 30 interviews, and 27 agreed to be interviewed for this research.

e) Availability of specific data sets. Some data sources were inaccessible. For instance, the information collected by the Chilean Chamber of Builders in relation to housing prices and sales was not facilitated. Instead, they provided some indicators elaborated using hedonic pricing of housing, which is an estimation based on fundamentals. This is not the actual price of housing in the market but a theoretical value. I used this information for the analysis but it presented some limitations to produce more critical evaluations, and I had to disregard some of these analyses. Also, although the Transparency Law in Chile compels the government to provide the information required, in many datasets the information was fragmented, which complicated the evaluation of some indicators in the long term. For dealing with this limitation, I engaged in archival research for finding primary information, but time impeded me to collect as much information as I needed to increase the statistical accuracy of observations. It is recommended to use data sets with at least 30 variables to analyse to ensure statistical significance, but in some cases, this was not possible because the information was incomplete, fragmented or unavailable.

Nevertheless, the findings that emerged from this investigation constitute a contribution to knowledge beyond the recognition of its shortcomings and gaps. Furthermore, assuming a Lefebvrian stance was sustained by the long list of influential urban theorists that use Henri Lefebvre's work as theoretical basis (Allen & Pryke, 1994; Brenner & Elden, 2001; Coleman, 2015; Elden, 2001; Harvey, 1973; Marcuse, 2009; Merrifield, 1993; Smith, 2005; Soja, 1980b; Stanek & Schmid, 2011). Using the methodological strategies of Henri Lefebvre in researching the practical and ethical issues of urban design adds new approaches to a Marxist understanding of urban phenomena, using the case of Santiago as the case.

CHAPTER 5. Spatial dialectics of Santiago: from colonial implosion to neoliberal explosion

“Thus, when historians take into account their own experience in their research into the past, they are profoundly right to do so. They do not mistakenly project the present onto the past; they do not each merely elaborate a personal philosophy of history. For the introduction of the concept of the possible should not be confused with any merely philosophical interpretation of history. This concept, although philosophical in origin, has been adopted in all fields of the social sciences and therefore now has a very general methodological character. It is thus in no way an external importation into historical method, but the formulation of a principle hitherto absent yet inherent in it. We can thus arrive at an objective relativism, or rather a theory of a deeper objectivity which does not exclude a certain relativity. The past becomes present (or is renewed) as a function of the realization of the possibilities objectively implied in this past.” (Lefebvre, 1975, p. 34)

5.1. Introduction

This chapter represents the global level of analysis explained in the previous chapter. It is focused on the historical dimension of Santiago, from its origins as a Spanish colony in 1541 until the end of Allende’s government and the implementation of neoliberalism. The objective is to uncover how the urban space of Santiago has been shaped by an oligarchy focused on creating wealth and defending property rights. Based on the methodological framework developed by Henri Lefebvre in *The Urban Revolution*, this chapter echoes with his description of the formation of the urban society, from 0% of urbanisation to 100%. Lefebvre outlines the existence of a political city, a merchants’ city, an industrial city and the urban society in which we live. Echoing his narrative, I argue that his historical interpretation of the formation of the urban society applies to the formation of the neoliberalisation of urban design. As Paul Jenkins, Harry Smith and Ya Ping Wang exposed, “The roots of some of the major problems faced by Latin American cities in the twentieth century can be found in this imperial period” (2006, p. 243). This chapter presents neoliberalism as a

political-economic project which emerged in the twentieth century but its principles and ideas are already present in the early years of the country. Therefore, in this chapter, the virtual object urban-design-under-neoliberalism is enquired from a historical perspective to understand what were the possible causes that created it.

In order to facilitate the narrative, when the city of Santiago is mentioned in the text, it means that I am writing about the *Gran Santiago* or the *Great Area of Santiago*. The concept of Gran Santiago was introduced in 1960 by Justo Pastor Correa and Juan Honold and it was a category of geographic scale for the city in the Metropolitan Master Plan of 1960 (Gurovich, 2000) developed by these *urbanistas*. However, for 400 years the city of Santiago has been better known in the literature as just Santiago. Nowadays, the Housing Ministry sometimes refers to the Great Area of Santiago (GAS).

The urban history of Santiago may be analysed as a spatial dialectic, which means that the analysis of its historical development situates land at its centre as the desired object disputed among members of society. Therefore, space – mainly land and buildings - is studied as Lefebvre suggests in his approach to spatial dialectics explained in Chapter 4. Struggles over control for the land have been the engine of Santiago's history.

The findings of this research provided a new interpretation of the history of the city of Santiago. For the case of Santiago, the historical narrative articulating urban design and the interests of the dominant class through spatial dialectics have not been further developed before. Indeed, part of the further research that may emerge from this thesis is the development of a deeper historical analysis of the relationship between space and capital in this city. It is a relevant knowledge that appears scattered in the literature but that has not yet been completely organised. In building this chapter, I have used the work of Luis Vitale, Armando de Ramón, Gabriel Salazar and Patricio Gross. Also, I employed the historical economic data developed by the Department of Economics

at the Universidad Católica de Chile. Various archives were consulted to build this chapter, as it was explained in Chapter 4.

The history of Santiago, as it is organised in this chapter, may be summarised as follows: at first the Spanish conquerors struggled for land against the Mapuches, resulting in a clash between the invaders' productive interpretation of land and the sacred land of the latter. A second period was characterised by the imposition of private property by the oligarchs and by a specific mode of shaping the city, based on the aggregation of plots of privately owned land in which the dispossessed were observed as a problem to subjugate. A third period started with the emergence of urban design (*urbanismo*) as a means to divide the city between the *barbarians* (urban poor) and the *civilised* (oligarchy) and a fourth period, called *the city of the masses*, was characterised by the state's strong role in planning the city, in which the whole society was organised to alleviate urban poverty. The city of the masses ended in 1973 with the coup d'état commanded by Augusto Pinochet.

This chapter is the longest in the thesis because urban history is a central dimension of analysis for understanding the implementation and success of urban-design-under-neoliberalism in Santiago. When designing this chapter, I had to exclude some key themes and topics²⁵ of Santiago's history in order to reduce the length of the chapter and also to synthesise the events that, from my perspective, contribute best to understanding the entangled relationship between the disciplinary field of urban design and the political economics that have shaped the city.

5.2. The colonial city of the Spaniards and the holy land of *Mapuche*

From the beginnings of the colonisation of Chile, Santiago represented the core of the emerging nation, concentrating people, activities, wealth, goods, objects, instruments, means and thoughts,

²⁵ The urban history of Santiago has been studied under the lenses of environment (De Ramón & Gross, 1985), architectural style (Boza, Castedo, & Duval, 1983; Eliash & Moreno, 1989; Guarda, 1978), hygiene (Pérez Oyarzun, Rosas, & Valenzuela, 2005), urban poor (Espinoza, 1988b).

in a process of implosion (Lefebvre, 2003). In 1541, Pedro de Valdivia (the Spanish conqueror of Chile), along with his partners, founded Santiago over an Inca settlement, adapting the colonial urban checkerboard model to the existent spatial organisation, in what has been named The Cuzco of Mapocho (Bustamante & Moyano, 2014). While Spanish colonisers expected to transform Chilean land into productive territories for the crown (de Valdivia, 1545), the Mapuche people decided to defend Chilean territories because they considered them to be paradise on Earth (Soubllette, 2015). Therefore, from the early ages of Chile's history, its space has been under contestation from two different perspectives: the land as a resource for creating wealth and as a holy land of aboriginal communities. Beyond the fierce Mapuche resistance, the way that land was used and conceptualised changed in 1541, at the beginning of what has been named the primitive cycle of capital accumulation in Chile (Salazar, 2003).

When Spanish colonisers arrived in Santiago, it was not a Mapuche territory but an Inca settlement with more than 80,000 people living in the area (Bustamante, 2014). Moreover, for Mapuches, this town was the representation of foreign occupation of the country. This explains why Santiago was burned to ashes at least seven times (De Ramón, 2007). The Mapuche leader, Lautaro, said once: "Brothers, you have to know that we are aiming to do the ultimate destruction where these Christians are born, to make them born no more" (cited in De Ramón, 2007, p. 33). The same Spaniards used to say that *todo comienza y termina en Santiago* (everything begins and ends in Santiago); not simply as a productive territory, but as a shelter, a trade centre and the political heart of Chile (De Ramón, 2007; Vicuña Mackenna, 1869).

With regard to the space of Santiago, its configuration was defined as an urban form made of 126 blocks 'available' for occupation by Valdivia and his campaign partners (1541). However, these blocks were only fully occupied in 1580 (De Ramón, 2007). Santiago was the place of the colonial administration, the centre where merchants, artisans and even slave traders gathered for business (Vitale, 2011, p. 11).

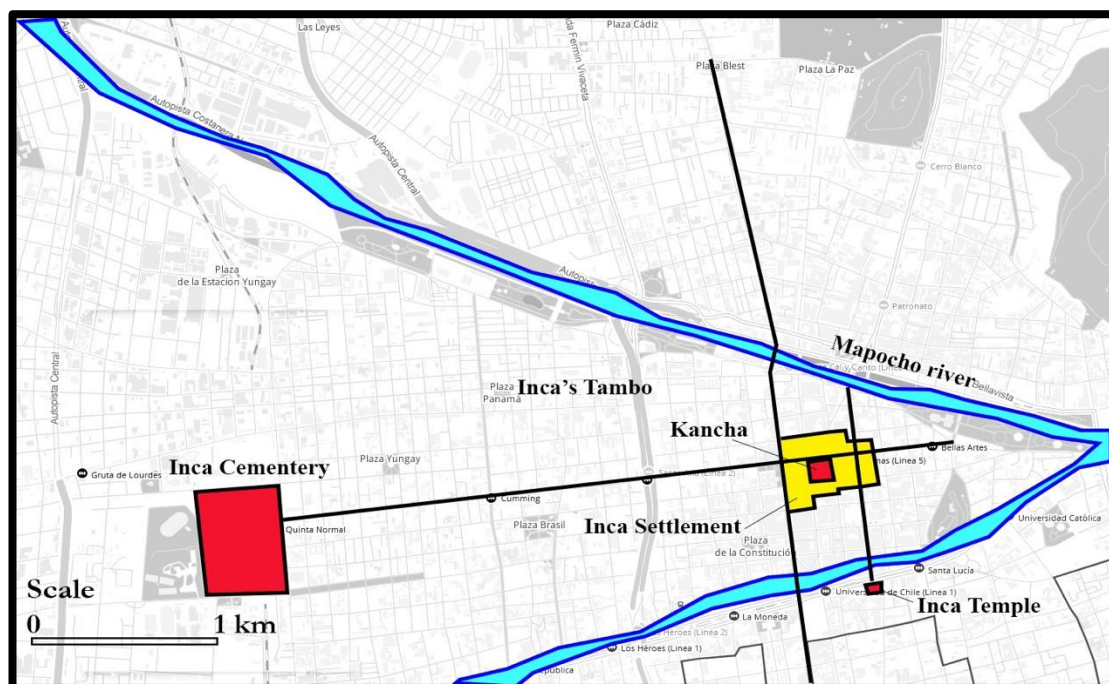


Figure 5.1. Map of Inca settlement beneath colonial Santiago. Source: own elaboration.

With such centrality, even at that time, the concentration of wealth in this town was visible as in many other colonial cities in Latin America. “Though not strictly a form of land ownership initially, this semi-feudal system did mark the beginning of concentration of land ownership, which is endemic to Latin America” (Jenkins et al., 2006, pp. 238–239). An early process of capital accumulation occurred in this city from the beginnings of the Spanish occupation (Salazar, 2003). By exploiting the land resources in the countryside, the Spaniards reproduced their typical colonial spatial pattern, so they used a very specific urban design approach differentiating between spaces for production (farms and mines) and the trading centres (Santiago).

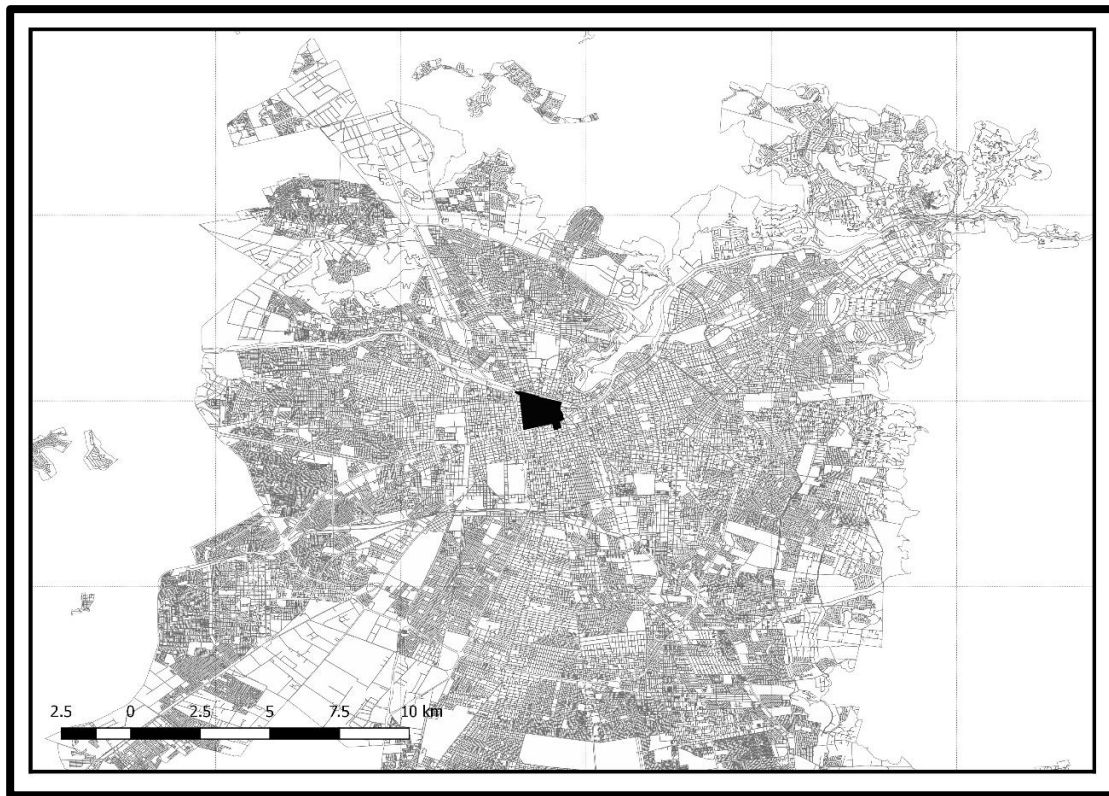


Figure 5.2. Map of Santiago contrasting the foundational space (black) and its current area. Source: own elaboration.

“Outside the centre areas, the Spanish also created institutions to extract surplus from indigenous people, but the precolonial societies here often had no formal tribute systems and thus were much more difficult to exploit. Furthermore, once diseases and conquest took their toll, the indigenous populations were often scattered or small in these areas (Newson 1985). As a result, many of the most important colonial institutions in the peripheries evolved into instruments designed simply to oppress the indigenous population, either by trying to turn them into docile Christian subjects or, increasingly, by simply eliminating them (on the distinction between exploitation and oppression, see Wright [1997])” (Lange et al., 2006, p. 1439).

Examining the urban form of Santiago, the Spanish layout of Santiago adopted the urban design of the Incas: the city was defined by 126 blocks of 138 yardsticks of longitude, separated by streets 12 yardsticks wide. This means that 150 yardsticks (125.39 m) composed the distance between the axis of each street (De Ramón, 2007). In 1541, 126 blocks were created, and some of them were not square given the geography of the Mapocho River, La Cañada (nowadays Alameda Avenue) and the Santa Lucía Hill. This model of the city was predefined by the Carta de Indias, a regulation

developed by the Spanish crown for initiating the conquest of new territories in America. Alan Gilbert explained that some “of Latin America’s most enduring characteristics, language, religious beliefs, pattern of land holding, export orientation and social inequality, were firmly established during that period” (Gilbert in Jenkins et al., 2006, p. 240). The difference between the Inca settlement (Figure 5.1) and the Spanish design (Figure 5.3) is that the Incas understood spatial planning as a way to articulate broader systems of communications between the valley of Santiago and the Inca empire. On the other hand, the Spaniards planned a series of plots of private property in order to exploit the land as simply an economic resource. Cultural differences can be seen in the design and distribution of the spaces – with the Incas these were characterised by a more symbiotic and ecological form of occupying the territory, compared to the colonial network model of production for primitive accumulation (Salazar, 2003, p. 34) that was based on private property and the relationship between a political centre and productive rural areas. The use of private property (as lands and also a labour force) was a key strategy of Pedro de Valdivia. On his arrival in Santiago, Valdivia distributed plots of land to his partners and consequently reshaped the Santiago valley. The new form aimed to ignite profitable activities to make Chilean enterprises viable. Successfully, Valdivia installed in Chile the seed of capitalism, with land and private property as the main resources.

Under the Spanish empire regulations, the legal tool of Land Grants was used to distribute land and labour among the conquerors (Vitale, 2011), which then defined the chequerboard organisation of Santiago’s early urban form. The Land Grants or *Merced de Tierras* defined that all of the land discovered by Spain in the New World belonged to the crown, so its organisation must follow the rules explained in several *Cartas de Indias* or Indian Charters (Silva Vargas, 1963). These regulations basically defined the criterion of a Plaza Mayor at the centre and a series of square blocks surrounding it, to create an ordered scheme (Martínez Lemoine, 2003).

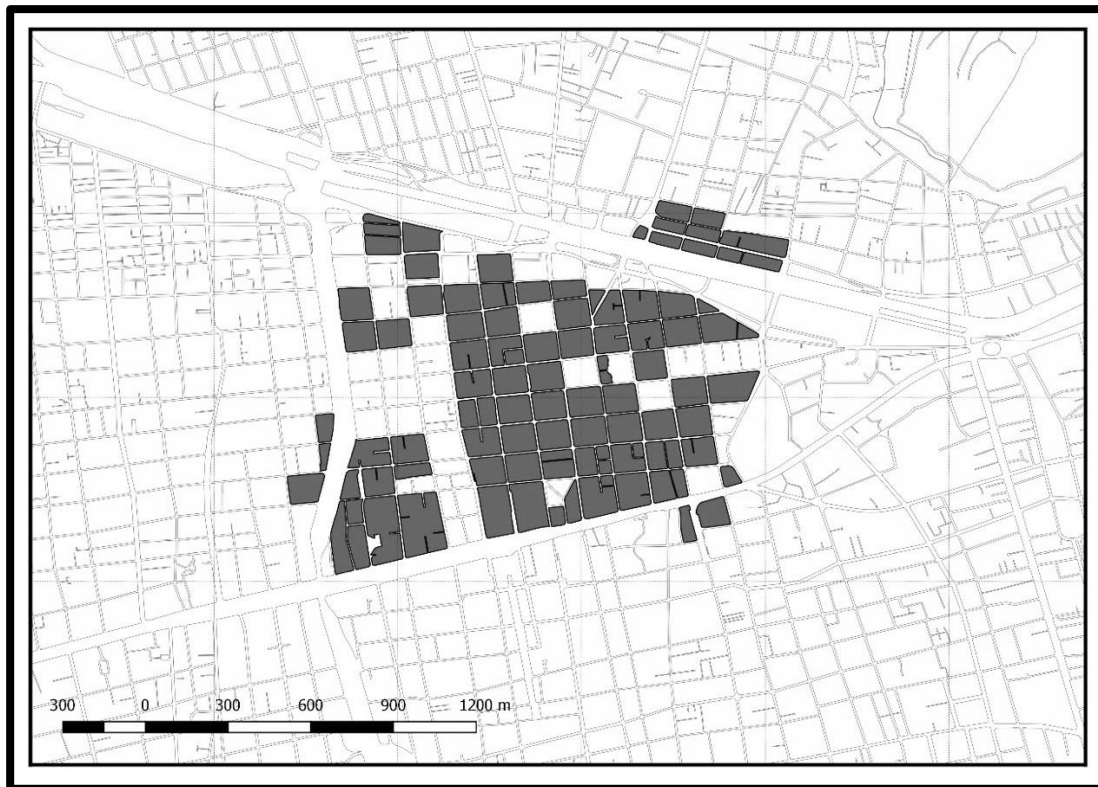


Figure 5.3. Map of blocks owned in Santiago between 1552 and 1575. Source: own elaboration based on map developed by Tomas Thayer Ojeda (Thayer Ojeda, 1905, p. 245)

Because of this way of regulating the urban form, the early space of Santiago was shaped by landowning criteria, with square plots of land over a grid in the territory to ensure that all the settlers received the same portion of land. These plots of land were near a central plaza so that strategies of defence could be organised against invaders (Mapuche mainly) and for gatherings for politics and business. For Leonardo Benévolo, the chequerboard model of the colonial cities in Latin America is considered as the first town-planning model in the modern age (Benévolo, 1985; Jenkins et al., 2006).

Pedro de Valdivia fostered an economy based on extractive activities, so he assigned to his partners a plot of around 2500 m² in Santiago for domestic activities and low-scale productivity (Martínez, 2003), a farm on the city's periphery for livestock and agriculture, a hacienda near the mountains of The Andes, and a piece of land for mining near rivers for finding gold and silver. Free of charge, the settlers received *encomiendas* – a group of naturals used for labour (Salazar, 2003). Valdivia

attempted to organise three main productive factors to sustain his colonial adventure: land as a resource, naturals as free labour and landlords to channel these activities and create wealth and prosperity. According to Salazar (2003), this was a primitive capitalist activity that after years became a competitive alternative to the already strong Peruvian market. Since its early years, Santiago was settled as the administrative centre of the whole territory.

“In 1545, Santiago was granted a municipal governing body, called a *cabildo* or chapter. The right to elect to the *cabildo* belonged to all who held inhabited houses in the town, that is to all who therefore ranked as its burghers or *vecinos*”. (Douglas-Irvine, 1928, p. 466)

Pedro de Valdivia needed to ensure cheap labour for productive activities in Chile, and he obtained it by establishing a series of peaceful negotiations with the aboriginal communities, although this changed with time. While more lands were used for production, aboriginal communities were displaced, producing more violent disputes for the control of land (de Ramón, 2007). Even fiercer was the resistance of the Mapuches, which in Santiago lasted 40 years. For the Mapuche, the use of land as an economic resource was an offence to their culture²⁶, because they worshipped the relationship with the Earth, totally entangled in the natural order – ecologically, being part of a broader system whose control was deemed impossible (Soubllette, 2015). Valdivia was considered to be an enemy of the Mapuche people and he was captured by Lautaro, the great Mapuche commander, to punish him for his crimes against the aboriginal communities (Bengoa, 1996). While the colonisation of Chile brought a horrible death to Valdivia, his entrepreneurial ideas succeeded. A primitive accumulation (Salazar, 2003) was dawning in the productive horizon of the settlers' heirs.

²⁶ Gastón Soubllette (2015) responded to the question "What did they defend so hard? I realised that they were protecting paradise, which for them was worth more than the pyramids in Central America. Indeed, they did not protect the vegetable, telluric or astronomic paradise, no, they defended the type of men that they were, which was the most remarkable creation, a special kind of man bounded to nature".

The dispute for Chilean land between Mapuches and Spaniards was then inherited by the *criollos*²⁷, the sons and grandsons of the Spanish settlers. After years of resisting attacks on the city, finally in 1552 Santiago obtained its Coat of Arms, and was thus recognised as a city by the Spanish crown. In the same year the *Tianguex* of Santiago was inaugurated. *Tianguex* was a central market area near the Plaza Mayor in which everyone (Spaniards, *criollos*, aboriginal) was allowed to trade goods and services. The functions of Santiago were mostly oriented towards trade and organising productive enterprises in the territory (De Ramón, 2007; Guarda, 1978; Salazar, 2003a). Thus, Santiago was consolidated as the political and economic core of the colonial enterprise in Chile, allowing the emergence of a dominant class composed of merchants and military leaders. Land tenancy in Santiago was one of the criteria for becoming part of the Chilean elite (Salazar, 2009).

In 1575, the 119 landowners living in Santiago were composed of what can be considered as the Chilean elite of the time. Based on evidence provided by Tomas Thayer Ojeda (1905), most of the activities of these people were related to the international trade of goods with Lima, military and administrative functions in the city, and also productive activities in the countryside. In Table 5.1, some last names are repeated (González, Rodríguez, Hernández, Gómez, Muñoz, Escobar, Alvarez, Jofre) because the family of the first owners of land in Santiago began to form part of the elite of Chile, which after decades would contribute to building a Chilean oligarchy (Salazar, 2003, De Ramón, 2007).

The urban form of Santiago resulted from the decisions made by 129 individuals who owned land at the beginning of this new urban space, having a grid designed by the Spanish crown. The chequerboard urban model (Figure 5.3) was determinant in defining the development of the city,

²⁷ *Criollos* was the name given to Chileans born in Chile but of European origin

and the plots available for occupation were also a way of organising the new political-economic power of the country. On the space-time axis developed by Henri Lefebvre, the origin of Santiago in the 16th century echoes the political city, a space entitled to administrate, protect and exploit vast territories. The exploitation mostly consisted of agricultural and mining initiatives. From Santiago the strategies were defined for developing activities related to agriculture, the extraction of gold and silver, and also exploring the mountains, looking for minerals to exploit (Salazar, 2003).

In the city, one of the main features of the political city, as revealed by Lefebvre, was that the ownership of land was the symbol of order and provided power for action. These owners controlled the trade and decisions made about the productive territory. In 1600, the decisions of how to exploit a territory of 224,000 km² were made from a central area of 2 km² only (Santiago); and 129 individuals were in charge of the fate of 190,525 people (7,525 Spaniards, 20,000 Mestizos, 3,000 Afro-descendants and 160,000 Aborigines) (Zapater, 1997, p. 488).

From the activities in the countryside, wealth was created and accumulated in the centre. Exchange and trade provided life and movement, bringing new inhabitants to the city and the political functions of the city became less relevant in terms of space than the activities of the growing market. Political activities happened mostly in the church or in the Cabildo, while exchanges happened in the Plaza Mayor, in the streets, even for the trading of lands and labour. The political city “is threatened by markets, merchandise, and traders by their form of ownership” (Lefebvre, 2003, p. 9). Santiago did not put up much resistance to the change from a political to a mercantile city. This clearly changed the scenario of the families that dominated the political-economic relations in Chile. In 1875, only 11 of 108 richest families in Santiago were heirs of the founders.

These families were Barros, Cuevas, de la Cruz, Escobar, López, Martínez, Rodríguez, Valdés, Vázquez, Velasco and Vial. The political city, thus, was conquered by the merchant city. Indeed, most of the richest families in the 19th century were bankers or international traders (Salazar, 2015).

Table 5.1: List of 129 owners of Santiago's plots between 1552 and 1575. Source: own elaboration based on Thayer Ojeda (1905).

Owners of Plots of Land in Santiago (1552 - 1575)

Pedro de Valdivia	Diego de Cáceres	Rodrigo de Alvarez	Pedro Peron
Francisco de Aguirre	Pedro Gómez	Juan de Alderete	Santiago de Azocar
Catholic Church	Pedro de Miranda	Alonso de Escudero	Diego de Orue
Juan de Oliva	Rodrigo de Quiroga	Gabriel de la Cruz	Juan Godinez
Juan de Riberos	Antonio Hidalgo	Pedro del Pozo	Alonso de Galicano
Alonso de Escobar	Garcia Hernandez	Juanes de Mortedo	Juan de Cuevas
Martin de Estevez	Marcos Veas	Pascual Ibaceta	Antonio de Bobadilla
Esteban de Contreras	Gregorio Blas	Francisco Martinez	Alonso de Cordoba
Francisco de Leon	Francisco de Riberos	Luis de Cartajena	Sebastian de Villanueva
Gabriel Hernandez	Frenando Bravo	Cristobal Ortiz	Garcia de Aviles
Sebastian Gonzalez	Nicolas de Aguirre	Antonio Bobadilla	Bartolomeo Flores
Rodrigo Gonzalez	Francisco de Valenzuela	Bartolome de Arenas	Antonio de Niza
Ines Gonzalez	Rodrigo de Morales	Pedro Gonzalez	Juan Jofre
Francisco Moreno	Hernando de Ampuero	Juan Gil	Jorge Navarro
Antonio Valdes	Andres Lorenzo	Pedro Lopez	Francisco Rodriguez
Juan Mallorquin	Juan Gallegos	Francisco Galvez	Alonso Vazquez Ballesteros
Fabian Rodriguez	Diego de Loto	Avlaro de Viveros	Jorge de Leon
Juan Pastene	Juan de Cespedes	Amador de Silva	Antonio Nuñez
Jines de Larco	Diego de Lara	Sebastian Baez	Francisco de Solis
Pedro de Castro	Gonzalo de los Rios	Pedro de Mesa	Vicencio Pascual
Pedro de Armenta	Alonso Dispero	Juan de Barros	Juan de la Peña
Diego de Velasco	Demitre Hernandez	Juan Muñoz	Juan de Escobedo
Francisco Gómez	Juan Ceru	Alonso Perez Moreno	Cristobal Molina
Cristobal de Buiza	Alonso del Castillo	Nicolas de Garnica	Juan Benitez
Juan Ambrosio	Constanza de Escobar	Marcos Gómez	Francisco de Buyes
Andres Hernandez	Martin de Fuentes	Francisco Lopez	Miguel de la Cerda
Diego de Guzman	Rodrigo Jofre	Pedro Martin	Andres Barahona
Francisco Roman	Juan Bocanegra	Pedro de Llanos	Juan Juan Manquina
Juan Muñoz	Marina de Gaete	Juan Ruiz de Villanueva	Juan Sanchez
Alonso Dispero	Alonso Jimenez	Francisco Hernandez	

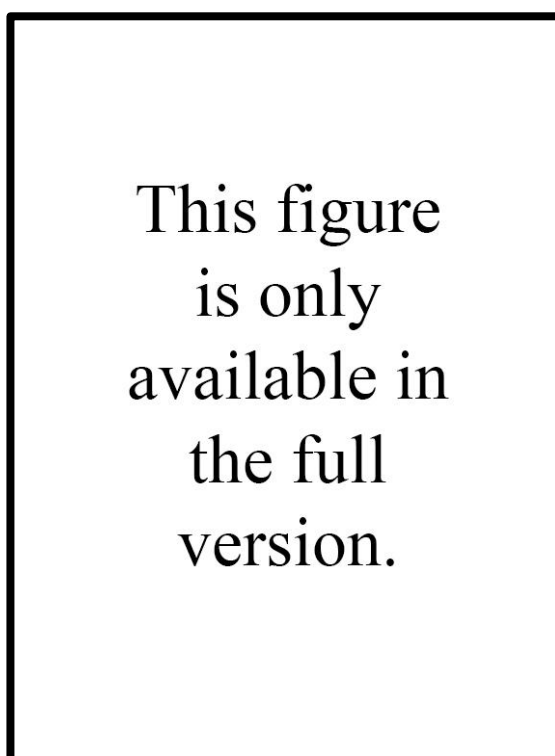


Figure 5.4. Pedro Lira's painting of Pedro de Valdivia arriving into Santiago and organising the city (1888). Source: Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes.

The merchant function of Santiago evolved through a long-term process of changes and improvements, which lasted centuries, from 1600 to around 1810. It was long enough to consolidate an oligarchical dominion in its centre, occupied mainly by merchants whose wealth was built upon the exploitation of the countryside, taking control over land. "The city – not the countryside – was the economic, political and cultural centre of the society. It was the place of the colonial administration, of the entrepreneurs, merchants, artisans and even of the messengers"²⁸ (Vitale, 2011, p. 11).

²⁸ Original quotation: "La ciudad - y no el campo - era el centro económico, político y cultural de la sociedad. Era el asiento de la administración colonial, de los empresarios, comerciantes, artesanos e inclusive de los encomenderos." (Vitale, 2011, p. 11)

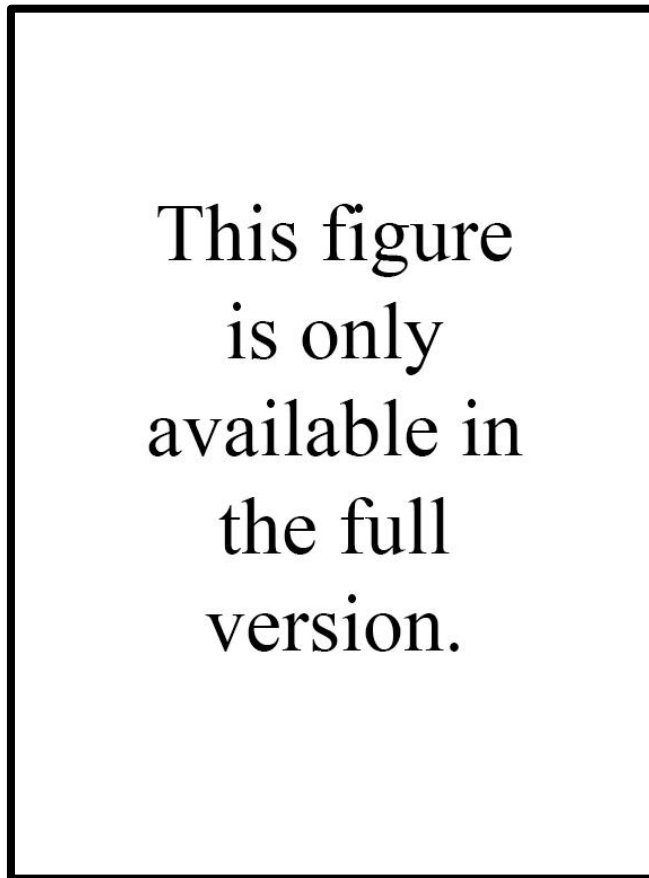


Figure 5.5. Casa de Moneda, designed by Joaquin Toesca. Source: Gay, 1854, p. 23

Gabriel Salazar (2003) explains that this division of labour was also the seed of the division of classes in Chile: one class was composed of mainly farmers and miners, exploiting the land to obtain tradable goods whose productivity depended on labour forces and the international demand. The other class was formed by proto-capitalists whose capacity for wealth creation depended on placing countryside products (as commodities) in the international market.

These proto-capitalist classes had no need to leave Santiago to succeed in their businesses, nor did they need to reinvest their earnings to increase their productivity. While the proper activity of farming fluctuated and resulted in the bankruptcy of diverse producers, the concentration of land

for different types of profitable activities (e.g. agriculture, livestock and mining) would ensure a long-term cycle of accumulation of capital and wealth for the merchants, avoiding the risks of the unstable colonial exportation markets by diversifying investments (Gongora, 1960). The yearly profitability of merchants was always between 35% and 70%, while the annual profitability of the producers never exceeded 10% (Salazar, 2009). A hegemonic social class used the international trading of the colonial market in America as its main resource, and they increased their wealth by exploiting the farmers and miners, and rural life in general. Many farms were auctioned, passing from the hands of producers to merchants, who then rented the land to the producers in order to exploit it. Many of those merchants were *criollos* who comprised the emergent Chilean oligarchy (De Ramón, 2007, p. 83).

During these centuries, Santiago expanded its limits. From 1743 onwards, several maps of the city started to appear in order to frame its limits and define the difference between the urban and the rural. In the early years of the Chilean social division by classes, land tenure was a politically valuable asset only if the plots were placed in Santiago's centre (Vitale, 2011). Armando de Ramón (2007) says that the demographic concentration explained the success of Santiago as city, representing the most attractive space for commercial activities in the realm of Chile and serving as a wealth attractor.

Using the terminology of Lefebvre, Santiago was the core of the implosion process, a physics term used to explain how gravity may concentrate forces to attract elements. In this case, Santiago attracted wealth, political life, capital, urban infrastructure and people. Chronicles of the time suggested that the concentration of power in Santiago facilitated the formation of an oligarchical power. The German geographer Thaddaeus Haenke wrote in 1790 that 172 individuals owned 6,546 km² (Haenke in De Ramón, 2007). This is supported by the findings of Gabriel Salazar (2015), who stated that many of the wealthiest families in 1785 perpetuated an oligarchical legacy characterised by the instalment of their members and heirs in important positions, either as

entrepreneurs, clergymen or politicians.²⁹ A family that owned significant areas of Santiago was a family whose political voice had crucial importance for decision making (De Ramón, 2007).

The concentration of wealth and a bourgeois lifestyle started to change Santiago, making it more beautiful and more appropriate for the oligarchical aspirations. The spatial features of Santiago changed in the 18th century, from a modest style based on simplicity, to a more sophisticated approach to architectural design. This change coincided with the arrival of Joaquin Toesca, an Italian architect who defined a series of significant spatial transformations in Santiago (Figure 5.5). Before his arrival, most of the public works followed the designs of engineers (the most relevant was Juan Antonio Birt) until Toesca took on the challenge of reshaping Santiago (Guarda, 1978).

With the oligarchical organisation in Santiago and the advances in the country, new facilities were required. In 1758 the University of San Felipe was founded, with programmes of grammar, philosophy, law, theology, maths and medicine. In 1779, the Cal y Canto Bridge became the leading leisure space in the city, where the oligarchy gathered to walk around.

²⁹ Salazar explains that the richest families between 1785 and 1885 were the following (116 names): Ossa, Matta, Errázuriz, Tocornal, Cañada, Borja, Valdés, Vic (Salazar G. , Mercaderes, Empresarios y Capitalistas, 2009) (Salazar G. , 2015)uña, Balmaceda, Cousiño, Huici, Villapalma, Echeverría, Undurruga, Real, Urmeneta, Cruchaga, Bezanilla, Larraín, Riesco, Eyzaguirre, Gandarillas, Ovale, Barros, Bunster, Alessandri, Prieto, Edwards, Portales, Izquierdo, Santa María, Lyon, Vives, Infante, Goyenechea, Gallo, Vásquez, Squella, Astaburuaga, Lira, Walker, Délano, Carvallo, Cerveró, Alemparte, Subercaseaux, Iñiguez, Ferari, Puccio, Solari, Orrego, Piñero, Garmendia, Peña, Salas, Escobar, Irarrázabal, Besa, Salinas, Lambarri, Cienfuegos, de la Cruz, Bascuñán, Browne, Concha y Toro, Williams, Ramos, Swinburn, Soruco, Fernandez Concha, Eastman, Tornero, Urmeneta, Pereira, Mathei, Soffia, López, Cuevas, Tocornal, Alamos, Cruchaga, Montt, Morandé, Noguera, Costa, Martínez, Bañados, Dorado, Velasco, Rivas, Sotomayor, Claro, de la Cerda, Goñi, Lamarca, Manterola, Yáñez, Müller, Recabarren, Dueñas, Cruchaga, del Solar, Ortúzar, Plhamer, del Fierro, Huidobro, Lastarria, Larrain, Zañartu, Palma, Gorostiaga, Moxo, Vergara, Dávila, Guarello, Rodríguez, Altamirano, Marquez, Gabler, Fariña, Vial. Many of these family names have frequently been found in the political and economic history of the country (Salazar, 2015, p. 597-630). The sample and connections demonstrated by Salazar are robust.

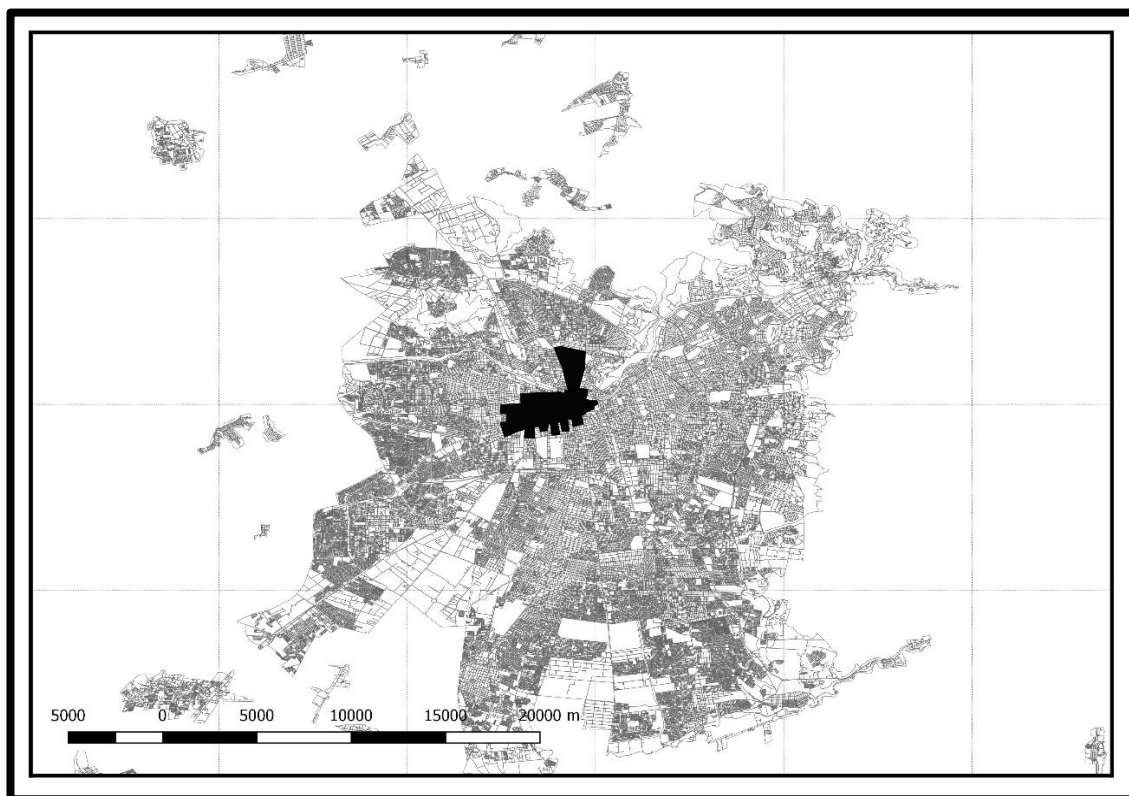


Figure 5.6. Map of Santiago contrasting the urban space in 1743 (black) and its current area. Source: own elaboration.

In 1790 the Mayor Square (Plaza Mayor) was complete with the Tianguéz (1552), the Cathedral (1748) and the City Hall (1790). In 1792, the construction of the road started between Santiago and Valparaíso, facilitating the circulation of capital between the main port of the country and its trade centre. While the oligarchs invested in improving the city of Santiago, they were also concerned by an incipient threat: the urban poor. The urban improvements were not made to alleviate urban poverty. Instead, it was considered to be an issue that needed to be eradicated from the face of the city (De Ramón, 2007; Salazar, 2003a; Vicuña Mackenna, 1872). Armando De Ramón (2007) calculated the population of Santiago in 1690 as 12,000, and in 1779 this reached 40,607, implying an increase of 238% in the population which was reflected in the urban growth (Figure 5.6). The density of the city in 1779 was about 271 inhabitants per square kilometre. The migration from the rural to the urban environment is explained by the wars in the south against the Mapuche (people were looking for a peaceful environment in the capital city), the constant changes in the patterns of economic activities (swapping from agriculture, livestock and mining, depending on international

demand) which produced an unstable labour market, and also the concentration of opportunities in Santiago. Under a capitalist rule, people followed the spaces where capital was more actively reproduced in order to reap some of its benefits. While the wealthiest families built their opulent homes, people coming from the rural areas arrived to the city to find a job. Often, these people were forced to take informal jobs so as to have the chance of settle with their own means. As would be expected, migration and a drastic demographic variation without an urban plan for organising demand triggered the emergence of informal settlements in the city. The oligarchy, frightened by the explosion of informal settlements in Santiago, through the institutional tools of the Cabildo³⁰ ordered a survey in 1779 to determine how many inhabitants were occupying plots of land illegally. Those who were occupying land illegally would then face eviction (De Ramón, 2007).

The survey determined the existence of 2,169 legally occupied houses and 743 informal homes. The levels of segregation were not high at all because the size of the city was not too big enough to avoid interaction between rich and poor classes (Table 5.2). The low level of segregation could imply that the urban poverty was quite visible (Figure 5.8). The urban misery areas received the name of *guangalías* (slums), and most of their inhabitants settled on the banks of the Mapocho river, in the northeast parts of the city (Recoleta, Independencia, and Conchalí nowadays) close to the slaughterhouses in the south of the city. Santiago's urban form expressed the contrast between the wealthy families and the dispossessed – the powerful and the powerless were spatialised in a striking urban contrast.

³⁰ The Cabildo was the administrative council which governed a municipality or district.

Table 5.2: Levels of Segregation in Santiago in 1802. Source: own elaboration based on data from Armando de Ramón (2007, p. 96). Details of its elaboration in Appendix 3.

<i>Duncan Index of Segregation (100= total segregation; 0=no segregation)</i>			
<i>Spatial Unit</i>	<i>Surveyed Houses</i>	<i>Guangualés</i>	<i>Index</i>
1	815	171	3%
2	807	324	11%
3	505	99	3%
4	785	149	5%
Total	2912	743	21%
Segregation		5%	
Interpretation		Low level of segregation	

<i>Dissimilarity Index of Segregation (100= total segregation; 0=no segregation)</i>			
<i>Spatial Unit</i>	<i>Legal Houses</i>	<i>Guangualés</i>	<i>Index</i>
1	644	171	1%
2	483	324	27%
3	406	99	1%
4	636	149	2%
Total	2169	743	30%
Segregation		15%	
Interpretation		Low level of segregation	

5.3. Civilised and barbarians: segregation and land speculation in shaping the independent face of Santiago

Most of *criollos* were part of the Chilean elite in the 19th century. After decades, the *criollos* positioned themselves as the main economic and political force in Chile, although their politics, regulations and laws were still defined from Spain, as the country remained a colony of the crown. The regulations included taxes, administrative control and definitions of strategies for investments public funds.

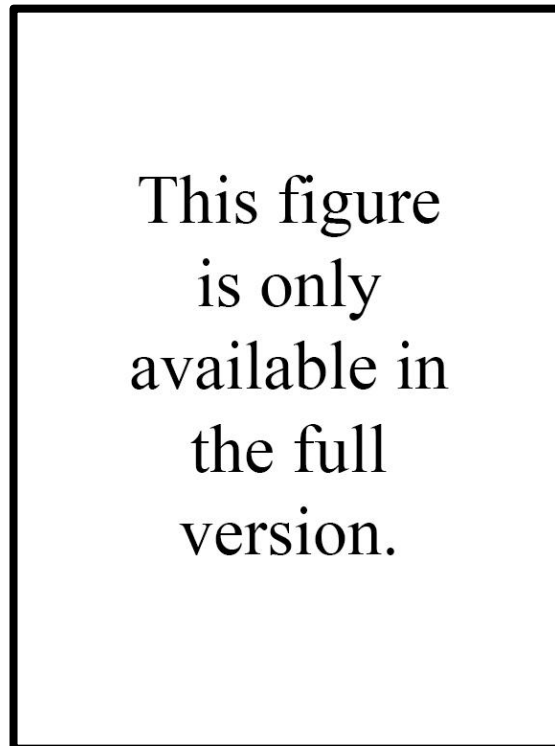


Figure 5.7. Map of Santiago in 1743 by François Frezier. Source: Archivo Nacional de Chile.

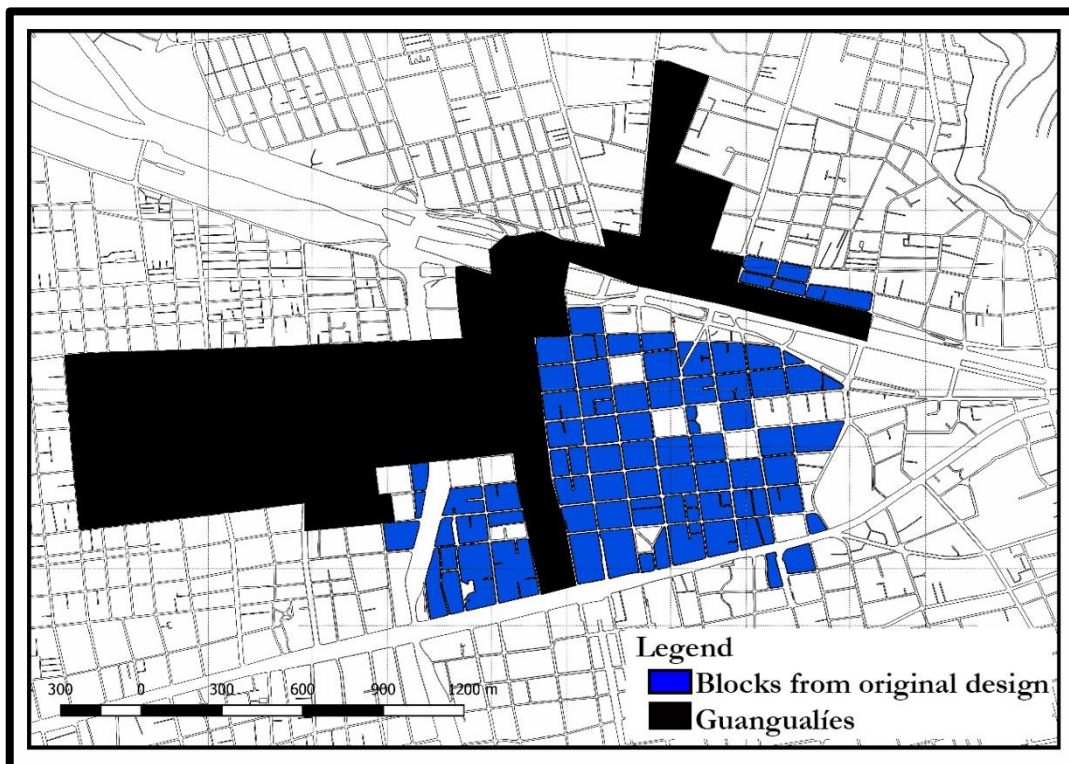


Figure 5.8. Map of Santiago around 1743. The blue represents the blocks of the city in 1575, while the black shows the location of the Guangualies, based on the chronicles of Benjamin Vicuña Mackenna and the research of Armando de Ramón. Source: own elaboration.

Also the leaders of the independence of Argentina and Chile (José de San Martín and Bernardo O'Higgins) were committed to implementing a liberal government in the South of America, inspired by their time spent in England and Europe: “with the fierce support to European and English merchants by the *Lautarinos*³¹ generals O'Higgins and San Martín (in order to get rid of Spaniards) the breeze of changes became a windstorm” (Salazar, 2003, p. 64³²). This constituted a fundamental contradiction between the economic processes, controlled by Chilean oligarchs, and the political power, monopolised by Spain (Vitale, 2011, p. 65). Therefore, the oligarchy, formed by *criollos* and influenced by liberal thoughts coming from England, organised independence from a weakened Spanish crown that in those years was ruled by Napoleon through his brother. The Chilean elite wanted to ensure that the control of the country was no longer in the hands of Spain (Vargas Cariola, 2012). It is important to say that the Chilean leaders of independence spent a long time in Europe,³³ where they became familiarised with the ideas of the liberal project and learned from it first-hand. Historically, the way that Chile has shaped its economics has come from abroad, neglecting the economic systems that already existed before the arrival of the conquerors (Díaz Osorio, 1993; Inostroza Córdova, 2015; Torrejón, 2001).

“Britain, the new dominant European colonial power, and later the United States, used politically independent Latin America to obtain raw materials and to export their growing industrial production, and played key roles in the development of major productive sectors and transport infrastructure within the Latin American economies, always geared towards export – thus establishing a neo-colonial relationship without colonisation. Mining was revitalised due to growing industrial demand in Western Europe and the United States, lower transport costs, and the openness of Latin American countries to overseas capital and technology” (Jenkins et al., 2006, p. 240)

In the concrete case of Chilean independence, various authors have underlined the fact that the country's political and economic transformations followed the liberal influences of the British

³¹ Lautarinos refers to the Masonic Lodge formed by several independency leaders in South America.

³² In Spanish: “Y con el apoyo irrestricto de los generales lautarinos O'Higgins y San Martín a los mercaderes ingleses y europeos (para deshacerse de los españoles) el airecillo se convirtió en un viento formal”.

³³ Bernardo O'Higgins studied in Cadiz and London; José Miguel Carrera received a military formation in Madrid, and José de San Martín studied in London.

political economy (Amunátegui Solar, 1938; Navarro, 2004; Racine, 2010). To fulfil this commitment to the liberal project, after achieving independence, the Chilean market initiated a free-trade order with the stock markets of the Northern hemisphere (Salazar, 2003). In this context, Santiago gained importance as a centre of information for international trading and as a fundamental spot in South America for building business networks. Thus, after obtaining Chile's independence from Spain (1818), the oligarchy stressed a particular function of Santiago: a centre for increasing the efficiency of the politics of the state and for overseeing economic activities. The English liberal influence on the Chilean oligarchy fostered the obsessive pursuit of surplus value and utility as the main logic in decision-making processes. The economic objectives were the same as those theorised by Adam Smith in "An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations" (A. Smith, 1776): the division of labour, personal interests in decision making, the role of the state as a regulator rather than as an actor of economic affairs, pricing, competitiveness and market balances, economic growth, the comparative advantages of the economic features of nations (in Chile closely related to mining and agricultural business), and the responsibilities of governments for ensuring efficiency in the economy. The implementation of the liberal vision in the emergent nation of Chile was a mantra for *criollos* (Salazar, 2003), who assumed that productivity would lead Chile to become an economically developed nation. In the independent Chile, economic growth was established as the main goal. Therefore, those dispossessed were either cheap labour forces or useless for their primary objectives, and consequently an obstacle to accelerating the pace of wealth creation (Salazar, 2003).

The dispossessed had two choices: work for the land owners and contribute to the creation of wealth, the main objective of the nation, or become a vagabond, an obstacle to Chilean development. Indeed, a law established that vagabonds were forbidden.

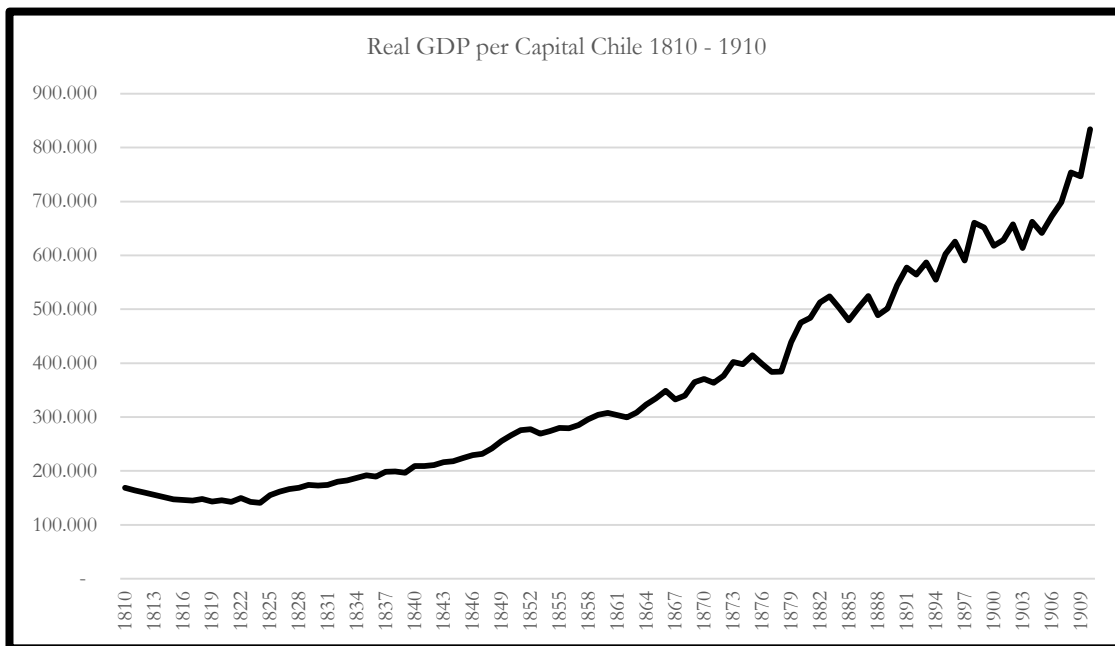


Figure 5.9. Real GDP per capita Chile between 1810 and 1910 (\$=2003). Source: Diaz et al (2016).

No man could circulate the streets, fields or hills without a card of allowance which indicated the name of his owner or master or job. Otherwise, the vagabond would be jailed. Once jailed, they could be rented out by a landowner or capitalist, who paid the local Cabildo for their services. (Salazar, 2003, p. 68).

The oligarchy's control of the state facilitated the compliance of the *bajo pueblo*³⁴ with the rules of a capitalist regime in formation, consecrated by a series of forcefully implemented regulations and laws. Also, the oligarchy understood the importance of preserving certain levels of class organisation. Deliberately, they decided to define segregated spaces for their social activities. If the city was already showing certain levels of segregation, in the 19th century this was taken as a strategy for designing a city in which the civilised (the oligarchy) and the barbarians (*bajo pueblo*) would be

³⁴ Bajo Pueblo is a way to name the low-income communities, coined by the historian Gabriel Salazar in his literature.

separated. To preserve the purity of the classes, the oligarchy needed exclusive spaces to, for example, find love with other members of their own class, so that they could then marry them and forge fruitful families, increasing their fortune and prosperity. Nepotism thrived in a social group living within only 126 blocks of Santiago's downtown, meeting in exclusive clubs (Club de la Union in Figure 5.8), attending the same church, school, university and plaza, and taking the same walks (De Ramón, 2007). New urban projects were therefore developed to fulfil this nepotistic goal. Using the capital from rural exploitation (either mining or agriculture), technical capacities and a growing Gross Domestic Product (Figure 5.9), these urban projects reformed the city of Santiago (Figure 5.11). In 1817, the canal "La Cañada" was culverted and transformed into "La Alameda", a long walkway with four lines of aspens. In 1830, this walk became the favourite of the oligarchy (De Ramón, 2007, p. 101). A series of important public buildings changed the urban landscape: The Palacio de la Moneda (1805), the Municipal Theatre (1857), the Central Market (1872), the University of Chile (1872) and the transformation of Santa Lucía Hill (1875).

Furthermore, in 1872 the Mapocho River Banks started to be refurbished to enhance the structures for flood prevention, and nearby the river, in 1890, the construction of the Forestal Park began. With regard to infrastructural developments, the year 1893 saw the start of the construction of the sewerage system, and in 1899 the street lighting. These transformations exposed a new concern of the oligarchy. They were attempting to produce better public spaces. The transformation of Paris by Haussmann was an influence on the Chilean elite (Vicuña Mackenna, 1872). The oligarchy needed a special spot in the city where they could meet and discuss politics and economics, so in 1864 the Club de la Union was founded. Basically, this was a social club exclusively oriented towards male members of the oligarchy, inspired by the British tradition of clubs for social activities³⁵.

³⁵ Gabriel Salazar in 2015 described how the influence of the British Empire in independent Chile was fundamental for shaping some of the elite traditions. British companies developed many of the industries and extractive activities in the country and by doing so their owners also brought to the country some of their cultural features.

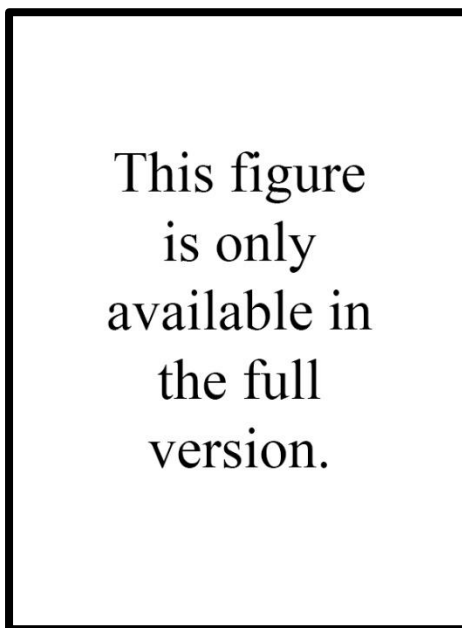


Figure 5.10. Club de la Union. Source: Peña Muñoz 2001, p. 219.

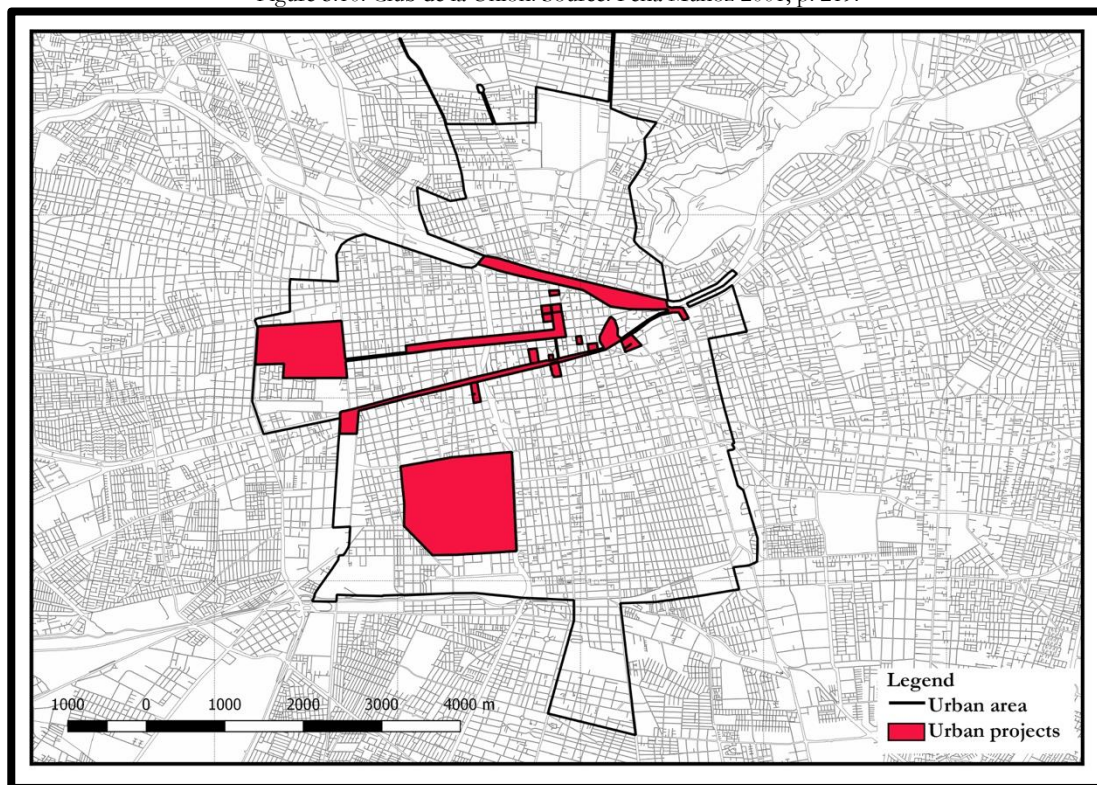


Figure 5.11. Main spatial transformations in Santiago. Besides the size of the city, new facilities and infrastructure appear. Source: own elaboration.

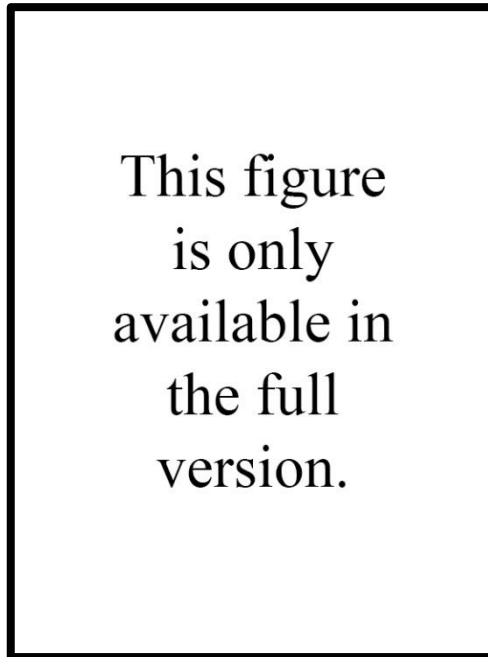


Figure 5.12. Painting of Alameda in 1880 by artist Pedro Balmaceda Toro. Historians such as Gross (1990), De Ramón (2007), and Perez (2016) have exposed the importance of Alameda as a promenade where people walked along and met each other as a means of enjoyment in this significant new public space of Santiago. Source: www.memoriachilena.cl.

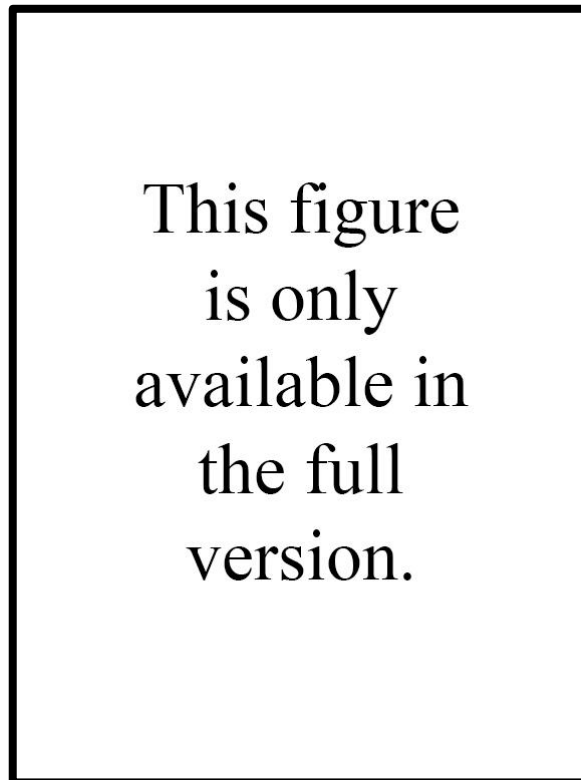


Figure 5.13. Plaza de Armas in 1875. Source: Museo Histórico Nacional.

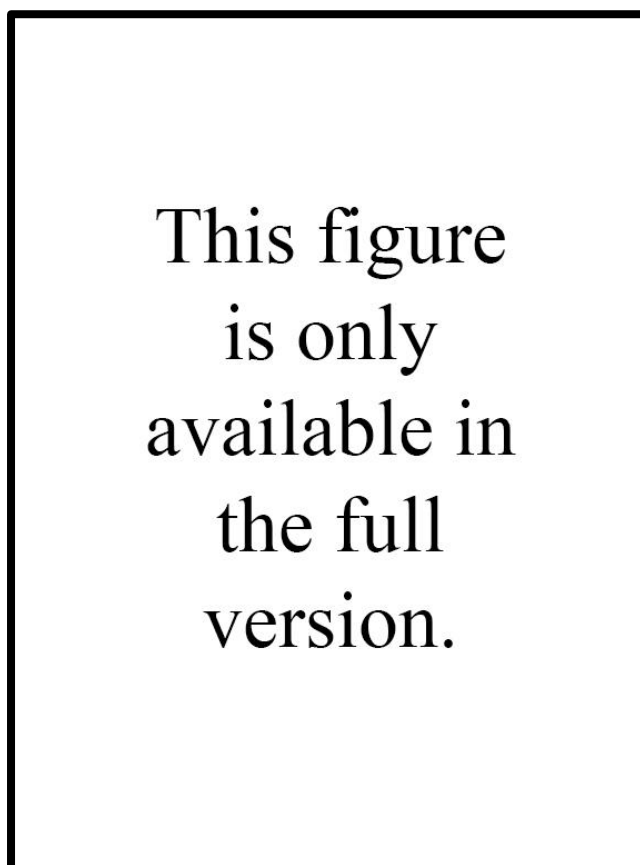


Figure 5.14. La Chimba in 1890, just 1.6 kilometres away from Plaza de Armas. Source: Archive of Pictures of Alberto Sironvalle.

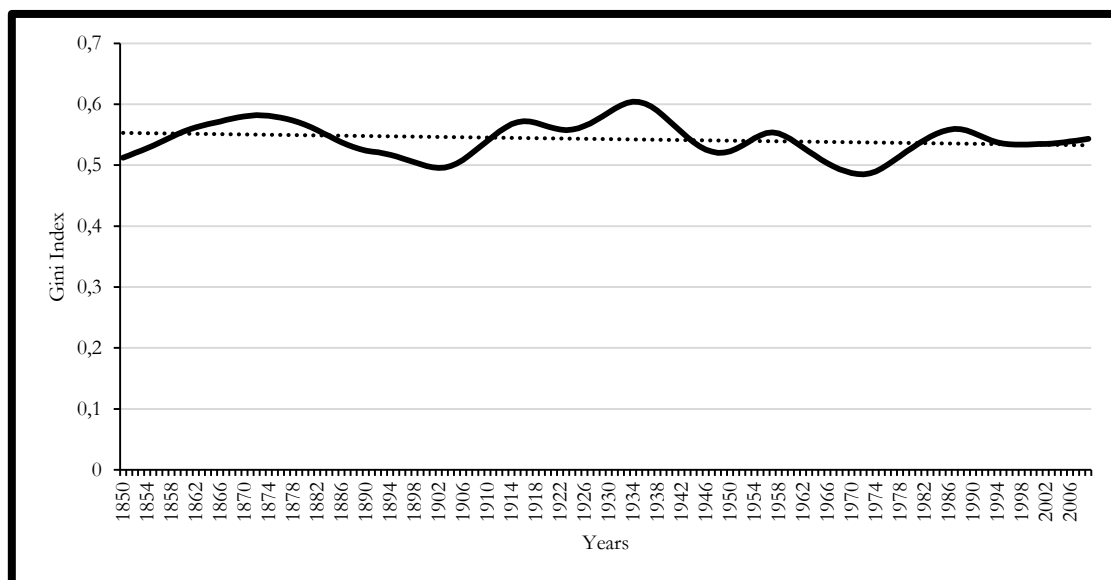


Figure 5.15. GINI Index in Chile. The chart show that inequality in Chile has had minimal variations over time. It is striking that inequality in 1850 is the same as in 2015. The period with best rates of the Gini Index is between 1965 and 1972, under the governments of Eduardo Frei Montalva and Salvador Allende. Source: own elaboration based on data from Díaz et al. 2016; Rodríguez 2014; and the National Archive of Chile.

The decisions taken in the Club de la Union had a vital importance for the future of the country as a whole. Gabriel Salazar says that this club produced “semi-statal” power relations (Salazar 2015, p. 553) regarding the influential meetings and chats held among its members. In Santiago, most of the spatial transformations occurred in the 19th century in response to an ideal: a city for oligarchic reproduction. Therefore, the design of the city was a platform for oligarchical enjoyment, capitalist thriving, and fostering social relations within the same class.

Using urbanisation to starting a process of capital accumulation was not yet a common strategy for the Chilean elite. It was only in the 19th century that the strategy became more commonly applied. Rather, the countryside produced commodities for international exchange, which funded the urban improvements of the early years of the young republic. The capital produced in rural areas was then accumulated in the city in the form of properties, buildings and a luxurious lifestyle; but also the capital in the form of land configured the political power of the country’s leaders. This trend is historical, and the evidence shows how the hegemonic class reproduced social asymmetries that remained stable despite the supposed development of the nation. For instance, the Gini index³⁶ in 1850 was 0.51; in 1950 it was 0.52 and in 2015 it was 0.51 (Figure 5.15). Inequality, rather than a problem to solve, has become a strategy for preserving the political and economic power of the oligarchy. The condition of inequality has been spatially represented in Santiago's urbanity, and this process has been historical. The period between 1833 and 1875, after gaining independence from Spain, represented an era of immense power in the hands of the oligarchy formed by *criollos*. This class took advantage of their new political allowances, and redefined the rules of production to accelerate the creation of wealth. During these 42 years, the oligarchy suffered a sort of delirium

³⁶ The Gini Index is a measurement of inequality within a certain group, country or nation. The closer to 1 it is, the more unequal the sample. For comparison with the GINI of Chile, in the UK it is 0.326; in the US it is 0.41, in Argentina it is 0.42, and in Peru it is 0.44. Comparatively, inequality in Chile is pretty high for an OECD member.

that blinded their sight, preventing them from seeing how unsustainable it was to use slavery strategies under a liberal capitalism.

For some years, the working forces were submissive to this mode of production, which, while highly profitable for their bosses, meant that they had to give up to their dignity as people – they were treated as burden animals, and their anger started to become resentment. After decades of exploitation, the subjugated Chileans decided to stop this abusive relationship with their bosses. Surprisingly, the *rotos*³⁷ employed the same rules as the free market promoted by Adam Smith and instead of remaining bound to jobs that undermined their dignity, they just moved away and found another job. In fact, many of these workers fled the country to work in California, Peru and Argentina, mainly in railroad industries. In a short lapse of 20 years, 200,000 labourers abandoned their workplaces (Salazar 2003, p.72) looking for jobs under British and Dutch employers. The failure of Chilean capitalism in the 19th century occurred only because of the incapacity of the Chilean capitalists, blinded by their illusion of a wealthy life and exploiting to its maximum the abusive ideology of capitalism.

After 1875 the new oligarchs witnessed how their profitable activities were vanishing into thin air; they were guilty of over-exploiting people, and it would take them several years to recover their hegemonic positions in economic activities, now occupied by European capitalists. Nevertheless, during these 42 years, the wealth created³⁸ by the oligarchy was more visible in Santiago's urban space. Different palaces and buildings were reminiscent of fragments of great European cities. The independence from Spain commanded by the oligarchs was neither an altruist effort to foster a

³⁷ Roto is the pejorative name that wealthy families assigned to people from bajo pueblo. Although this nickname had a different origin – the people coming from Chile to Perú were named as rotos by the Peruvians – in the 19th century, saying that someone was a roto was offensive. In this case, the oligarchy named their former workers as rotos because they abandoned them to look for better labour conditions abroad.

³⁸ In 1833 the GDP per Capita in Chile was USD 671, and in 1875 it was USD 1426, which represents an increase of 53%.

Chilean culture nor a rejection of the Spanish lifestyle; they wanted to own the economy and politics so that they could define their lifestyle without restrictions from abroad. Specifically, they desired the material benefits of being the head of a liberal state.

“Construction of new cities also established racial segregation, with a planned central city for those of European descent, and neighbourhoods (barrios) and separate townships for the Indian labour force. Despite the amount of planning that went into building cities and creating the infrastructure linking them to their hinterland, by the end of the colonial period Spanish cities in Latin America were on average small and modest” (Jenkins et al., 2006, p. 244)

One of the referential cities to copy was Paris after Haussmann’s transformations. Benjamin Vicuña Mackenna attempted to bring some of his ideas to Santiago. He would be considered as the first urban planner of the independent Santiago. In clear terms, the urban policy promoted by Vicuña Mackenna presented three strategies: cleansing, segregating and beautification. In 1872, Vicuña Mackenna proposed the eviction of barbarian settlements that housed people "whose intellectual and moral incapacity cannot afford an improvement of their condition" (Vicuña Mackenna, 1872, p. 26). Vicuña Mackenna, just like Haussmann, had a moralist, classist, and hygienist idea of urban design projects that can be exemplified by strategies such as the *Camino de cintura* (ring road). This was an urban threshold separating the civilised spaces of the city (oligarchy) from the barbarians (De Ramón, 2007).

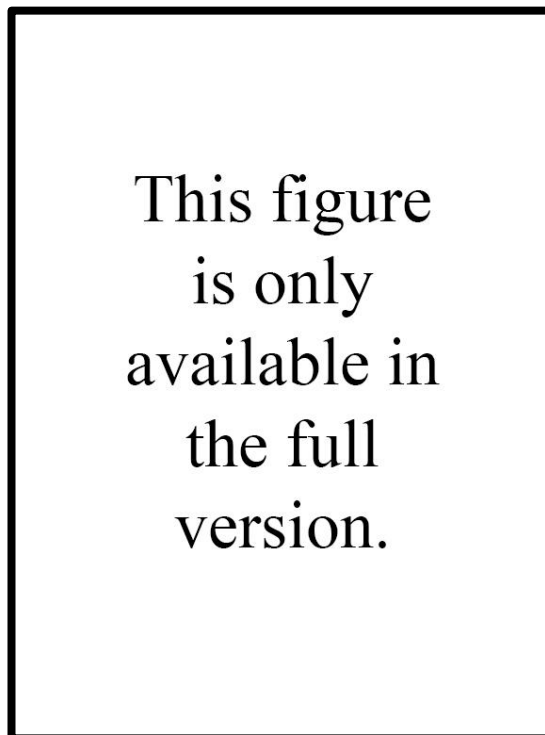


Figure 5.16. Picture of Santiago from San Cristobal Hill in 1888. Source: Archive of Pictures of Alberto Sironvalle

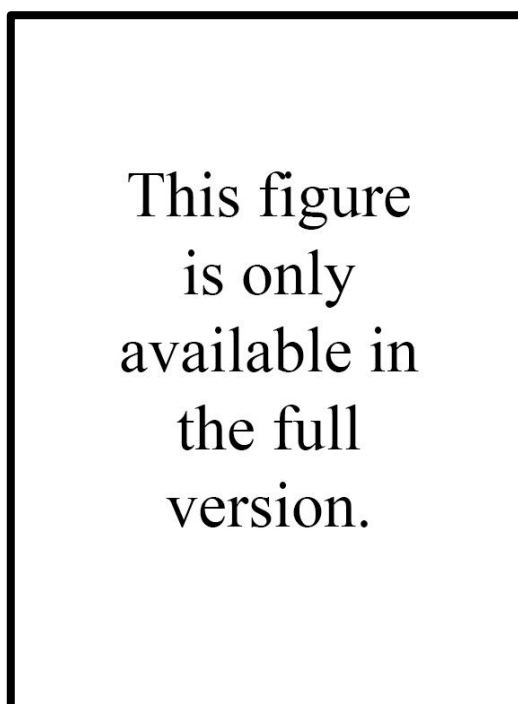


Figure 5.17. Picture of Alameda in 1863. Source: Archive of Pictures of Alberto Sironvalle.

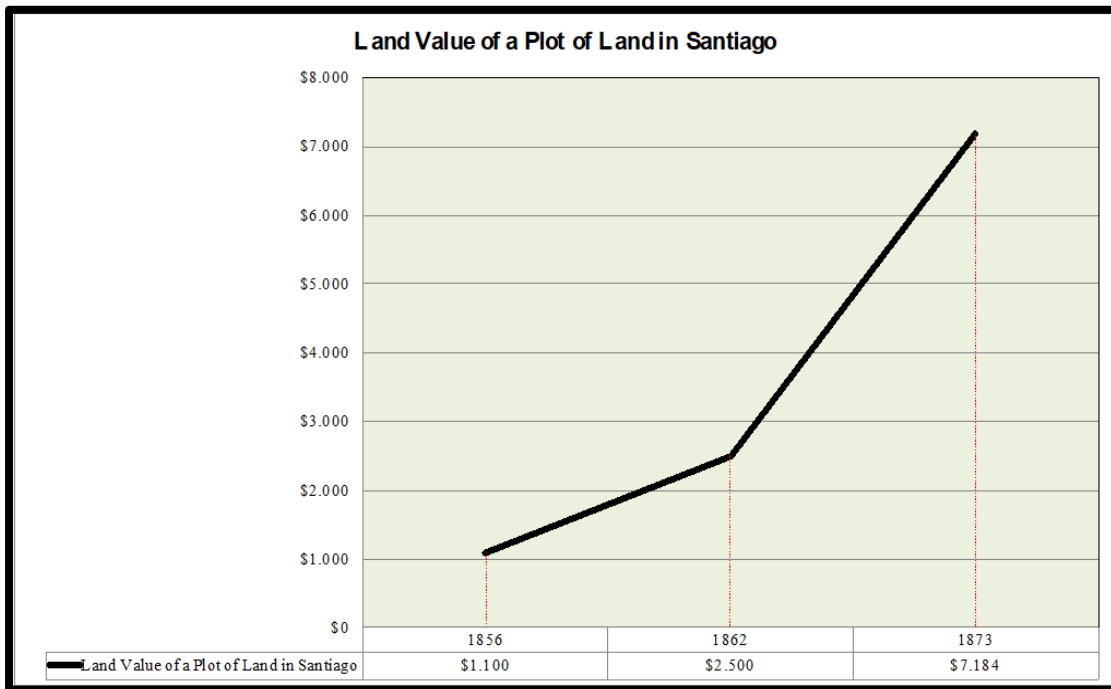


Figure 5.19. Increase in the Land Value of Plots in the centre of Santiago between 1856 and 1873. The line of the chart shows how drastic was the change in value in a short period Source: own elaboration based on De Ramón 2007.

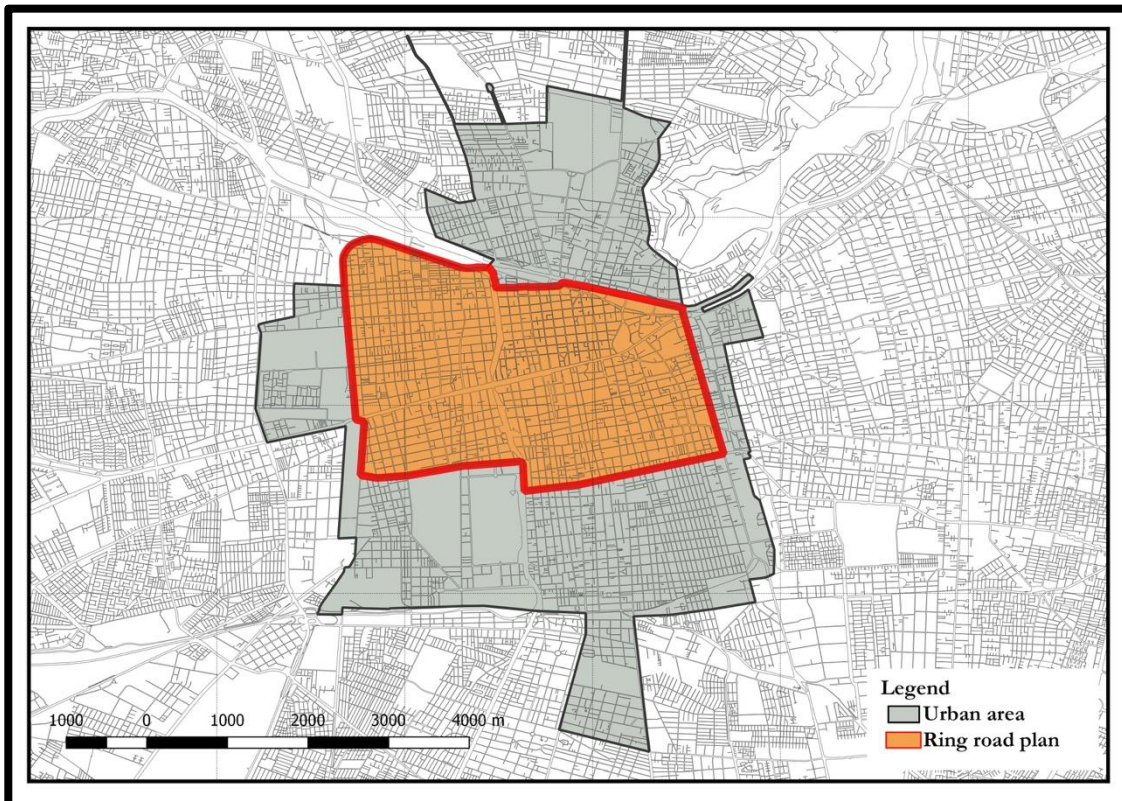


Figure 5.18. Plan of Camino de Cintura developed by Benjamin Vicuña Mackenna in 1872. The ring road appears in red – its purpose was to segregate the civilised from the barbarian. Nowadays these streets are Mapocho on the north side, Matucana on the west side, Matta in the south and Vicuña Mackenna in the east. Source: own elaboration.

The project was never built (Figure 5.18); nevertheless, the elite found in Vicuña Mackenna's plan a representation of their aspirations and a method to urbanise their spatial desires of greatness, especially when the project considered the division of city by classes, separating their sacrosanct civilised lifestyle from the rude barbarians. Beyond the classist considerations of the initiative promoted by Vicuña Mackenna, this is considered to be the first comprehensive urban planning project that aimed to transform Santiago's public spaces, organise the city and enhance its services and functions. Although classist, the project of Vicuña Mackenna has an altruist goal: He thought that the barbarians needed to be educated in order to make them fit into the society that the elite were imagining. In a way, the spirit of the project aspired to build a better community, although the methods suggested are questionable.

The attention to the urban spaces given by Vicuña Mackenna from his position as Intendent of Santiago fostered discussions about how to make Santiago a better city from the perspective of capital. Slowly, the processes of urbanisation would appear as a succulent resource of wealth. Although not systematically yet, the real-estate business started to be seen as a very profitable activity after some people began to purchase land plots near the city centre, planning to construct buildings for the real-estate market, as prices in Santiago's downtown were booming (Figure 5.19). For example, in 1856, the exchange value of a plot of land in Alameda was \$1,100 per plot, in 1862 it was \$2,500 per plot, and in 1873 it was \$7,184 per plot (De Ramón, 2007, p. 143). In just 17 years the land value increased 6.5 times. With these kinds of operations, the oligarchy realised that capitalism might develop cycles of capital accumulation through the production of space, which then would be fundamental to understanding the role of the disciplinary field of urban design and land property rights in the 20th century.

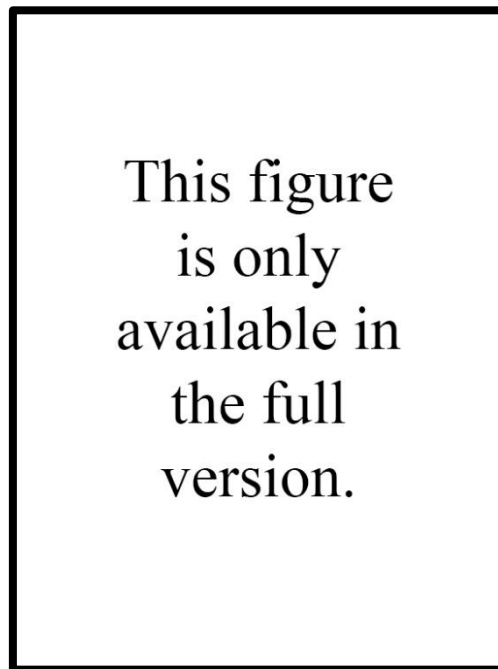


Figure 5.20. Coaches waiting for passengers in Central Station in 1895. Source: Archive of Pictures of Alberto Sironvalle

The interests of capitalism were considered as a priority for the emerging Chilean state (Salazar, 2003, p. 60). A deregulated market for urban land, in which the democratic state was an important stakeholder, shaped a speculative practice. These years were a boom period for the construction industry: between 1880 and 1965 this economic activity contributed an average 10.8% to the GDP. The building of the Chilean republic was considered a significant investment in the business of construction, becoming one of the main activities that was capable of fluently transferring public funds to private activities under the reasonable justification of building spaces for the sake of the public good. For example, building a park or a highway was imperative for improving the quality of life of people, but also it was a quite profitable business for the builder. In concrete, a political oligarchy assigned public funds to a capitalist oligarchy. Many of these decisions were made in El Club de la Union (Salazar, 2015), among friends or even relatives. For some foreign observers, the Chilean government and policies were shocking, given their classist nature.

In 1873, Horace Rumbold stated that private property was the source of the political power of the Chilean oligarchy, a statement supported by Theodore Child (1890), who added that this source of political power was entirely concentrated in Santiago's land. The severity of these problems was increasingly clear to the eyes of the elite and visitors. Foreign investors did not feel tempted to invest their capital in a city that looked poor and unhealthy; neither did they want to do business with people who ignored the problems right in front of their noses. Therefore, rather than an altruistic concern for improving collective spaces, the transformation of Santiago's public space was a matter of business. In order to heal these issues, the Organic Law of Municipalities was promulgated in 1854. It assigned to the mayors the role of organising and defending private property in the city. The method for implementing this defence was defined in the Constitution of 1833 (Salazar, 2003), which established that the dispossessed should find rightful livelihood means (by working for the oligarchy). It also exalted the life of the oligarchs as exemplar, attempting to define by law a moral code of behaviour in society (De Ramón, 2007). Through this law, the state led the division by social classes, denying basic rights to the dispossessed.

Diverse factors coincided to accelerate urbanisation in Santiago: migration from the rural to the urban, looking for better opportunities for earning a livelihood; demographic changes; new technologies and infrastructural necessities such as trams, cars and trains; sanitation problems and the urgency of creating a healthier environment; and the good business that the very process of urbanising a territory seemed to be. Land tenancy in the countryside, and especially in the urban areas, was adopted as a fruitful method of preserving the wealth of a family; it would also become a key factor in the ability to exercise political power (Bengoa, 1999; Salazar, 2003a). New disciplines and institutions would be required to manage the urban development processes by constructing spaces that, beyond having functionality and beauty, would also be profitable. With this need for specialisation, the discipline of urban design (named *urbanismo* in Chile) was introduced to the Chilean oligarchy in the same way that liberal ideas were presented during the independence period: elite members visiting European cities and meeting influential intellectuals in the field of urban studies.

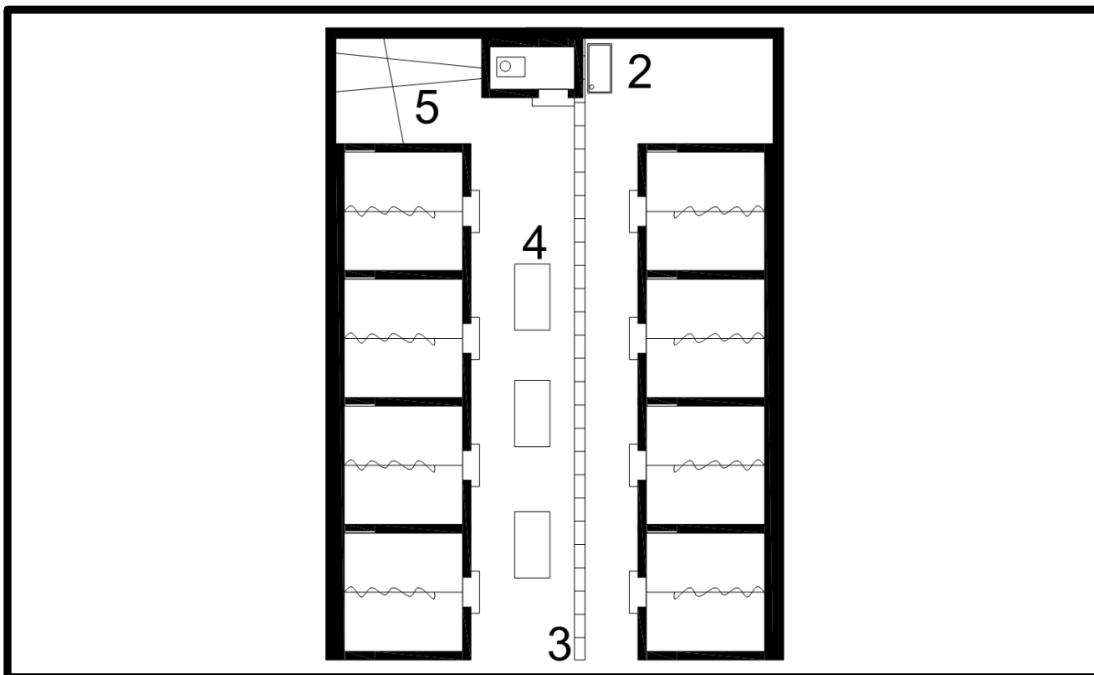


Figure 5.21. Conventillo's scheme of distribution. This typology has a central corridor and rooms alongside. In this drawing, the rooms (1) are divided by a central curtain that allows the use of more than one family per space. Number 2 corresponds to a toilet with a water tap for the whole community, number 3 is the ditch (open sewage), number 4 is a series of tables for multiple activities such as cooking or washing clothes, and number 5 is an area for hanging up clothes and drying them. Source: own elaboration

On the timeline proposed by Lefebvre, this stage of urban history corresponds to the moment at which the merchant city is transformed into a capitalist city. The merchant, oriented to produce goods for export, is replaced by the capitalist and the emergence of industries in urban areas will provoke an increasing process of migration from the rural to the urban, initiating the process that Lefebvre named the urbanisation of society.

5.4. The *conventillo* and the social question: the city as a political arena of spatial contestations

In the beginnings of the 20th century, the technological advances in agro-industry implemented in California, Australia and Great Britain undermined significantly the demand for grains from Chile.

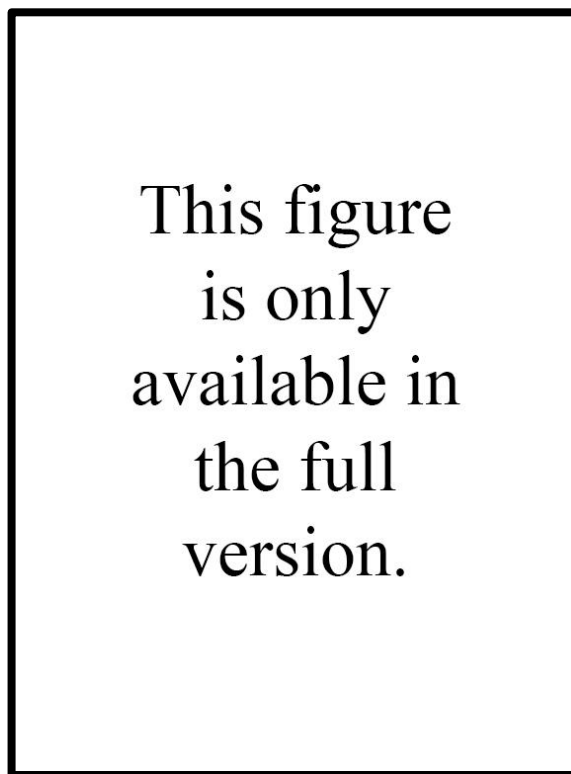


Figure 5.22. Conventillo entrance in Mapocho Street, 1920. Source: Archive of Pictures of Alberto Sironvalle.

The contribution of agricultural activities to the GDP reduced from 12% in 1879 to 6% in 1912 (Díaz, Lüders, & Wagner, 2016). This agricultural crisis was accompanied by the decline of saltpetre production, a principal economic resource at that time, the demand for which reduced by 58% between 1916 and 1924 (Gonzalez Miranda, 2014). Both activities represented main job providers in Chile and both were based on exploitation of the countryside, either in agricultural fields or mines. These economic changes may explain the huge increase in migration from the rural to the urban from 1900. Historical research reveals that 960,298 people moved to live in Santiago between 1907 and 1960 (De Ramón, 2007). This number is significant considering that in 1895 the population of Santiago was 256,403 and by 1960 it was 1,521,831, which represents an increase of 493%.

This intense process of migration from the rural to the urban demanded significant transformations in the urban space. While in 1850 the rural population represented 80% of the total population of Chile, in 1895 it had fallen to 54% (Díaz et al., 2016). Between 1890 and 1940 the number of people living in urban areas increased from 1,223,407 to 2,639,311; and Santiago's population increased from 290,000 in 1895 to 952,075 in 1940, which represented a concentration of 36% of the whole urban

population. Despite the economic growth, the political organisation and the advances in the formation of a democratic republic, Santiago was not prepared for such challenges, and new knowledge was needed to reconcile this demand for space with the necessities of its inhabitants. After years of developing the city from the perspective of private spaces, public space arose as an urgent matter. Dispossessed people coming from rural areas were forced to live in precarious and unhealthy conditions, which was also damaging to how the elite perceived their city. Nevertheless, many landlords were taking advantage of this migration and developing a series of businesses related to the provision of cheap accommodation in Santiago, renting rooms to people or families looking for livelihood opportunities in the main city of the country. This new scenario reshaped the city and new typologies emerged to cover the demand for shelter.

Among them, the most common typology of settlement occupied by the low-income inhabitants of Santiago was known as *conventillos* (De Ramón, 2007; De Ramón & Gross, 1985). It was a type of basic accommodation composed by a room without windows, toilet or sewerage (Figure 5.21; 5.22; 5.23). These facilities sheltered several individuals per room, living together in a shared house, paying rent to the owner of the building, who was usually an oligarch who had built a cheap house to establish a *conventillo* business – renting low-quality accommodation at high prices. Besides the alienated nature of this business, there were the health problems associated with *conventillos*. Indeed, sanitation was a massive issue in the Santiago of the early 20th century.

These conventillos were a highly profitable business for the landlords (Gross, 1990, p. 75) because the price of renting was much higher than the investment, and most of the rented houses did not have any kind of maintenance or facilities at all. Indeed, sometimes the landlord only rented a plot of land for the tenants to build their own spaces on with cheap materials (usually in wood and metallic sheet). This mode of wealth creation exposed a condition that several foreign scholars found concerning. Horace Rumbolt (in De Ramon, 2007) said that this phenomenon was easily explainable because Santiago was a city created by an oligarchical government whose interest was not the public domain and collectivity but the development of private wealth. The centrality represented by Santiago absorbed most of the country's wealth, making it an expensive city, especially for the poor. For Rumbolt, it was also dramatic that the buildings of the oligarchy were built so close to slums, making misery a postcard of the very centre of Santiago (Rumboldt, 1877 in Godoy Urzúa, 1981). Moreover, inadequate housing (either conventillos, informal settlements or the homeless) composed 70% of the accommodation in Santiago in 1870 (De Ramón, 2007).

In the 19th century, the urban form of the city followed private property expansion, rather than a coordinated idea of urbanity. When the number of people living in informal and precarious conditions increased drastically at the beginning of the 20th century, it became a threat to the oligarchical idea of the city as well as to their health. The clash between two ways of occupying the city, the palace and the conventillo, forced the introduction of new understandings and specialisations of the urban development process.

In 1891, Chile entered into what has been named as the parliamentary regime (Salazar, 2003a). After the crisis of 1875, the oligarchy organised itself to occupying positions in the state, which also represented a significant increase in the expenses of the fiscal administration (from 3.6% share of the GDP in 1860 to 7.6% in 1890). In the state (government, congress and judiciary power) they found a means to preserve their status of social dominance. Indeed, the elite professionalised politics as a career (Salazar 2015), and many of them changed from the life of a merchant to become mayors of a city, members of parliament or employees of the government.

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Figure 5.23. Conventillo's central space in Brasil Street, 1920. Source: Archive of Pictures of Alberto Sironvalle.

Table 5.3: Income Distribution per population income deciles in Chile between 1865 and 1930. Source: Rodríguez 2009

<i>Deciles</i>	<i>1865</i>	<i>1885</i>	<i>1907</i>	<i>1930</i>
1	4%	3%	3%	2%
2	4%	3%	4%	2%
3	4%	5%	4%	2%
4	5%	5%	5%	3%
5	5%	6%	5%	3%
6	5%	6%	5%	5%
7	7%	8%	6%	5%
8	7%	8%	10%	7%
9	10%	11%	14%	11%
10	49%	45%	44%	60%

This period marked the formation of what Gabriel Salazar called the Chilean political class (Salazar, 2015); most of their members moved to live in Santiago, concentrating in their hands the control of land, politics and the economy. Charles Wiener in 1888 described the Chilean elite as a group of aristocratic oligarchs who excluded the majority from the decision making on public affairs. Data confirms Wiener's perception (Table 5.3), as the concentration of incomes in the richest 10% increased from 49% in 1865 to 60% in 1930. Javier Rodríguez (2009) estimates that in 1865 the richest 1% received 21% of income, which then increased to 27% in 1930.

In shaping the parliamentary republic, the oligarchy aimed to ensure its dominance over the population and the fate of the country. Control had obsessed the Chilean oligarchs since the early years of the colony. Several historians conceptualise how the Chilean oligarchy always felt afraid of the different, of the *rotos*. For Salazar (2003) and De Ramón (2007), this may be explained by the historical trauma of the Mapuche invasions and the several destructions of cities that occurred in

the Arauco War. De Ramón (2007) says that this was a constant concern in the psyche of generations of oligarchs. If, initially, the fear was of the Mapuche, it then became of the *roto* and in the twentieth century the urban poor were feared. Controlling the country was a measure for controlling their fears and keeping possible insurgencies of the urban poor in line. From my interpretation, this fear may also explain the obsessive aspiration for private property and the sacrosanct defence of the rule of law. The palace, then, was not only an asset or a space for the oligarchs to live in, but also a means of isolating their integrity from the scary public space. The elite used all the power of the state to defend their agoraphobic lifestyle.

The parliamentary republic produced a series of significant spatial transformations in the country, because a great share of the fiscal budget was invested in infrastructure and urbanisation (Braun, Braun, Briones, & Díaz, 2000; De Ramón, 2007). For example, the state started to buy plots of land in cities like Santiago. Indeed, given that most of the land was already in the hands of oligarchs (now politicians and governmental officers) urbanisation and infrastructural construction was a circular business in which the state financed the wealth creation of an oligarchy in crisis. Hence, the public funds were used for financing government facilities, public buildings, parks and other needs that the city required for functioning properly. It is important to mention that the highest productivity per worker between 1890 and 1930 was in the mining sector (\$10,479,774 Chilean pesos of contribution to the GDP per worker) and in construction (\$5,491,733 Chilean pesos of contribution to the Gross Domestic Product per worker). Although manufacturing was increasing its contribution to the wealth of the nation, constructors and miners were the most contributive workers. Chilean capitalism depended significantly on producing value from land, either as minerals or buildings.

With the migration from rural to urban areas, low-income workers changed their minds. The city of Santiago allowed people to meet in the space, and they realised that their living conditions were not affecting just a few, but many others. The *bajo pueblo* became aware of their alienated condition.

Furthermore, they had access to information, education and books, and leaders started to emerge from the dispossessed masses. The city of Santiago was framing these realities: the urban poor and the wealthy oligarch, the *conventillo* and the palace, the civilised and the barbarian. The clash between those who owned the land and those who worked the land would produce new politics of space and an incipient contested city that would unveil the necessity of a disciplinary approach to the urban problems emerging.

It is possible to say that between 1890 and 1930 two streams of urban transformations occurred in Santiago: one related to architecture and the other related to relieving several urban problems associated with sanitation and the consequences of the explosive migration from the rural areas. In relation to architectural transformations, these received a boost with the celebration of 100 years of the republic in 1910. Significant efforts were made to build spaces that represented how this young country had thrived in so short a time. Thus, Santiago experienced the rising of the Justice Palace, the Beaux Arts Palace, the National Library, the Mapocho Train Station, The Forestal Park, the Centenario Park and the landscape improvements on San Cristobal hill. All these buildings aimed to foster a public life in the city, incorporating new functions and enriching urban life. On the other hand, while the oligarchy built these works for the sake of the beauty of the city based on an European nostalgia (De Ramón, 2007), the rest of the population started to organise themselves to demand better spatial conditions. They would find an echo in some of the politicians who were most committed to their role as representatives of the people.

One of the main concerns was related to the urgent necessity for sanitation in Santiago. This was the hygienist urban transformation, based on various regulations and analyses of the city, exposing the differences between the spaces of the poor and the spaces of the elite (Ibarra in Perez, 2016). Before the hygienist reforms, the child mortality rate had peaked at a high rate of 30% (Díaz et al., 2016). Among several causes, the urban space and the housing were considered to be the main causes of the problem and so they formed the focus of the search for solutions. The demand for

shelter was much larger than the available housing accommodation considered to be healthy. In 1906 the state promulgated the Law on Labour Housing, which aimed to hygienise, normalise and define the way to build houses. In spite of the apparent good intentions behind this norm, the state only built 396 houses between 1906 and 1925 (Gross, 1990, p. 79). Faced with this inadequate solution, the middle classes started to become aware of a class consciousness, while the urban poor began to organise themselves to protest against the abuses of the oligarchy, radicalising their strategies for protesting (Espinoza, 1988a).

With regard to the urban poor, the politicians considered them as a hygiene problem until 1925. Nevertheless, the problems of the lower classes were also ideological, as they started to become aware of the unjust society around them and the fact that in a democracy they had the right to demand fairer treatment. From diverse sources and international literature, the urban poor started to look for a way to politicise their claims, exacting transformations in the political system. Capitalism was not a panacea, and the people started to conceptualise their discontent. Various members of the elite with social consciousness became critical of their privileges and supported the political formation of the lower classes.

The differences between the oligarchy and the urban poor were no longer only visible in the spatial dimension; from 1920 onwards this issue turned into a political dimension for transforming what was considered to be injustice. The city joined both the political and spatial to motivate the organisation of people towards a particular goal. A good example in Santiago was the *Liga de Arrendatarios* (Renter's League). In 1922, the inhabitants of 300 *conventillos* in Santiago initiated a rent strike because the fee for renting was sometimes higher than the total amount of their incomes – and this for unhealthy rooms, without a toilet, water or even windows. Several strikes were organised between 1922 and 1925, when a significant event occurred. On 13th February 1925, more than 30,000 tenants did not pay their rent and they stipulated that they would not pay their rent anymore until the fees were adjusted to a more reasonable and fair amount (Espinoza, 1988).

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Figure 5.24. Map of Santiago in 1911 by Nicanor Boloña. Source: Archivo Nacional.

Veronica Salas (2000) indicates that the strike lasted six months, although Vicente Espinoza (1988) points out that it was not continuous. Finally, the movement was successful and it forced the government to create a specific law. This regulation would reduce the renting prices by 50% regarding accommodation. Also, it was established that these houses must be built with the minimum conditions required for living properly: i.e. they would have a toilet, windows and a door (Vitale, 2011). This strike made clear the power of collective engagement in the fight for dignity. Consequently, new political structures were consolidated (The Communist and the Socialist Party for instance), and the political scenario, previously formed exclusively by the oligarchy, was diversified, and the democracy became a more complex arena for organising the nation. Just in 1925, after the government of Arturo Alessandri, some legal enhancements were made for the working classes. Nevertheless, the city and its complexities required new methods to tackle its issues, and new knowledge would be imported (again) to succeed in this task. In this period, Santiago attracted people from the rural areas and a new mode of capitalist development emerged, which was based on manufacturing, services and construction.

5.5. Scientific urbanism and the masses: Private property at stake and the neoliberal revolution of the outraged oligarchy

Between 1894 and 1925, six plans for the transformation of Santiago were presented, but none of them were implemented (Figure 5.25; 5.26). In spite of the intentions to plan a new urban form, the city continued expanding, but the plans exposed the preoccupation of politicians with rethinking the urban space. Although private property remained an elementary right, the mindset of politicians incorporated new principles to face the challenges of the migration from the rural to the urban. For instance, an interesting change appeared in the Constitution of 1925, where the expropriation of land became legal when a public project required it.

“The property right is subject to limitations or rules that demand in the maintenance and progress of social order, and, in this sense, the law could impose obligations or easements of public utility in favor of the general interests of the state, the health of the citizens and public health.”
Constitución de la República de Chile (1925, Art. 10-10).³⁹

This was the only time in Chilean history when a constitutional act allowed expropriation for the sake of the common good. This modification implied that the new generation of oligarchs (those who were born and bred politicians, not entrepreneurs) had a different understanding of the public and their role in society, and the urban would reflect this change. With an oligarchy more concerned with public affairs, the city moved to the forefront of the political dispute. The Chilean oligarchy had a profound attachment to institutionalism and an increasing devotion to politics (Gross, 1990), thus, the new urban form emerged with a set of institutional instruments for organising urban development in public works, housing and sanitation.

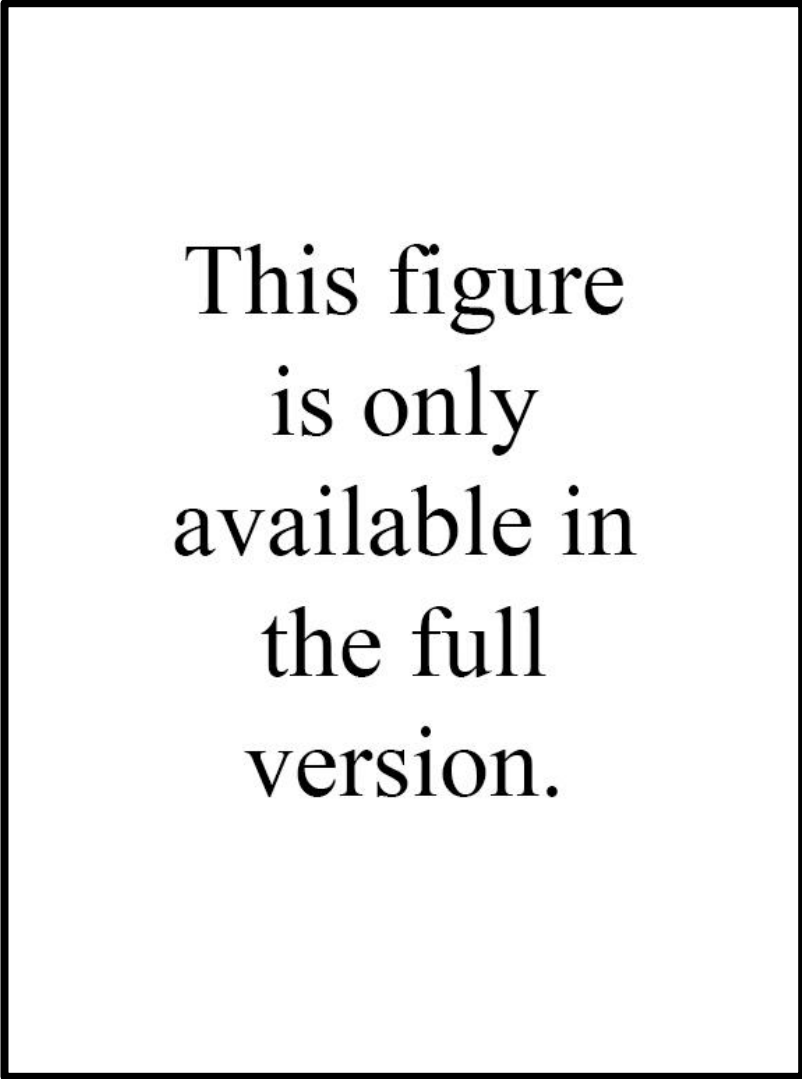
Furthermore, the implementation of urbanism – as a coordinated and hegemonic discipline to guide urban development – appeared as a necessity for institutionalising the design of cities. When the elite became aware of the importance of shaping the urban, a mentor was needed to launch the discipline of urbanism in Chile. Rodolfo Oyarzún Philippi proposed Karl Brunner⁴⁰ as a mentor, and in 1931 he created the Institute of Urbanism at the Universidad de Chile, with a programme of *Urbanismo Científico* (Scientific urbanism). This course served to organise theoretically the urban problems in Santiago and to develop strategies for resolving these issues. Accordingly, this programme produced the first generation of Chilean urbanists.

³⁹ In original language: “El ejercicio del derecho de propiedad está sometido a las limitaciones o reglas que exijan el mantenimiento y el progreso del orden social, y, en tal sentido, podrá la ley imponerle obligaciones o servidumbres de utilidad pública en favor de los intereses generales del Estado, de la salud de los ciudadanos y de la salubridad pública.”

⁴⁰ Karl Brunner influenced urbanism in Chile and Colombia as well. “social urbanism’. What is it, exactly? The term itself is not new. It was coined by Karl Brunner (1887–1960), an Austrian urban planner working in Bogotá in the 1930s. Brunner rejected the Beaux-Arts and later modernist utopian impulse of designing cities from scratch, and called instead for a practice that recognised what was already there. In that sense, he was a good seven decades ahead of the now orthodox attitude to the informal city.” (McGuirk, 2014)

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Figure 5.25. Plan for the Transformation of Santiago by Ernest Coxhead in 1913. Source: (Vergara-Perucich, 2011)



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Figure 5.26. Plan for the transformation of Santiago developed by the Central Association of Architects in 1912.
Source: (Martinez Lemoine, 2007)

Urbanising and designing a proper urban space also had an institutional form represented in the Planning Department of the Public Works Ministry, inaugurated in 1934. The institutional approach to urban affairs was a response of a more democratic republic to the migration from rural to the city. On the other hand, for the Chilean elite, democracy seemed profitable, thereby taking care of the voters' wellbeing, so maintaining an illusion of social justice was priority, in order to preserve the political and economic power in the hands of the oligarchy.

The improvement of urban spaces was a visible and concrete public policy that required the investment of public funds to maintain the illusion of democratic society. However, in the end, the country remained in the hands of the oligarchy. For Gabriel Salazar, between 1932 and 1957 the country was ruled by a populist oligarchy centred on using the state as resource for maintaining a dominant position in society aiming to provide relief to the social question and also control the national budget. Indeed, Salazar showed that 60% of the Chilean political class between 1932 and 1957 were politicians and also businessmen (Salazar, 2015, p. 987).

Building the city created urban products (capital) and employment. Mainly, urban development was a great business, besides producing enhancements in the everyday lives of the voters. The urban space would then become a platform for both creating wealth and fostering democracy.

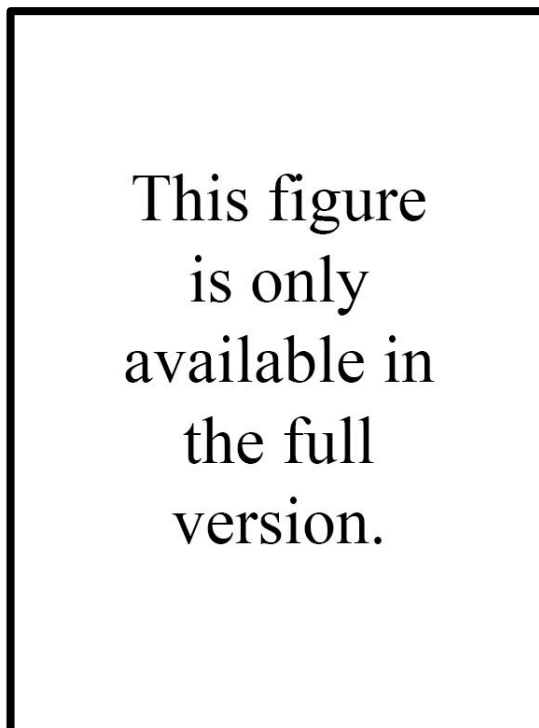


Figure 5.27. Santiago from the south west to the north east in 1931. Source: Archive of Pictures of Alberto Sironvalle.

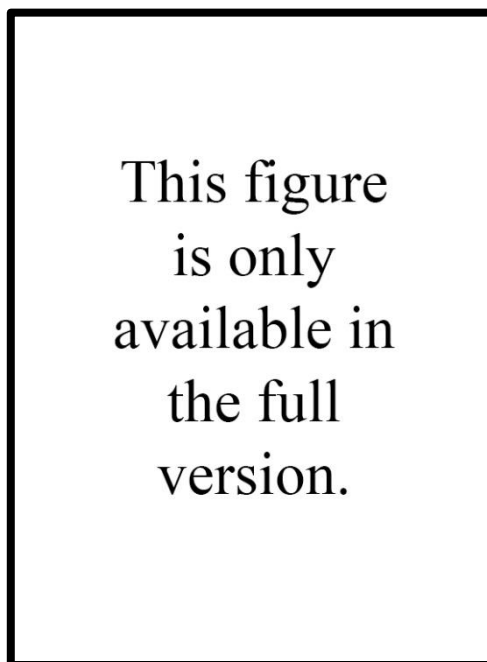


Figure 5.28: Commerce and shops along Alameda street. Likely 1920. Source: Alberto Sironvalle.

Several public policies aimed to alleviate the issues related to the urbanisation of the population from the country. In March 1925 (Law 308 of 1925) the Superior Council of Social Welfare was created. Employing funds from the Mortgage Credit Bank, the Council built 43 towns. In February 1931 (by order of Law 4931) the Popular Housing Bureau replaced the Superior Council of Social Welfare in order to organise the irregular settlements in cities. Nevertheless, the state was not capable of covering all the demand for housing. In 1938, Law 6172 allowed the Popular Housing Bank to build housing with public insurance funds.

All of these efforts were not enough to resolve the ongoing urban problems. In this context, scientific urbanism provided a pathway for organising the city based on facts, ideas and resources. In 1938, during the first national conference of Urbanism in Valparaíso, the audience agreed to prioritise the implementation of urbanism as a science and art in order to organise collective life (Munizaga, 1980). Earlier, in 1934, Karl Brunner outlined the proposal for Santiago's urban planning and in 1939, Roberto Humeres created the Official Plan of Urbanisation for Santiago (POU) so as to implement the ideas proposed by Brunner in 1934 (Figure 5.29).

The plan was approved but the authorities ignored many of its ideas. While urbanism as a discipline gained interest among scholars and specialists, the oligarchy kept its distance (Gross, 1991). It is interesting to discuss some of the ideas included in these plans. One of the main proposals was zoning the central areas of Santiago in order to construct buildings of similar heights (8 floors) and to maximise the subdivisions and plot allowances. These new neighbourhoods considered eight-story buildings for housing and one plaza for every five blocks. This central district aimed to have similar characteristics to Vienna's central areas or Paris.

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Figure 5.29. The plan of Santiago made by Karl Brunner. Source: (Rosas, Hidalgo, Strabucchi, & Bannen, 2015).

Also, Brunner's plan proposed the creation of working class towns near the central district of the city. Likewise, housing typologies were proposed for some areas that were similar to garden city models and targeted for higher classes. Most of these ideas were based on the idealised vision that Brunner had of Vienna: architecture composed of medium height buildings, wide avenues as boulevards and valorising the design in order to create something beautiful (Gross, 1991, p. 35). Some of the basics of this plan lasted for decades as an aspiration for Santiago.

The idea of Brunner was profitable for the state and investors, but not greedy. It is important to mention that the Chilean elite wanted to restore the profitability of their activities as it was in the 19th century. Urbanisation was an efficient path toward recovering great revenues from productive activities in the city. Some strategies of Brunner's plan succeeded, but in the end profitability prevailed. For the oligarchy, wealth creation was more important than creating a cultural expression of society in cities, as Brunner proposed. Thus, the scientific urbanism – as a discipline - was useful for justifying the short-term investments of the fiscal budget in a certain type of project, but non of the long-term urban plan were ever implemented. The very nature and main goal of this scientific urbanism was the long-term planning of urban life (Brunner, 1939), and that is precisely the realm where it failed most visibly – its efficiency for the improvement of the wellbeing of the whole society was questionable.

Instead, it is possible to say that the oligarchy instrumentalised scientific urbanism to justify the investment of public funds in short-term projects that ensured the creation of wealth and fostered the illusion of social progress for the voters. For instance, between 1930 and 1973. Scientific urbanism served to scale up an efficient method for defending private property through public policies that also segregated the rich from the poor, using pseudo-scientific arguments. Furthermore, this discipline transformed urban development into a highly efficient method for producing wealth in the form of spaces (Table 5.4), representing an average of the 45% of the GDP. Once scientific urbanism was validated, the organisation of urban life followed the rule of economic efficiency. Measurements and statistics confirmed the primary design inputs.

Table 5.4. Urbanisation as percentage of the GDP in Chile. Source: own elaboration.

<i>Year</i>	<i>GDP in Urbanisation (Construction+Utilities+Transport and Communication+Housing)</i>	<i>Real GDP (2003)</i>	<i>Share of the total GDP</i>
1940	1.979.191	4.894.316	40%
1941	1.984.780	4.902.180	40%
1942	2.001.462	5.063.603	40%
1943	2.051.304	5.208.526	39%
1944	2.191.744	5.307.108	41%
1945	2.374.155	5.765.048	41%
1946	2.679.086	6.258.938	43%
1947	2.437.525	5.585.720	44%
1948	2.494.383	6.512.765	38%
1949	2.345.716	6.372.124	37%
1950	2.645.516	6.686.125	40%
1951	2.734.635	6.977.024	39%
1952	2.840.754	7.426.609	38%
1953	3.123.655	7.986.501	39%
1954	3.168.659	7.727.830	41%
1955	3.113.433	8.018.659	39%
1956	3.292.636	8.153.261	40%
1957	3.579.451	8.989.939	40%
1958	3.836.435	9.483.619	40%
1959	3.597.174	8.946.687	40%
1960	4.024.639	9.688.927	42%
1961	4.037.527	10.152.296	40%
1962	4.321.021	10.633.377	41%
1963	4.940.239	11.306.061	44%
1964	4.789.879	11.557.631	41%
1965	4.840.924	11.651.051	42%
1966	5.176.353	12.950.278	40%
1967	5.410.172	13.370.719	40%
1968	5.679.881	13.849.417	41%
1969	6.171.759	14.364.727	43%
1970	6.471.747	14.660.107	44%
1971	6.984.726	15.972.954	44%
1972	6.598.174	15.779.175	42%
1973	6.356.587	14.901.061	43%
1974	6.644.396	15.046.274	44%
1975	6.012.388	13.103.758	46%
1976	6.065.857	13.564.778	45%
1977	6.606.376	14.902.086	44%
1978	7.329.564	16.126.649	45%
1979	8.312.631	17.462.203	48%
1980	9.482.098	18.849.559	50%
1981	10.359.067	20.020.532	52%
1982	9.411.134	17.300.151	54%
1983	8.008.821	16.815.394	48%
1984	8.042.066	17.805.071	45%
1985	8.892.094	18.155.525	49%
1986	9.435.271	19.171.550	49%
1987	10.115.638	20.412.276	50%
1988	10.770.941	21.911.017	49%
1989	11.841.380	24.228.285	49%
1990	12.324.922	25.142.427	49%
1991	13.388.425	27.136.661	49%
1992	15.148.659	30.438.172	50%
1993	16.447.125	32.559.288	51%
1994	17.217.016	34.416.719	50%
1995	19.004.777	38.028.587	50%
1996	20.349.408	40.831.593	50%
1997	21.844.223	43.526.542	50%
1998	22.778.351	44.944.336	51%
1999	22.235.188	44.616.344	50%
2000	23.268.649	46.605.195	50%
2001	24.205.130	48.165.621	50%
2002	24.967.429	49.209.326	51%
2003	25.911.045	51.156.415	51%
2004	27.486.205	54.246.819	51%

The presence of statistics to justify spatial transformations is striking when reviewing journals of architecture and urbanism between 1940 and 1975, mixing spaces with social measurements and costs⁴¹. The statistics, then, subjugated design, and beauty became a value hard to measure so it disappeared from the decision-making processes. Private construction companies built most of the projects in Santiago. In order to be suitable for working with public funds, these companies needed to demonstrate more than 50,000 pesos as a yearly profit when applying. This criterion segregated the companies able to bid. In the long run, this rule hindered small companies and tended to benefit those with greater capital.

The investment of the public budget into building facilities and public goods to benefit the poorest groups of the society, paradoxically, increased the wealth of the bigger companies. At the beginning of this period, the profitability of construction activities was regulated by each public institution. Law 8,412 of 193,834 clearly defined that the state was responsible for regulating the use of public funds by building companies, determining a maximum allowable gain. However, these regulations faded with time. More liberal policies were implemented to increase the profitability of construction, while the lobby for these activities was organised. The construction business was full of opportunities provided by several reconstruction processes after earthquakes, demographic changes and the progressing construction technologies. Aware of these advantages, in 1948 different building companies created the Chilean Chambers of Construction (CChC) in order to create a political force capable of influencing the authorities for the sake of their business. The CChC nowadays represents one of the main economic actors in the country, whose main motto is to defend private property. The spatial expressions of these approaches matched with the paradigmatic approach to urbanism promoted by the CIAM.

⁴¹ The main architecture journals in Chile were *Revista CA* (1968-present), *AUCA* (1965-1985) and *Arquitectura y Construcción* (1945-1950)

Le Corbusier transparently exposed that urban planning is a way to make money (Le Corbusier 1967), a suitable interpretation of urbanism for the mindset of Chilean oligarchs. Indeed, the whole modern movement fitted with the regular requests of the oligarchy: highly profitable activities (urbanisation), elite-controlled decisions (specialists), democratic concepts (a good city for everyone), and applying the trends that were popular in Europe. Urbanists defined the use of land for buildings, agriculture, mining and transport. A body of experts designed and implemented public policies, composing then a technocratic body supposedly dis-ideologised and independent from political affairs for shaping the city (Gross, 1991, p. 36).

These urban experts defined a series of strategies for dealing with the demand for jobs in cities and the organisation of the urban expansion. For example, Law 7600 of 1943 determined that companies must invest 5% of their profits into housing for their workers. Another good example is Law 9135 of 1948, which created a series of benefits to facilitate homeownership for the middle class, fulfilling one of their demands (Gross, 1991). In 1952, President Gabriel Gonzalez Videla created the Housing Corporation (CORVI), whose objective was building housing and public spaces, with a special preoccupation with low-income communities. In order to advance with a legal framework for the city, in 1953 the General Law of Construction and Urbanization was updated to make it suitable for the changes that had occurred in urban areas. In this update of the law, it was determined that there was a need for the urgent creation of municipal master plans for defining the function of urban areas. Through these regulations, the state attempted to deal with housing solutions and city planning in conditions of economic scarcity. These new institutional regulations were the result of the implementation of scientific urbanism in Chile, although it never crossed the frontiers of the interests of the hegemonic class. Moreover, the demand for housing grew faster than the capacity of the state to provide solutions. Society organised unions and community organisations to build an agenda capable of empowering their voices and generating changes that would transform the face of the city.

One of the better examples of this emerging social empowerment refers to people producing their own housing. In 1957 the illegal occupation of lands in La Victoria began, near Santiago's downtown. Thousands of families constructed their houses in a self-managed approach. Various political institutions like the Communist party, the Socialist party, students and workers unions and the Catholic Church assisted people with organising these *Tomas*⁴². These occupations contested a sacred right for the oligarchy: private property. La Victoria soon became a referential experience for many other communities, despite its illegality. People went beyond the law, fighting for their right to shelter, producing a clash between their needs and the interests of capital. This happened in the very centre of Santiago. Private property was under attack. In the eyes of the oligarchy, the fear of the Mapuches, the rotos, and the squatters were all the same: a threat to the sacrosanct private property right.

Besides these issues related to contested territories, the economy was accumulating an inflation that increased for decades without stopping (Salazar, 2003). Looking for solutions, in 1958 people elected the capitalist Jorge Alessandri as president, to foster productivity. While economic growth improved under his government, the wealth never reached the majority. *Tomas* continued emerging during his government, so Alessandri doubled the construction of social housing, and in 1960 implemented a decree which included taxing benefits for middle-class housing (DFL2), promoting a garden city model of urban development, mostly located in the borders of the city. However, this policy was regressive. The high-income families took advantage of this decree, and built their houses far from the city centre using a regulation that was supposed to help middle-income families. In the interpretation of Patricio Gross (1991), the regulation of DFL2 missed a point because it "didn't restrict some areas of the city, which allowed that high-income people to exploit these benefits, settling on the east side of the city, increasing the process of spatial segregation" (Gross, 1991, p.

⁴² *Tomas* is the Chilean name given to community organisations that were illegally occupying land for building housing.

39). Consequently, the city stressed the localisation of people in certain areas depending on their purchasing capacity, so the richest people built their houses in Las Condes and Vitacura (east-North), the middle classes in Providencia, Ñuñoa (Centre-east) and the east side Santiago, while low-income families occupied the rest of the city. The distribution of the richest families, middle-income families and the lower class outlined a segregated space, which constituted one of the first symptoms that Santiago was entering a critical phase. The explosion of the urban started with some fragments such as segregation, squatter spaces, contested urbanisms and the urban poor.

5.6. From the welfare state to the neoliberal revolution

In an attempt to control the contestation of private property, Alessandri's government implemented a modest agrarian reform to redistribute land in rural areas and to give peasants landownership rights. The agrarian reform was promoted by the Catholic Church in Latin America. Nevertheless, the liberal and market-led mindset of Alessandri's administration meant that the reforms did not alleviate the processes of contestation on private property. Looking for alternatives, people elected Eduardo Frei, who proposed a *revolución en Libertad* (revolution with freedom) supported by the Catholic Church and the Democratic Christian Party. This revolution with freedom was a mix of socialist strategies and free-market economics, aspiring to develop a Chilean version of the Keynesian model of the state. Hence, in 1964 – when Frei assumed the administration – the state took on a redistributive role and subjugated private property rights to society's common good. Land acquired a social role.

In spite of the economic inflation, the political discourse promised a future with social justice because Chileans deserved it. People engaged with these ideas through demonstrations in the streets to transform the way that democracy was conceived. The administration of Eduardo Frei (1964-1970) and Salvador Allende (1970-1973) embraced this challenge with political projects that represented the popular demand for better democracy. In Frei's administration the Catholic ideology of social doctrine was applied, aiming to create a more just society, using the state as an

effective agent for distributing opportunities and benefits for people. Their strategy considered nationalising natural resources, fostering economic productivity, modernising the administrative apparatus and developing a state capable of providing wellbeing through social services, thus covering the basic demands of human life.

Supported by the Catholic Church, the agrarian reform of Frei went beyond Alessandri's, giving land rights to peasants in order to increase the productivity of lands that in many cases were under-exploited by landlords. If peasants were involved in labouring the soil and also in the earnings, the productivity of those under-exploited plots would soar. Also, this was a straightforward form of distributing the benefits of agrarian and livestock activities among low-income communities. Indeed, the agrarian reform constituted an approach to spatial justice that also had a version in urban development. Frei launched a series of programmes of social housing in which participatory processes were included. These strategies aimed to alleviate the possible urban collapse of Santiago, given the incessant migration to the central city of the country. Beyond this agrarian reform, the government of Frei was not particularly a threat to private property, although this right was no longer untouchable. While low-income communities were contesting private ownership in the streets by occupying private plots of land, the oligarchy started to engage politically in defending their ownership rights.

In the sixties, Chilean politics became radical. Land became an object in the political dispute. By this time, people had started to demand more empowerment of their decision-making capabilities. The creation of new institutional frameworks aimed to address the demands for spatial justice. In 1965 the National Office of Planning (ODEPLAN) and the Housing and Urbanism Ministry (MINVU) were created. As part of the Housing and Urbanism Ministry, the Central Bank of Savings and Loans (SINAP), The Housing Corporation (CORVI), The Corporation of Urban Enhancement (CORMU), The Corporation of Housing Services (CORHABIT) and the Corporation of Urban Works (COU) were created.

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is only
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the full
version.

Figure 5.30. San Borja Project(1967), an urban renewal in front of Santa Lucía Hill, in the very core of the City. Source: Revista Auca 16, 1969

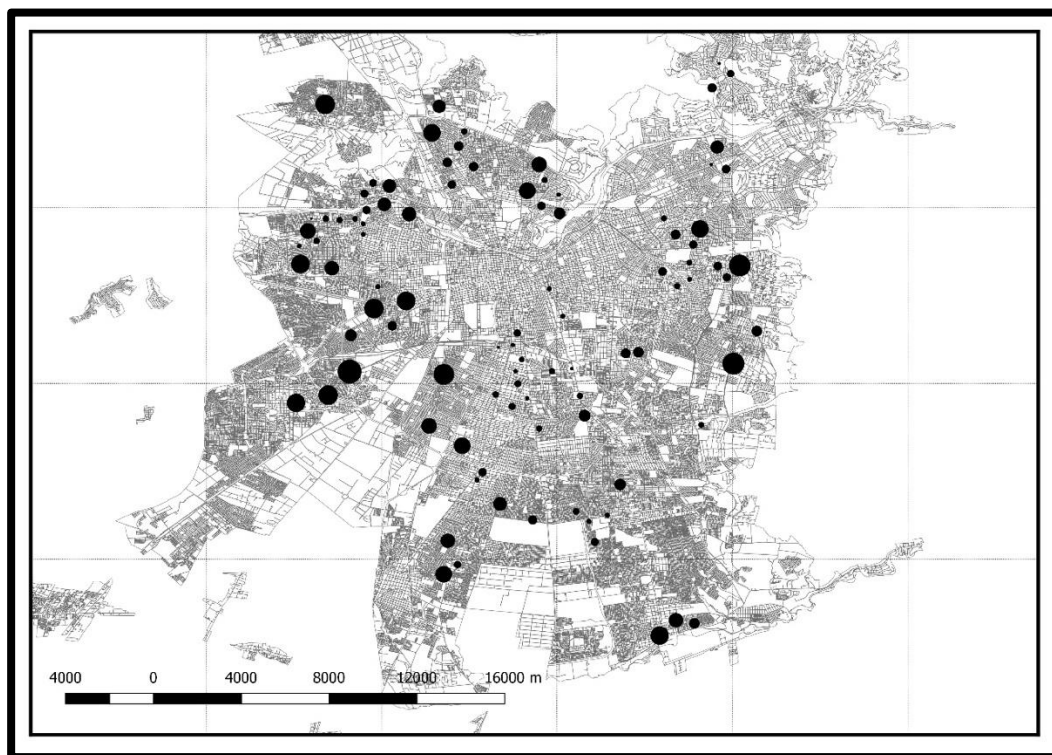


Figure 5.31. Localisation of Tomas in Santiago at 1972. Source: own elaboration based on Castells 1987



Figure 5.32. *Remodelación San Borja*, in Santiago's downtown. The picture is from 2015. Source: own elaboration.

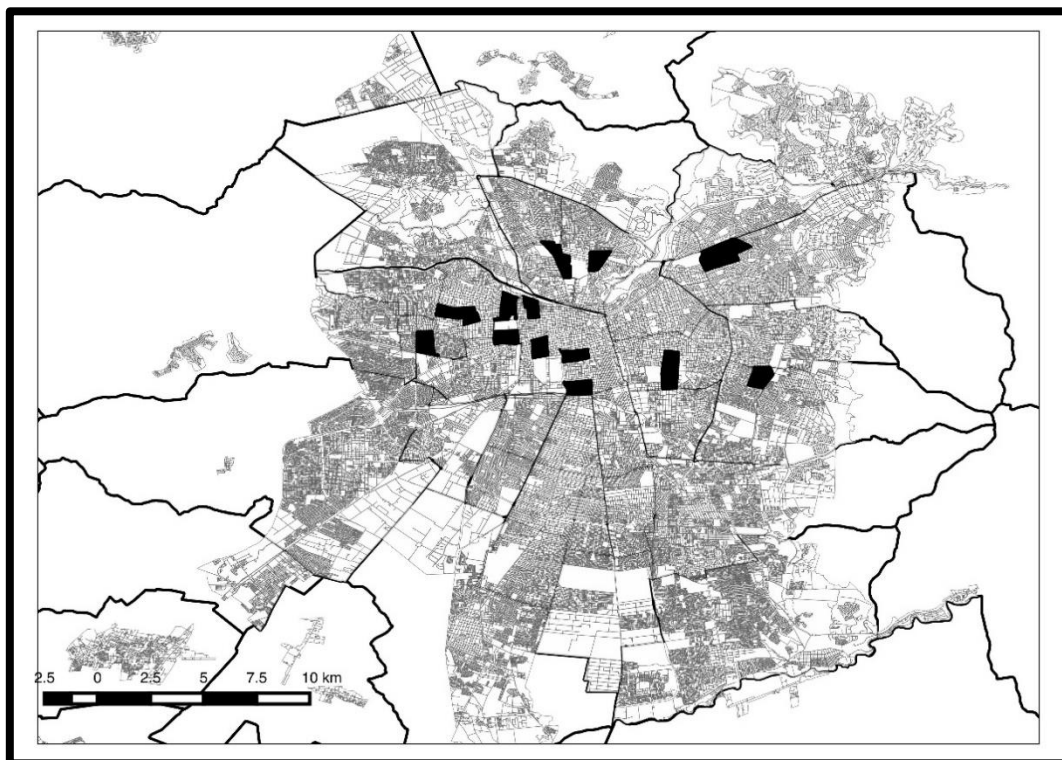


Figure 5.33. Areas of Santiago where social housing programmes were built between 1970 and 1973. Source: own elaboration.

This renewed institutional framework aimed to advance to a more just urban life, and to channel the radicalisation of the disputes over space. In this organisation of space, the role of urban practitioners was fundamental. Indeed, the disciplinary field of urban design was important for the political goals of Frei as well as for Allende. In the city the most visible expressions of political activity were concentrated, and it was considered as one of the leading resources for social justice. During the times of Frei and Allende, the construction of housing in big cities was one of the most visible public policies, as well as the provision of new facilities for social activities. The priorities were transport, sanitation, public spaces, cultural facilities, and housing for the dispossessed. An interesting strategy was building social housing in central areas of the cities, especially Santiago, aiming to reduce residential segregation and increase access to amenities and central areas for low-income communities (Figure 5.33). Reflecting backwards, 100 years to be precise, the ideas of the political class about urban development were widely different to the proposals of Benjamin Vicuña Mackenna in 1872. It was not segregation that was needed but integration; which exposed how this scientific urbanism produced an efficient transformation in the mindset of Chilean authorities. The urban poor were no longer a problem to isolate and put away from the city centre, but a group of dispossessed people who needed opportunities in the city to thrive.

Some of the emblematic housing projects built were Unidad Vecinal Portales, Unidad Vecinal República (1967), Unidad Vecinal Providencia (1968), and San Borja's urban renewal (Figure 5.30; 5.32). Also, self-construction became an alternative promoted by the government. For example, in 1966 Frei organised a participatory process for designing houses for low-income and middle-class families in Santiago. The name of this initiative was *Operación Tiza* (Operation Chalk). It consisted of families drawing their 1:1 scale blueprints of dwelling units on the ground, and then the state constructing the houses based on the people's design. This process was assisted by architects and builders, who guided people in the optimisation of the designs, for example distributing the rooms better and deciding on the materials for construction. However, beyond these good intentions, these operations contributed to consolidating new neighbourhoods in urban peripheries, instead of

integrating them into the urban grid. Although innovative and participatory, the *Operación Tiza* represented an interesting exploration of solutions for building housing under a participatory scheme, rather than a robust public policy of urban development.

Despite the institutional transformations, the illegal occupation of lands multiplied (Figure 5.31); in 1969 in Santiago alone 35 new *Tomas* appeared (Gross, 1991, p. 43), and the innovation from the state was not enough for the accelerated process of urbanisation that Chile was experiencing. Empowered people and a frightened oligarchy were not a good mix. Political radicalisation, international interest in the raw materials available in the national territory, and the rising inflation that had been plaguing the country since the thirties fostered social tension. Space was under dispute and politics engaged to organise the demand of dispossessed people to ensure the defence of private property on the one side and guide the struggle for spatial justice on the other side.

In this convoluted historical moment, the political project of Salvador Allende and the *Unidad Popular* (Popular Unity) proposed a pathway for redistributing power and ensuring social justice. It was a revolution with *chicha*⁴³ and *empanadas*, the so-called Chilean way to socialism. Detached from the methodologies used by the Cuban revolution, Allende bet that he could build a socialist state within the institutional frameworks of the Chilean democratic republic, without using violence. In this goal, space was a key issue. The production of space and territorial productivity would be at the centre of the political transformations developed by Allende for building a fairer society. On the opposite side, the oligarchy started to organise their influences and political power to defend their position and property rights. For them, Allende represented a threat. In this dispute over defending/contesting property rights, the position of the military forces was fundamental. The contestation for land was not between equals. Allende received support from some prominent members of the military forces⁴⁴, which lent security to the implementation of his programme.

⁴³ Chicha is the Chilean national drink

⁴⁴ René Schneider was the chief commander of the Chilean Military Forces and its commitment to defend Allende's Project was several times confirmed by himself by saying that he would protect the constitutional presidency of Chile with his life. Schneider would die from a gunshot in 1970. A fascist fanatic killed him in the entrance of his house.

Nevertheless, within the army, the division was not so even, and oligarchical influence was always wider.

Historically, evidence suggests that the military forces have been loyal to the oligarchy for defending property rights as the most sacred value of the nation (Salazar, 2003a, 2003b, 2009). Gabriel Salazar counts 23 times in which Chilean military forces have fired their guns against non-oligarchical Chileans, smashing every attempt to produce a fairer society (Salazar, 2012a). This evidences that force – not justice – has been the engine of Chilean history. Allende was elected president by the majority and confirmed by the parliament, but not by the oligarchy.

In three years, Allende's administration achieved a comprehensive implementation of urban policies through the coordination of ODEPLAN (*Oficina de Planificación Nacional* or Planning Department of the Government) and the Urban Development Department. The state took part in urban development as one more member of the market. The government acted as a stakeholder, fostering a different approach to the city, starting with the empowerment of the grassroots in a well-intentioned bottom-up method of urban design. In Allende's programme, the objectives for urban development were: increasing access to good housing, reducing spatial segregation and using the land as an asset to redistribute wealth. Although slowly approached, community engagement was fundamental for fostering the revolutionary spirit of Allende's programme.

The plan was to build houses around job areas, namely Santiago's downtown (Figure 5.33). Several housing projects were designed and developed in Santiago. For example, the neighbourhoods named Che Guevara (1970), Villa San Luis (1970), Cuatro Alamos (1971), Mapocho-Bulnes (1971), Plaza Chacabuco (1971) and Pozos Areneros (1971), to mention just a few (Table 5.5). These project typologies followed the international style, with four-story buildings inserted in public spaces and with common facilities. These strategies, applied in Santiago and other cities, resulted in a significant decrease in the housing deficit, from 592,324 in 1970 to 419,000 in 1974 (Figure 5.34). However, these attempts to reduce segregation were not very welcomed by the oligarchy. Loyal to their tradition, they preferred to have the *rotos* living far away from the high-class houses. One of

the emblematic cases was the *Villa San Luis* (Figure 5.35) in the heart of Las Condes district, a high-income area of the city. This new settlement provoked an awkward reaction from the elite members who were concerned about losing the exclusivity of their neighbourhood (Gross, 1991, p. 44). The urban poor, following centres of opportunity, were already building informal settlements in Las Condes. *Villa San Luis* was a strategy for changing the status of this settlement from informal to legal housing estate. Also, it was an example of installing housing for low-income communities in high-income districts. In the view of the elite, the exclusivity of land in some areas of Santiago was contested not only by the urban poor but also by the government. The sacrosanct right to private property and the preservation of a still oligarchic landscape was under attack, which was reshaping the urban space.

Table 5.5. Social housing projects of Allende in Santiago. Source: own elaboration.

<i>Programme</i>	<i>Housing units</i>
San Luis	11
Cuatro Alamos	778
Nuevo Horizonte	188
Salvador	2,15
Mapocho-Bulnes	1,2
Che Guevara	1,49
Tupac Amaru	2,267
Santa Monica	2,5
Barrio Civico	150
Pozos Areneros	206
Ramón Allende	640
Plaza Chacabuco	510
Las Carabelas	250
TOTAL	23,329

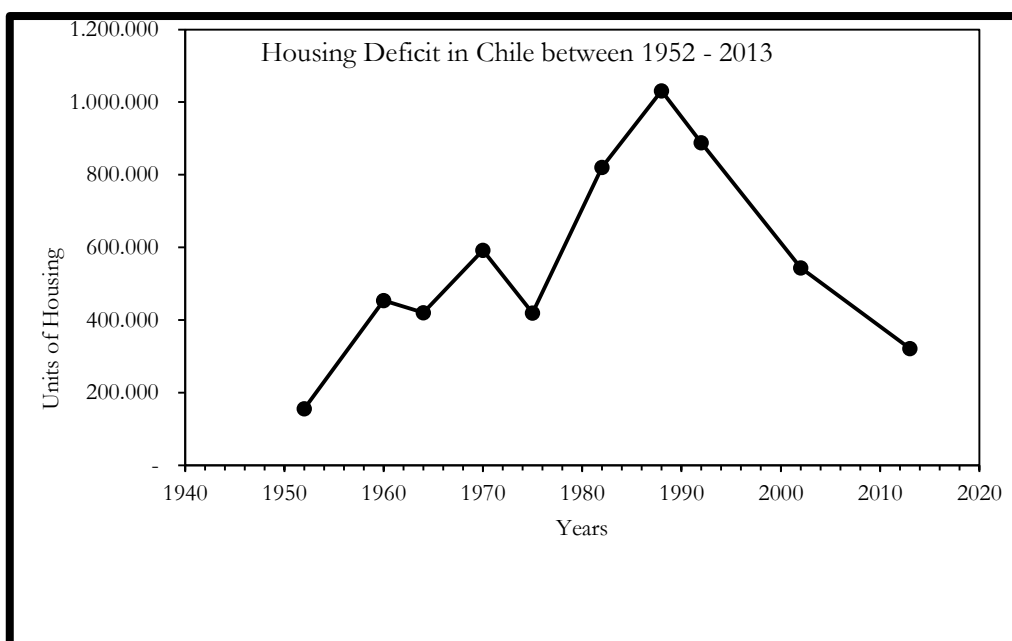


Figure 5.34. Housing deficit in Chile between 1952 and 2013. Allende's period reduced the deficit drastically while dictatorship for 1990 had a deficit over a million of housing units. Source: own elaboration based on Housing Ministry Data.



Figure 5.35: Villa San Luis Building in 2015. The estates were sold to real-estate companies that made a new financial district (Nueva Las Condes). The last resident of this villa left in 2015. The last bastion of the idea that Allende's administration had for integrating the poor with the rich via housing projects. Source: own elaboration.

Both Frei and Allende's political agendas were facing demographic change and a society more aware of its rights, demanding better living conditions. Henceforth, their initiatives and transformations aimed to reduce the historical inequality and asymmetries of power that had characterised Chilean society since the foundation of Santiago in 1541. Of course, this was not a desirable outcome for the oligarchy so used to avoiding the urban poor and circulating among members of their own social class only. After these events and the social transformations towards a more just country implemented in the governments of Frei and Allende, the oligarchy was frustrated. For the first time their capacity for influencing the government was reduced to its minimum. They were scared of the day when these masses of *rotos* would batter down their doors and take all their possessions, including all of their lands. Rather than being concerned with the politicisation of society, they saw the danger of the genuine democracy that was being forged, and it threatened their social status. The solution was fierce and merciless, and as had happened 22 times before, the Chilean army aimed their guns at other Chileans to defend the private property of the few at the cost of the many. On September 11th, 1973, the democracy ended with the coup-d'état led by Augusto Pinochet. Private property was safe again. Another revolution would start – a neoliberal revolution. Private property would return to being an untouchable right. The oligarchy unleashed violence to reinstall their hegemonic power, ensuring that they would control the economy, the government, democracy, freedom and – of course – urban society as a whole.

“Right-wing criticism, whether liberal or neoliberal, attacks urbanism as an institution but extols the initiatives of developers. This leaves the path open for capitalist developers, who are now able to invest profitably in the real-estate sector; the era of urban illusion has given them an opportunity to adapt”. (Lefebvre, 2003, p. 163)

5.7. Concluding remarks

In this chapter, the research on urban-design-under-neoliberalism has presented evidence that suggested a close relationship with private property rights. Also, the role of the elite in shaping the city has been situated as one of the main components that justify the emergence of urban-design-

under-neoliberalism. The revision of the urban history of Santiago, treated as a global level shows that private property and profitability were the main engine of Santiago's urban transformations and, therefore, the main criteria for shaping its urban form. Santiago's urban space has resulted from a historical dominance of the land by the oligarchy, whose main goals has been extracting value from space: extractive activities in the territory (mining and agriculture), land transactions, construction and urban development. This finding informs the roots of urban-design-under-neoliberalism. The disciplinary field of urban design has been instrumental for ensuring the efficient exploitation of space as a resource for creating wealth. Also, the chapter exposed the historical neglect of the dispossessed by urban designers, forced to live in a constant struggle to finding a place in the city. With the exception of the period between 1938 and 1973, the urban poor have scarcely been considered when thinking of the future of the city. This chapter provided evidence to sustain the existence of a historical dependency of urban designers on the decisions made by an elite, evidencing a limited capacity for bringing plans designed for the sake of the common good into reality. All urban initiatives for enhancing Santiago were subjected to the interest of the ruling class.

Spatial dialectics as a method for articulating the historical analysis has served to understand how inequality –read as an historical condition in the city of Santiago– has been spatialised, defining clear areas for rich and poor. This process will be developed in the following chapter, when during the dictatorship diverse actions were taken in order to accelerate the segmentation of the city based on household incomes. Wherever there is a space to dispute, there will be a dialectical method capable of investigating it. The global level of analysis employed in this chapter allows a valorisation of the historical dimension in order to understand the way in which a city has been formed by the reproduction of certain patterns of design based on profiting from spatial transformations.

Given that the rules of capitalism (profitability of actions, and the rule of supply and demand) have shaped Chilean urban life, the defence of private property rights has become one of the main objectives of the ruling class. In doing so, the role of spatial disciplines such as urban planning, architecture, urban design and geography has been vital in generating strategies to defend the right

to property through legislation but also through the organization of the city. Just as Lefebvre points out, these disciplines played a vital role in preserving the hegemony of capitalism (Lefebvre, 2003) and in doing so they operated in a contradiction. Their ethics are cracked. The interests of capitalism drastically limit their role as designers for the better for everyone and they are easily co-opted by oligarchical interests. On the other hand, what I have presented is that people and not specialists have developed strategies for contesting private property for the sake of the common good that have actually transformed the urban form of Santiago. This fact implies that historically, urban specialists lacked fluid connections with low-income communities for interpreting their demands. The best urban designers for the urban poor have been, precisely, themselves.

In Chile, and particularly in Santiago, the political and economic power is in the hands of the land owners. This condition has remained the same from the beginnings of the city and it explains the relevance given to defending this right either by law or by using military force. Therefore, democratic institutions are limited by the interest of the major property owners. The distribution of land for producing just spaces seemed difficult under the historical institutional structures reviewed because the oligarchy always made the final decision. Every time that a distribution of the way of using the territory occurred, the elite reacted with repressive strategies to defending property rights. For instance, the only time in history that a distribution of land for social wellbeing occurred was during the governments of Frei and especially with Allende, but the result was a coup-d'état and 17 years of a repressive dictatorship that developed a political constitution that ensured property rights prevailed. This is the current political, economic and social system and Chapter 6 will delve into the features of what may be categorised as the neoliberal period of Chilean history. Neoliberalism in Santiago represents the concretised utopia of the Chilean hegemonic class, based on the subjugation of people to the rules of the market, property rights and the rule of law.

CHAPTER 6. Urban illusion of neoliberal transformation of Santiago

“We know that in capitalist countries today, two principle strategies are in use: neoliberalism (which maximizes the amount of initiative allowed to private enterprise and, with respect to urbanism, to developers and bankers) and neo-dirigisme, with its emphasis (at least superficially) on planning, which, in the urban domain, promotes the intervention of specialists and technocrats, and state capitalism” (Lefebvre, 2003, p.78).⁴⁵

6.1. Introduction

This chapter presents how urban-design-under-neoliberalism was implemented. Thus, the findings explain how certain urban strategies that emerge from this virtual object has been actually shaping the urban space of Santiago. By doing so, the chapter articulates the history of Santiago with its neoliberal transformations in relation to urban practices and political-economic goals. For doing so, the chapter analyses recent urban strategies that serve to illustrate how the urban design was aligned with the goals of the neoliberal project in Santiago.

The chapter starts by contextualises how the neoliberal project of Milton Friedman and the Chicago Boys transformed the way urban development was conducted in Chile. After presenting some of the main discussions about the process of neoliberalising the city of Santiago, the chapter illustrates some of the main features of urban-design-under-neoliberalism in Santiago using four urban strategies that well represent how neoliberalism has changed the urban design practice in Santiago.

⁴⁵ Original language: “On sait qu’il y a aujourd’hui dans les pays capitalistes deux stratégies principales: le néo-libéralisme (qui laisse le maximum d’initiative à l’entreprise privée et pour ce qui concerne l’urbanisme’aux promoteurs et aux banques) et néo-dirigisme (qui met l’accent sur une planification au moins indicative qui, dans le domaine urbanistique, favorise l’intervention des spécialistes et des technocrates, du capitalisme d’État).” (Lefebvre 1970, p. 107)

These strategies are the social housing policies, the real estate business, the public-private partnership and an urban icon of this period based on the Costanera Center building, a shopping mall in a central area of the city. These elements were selected to show how neoliberalism operates in different urban design typologies, covering changes in space and policies, attempting to illustrate the decision environment about the city making in Santiago. Before the conclusion, the chapter presents some practices that are contesting the ways of urban-design-under-neoliberalism. Finally, the chapter presents how the implementation of urban-design-under-neoliberalism occurred in the city of Santiago, what were some of their effects and what reflections emerged from studying it.

6.2. Free-market political economy in Santiago

Neoliberalism is a political-economic strategy related to globalisation, the implementation of the monetarist economy, the corporative domination of markets, and warfare (Harvey, 2005). For Stephanie Mudge, neoliberalism is a “sui generis ideological system born of historical processes of struggle and collaboration in three words: intellectual, bureaucratic, and political” (Mudge in Springer, 2016, p. 2). Ha-Joon Chang (2014) defines neoliberalism as very close to but not quite the same as classical liberalism, which advocates reducing the size of the state while also stressing the importance of central banks for producing money. David Harvey developed a broadly used definition of neoliberalism as “a theory of political, economic practices that proposes that human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterised by strong private property rights, free markets, and free trade” (Harvey, 2005, p. 2). From Harvey’s interpretation, the state must facilitate this practice by defining a suitable institutional framework. In the understanding of Jamie Peck (2008), neoliberalism surged on the fringe of a utopian orthodox doctrine, in which entrepreneurialism, the accumulation of capital and the free market consolidated a hegemonic class. Diverse scholars (Debord, 1994; Harvey, 2009; Lefebvre, 1970) have widely analysed the changes produced by incorporating capital accumulation into urban studies, but to summarise it can be said that “the city

became a site linked to and constituted by a wider capitalist spatiality” (Amin & Thrift, 2002, p. 54) in which there were new centres of global economic control characterised by the presence of a transnational capitalist class (Sassen, 1991). This configured a new global space of flows of information (Castells, 1997). As Christian Schmid points out, “cities and metropolitan regions have become places of strategic importance for neoliberal policies, and key institutional arenas in and through which neoliberalism is itself evolving” (Schmid in Brenner, Marcuse, et al., 2012, p. 54). For Christian Schmid, the commodification of the urban is a critical process that requires further research in order to unpack its actual nature under neoliberalism. In the case of Santiago, the process of neoliberalising the urban processes started about 1975.

In Chile, neoliberalism emerged from the operationalisation of a theory of political economy developed by Milton Friedman for the dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet (Daher, 1991; Salazar, 2003a; Solimano, 2014). On 11th of September 1973, a coup-d’état overthrew the democratic government of Salvador Allende. A dictatorship commanded the country for the next 17 years. Recognising the need for economic competency, Pinochet sought counsel from notable scholars opposed to Allende’s ideas (Solimano, 2014). In 1975, he assigned ministries to a group of economists from the University of Chicago known as the Chicago Boys⁴⁶, who implemented a programme of political economics⁴⁷ that came to be known as neoliberalism. The proposal aimed to reduce the size of the state and to increase reliance on free-market economics as the principal instrument for the development of the country (Arancibia Clavel & Balart, 2007). Pinochet accepted

⁴⁶ Some of them were Pablo Barahona (President of Chilean Central Bank 1975-76 and Economics Minister 1976-78), Álvaro Bardón (President of Chilean Central Bank 1977-81; Sub-secretary of Economics 1982-83), Hernán Büchi (Economics Minister, 1979-80 and Finance Minister 1985-89), Jorge Cauas (Finance Minister 1974-77), Sergio de Castro (Economics Minister 1975-76; Finance Minister 1976-82), Miguel Kast (Planning Minister 1978-80; Labour and Social Security Minister 1981-82; President of Chilean Central Bank 1982), Felipe Lamarca (Director of Internal Revenue Service 1978-84), Rolf Lüders (Economics Minister 1982; Finance Minister 1982-83), Juan Carlos Méndez González (Budget Director 1975-81), Juan Ariztía Matte (Superintendent of Private System of Pensions 1980 - 1989). These were the main advisors of Pinochet during the implementation of neoliberal policies, together with the lawyer Jaime Guzman.

⁴⁷ This programme was developed under the name of *El Ladrillo* (The Brick), and it was previously presented to Jorge Alessandri for the election of 1970. At that time, Alessandri – being a conservative right-wing leader and former president – said that the programme was too radical for Chile (Fuentes & Valdebenito, 2015).

the ideas and thus the Chilean dictatorship became a pathway to the liberalisation of the economy. The model supposed that the free market would lead society to individual freedom, an idea that was presented to Pinochet by Milton Friedman himself. He went to Chile and met with Pinochet in March of 1975 (Figure 6.1). The 21st of April of the same year, Milton Friedman put forward eight recommendations to Pinochet for the transformation of Chile:

1. A monetary reform, replacing escudos by pesos.
2. Reducing government spending by 25% in the following six months.
3. A national stabilisation loan from the public budget to reduce the creation of money.
4. Complementary to the previous point, requesting a loan from abroad for the same purposes.
5. A commitment from the government not to create more money for circulation in the following six months.
6. The continuation of the ongoing exchange rate modifications (those already developed by the Chicago Boys).
7. Eliminating control and regulations over prices and wages.
8. Providing hardship supplements for the poorer classes.

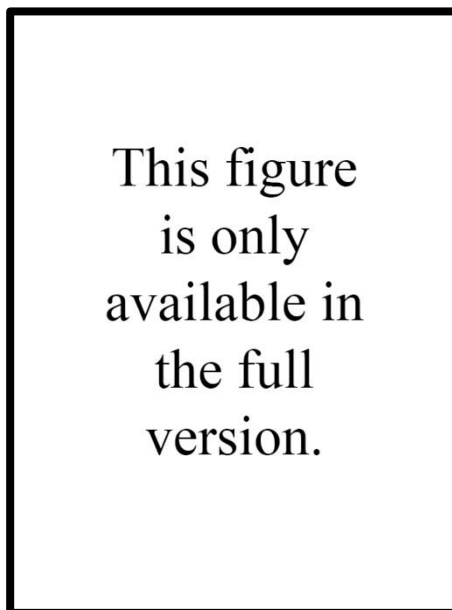


Figure 6.1. Augusto Pinochet and Milton Friedman in Palacio de La Moneda. Santiago. March 21st, 1975. One month after this meeting Pinochet received a letter from Friedman explaining his proposed economic transformation to reduce inflation and install a social market economy. Source: <http://www.gamba.cl/wp-content/uploads/2015/09/milton-pinochet-637x336.jpg>

“I believe gradualism is not feasible” (Friedman & Pinochet, 1975, p. 592) added Friedman, advocating an acceleration of the neoliberal revolution. Friedman was explicit in saying that this was a “shock programme” (Friedman & Pinochet, 1975, p. 592) that aimed to resolve the issues of inflation in months. Pinochet took the shock idea seriously and repressed every opposition to the programme. “The plan is fully applied” (Friedman & Pinochet, 1975, p. 594) replied Pinochet, expressing commitment to the free-market political economy. From the thirties, the Chilean political economy was characterised by a strong central state, but liberal economic policies were promoted. “The Chile of the 1960s had the best health and education systems on the continent, as well as a vibrant industrial sector and a rapidly expanding middle class. Chileans believed in their state, which is why they elected Allende to take the project even further” (Klein, 2010, p. 1).

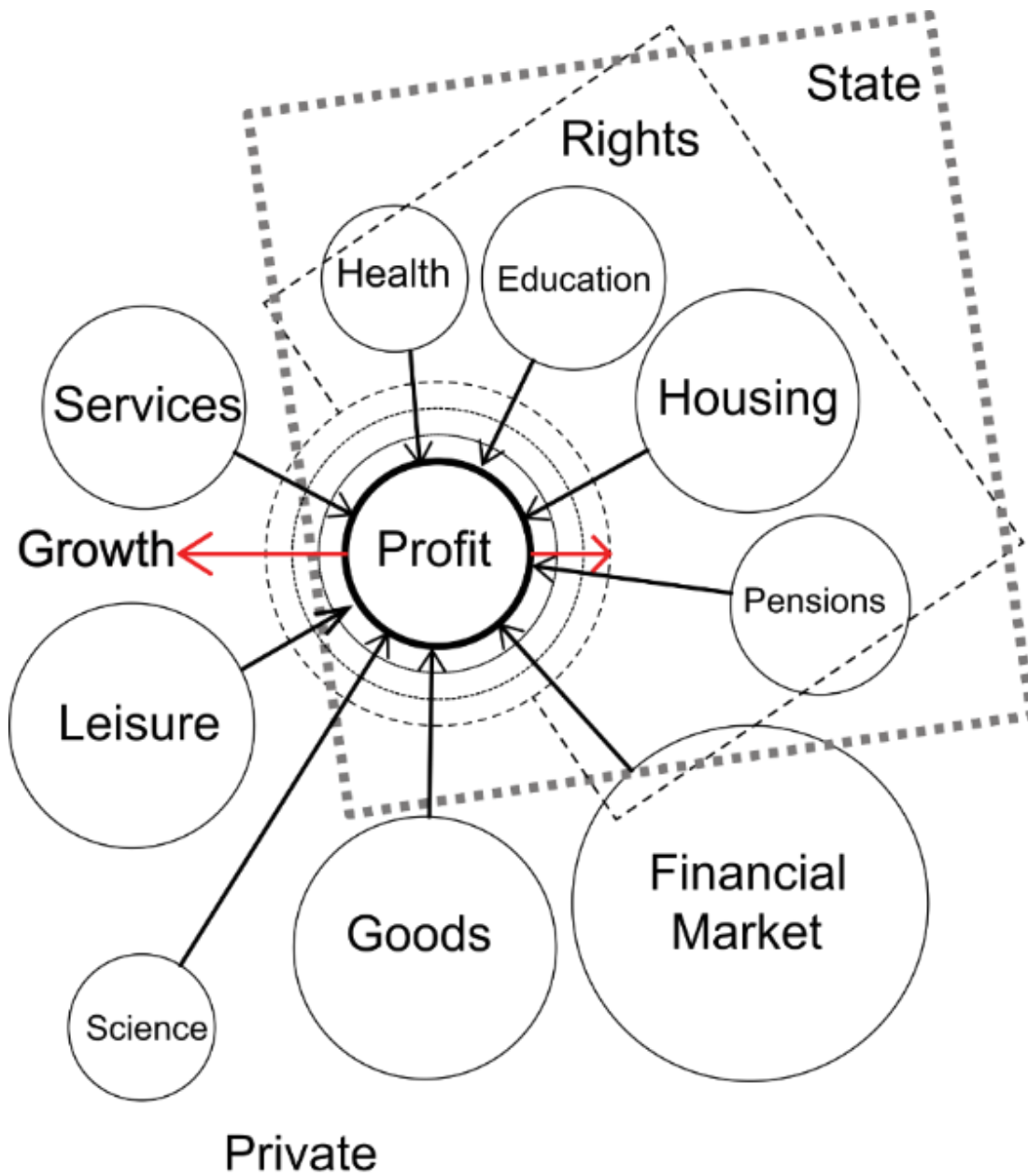


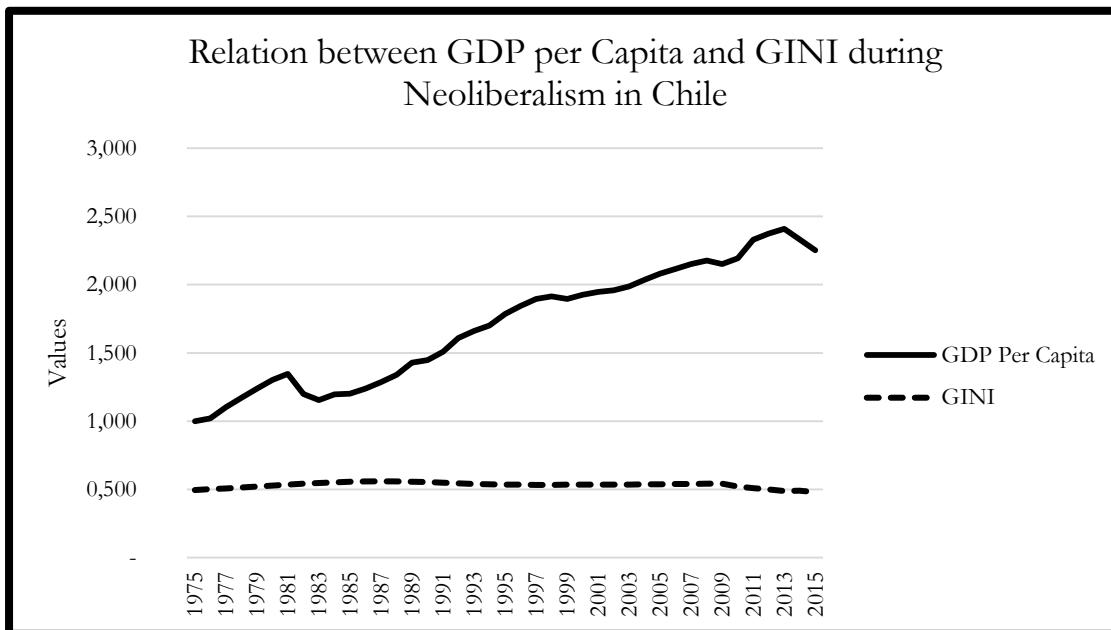
Figure 6.2. Diagram of privatisation as part of neoliberalisation. The whole society turns into a profit-oriented system, in which the state facilitates the transformation of rights into tradable services and goods. On the other hand, the main goal of the system is growth. Source: Author.

There was a sharp switch in the dictatorship's policies towards creating the first neoliberal state in the world (Harvey, 2007). Since then, the state has encouraged private initiatives for providing social security and has advanced the privatisation of as many state functions as possible (Figure 6.2). A new era started, as private property and profit-driven decisions reshaped society as a whole (Atria et al. 2013). In order to perpetuate this transformation politically, a new constitution was promulgated in 1980. Andres Solimano describes the three major pillars of neoliberalism consolidated in this new constitution:

“the supreme value of private property, severe restrictions on the state in its economic role as producer (with the exception of its copper industry, the main provider of funding for the military), and a severe clampdown on labor rights” (Solimano, 2012, p. 36).

Furthermore, the constitution created the notion of a protected democracy by defining the military forces of Chile as the guarantors of the institutional order. Thus, any attempt to undermine its rules would be violently repressed⁴⁸. Three components of this constitution had a significant influence on the creation of urban-design-under-neoliberalism: the subsidiary role of the state, the defence of private property rights, and regulations that fostered entrepreneurialism and the private initiatives. These transformations made economic growth the main goal of the state (Atria, Larrain, Benavente, Couso, & Joignant, 2013). “Neoliberalism abandons the liberal conceit of a separation between political and economic realms of life. Ultimately, everything can be treated in economic terms” (Davis, 2017, p. 4). In theory, the economic growth generated by consumption and productive activities would trickle down, reaching everyone and improving the lives of the people. As Devin Rafferty explains, the general idea of neoliberalism was encouraging companies and wealthy individuals to invest in creating jobs for people, whose salary would then be reinvested in the circuit of economic growth through the consumption of goods and services (Rafferty, 2017).

⁴⁸ It is worth mentioning that the Chilean official motto is “by reason or by force”.



After decades of neoliberalism, the income per capita increased significantly, but so did living costs
 Figure 6.3. Relation between GDP per Capita and distribution of incomes (GINI) between 1975 (year of neoliberal implementation) and 2015. Source: own elaboration based on Central Bank of Chile.

(CASEN, 2015). The efficiency of the monetarist theory is arguable, especially the trickle-down assumption. For instance, Chilean neoliberalism did not reduce inequality significantly (Figure 6.3); although the GDP per capita increased considerably, the distribution of incomes remained highly unequal (Gini Index), with no considerable changes having occurred since 1975. Neoliberalism has been efficient in generating growth but not in distributing it. This inequality is a historical problem (as was observed in the previous chapter) that neoliberalism did not alleviate at all. Indeed, compared with other countries in the region that also experienced a process of neoliberalisation, the performance of Chile in relation to distribution of wealth is very poor (Figure 6.4). As revealed in Table 6.1, Chile is ranked 9th in terms of the inequality of its citizens' incomes. This inequality was spatialised in cities such as Santiago.

Table 6.1. Income inequality Ranking in Latin America. Averages between 1995 and 2015. Source: own elaboration based on World Bank Data and CEDLAS.

1 st	Argentina	0.435
2 nd	Uruguay	0.450
3 rd	Venezuela	0.453
4 th	Costa Rica	0.485
5 th	Peru	0.491
6 th	Mexico	0.513
7 th	Paraguay	0.519
8 th	Bolivia	0.535
9 th	Chile	0.536
10 th	Brazil	0.559

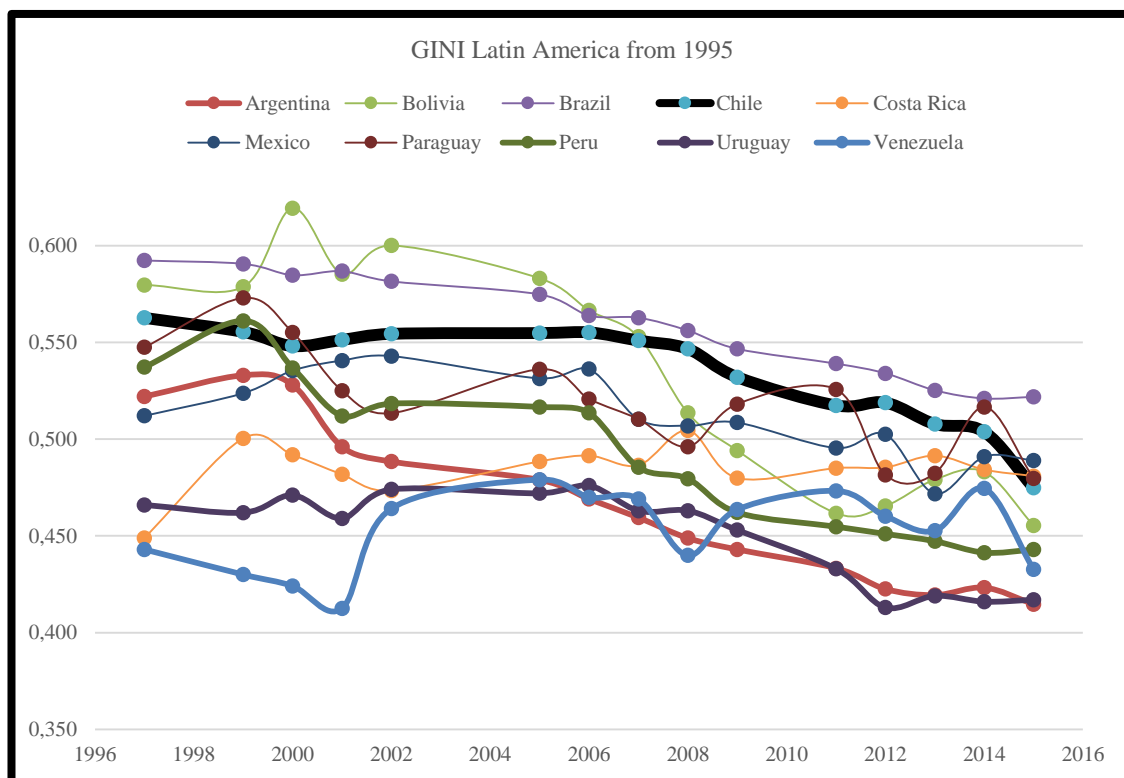


Figure 6.4. Chart of Gini evolution in Latin America between 1995 and 2015. On average, Chile presented the worst performance and nowadays it is only sixth out of the 10 countries measured. Source: own elaboration based on CEDLAS and World Bank.

The neoliberal transformation of Chile required a new urban development model and thus the Housing Ministry and the Public Works Ministry were redefined and the urban planning apparatuses of the state were dismantled, with the government instead relying on private agents (real-estate and urban developers) to define the urban form (Valencia, 2007). Michael Janoschka and Rodrigo Hidalgo (2014) explain that neoliberal urban policies transformed the relationship between social, political and economic actors, from relationships between citizens to relationships between consumers.

Santiago as a neoliberalised city started to become a platform populated by urban components for speculation, with a civil society incapable of contesting a mercantilist notion of space (Rodriguez & Rodriguez, 2009b, p. 7). In the transformation of Santiago's urban development, Arnold Harberger was fundamental. A Professor from the University of Chicago, after marrying a Chilean he moved to live in Santiago, becoming a trusted advisor to Pinochet. In 1979, Harberger published a paper advocating the liberalisation of the processes of urban development as a strategy for advancing towards better access to housing:

“Every great city in the world has had its main stage of growth by a strategy of sprawl. Based on this evidence, I conclude that urban sprawl is a natural economic phenomenon, and governments cannot stop it even when they try, which is even less wise to do ... if the natural development of urbanisation is heading toward the construction of good agricultural lands, it does not make any sense forcing people to accept another kind of lands” (Harberger, 1979, p. 39)

These suggestions provided the theoretical base for the creation of the National Policy of Urban Development on 30th November 1979 by the Presidential Decree 420 (Daher, 1991), expanding the urban limits of Santiago (Figure 6.5). Also, this idea fostered land trading (Daher, 1991; Donoso & Sabatini, 1980; Gross, 1991; Trivelli, 1981). The policy presented three fundamental principles:

- Land is a non-scarce resource, therefore its use and value are defined by its profitability. It is subject to free trade, and restrictions on urban sprawl will be removed to allow the natural expansion of urban areas, following market trends.
- Housing scarcity will be relieved by private building companies, promoted by the state, but it is the responsibility of the market to deal with dwelling demand.

- Every improvement in the environment and in cities financed by the state should be oriented towards making land more profitable.
- In this policy, it is also stated that the goal of urban development plans is to improve the profitability of real estate (MINVU, 1981b, p. 26).

Pablo Trivelli (in Rodriguez & Rodriguez, 2009) explains that in 1979 the National Planning Department implemented a series of policies to make urban development more profitable. These modifications caused the drastic expansion of the urban area by expanding its limits. Harberger's ideas suggested that increasing the number of plots available for construction should lower the price of land, creating more affordable housing close to downtown. For Antonio Daher (1991), Harberger's theory was completely incorrect because land can never be a non-scarce good, so it cannot be treated like any other commodity. Until 1984, this policy created an massive flux in real-estate development, mostly in land trade (Gross, 1991). Santiago increased its urban area by 62,000 hectares, but the price of land increased by 100% in two years (Trivelli, 1981). The theory of Harberger failed, which urged the dictatorship to develop a new policy. Thus, in 1985 a new National Policy for Urban Development attempted to amend the previous one, but it was never promulgated, serving only as guidance for good urban practices instead of an obligatory regulatory framework (Gross, 1991; MINVU 2017). These transformations explain why after 1979 one of the main study subjects for urban disciplines was the price of land.

In practice, these changes strengthened the position of the Chilean Chamber of Builders (CChC) in defining the urban form. CChC is an organisation that gathers real-estate developers, building companies and investors. Due to the nature of a market-oriented urban policy, those who control land prices and construction costs occupy an enviable position for defining how to develop the city. Specifically, CChC has become a gigantic union of real-estate companies and builders. The richest families in the country, the most important urban developers and main financial institutions are members of this organisation, and their influence in politics is considerable. Table 6.2 shows the financial institutions that are members of the CChC. Also, the richest families in the country are actively involved in the CChC activities. The network of the power of the CChC is strongly linked with the interests of capital.

Table 6.2. A selection of members of the CChC (Chilean Chamber of Builders). In parenthesis appears the ranking position between the wealthiest families in the country. Source: own elaboration

<i>Banks members of the CChC</i>	<i>Richest families members of the CChC (Only the rank number)⁴⁹</i>
Banco BBVA Chile	Solari (1)
Banco Consorcio	Matte (2)
Banco de Chile	Angelini (3)
Banco de Crédito e Inversiones S.A.	Yarur (4)
Banco Santander Chile S.A.	Fernandez Leon (5)
Banco Security	Hutado Vicuña (6)
Bice Renta Urbana S.A.	Said (8)
CTI S.A.	Luksic (10)
Santander S.A. Administradora de Fondos de Inversión	Paulmann (12)
Mutuos Hipotecarios Cruz del Sur S.A.	Saieh (13)
Cencosud	Cueto (21)

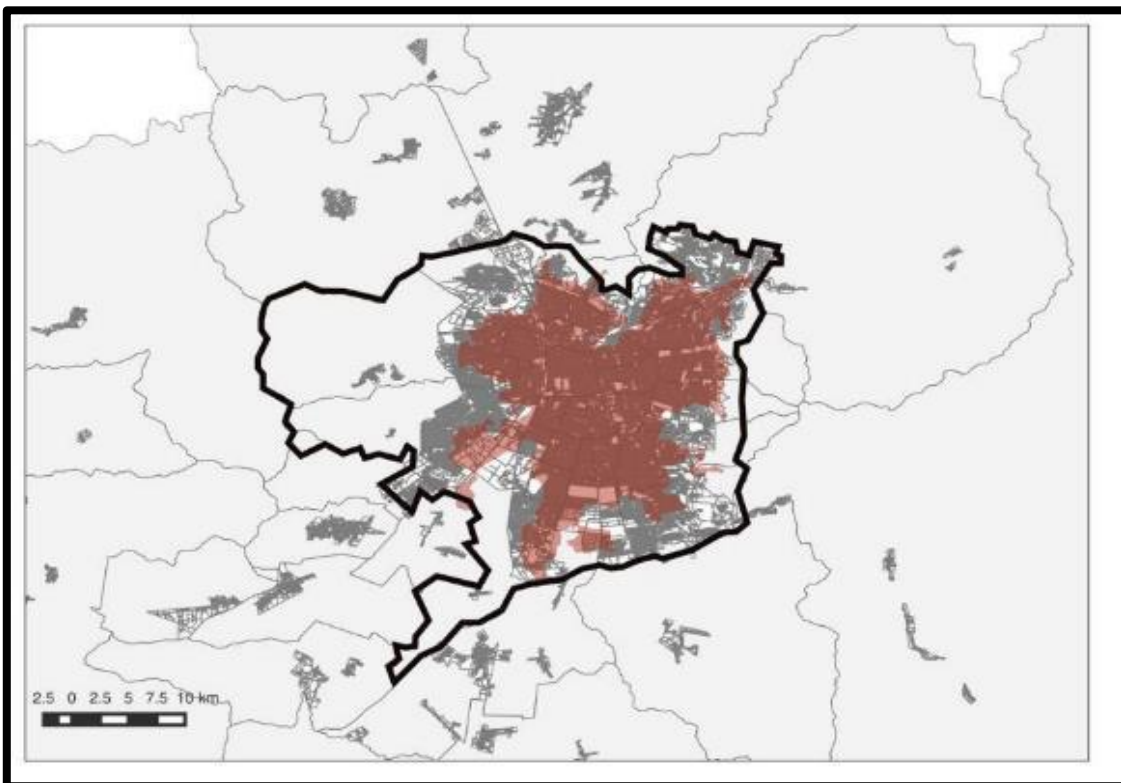


Figure 6.5. Santiago's urban expansion implemented by the National Policy of Urban Development in 1979. The black line represents the urban limit defined in the policy, the pale red blocks formed the urban area of Santiago in 1979 and the black blocks are Santiago at the present. Source: own elaboration.

⁴⁹ I only included the initial of the richest families for avoiding ethical conflicts.

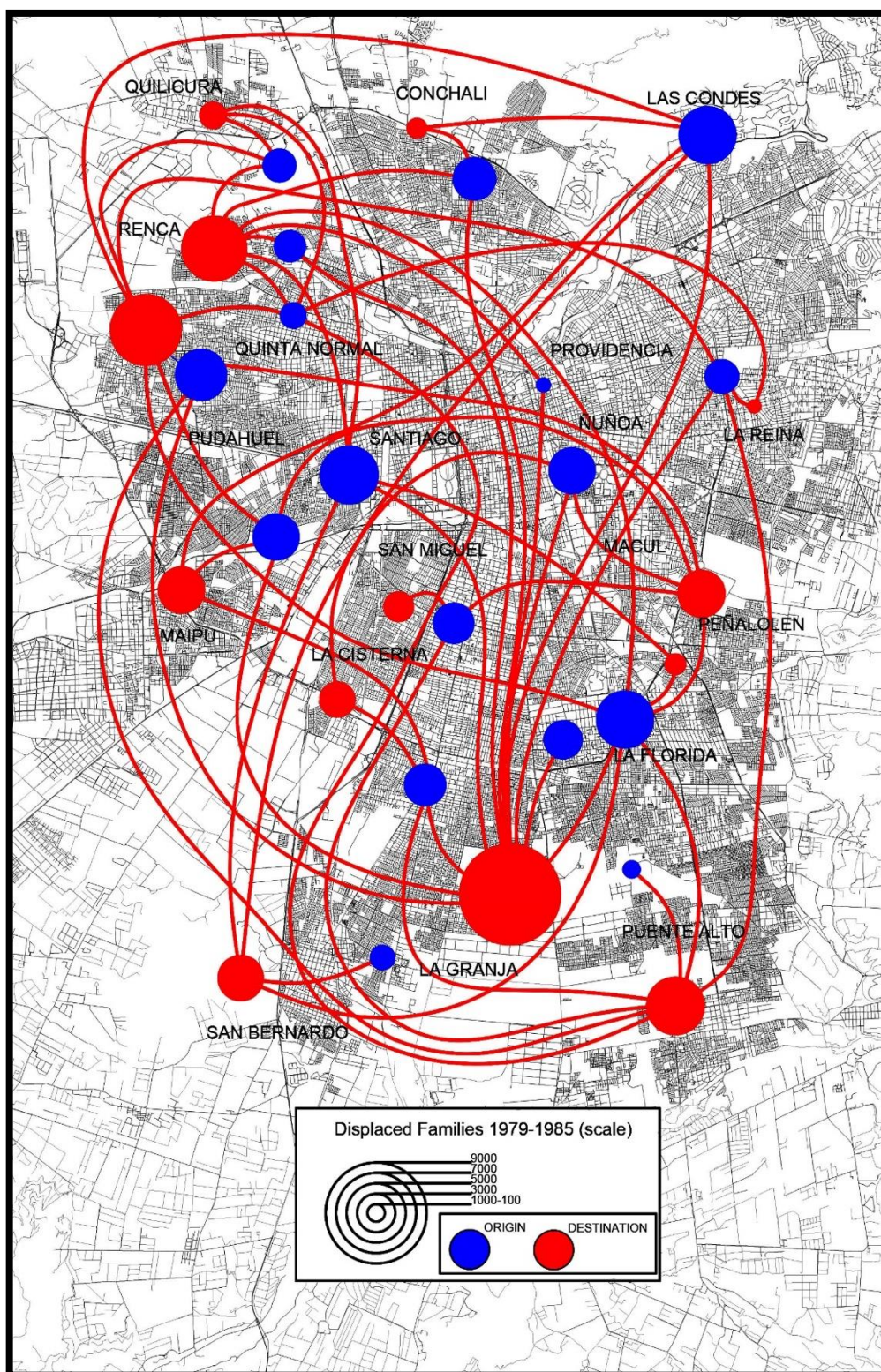


Figure 6.6: Displaced families during the dictatorship. After the neoliberal implementation as part of liberalisation of land for real estate development. Source: own elaboration based on Aldunate, Morales & Rojas 1987. The source had another map; it was necessary to update the new districts of the city.

Because of its magnitude and resources, nowadays in Chile the CChC produces large amounts of data to inform the processes of urban development. Thus, not only do they have the power to define prices of land and costs of construction, but they also provide key information that can be used to prioritise certain methods of urban development⁵⁰. The CChC has direct influence with the Public Works Minister and Housing and Urbanism Minister. Between 2015 and 2017, the CChC held talks with these authorities every two months.⁵¹ Construction in Chile is quite a profitable business, especially for large companies.

Since 1990, the investment in construction has been boosted, increasing by 587% (Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas, 2017). In business, success comes from knowing customers' purchasing power and from targeting products. Therefore, creating segments of the population based on their income facilitates the allocation of products (Silbiger, 2009). In real estate, this strategy was applied by classifying neighbourhoods by household income. Aware of this factor of efficiency in urban markets, the dictatorship produced a significant reordenation of Santiago's neighbourhoods.

Using military forces, Pinochet reshuffled the urban segments, moving people from one side to the other as is showed on the map in Figure 6.6, in order to liberate areas for real-estate investments. During the seventies, the urban poor settled in strategic areas in Santiago, living in informal settlements, pejoratively named as *poblaciones callampa* (mushroom towns) an inheritance of the *conventillos* of the beginnings of the 20th century. In order to organise the city for market investment, Pinochet created 36 *comunas* segmented by social classes. This cleansing of the urban fabric for business may be summarised in three strategies:

1. The municipalisation of the city, transferring central powers to each mayor in

⁵⁰ For instance, the Central Bank of Chile uses an indicator of construction rates and housing prices that is developed by the CChC.

⁵¹ This rate was obtained by Ley del Lobby (Lobby law), a regulation in Chile that obliges the authorities to make public their meetings and the topics they have discussed.

Santiago's districts (*comunas*). It is worth saying that it was Pinochet who elected each mayor of the country, hence, the organisation of each municipality and its democratic empowerment was completely subordinated to the dictator's will. The mayors were not there to represent the people's voice but to organise the space for free-market urban development.

2. The National Policy of Urban Development 1979, although it did not declare its intentions, it changed the idea of densifying the urban area of Santiago into fostering a strategy of urban sprawl. Harberger argued that all great cities experienced a period of urban sprawl (Harberger, 1979), so the policy and developers followed these ideas. In the new urban areas and districts of Santiago, the dictatorship allocated the urban poor space away from the centre.
3. Finally, increasing the number of municipal divisions of Santiago (from 18 to 32), doubling the *comunas* and characterising each of them according to their socio-economic conformation. This socio-economic classification emerged from marketing theory, in which the marketer develops segments of the population in order to target their products depending on their interests, incomes and desires. In this case, the segmentation considered spatial products (mostly housing) according to people's purchasing capacity. In other words, an organisation of the city by class.

Table 6.3: Evolution of sale prices per square metre in Santiago from 1980 (neoliberal implementation) until 2016 (UF/m²). Source: own production based on archives of El Mercurio newspaper in the section of "property selling", consulted in the National Archive of Chile.

Year	Conchalí	La Florida	Las Condes	Vitacura	Providencia	San Miguel	Maiipo	Ñuñoa	Quinta Normal	Renca	Pudahuel	Santiago
1980	13.40	5.69	29.20	29.53	24.46	12.99	10.69	24.44	2.20	3.53	2.20	17.10
1985	4.86	10.95	12.38	19.12	8.19	8.25	3.98	8.43	6.15	4.96	3.19	9.50
1989	5.17	7.92	15.29	32.57	13.77	11.30	7.98	18.61	2.05	2.60	6.70	5.13
1993	4.24	12.20	28.15	25.43	23.08	13.19	12.25	21.34	4.53	10.09	5.23	22.64
2000	5.72	13.49	41.93	36.00	22.69	17.65	18.97	29.59	6.35	6.35	10.59	30.34
2005	18.61	19.89	31.99	41.92	37.11	24.34	20.17	25.93	6.43	11.94	14.66	30.15
2010	15.55	37.81	64.78	48.68	52.47	27.58	26.37	39.51	25.67	14.92	18.66	26.83
2016	28.89	35.80	116.67	111.25	63.95	30.98	30.65	40.76	21.00	32.61	19.42	40.00

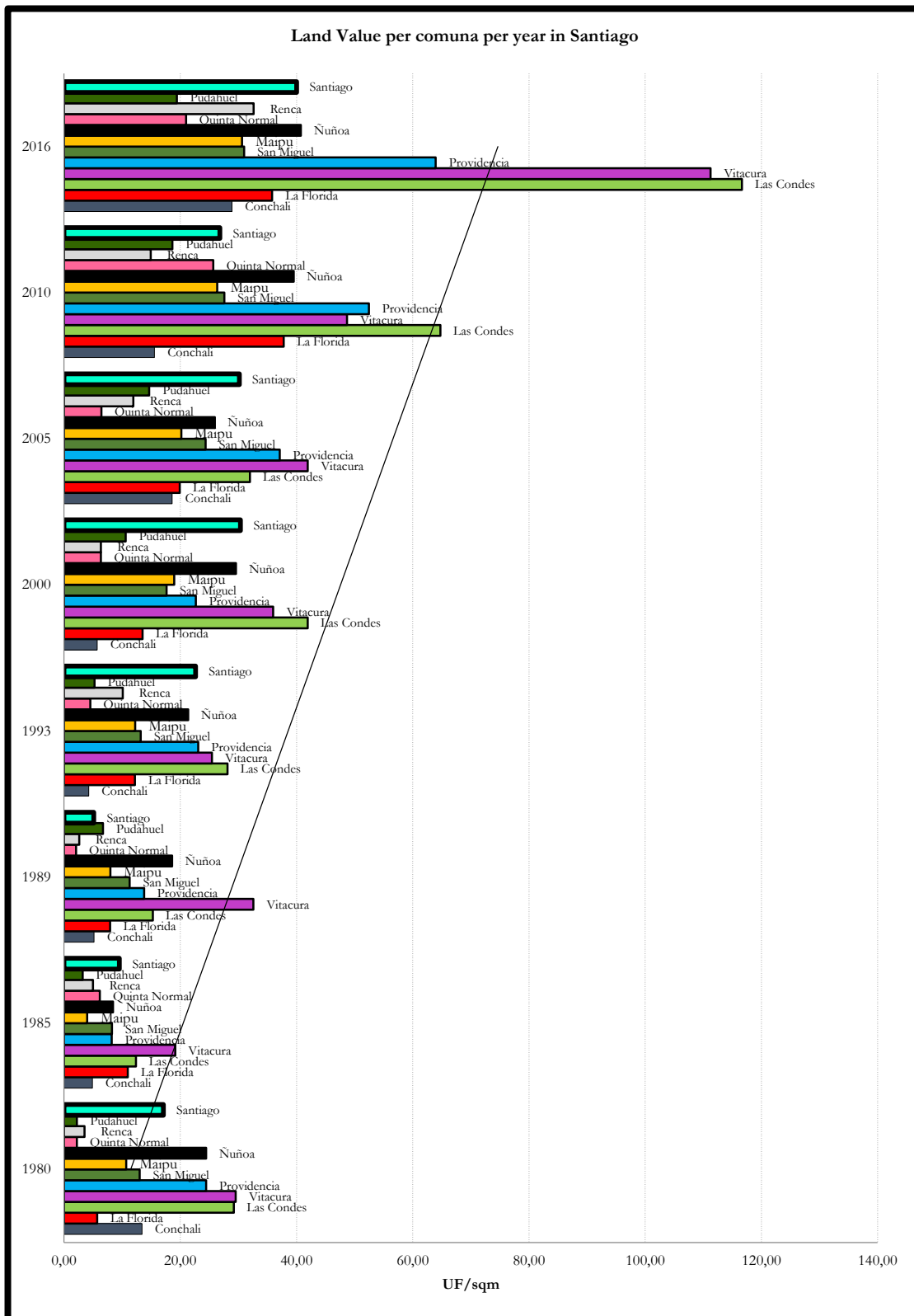


Figure 6.7: Evolution of sale prices per square meter in Santiago from 1980 (neoliberal implementation) until 2016. Source: own elaboration based on archives of El Mercurio newspaper in the section of “property selling”, consulted in the National Archive of Chile.

As a consequence, the prices of housing increased drastically in some *comunas* while in others they increased at a low rate (Table 6.3). Therefore, Pinochet's urban plan for Santiago achieved the creation of communes for the rich (Las Condes, Vitacura, Providencia) and for the poor (Conchalí, Renca, Pudahuel). The segmentation of the city served to allocate adequate spatial typologies depending on their social class (Figure 6.7, 6.8). This transformation also produced a fragmentation between districts (*comunas*), lacking coordination on the broader scale of the city. Thus, each *comuna* defined its own rules and regulations, without the necessity of agreeing with other districts.

The appointment of a Metropolitan Mayor to coordinate the *comunas* was not considered, which became a visible problem in moments of crisis. As Chile is a country where earthquakes, floods, volcano eruptions and tsunamis occur often, the absence of strong urban planning institutions has led to conflict. For instance, on 3rd March 1985, a significant earthquake measuring 7.8 on the Richter Scale affected Santiago, destroying 59,361 houses and affecting 496,011 inhabitants. For the reconstruction process, the dictatorship relied on the free market for solutions. The central authority provided a fund of \$2,969,563 to alleviate the situation of families. This fund was insignificant in relation to the magnitude of the earthquake. This abandonment affected low-income people and they started to organise themselves. The dictatorship, which claimed to be an efficient administration, exposed its weaknesses during a moment of crisis.

When people needed state responses they were slow and insufficient. Also, this earthquake unveiled the deficiency of the buildings that had been constructed under free-market rules, revealing the absence of regulations, the use of cheap materials and the weakening of a long tradition of seismic-resistant designs (Lawner, 1985). The dismantling of the urban planning apparatus was a mistake that the earthquake illuminated. Miguel Lawner (1985) states that the earthquake destroyed buildings designed under the new urban development scheme under the neoliberal rule:

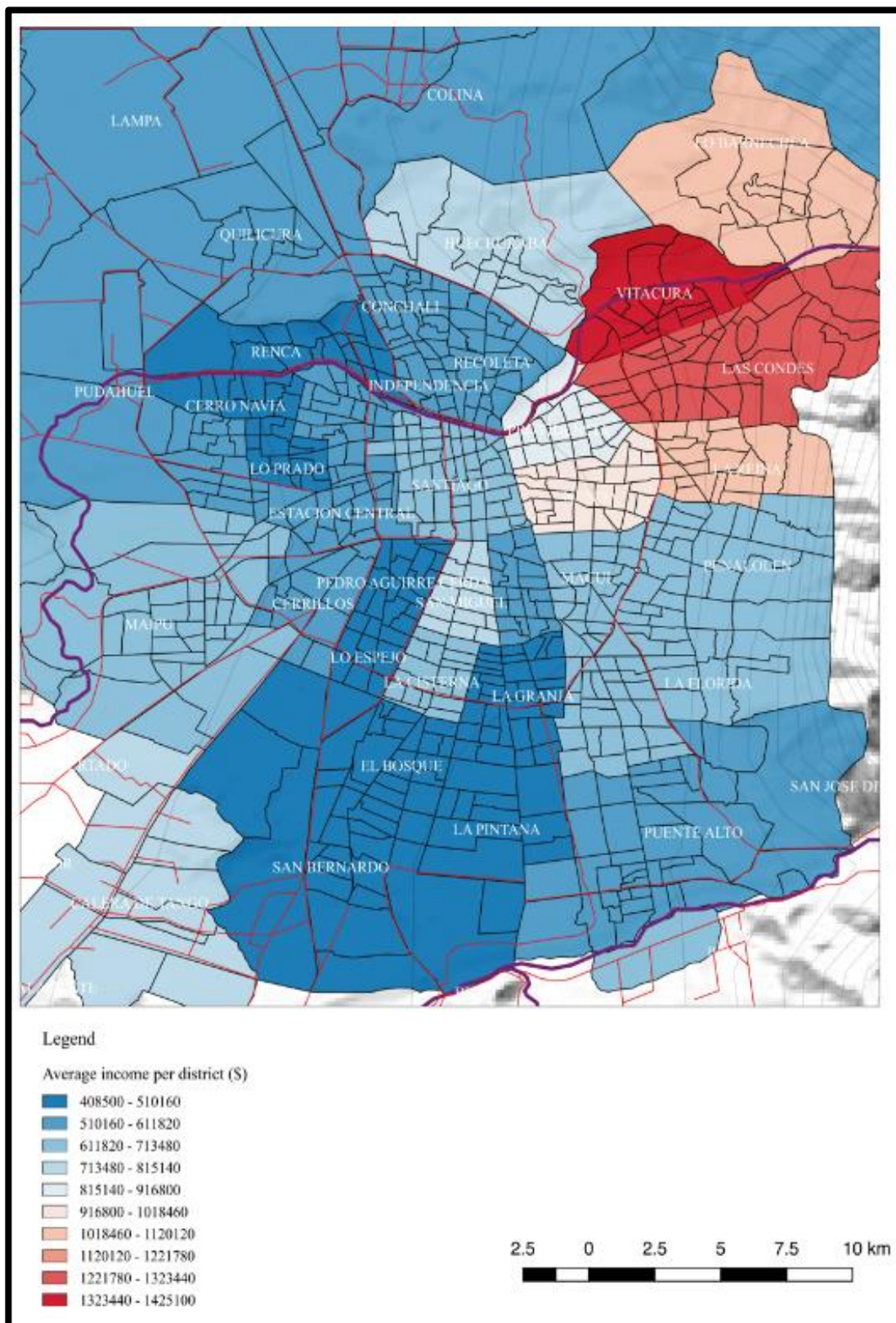


Figure 6.8: Map of average income per district in Santiago. It is evident how the city is segmented according to its purchasing capacity, exposing its serious level of segregation. Source: own elaboration.

“The neoliberal transformations weakened seriously the regulatory frameworks of construction processes, constraining the control mechanisms of the quality of materials used for building, the uses of urban land, the ethical codes and professional fees. In general, 40 years of construction and urban development rules produced in Chile disappeared after the Chicago era. The earthquake shook the monetarist model applied to construction, unveiling its rhetoric and ornaments. The earthquake did a strip-tease to this model”.⁵²(Lawner, 1985, n/p).

This earthquake brought even more complications for Pinochet, who was already facing problems with the international community over human rights violations, exiled individuals and his own economic inefficiency. For instance, in 1985 GDP presented a decline of -4.39% compared with 1981. This catastrophic economic and social scenario was ideal for deep changes in Chile. Therefore, in 1988, the opposition, organised as a political conglomerate and supported by international institutions and the United States, gained the chance of a plebiscite in order to decide whether Pinochet should continue as the head of the state. Pinochet lost the plebiscite and the return to democracy started. After the elections of 1989, the *Concertación de Partidos por la Democracia* (Organisation of Parties for Democracy) ruled the country for almost 20 years.

Once in a democracy, the expectations over urban development reforms had to wait, given the urgencies of a gigantic housing deficit and the shortage of fiscal funds available for infrastructural development. While the dictatorship set up the basis of neoliberalism, the outcomes of urban-design-under neoliberalism emerged during the transition to democracy.

⁵² “Estas transformaciones debilitaron gravemente las ordenanzas que regulaban el proceso constructivo, limitaron los mecanismos de control y de calidad de los materiales de construcción, las disposiciones relativas al uso del suelo urbano, los códigos de ética y de aranceles profesionales y, en general, todas las normas sobre construcción y desarrollo urbano imperantes en Chile en los cuarenta años anteriores a la "era de Chicago".El terremoto sacudió al modelo monetarista aplicado a la construcción, despojándolo de retórica y ornamentos. Le hizo un verdadero strip-tease.”

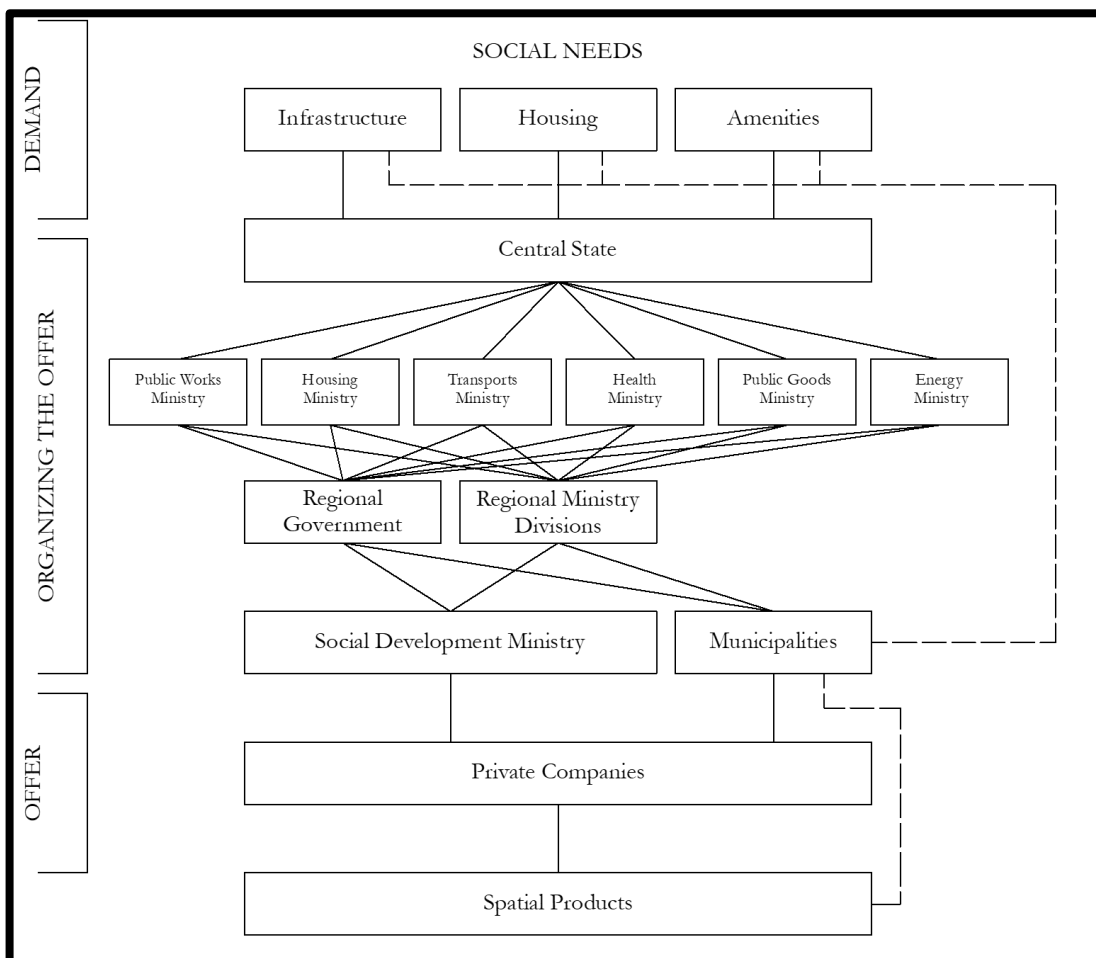


Figure 6.9: Diagram that summarises the fluxes of information from the socio-spatial need (housing, infrastructure, amenities) to its transformation into space. The flux considers a state that organises the demand and a market that provides the solutions. Source: own elaboration.

6.3. Featuring urban-design-under-neoliberalism

The model employed by the *Concertación* for resolving socio-spatial needs was based on the state organising social demands and the market providing solutions. This was developed by a system known as Mercado Publico (Public Market), a centralised web-based platform on which the state demanded services and companies tendered to win the contracts. Thus, the state's choice was determined by simply hiring the company that provided the cheapest bid from among the companies that fulfilled the application requirements (Figure 6.9).

The state and the market speak the same language based on a set of financial methods under the cost-benefit approach. Both in private projects and in government-funded initiatives, the model of evaluation was based on the Internal Rate of Return (IRR) and Net Present Value (NPV). The IRR measures the profitability of potential investments, considering the flows of cash from the beginning to the finalisation of a project, including financial costs and times. The IRR is complemented by the NPV, which determines whether or not an investment is risky and if it is worth implementing in relation to the estimation of the inflation rate. In Chile, IRR is preferred by real-estate developers. Despite a project offering high benefits in relation to innovation, spatial quality, social value and cultural development – to mention just a few – if these features are not measured under a financial scheme they will not influence the evaluation of the project for public investment. As a result of this limitation, diverse urban projects are profitable but not beautiful, innovative or socially embedded. For Ivan Poduje (2012), the assessment of projects by its social values is a useful instrument for rationalising public investment, but its weakness is that the instrument promotes the trend of reducing costs instead of increasing benefits, lacking comprehensiveness.

Chile's main goal during the nineties was economic growth so that it could apply the trickle-down theory. This objective brought in new capital to invest in urban development and many projects were reshaping the urban landscape, but they were aiming for profit, not for producing a good city. A burst in construction incorporated more architects into the public sphere, recovering some relevance in the production of space. Mathias Klotz⁵³ enjoyed a leading position in criticising the urban face of Santiago: 90% of the new buildings in Santiago would fail in any practical module in any Chilean architecture school (Klotz, 1993). Although his observation made sense, the critique lacked political understanding of the causes, ignoring the influence of neoliberalism in producing

⁵³ Indeed, in 1997 the GG Publisher group launched a monograph about Klotz (one of many made in his honour).

urban-design-under-neoliberalism. Klotz only spoke about aesthetics, separating architecture from politics and ideologies, when in reality it is embedded. Neoliberalism was invisible as a spatial problem for years.

In 2007, Felipe Assadi, former partner of Klotz, attempted to illustrate that good architecture is possible under the free market by designing a residential building downtown. He failed and then reflected: "Certain definitions of living standards have been deeply outlined by the real estate market. The definition of inhabitant preferences, income levels, regulations and financial balances of developers describes a quite limited set of possibilities for the architect" (Assadi, Pulido, & Zapata, 2008, p. 48). Assadi recognised that "design on an architectural level almost does not exist, unless in ornaments - if there are resources for it - or in irrelevant elements, that do not involve real project decisions" (Assadi et al., 2008, p. 50). The IRR and the NPV were the mantras for making decisions on urban-design-under-neoliberalism. The next part of the chapter will illustrate the practices of urban-design-under-neoliberalism, as we need to discuss the three realms of action based on social housing, real-estate development, and public-private partnerships, which are those areas in which capitalists and urban designers have more visible effects on the city.

6.3.1. Social housing under neoliberalism

In 1990, Chile had a deficit of 1,030,828 housing units (Gilbert, 2000) which demanded urgent solutions. The administration of Patricio Aylwin developed an ambitious social housing plan for building more than 250,000 new dwellings by 1994 (Rodríguez & Sugranyes, 2005). In order to do so, the state would hire private construction companies to build the dwellings required. The hiring of companies would be undertaken through a system of bids. Thus, the private sector, using public funds, would ensure profitability by building social housing. The plan used subsidies for housing, progressive housing programmes, basic housing construction and a special programme for workers. Following the logic of the IRR and NPV, the projects offered an interesting rate for building companies, a low level of regulation and large amounts of funds in order to provide a massive

number of housing units in a short time period. However, this acceleration provided wealth for the few and new problems for the many. An emblematic example was the case known as *Casas Copeva*. These social housing estates were Volcán San José 1, 2, 3 and 4, built by COPEVA between 1995 and 1997 in Bajos de Mena in the southern area of Santiago. The project was funded under the scheme of the Basic Housing Programme and considered the initial construction of 2,306 housing units between 1994 and 1996, which implied significant relief to all those families who had previously been living in self-built shacks.

Casas Copeva flooded after the first heavy rain of 1997 and 600 families abandoned their recently inaugurated dwellings. The floods occurred because of the deficient design of the houses and a drastic reduction in construction costs. Loose regulations in relation to construction ignored the fact that private companies would aim to increase their earnings by cutting costs, equalling high profits for the company, but low spatial quality. Furthermore, the oligarchical tradition of the Chilean elite was another problem in this model of development. Edmundo Hermosilla was the Housing Minister when, in 1994, the Housing Ministry purchased the land of *Bajos de Mena* from Francisco Perez-Yoma, who was the owner of COPEVA, a big Chilean building company. After purchasing the land, the state decided to construct social housing (Volcán San José 1, 2, 3 and 4) in Bajos de Mena. The building bid was assigned to COPEVA as well. A great conflict arose because Hermosilla and Perez-Yoma were good friends. Indeed, a newspaper discovered that Perez-Yoma gave Hermosilla a horse as a gift at the same time that the Housing Ministry was dealing with the purchase of the plots of land in Bajos de Mena. The connection between Hermosilla and Perez-Yoma was confirmed by the minister and he resigned after the scandal, without providing an explanation of the relation between the horse and the purchasing of these plots of land from his friend. Moreover, COPEVA filed for bankruptcy and never paid for the deficient *Casas Copeva*. In the end, the Housing Ministry paid £2,000,000 to repair 600 houses. Thus, the business was profitable for the private company, expensive for the state, and a big problem for dwellers.



Figure 6.10. Housing block in Bajos de Mena. Source: own elaboration.

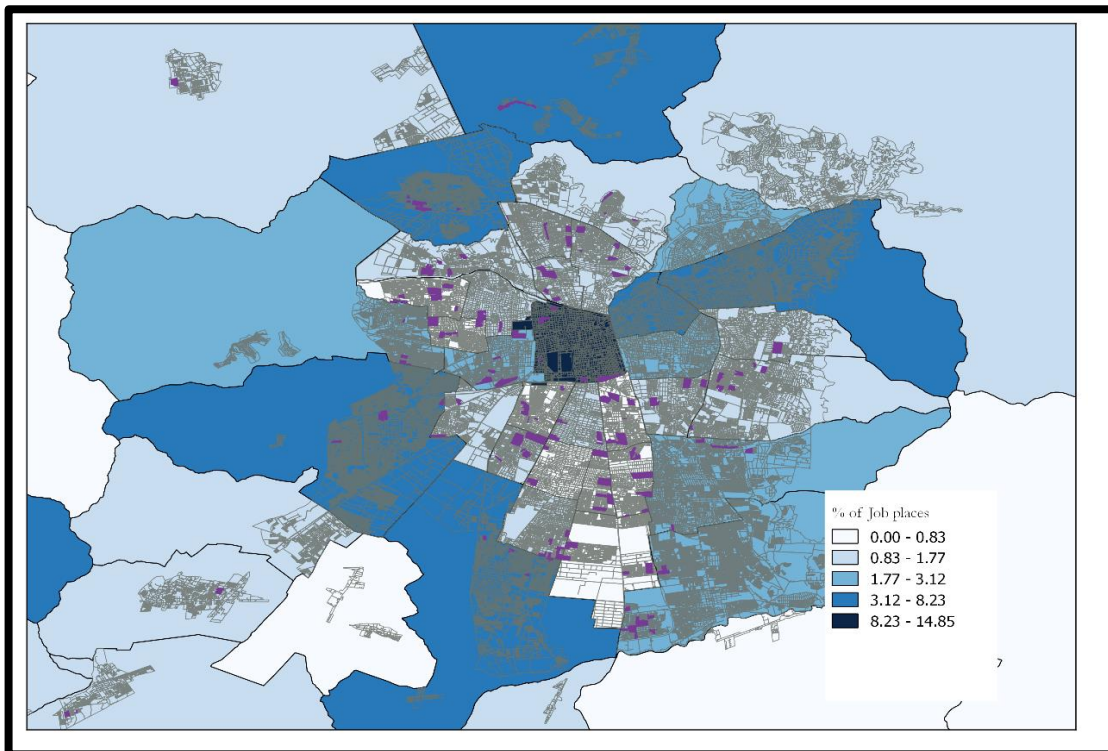


Figure 6.11. Map of Santiago marking the location of social housing projects (in violet) and the concentration of job places per *comuna*. Source: own elaboration based on CASEN 2015, MINVU and Encuesta Nacional de Empleos 2017.

The accelerated production of housing did not consider the creation of friendly environments, urban connectivity and amenities (Figure 6.10). Despite the accelerated production of housing, inequality on spatial outcomes increased.

Between 1988 and 2002, the housing deficit was reduced by 50% but the issue of the spatial quality of dwellings was not tackled, and neither was urban life. Alfredo Rodriguez and Ana Sugranyes (2005) named this contradictory phenomenon as *Los con techo*⁵⁴: people owning their houses but living in precarious neighbourhoods, lacking connectivity to urban centres, facilities and services, and suffering from a clear ghettoisation of their social spaces.

At the beginning of the 1990s, urban-design-under-neoliberalism followed an abstract approach to the urban that ignored the rich complexity of everyday life. More houses were built but not better urban spaces. Although it should be better to live in a cheap house than in a shack, the absence of reflective and comprehensive urban development turned the social housing projects of the nineties into provisional solutions and the state had to invest again in order to make amendments. Indeed, some neighbourhoods built – like *Bajos de Mena* – will be demolished in 2018 because of their problematic design (Cociña, 2012).

Social housing policies produced under a scheme of the subsidiary state following financial criteria are conflictual in building better cities when regulations are loose or market-oriented. The model of subsidies in Chile operates by the government providing funds to families in order to complement their purchase capacity and to enable them to acquire a house on the market. The state financed the projects, private companies built housing, and citizens received their own property while companies obtained their earnings. These companies learned to increase the profitability of

⁵⁴ in English: the problem of those with a roof

their activities by reducing construction costs and building on cheaper plots of land. In Santiago, the cheaper plots of lands are very far from the centre of the city and away from job opportunities (Figure 6.1). As Camila Cociña explains, these conditions become more problematic under the logic of economies of scale, which foster the construction of large numbers of houses in vast areas of the city in order to maximise the utility of the investment (Cociña, 2012).

One of the causes of this problem was setting the goal of reducing the housing deficit over a short time period (8 years). This goal was an abstraction of the problem, focusing only on the mass production of dwellings, and ignoring the comprehensiveness of urban development. Between 1990 and 2005, 2,000,000 dwellings were built, reducing the deficit considerably (Rodríguez & Sugranyes, 2005); however, the positivist approach to analysing the social housing question then required a new scope. For Rodríguez and Sugranyes, the companies providing construction services to the state were very satisfied, facing no risks or pressures:

“The Ministry of Housing and Urbanism (MINVU) provides subsidies to people and building companies to construct the solutions. At the end of the year, the state gives back to these companies 65% of their taxes for construction costs. The state is not only protecting the companies, but also the financial market, by agreeing to finance the loans of people applying for these subsidies. MINVU pays the banks for people’s credit insurance and assumes the responsibility in case debtors cannot pay their debts. There is no risk or competition: only a few building companies are suitable to apply for building social housing in each region. Nor is there innovation: the technology used in social housing in Chile is the same as 20 years ago. In this captive market, building companies do not need to consider new ideas, contributions and practices developed by NGOs, universities and unions. Neither the ministry nor the companies need to open a debate over the social and urban costs of this massive production of social housing, including the costs of allocating services and amenities in the periphery (not included in social housing projects) against the advantages that consolidated areas of the city offer” (Rodríguez & Sugranyes, 2005, p. 12)⁵⁵

⁵⁵ Original language: ““MINVU otorga subsidios, asigna las viviendas a quienes han postulado, y las empresas construyen y, al final del año, el Estado les devuelve el 65 por ciento del IVA de los costos de construcción. Pero el Estado no sólo protege a las empresas, sino que también al mercado financiero que ha aceptado financiar los créditos a los postulantes al subsidio. A los bancos que otorgan el crédito, el MINVU les financia los seguros sobre los préstamos y asume la responsabilidad por el remate del bien inmueble en caso de

In 2006 the approach changed with programmes like *Quiero Mi Barrio*⁵⁶. This new approach represents a new urban-design-under-neoliberalism, a phase of “neoliberalism with human face” (Hidalgo Dattwyler et al., 2017, p. 530). In this approach, urban-design-under-neoliberalism is employed to broaden access to private property, thus allowing low-income groups to accessing credit and debt (De Mattos, 2002).

"Neoliberalism adopted a human face using urban and social housing policies. This is a representation of a new approach to social development which incorporates values such as equity, social mixture and sustainability. However, this is an ideological rhetoric strategy. At the end neoliberalism still expels low-income communities to new urban peripheries" (Hidalgo et al. 2017, p. 530).

Specifically, social housing in the neoliberal era of Chile increased the importance of urban development as an economic activity with the goal of reproducing capitalist modes of production. Social housing, by providing private property, contributes also to strengthening the importance of financial agents and the role of banks in the production of space.

6.3.2. Neoliberal real estate and the financial realm

It is a fact that during its neoliberal period, Chile increased the GDP per capita of the country to over USD 23,000⁵⁷, reaching levels of purchasing power similar to Greece or Croatia in 2016 (World Bank, 2016). In addition, the access to financial credit and the promotion of private property rights widened the possibility of owning a house.

insolvencia del deudor. No hay riesgo. Tampoco hay competencia: son muy pocas las empresas especializadas en el rubro capaces de adjudicarse los cupos anuales de construcción de conjuntos de vivienda social por región. Tampoco hay innovación: la tecnología de la vivienda social en Chile es la misma desde hace veinte años. En este mercado cautivo, las empresas de la construcción de estas viviendas de bajo estándar no necesitan mirar los aportes, ideas y ensayos que han desarrollado ONG, universidades y colegios gremiales. Tampoco han necesitado, ni el Ministerio ni los empresarios, abrir un debate sobre el costo social y urbano de esta producción masiva de viviendas sociales, que incluya los costos de localizar servicios y equipamiento en la periferia (no considerados en los proyectos de vivienda social) versus las ventajas que ofrecen las áreas ya consolidadas de la ciudad.” (Rodríguez & Sugranyes, 2005, p. 12)

⁵⁶ In English: I like my neighbourhood.

⁵⁷ GDP per capita Chile 2016 USD 23,460 in purchasing power parity. Croatia was USD 23,596; and Greece was USD 26,383.

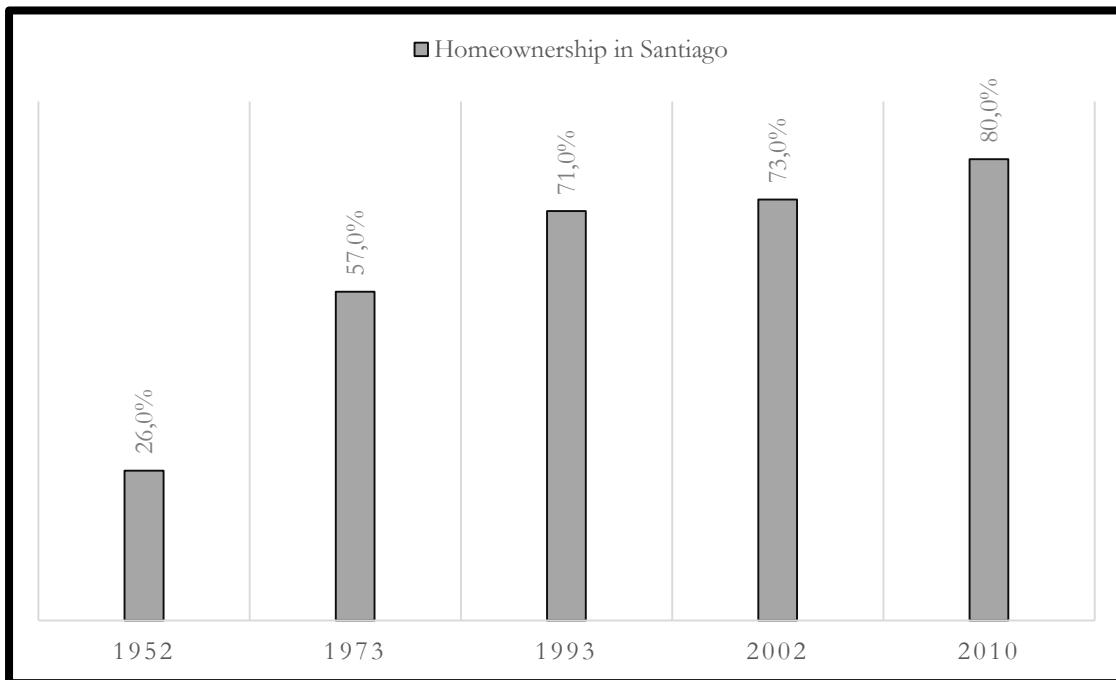


Figure 6.12. Homeownership percentage in Santiago, historic progression. Source: author based on Gilbert 1998, Encuesta Panel de Vivienda 2010, and National Institute of Statistics (INE).

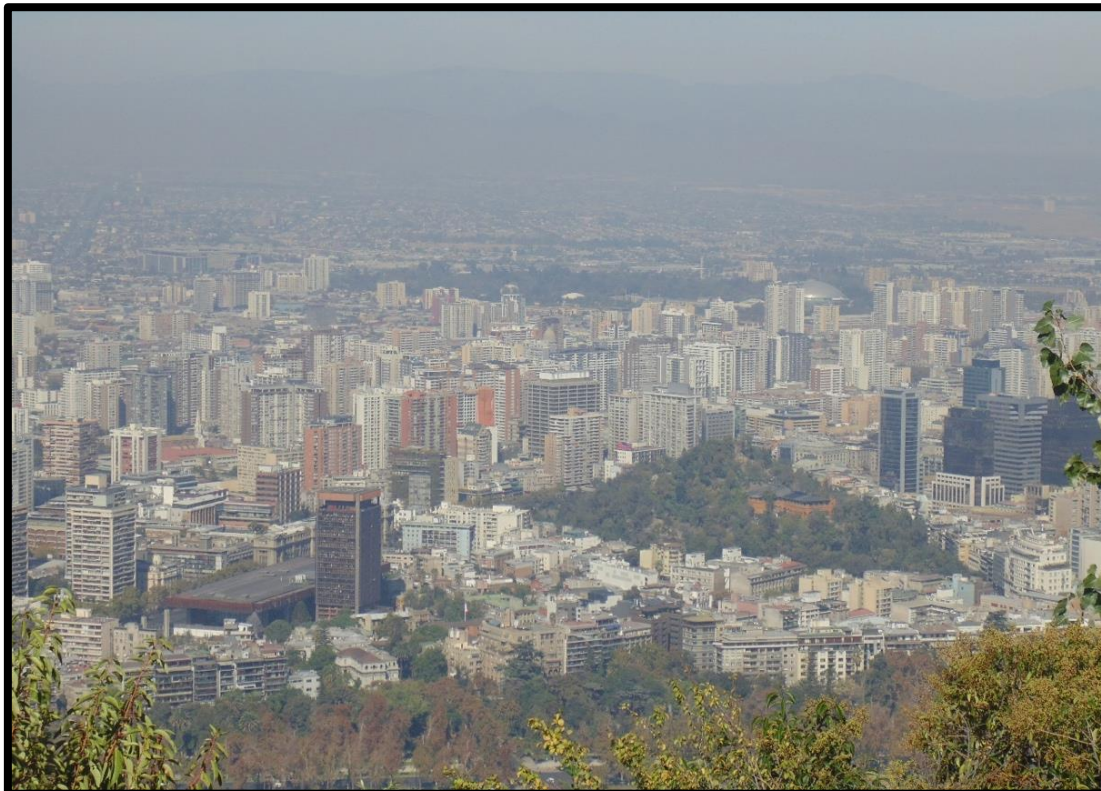


Figure 6.13. Picture of Santiago's downtown and its verticalisation as a consequence of the infilling process. Source:

own elaboration.

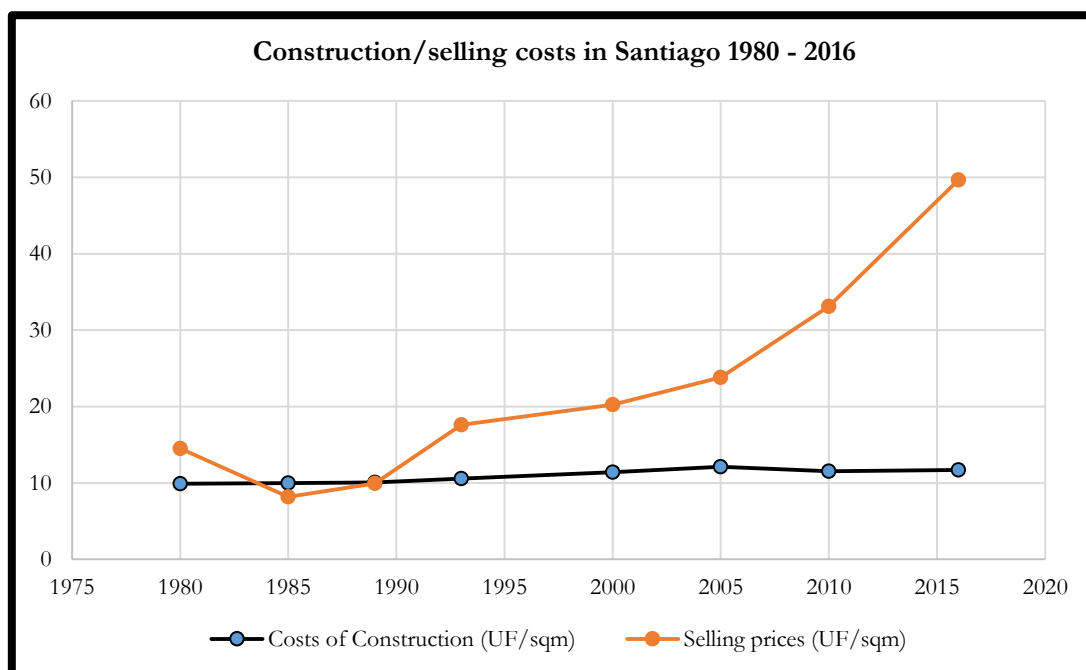


Figure 6.14. Construction vs selling costs in Santiago between 1980 and 2016. Prices expressed in UF/sqm. Construction costs increases according to the CPI and are organized by the Housing Ministry, while the selling prices were obtained from the housing market published in *El Mercurio*. Source: own elaboration based on Ministerio de Vivienda (Tabla Unitaria de Costos Clase E), *El Mercurio* (Historical Archives).

In 1973, 57% of dwellers were homeowners in Santiago (Figure 6.12), while in 2010 it reached 80% (Simian, 2010). These conditions increased the importance of financial institutions in the housing market. Ivo Gasic (2016) revealed that between 2010 and 2015, 40% of the acquisitions of urban land were by financial institutions, while only 31% were by real-estate companies. For Gasic, this data exposes the existence of an advanced process of financialisation in the housing market. The financialisation of housing implies the increasing dominance of financial actors and their practices, measurements and strategies over the structural transformations of the mode of producing housing (Fernandez & Aalbers, 2016). For Raquel Rolnik (2013), this process has two main implications: first, the promotion of homeownership strengthens individualism and a consumption-based society. Second, the financialisation of housing requires a more accessible mortgage system, lowering the requirements for credit in order to ensure that everyone is able to own a property. Rodrigo Cattaneo (2011) explains that after the reform of the Chilean capital market (MKI) in 2001, new mechanisms facilitated the capitalisation of companies, intensifying the relationship between

financial institutions and real-estate development. The reform fostered the diversification of companies' investments. For example, real-estate developers received fresh funds from different financial resources, adding dynamics to the construction industry. Several financial firms acquired traditional real-estate companies such as Moller-Perez Cotapos (Citigroup), Penta Group (Security), and real-estate developers such as Salfacorp S.A., Pazcorp and Socovesa went public on the Chilean stock market. These new investors organised packages of investments to develop specific urban products such as pharmacies, shopping malls, shopping strips⁵⁸, gated communities and high-rise residential buildings. For Cattaneo: "the metropolis is not only a centre for articulating global capitalism. Materially, the fabrication of its spaces is one of the most essential strategies of adding value to capital" (Cattaneo, 2011, p. 8). The aesthetics of this process of financialisation were presented in a book named "Infilling", an apologetic exposition of Santiago's transformation by urban-design-under-neoliberalism. The book describes how the consumers of dwellings prefer to live within the limits of Américo Vespucio (a circular road that surrounds Santiago) in consolidated neighbourhoods, making the city grow skywards. For Ivan Poduje, Juan Martinez and Nicolas Jobet (2015), infilling is explained by the demographic transition of people aiming to live nearer downtown and their workplace in order to reduce commuting times, the fear of robbery (more common in houses), the increased prices of land, and the transformation of public policies that promoted the development of denser cities.

⁵⁸ Shopping strips is a sort of small shopping mall that usually offers a small supermarket, pharmacy, fast food, a café and parking area. In general, these urban products are located on one of the corners of a block.

“Historically it has been argued that the model of a dense city was the ideal. It was seen as a positive approach to urban growth. Its values were the reduction of commuting times, taking advantage of infrastructure previously developed and bringing working classes nearer to urban centres. However, some problems emerged such as the controversies over the construction of high-rise buildings in low-rise neighbourhoods, the undermining of urban areas with historical value, problems with reaching social harmony and non-desired uses derived from hyperdensification. At the same time, the increase in the demand for land near the centre increased also the land value, problematising the access to affordable housing and social housing projects in strategic areas of the city” (Poduje, 2015, p. 6-7)⁵⁹

For instance, Jorge Vergara (2017) recounts that 40.6% of the residential buildings constructed between 1990 and 2014 had five storeys or more. Despite some level of appreciation of the infilling phenomena, Poduje et al. (2015) recognise the imperious necessity of improving the coordination between authorities, companies and civil society. Furthermore, most high-rise residential buildings are in the richest *comunas* of the city: Santiago, Las Condes, Ñuñoa, Providencia and Vitacura (Vergara, 2017). For Jorge Vergara, the increasing number of high-rise residential buildings illustrates the verticalisation of the city. The financialisation of housing leads towards a process of infilling and verticalisation (Figure 6.13). Infilling is the process of populating central areas of the city with new real estate development and increasing the density of the district (Gatica, 2011). The financialisation is more complex.

Under financial logic, the way of defining where and how to construct housing depends on mainly the supply and demand rules and profitability (Silbiger, 2009). Hence, investment in the richest *comunas* are prioritised because these areas are less risky for capital. The richest *comunas* of Santiago

⁵⁹ Original language: “Históricamente, se pensó que la densificación era el modelo ideal de crecimiento. Por lo mismo, era visto como un contrapunto positivo a la expansión urbana. Sus méritos eran reducir tiempos de viaje, aprovechar sectores con infraestructura existente y acercar hogares de clase media a los centros urbanos. Sin embargo, también han aparecido problemas que nunca se previeron cuando se idealizó la ciudad compacta: controversias generadas por la construcción de edificios en barrios residenciales de baja altura, deterioro de zonas patrimoniales, conflictos de convivencia y usos no deseados derivados de la hiperdensidad. Al mismo tiempo, el aumento en la demanda de localización en áreas centrales – por definición acotadas y con limitaciones de oferta – ha elevado considerablemente los precios de terrenos, dificultando el acceso a la vivienda y a la ejecución de programas habitacionales del Estado” (Poduje et al., 2015, p. 6-7)

have consolidated housing markets and the profit is secured. On the other hand, the poorer *comunas* receive projects with a lower quality of design because the customers have a lower purchasing capacity. Under the logic of supply and demand, if a *comuna* has reduced purchasing capacity, the market provides cheaper housing. Between 1980 and 2016, the price of construction in Santiago varied by 15% while the selling prices of housing increased by 242% (Figure 6.14). Additionally, the financial evaluation of real-estate projects between 1980 and 2016 indicates that their profitability increased by 448% (Table 6.4). Real estate and construction are highly profitable businesses nowadays. Indeed, the *Hurun Report* on the source of the wealth of billionaires indicates that these sectors were the second main source of wealth⁶⁰ in 2016, just below technology and media. Under this scheme of real estate as a financial asset, the only rule is obtaining a high rate of IRR in order to maximise profits in the short term. For instance, it is desirable to have an IRR of between 12% and 20% for real-estate projects. The IRR in three years for five different projects in Santiago (middle-class *comuna*) and San Joaquín (low-income *comuna*) reveals that the IRR was 86% and 51% respectively, representing an outstanding revenue for investors (Table 6.5).

⁶⁰ The Hurun Report of 2017 indicates that Real Estate (9.4%) and Construction (2.9%) are the sources of 12.3% of the wealth of billionaires in the world. The first source of wealth is Technology and Media with 13.2%.

Table 6.4. Comparing the profitability of high-rise buildings between 1980 and 2016. The file “M2 on Sale” is an average of the area available for selling construed in high-rise buildings of 18 floors whose typology existed in 1980. As a result of this hypothetical analysis, the variation on the profitability of the same typology between 1980 and 2016 was 448%. Source: own elaboration.

<i>Item</i>	<i>Data for 1980</i>	<i>Data for 2016</i>
Construction Costs (UF/m ²)	9.9	11.71
M ² on sale	24,063	24,063
Sales value (UF/m ²)	14.51	49.66
Total Sales (UF)	349,154.13	1,194,968.58
<i>Initial Costs (UF)</i>	<i>-238,223.70</i>	<i>-281,777.73</i>
Earnings 1st year	69,830.83	238,993.72
Earnings 2nd year	139,661.65	477,987.43
Earnings 3rd year	139,661.65	477,987.43
IRR	19%	107%
Variation of Profitability		448%

Table 6.5: Internal Rate of Return for two housing projects whose building processes started in January 2017. Source: own elaboration based on data from Servicio de Evaluacion Ambiental, Portal Inmobiliario, ONDAC 2016. Details on Appendix 3.

Variables	<i>Value per building in each comuna</i>	
	<i>Comuna of Santiago</i>	<i>Comuna of San Joaquin</i>
M ² on sale	24,063	35,976
(£)/M ² Initial Investment	£ 257.58	£ 393.77
Construction costs (£)	£ 6,198,127.91	£ 14,166,220.93
(£)/M ² Land	£ 591.70	£ 463.95
M ² Land	1,912	10,392
Land value	£ 1,131,321.51	£ 4,821,404.65
Initial Cost	£ 7,329,449.41	£ 18,987,625.58
Sales Value (£)/M ²	£ 1,617.29	£ 1,689.56
Earnings	£ 38,916,952.15	£ 60,783,752.79
Return of Investment	431%	220%
	<i>IRR</i>	
<i>Initial Cost</i>	<i>-£ 7,329,449.41</i>	<i>-£ 18,987,625.58</i>
Earnings 1st year (10% of total)	£ 3,891,695.22	£ 6,078,375.28
Earnings 2nd year (20% of total)	£ 7,783,390.43	£ 12,156,750.56
Earnings 3rd year (30% of total)	£ 11,675,085.65	£ 18,235,125.84
Earnings 4th year (30% of total)	£ 11,675,085.65	£ 18,235,125.84
Earnings 5th year (10% of total)	£ 3,891,695.22	£ 6,078,375.28
IRR	86%	51%

Table 6.6. A balance between housing units sold per year and mortgages granted. Source: own elaboration based on the Central Bank of Chile, SBIF and CChC.

<i>Year</i>	<i>Housing Sold</i>	<i>Mortgages Granted</i>	<i>Difference</i>
2005	55	77,725	-22,725
2006	58	30,856	27,144
2007	59	32,688	26,312
2008	52	22,227	29,773
2009	57,263	13,098	-79,835
2010	46,872	145,276	-98,404
2011	56,865	70,738	-13,873
2012	67,135	86,866	-19,731
2013	69,007	52,181	16,826
2014	63,981	56,49	7,491
2015	81,194	36,263	44,931
2016	51,549	16,57	34,979
Total	717,866	764,978	-47,112

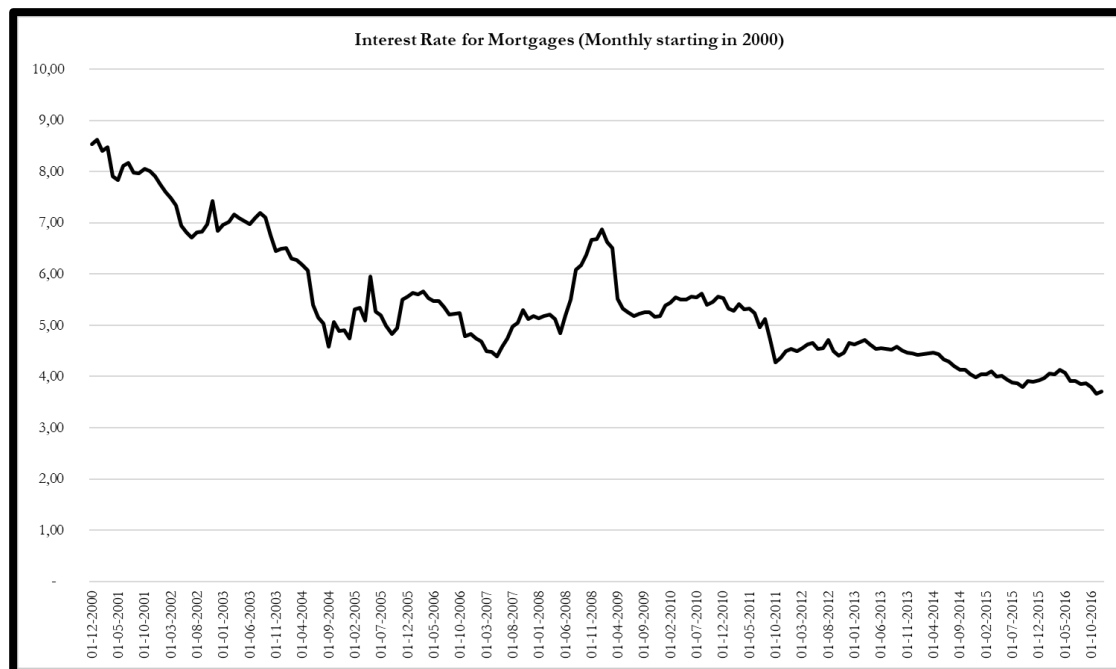


Figure 6.15. Interest rate for mortgages. If the rate is constantly decreasing it means that the banks are reducing the requirements for granting mortgages, which is also a symptom of a real-estate bubble. Source: own elaboration based on SBIF.

In Santiago, the role of banks in real-estate development is providing loans for both builders and buyers. In the long term (20 to 30 years), banks receive a double revenue from the same spatial product, plus interest and ensuring that their portfolio of clients increases. Construction and real estate are fundamental for banks. For instance, in 2012, 38% of the emissions from Chilean banks were used for construction and housing activities, including mortgages. The financial system has adopted the goal of increasing access to credit. One of the strategies of the Chilean Central Bank was to reduce the interest rates for mortgages in order to ensure that more people had access to credit. However, after the 2008 crisis, the banks changed the policy and started to fund a maximum of the 90% of the total cost of the properties. Nevertheless, interest rates in mortgages continued declining. (Figure 6.15).

Another illustrative indicator of the importance of financial institutions in the real-estate market emerges when comparing the number of houses sold in relation to the mortgages granted. In this case, between 2005 and 2016, the number of mortgages granted was higher than the number of housing units purchased (Table 6.6). In other words, credit and debt have become the main instruments for acquiring housing.

6.3.3. Public-private partnership

Marcelo Zunino points out that private actors possessed a particular way of ruling the decision-making processes. The strategies deployed were based on managers with good technical and political skills capable of moving urban projects into a 'fast track', ensuring the authorisation of developments. The manager agrees to significant investments in order to avoid conflicts with municipal actors and neighbouring communities (Zunino, 2006). The lobbying strategies of big companies enabled them to gain direct access to authorities under the guise benefitting the community and, at the same time, eluding any potential destabilisation in the profitability of investments (Garreton, 2014). For example, for the provision of connectivity and infrastructure

(hospitals, roads and education) the model of public-private partnership (PPP) has been frequently used for providing public goods.

“In Chile the asymmetry is evident between the scarce control capacity of the citizenship, only through voting, in relation to the great influence of investors on the design of public policies. This influence is exercised due to its close relation with the executive power and because of the technical and financial dependency of the state in relation to the expertise and capital. The absence of a binding model of participatory processes that can influence the design of public policies from their early stages gives rise to a distrust of the experts who design them.” (Garretón, 2014, p. 8)⁶¹

The main initiative that fostered the PPP model was based on the concessions programme of the Public Works Ministry. This programme started as a direct consequence of the collapse of the Chilean economy between 1982 and 1983, together with the neoliberal policies of Pinochet, which in 1982 shrank the fiscal budget for public works by 25%. In 1990, the lack of public goods required huge investments with an insufficient fiscal budget. The infrastructural development required USD 7.3 billion dollars in 1995, 10% of the national GDP. Thus, the concessions programme started in 1994. Its aim was to increase the possibilities of building infrastructure by incorporating private companies in the provision of public goods. This was possible because the state ensured profitability by contract, thus, the private sector would always receive earnings, either from the state, the projects or both. The PPP programme increased progressively until 2004, with an investment of USD 1.6 billion only in that year.

In 2004 the concession of roads within the metropolitan area of Santiago began. This reshaped the city as a whole, not only in the fluidity from one side to the other but also by creating divisions and fragments. These roads became transformative products of urban-design-under-neoliberalism and were characterised by the following:

⁶¹ Original language: “En el caso de Chile, existe una asimetría evidente entre la escasa capacidad de control de la ciudadanía, solo institucionalizada a través del voto, frente a la gran capacidad de influencia de los inversionistas en el diseño de políticas públicas. Esta se ejerce por su cercanía con el poder ejecutivo y por la dependencia técnica y financiera del sector público respecto de la expertise y capitales privados. Ante la ausencia de mecanismos vinculantes de participación ciudadana organizada, que puedan influir desde las etapas iniciales del diseño de instrumentos de acción pública, surge la desconfianza civil hacia el rol de los expertos que los diseñan.” (Garretón, 2014, p. 8)

- The users pay for the infrastructural development (for example, tolls on roads).
- The state pays for the provision of facilities for services (jails, hospitals, schools, etc.).
- Long-term contracts will conform to the legal agreement between public and private parties.
- Although there are private companies managing the infrastructures, the state remains the only legally responsible body.
- The private sector has to ensure the achievement of high-quality standards defined in the contract.

This programme served to incorporate international capital in the urban development of Santiago. The Public Works Ministry invited foreign companies to participate in the bidding, aiming to enhance the provision of public goods for the community and to ensure profitable business opportunities for social projects that otherwise would not participate. Since then, Spanish, French, Italian and Canadian companies have been involved in diverse projects in the city of Santiago. This is one of the principal features of neoliberalisation: creating business for the private sector in public areas that are usually exclusively developed by the state (Harvey, 2005; Theodore, Peck, & Brenner, 2009). The PPP model was successfully evaluated by the state so it was extended to other state dependencies. Nowadays, in relation to the provision of public goods, the state is forced by law to open a public solicitation of tenders for public works, thus the private sector constructs almost all of the projects that the state needs to execute.

Water, electricity, communications, waste and public transport were concessioned, under the assumption that the market can manage these functions better than the state. The companies acquired control of basic services, developing monopolised models of competition (Table 6.7). Indeed, the regulatory framework of concessions encourages private companies to create innovations. It allows concessionary companies to propose initiatives for improving services, which the state must then pay for. The business model presents very low risks for companies. Eduardo Engel discusses the case of highways in which the highway concessionary proposes investment in

the construction of a new surface for a road. In this case, the state allows the construction and commits to financing the work, without public bids, determining a sort of monopolistic decision emerging from the private company and waived by the state. For Engel (2016), this is highly inefficient for the public budget because it weakens competition and increases the fee that people pay for using the roads.

In order to illustrate how the PPP operates, I will utilise the case of Transantiago, the public transport system of Santiago, which was completely changed in 2007 with convoluted results.

This new system presented problems from its first day of operation: misleading routes, inadequate coverage, low speeds and high prices. *The Economist* summarised Transantiago's history critically:

“Launched with much fanfare, the scheme was supposed to integrate bus and metro lines and speed up traffic. Smog-spewing yellow buses disappeared. Smart cards replaced cash. However, Transantiago is sputtering. Fare evasion is rampant, journeys are getting slower, and the state has spent billions of dollars to prop up private bus operators. Passengers sometimes wait for ages at stops scrawled with graffiti with no inkling of when the next bus will arrive.”(The Economist, 2017, p. online)

Transantiago is an interesting case of urban-design-under-neoliberalism because despite being not profitable at all, the state must continue funding it in a PPP scheme. The contract of Transantiago's partnership says that the state will pay subsidies to the operators of the buses in order to ensure a minimum profit per year, even when the system may present some financial leaks. However, the financial gap has been much bigger than expected. Consequently, the amount that the state has to invest in paying the operators is enormous (Table 6.8). Most of the profit obtained by these private companies come directly from the fiscal budget. Nevertheless, after ten years, the state has not changed the model. I will try to illustrate how this is a representation of urban-design-under-neoliberalism.

Table 6.7: Models of liberation in services and infrastructural supply in Santiago. Source: own elaboration.

<i>Services</i>	<i>Administration</i>	<i>Public institution</i>	<i>Model of competition</i>	<i>Pricing</i>
Water and Sewage	Mixed	Superintendencia de Servicios Sanitarios	Sectorial monopoly	Superintendencia de Servicios Sanitarios
Distribution of Energy	Private	Companies	Monopoly	Board of specialists and the company
Communications	Private	Subsecretaría de Comunicaciones	Regulated competition	Companies
Public Transport: Metro	Public	Public-private board	Monopoly	Public-private board
Public Transport: Buses	Private	Transport Ministry	Unregulated competition	Companies
Waste Management	Public - Private	Municipalities (they have autonomy to privatise the services)	Municipal administration	Municipalities or companies
Urban Highways	Public - Private	Public Works Ministry	Regulated competition	Public tender

Table 6.8. Profits made by Public-Private Partnership Companies by each specific social service that has been privatised. Emblematic is the case of Transantiago whose efficiency is highly questioned by users and also by its controllers, with negative balances in the last years. The sum of all these profits represents a 1% share of the Chilean GDP. Source: SVS.

<i>Enterprise</i>	<i>Service</i>	<i>Profits 2016 (£)</i>
Aguas Andina	Water	£179,417,149
Transantiago Enterprises	Public Transport (BUSES)	-£120,508,305
AFP	Pensions	£409,246,813
Autopista Central	Urban Highways	£69,031,286
Costanera Norte	Urban Highways	£69,031,286
Autopista Nororiental	Urban Highways	£11,926,999
Autopista Vespucio Sur	Urban Highways	£22,426,419
ENEL	Energy	£287,369,641
Metrogas	Gas	£62,845,886
ISAPRES	Health Private Insurance	£57,937,428
	Sum	£1,048,724,604

Despite its problems, Transantiago also introduced some improvements to the public transport system: it decreased the number of fatal accidents, reduced pollution from exhaust fumes, 20,000 workers were hired with formal contracts, and cash was eliminated from the exchange processes, which reduced robberies. In summary, although the system is much better than the previous system, it was (and still is) resisted by commuters because their expectations were much higher and the system presents severe deficiencies in its service. One of the main problems is the lack of coordination between buses and metro lines.

Although they should be complementary systems, in practice their integration has been slow. Also, the prices are high for users. In Santiago, the monthly expenditure on public transport per person represents 13% of the minimum wage. This share is high compared with developed countries: in Berlin it is 5%, in Canberra 5%, Toronto 7%, Seoul 5%, Tokyo 7% and London 11%. Also, the state pays high subsidies to the operators of the buses. In the contracts the state ensures that the operators will always receive at least a baseline profit per year, independent of their performance and the earnings. If the companies lose money, the state will pay the amount needed to reach the baseline fixed in the contract. For instance, in 2016 the state paid £120,508,305 because of the inefficiency of the system (Table 6.8).

“On the occasion of Transantiago’s fifth anniversary in February 2012, Andres Chadwick, the government’s spokesman, called it ‘the worst public policy ever implemented in our country’. Besides the curious fact of speaking in such a critical way about a policy that the government he represented was managing, what was striking from his declaration was that no one really disagreed or found it an exaggeration. In an almost nonstop fashion since February 2007, Transantiago has erupted every few months into new controversies regarding an ample variety of aspects: users who protest about the poor quality of service, bus companies on the verge of going bankrupt, congestion inside the metro network, bus drivers who strike for higher wages, and so on.”(Ureta, 2014, p. 386)

The funds invested in Transantiago companies as subsidies for ensuring profitability amounted to around £4 billion between 2007 and 2016, which is equivalent to the construction of 400,000 housing units. Also, the number of commuters reduced because of the unsatisfactory service (Table 6.9). Furthermore, Transantiago’s design presents a significant uneven distribution in the coverage

of services, lowering the access to mobility in peripheral *comunas* (Figure 6.16). People can see their neighbours struggling as they are on a full bus, in a packed metro car or waiting in the cold for a bus that is usually late.

For the constitutional expert Fernando Atria (2017), Transantiago is the most visible example of the neoliberal dogmatism. Most of the developed cities in the world with a similar size and population to those of Santiago have adopted a model of public transport service or at least a non-profit design. In the case of Chile, the neoliberal dogmatism was primary and the idea of a public service was not even considered a possibility. In Transantiago as in any other private activity, companies pursue their own goals of extracting as much profit as possible. The existence of a contract between the state and the operators hinders the possibility of broader improvement or any significant changes in the system. Operators must agree to any modifications in the contract, and obviously, if the modifications threaten the profits of the company, they reject them. The great winners in Transantiago are the operators, while commuters and the state have to pay even when the performance of the service falls below expectations (Table 6.9). Marcelo Yañez (2014) exposed the results of a survey concluding that the average evaluation of Transantiago by people is 3.6 on a scale of 1 to 7.

Matias Garreton (2014) argues that both concessional highways and Transantiago expose the contradiction between the participation of communities and the investment processes: first, transport directly affects the everyday lives of people when the agglomeration is high, as in the case of Santiago. Second, the public-private partnership fosters a close relationship between private companies and central government, thus creating an incentive to deepen this mode of cooperation (which may lead to corruption or coercion). Finally, the regulations on public-private partnerships in the long term have unveiled a series of deficiencies, such as the contracts and the high operational costs for the state (Garreton, 2014).

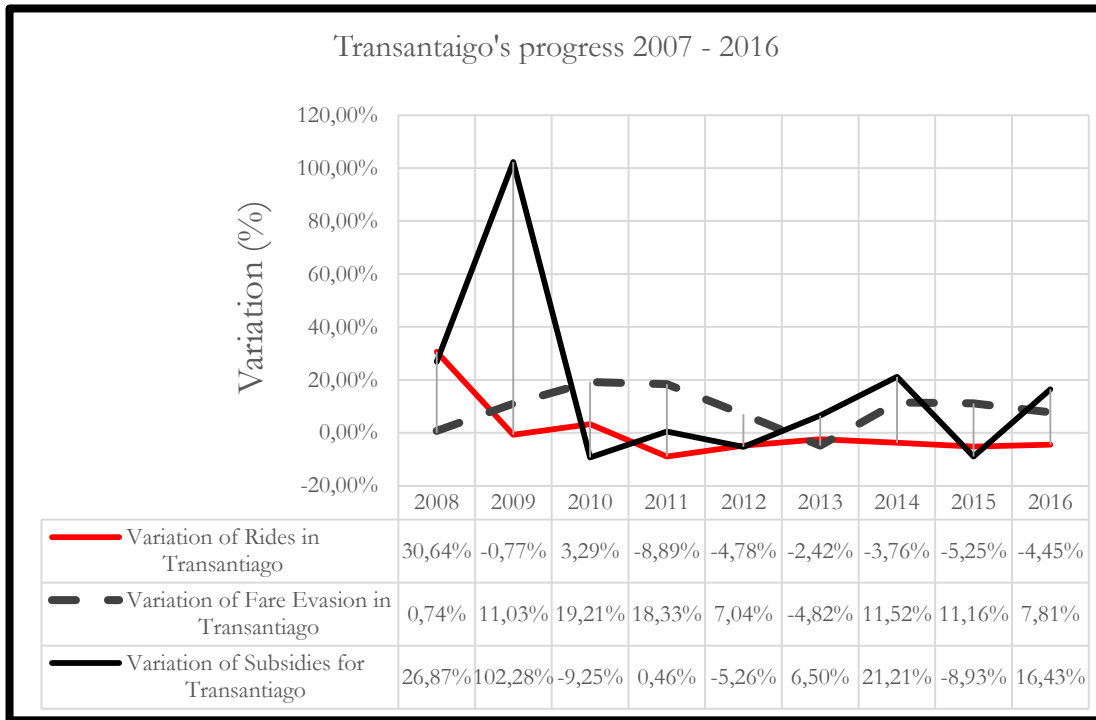


Table 6.9. Evolution of Transantiago and its problems. Source: own elaboration based on data from Transportes Ministry and INE.

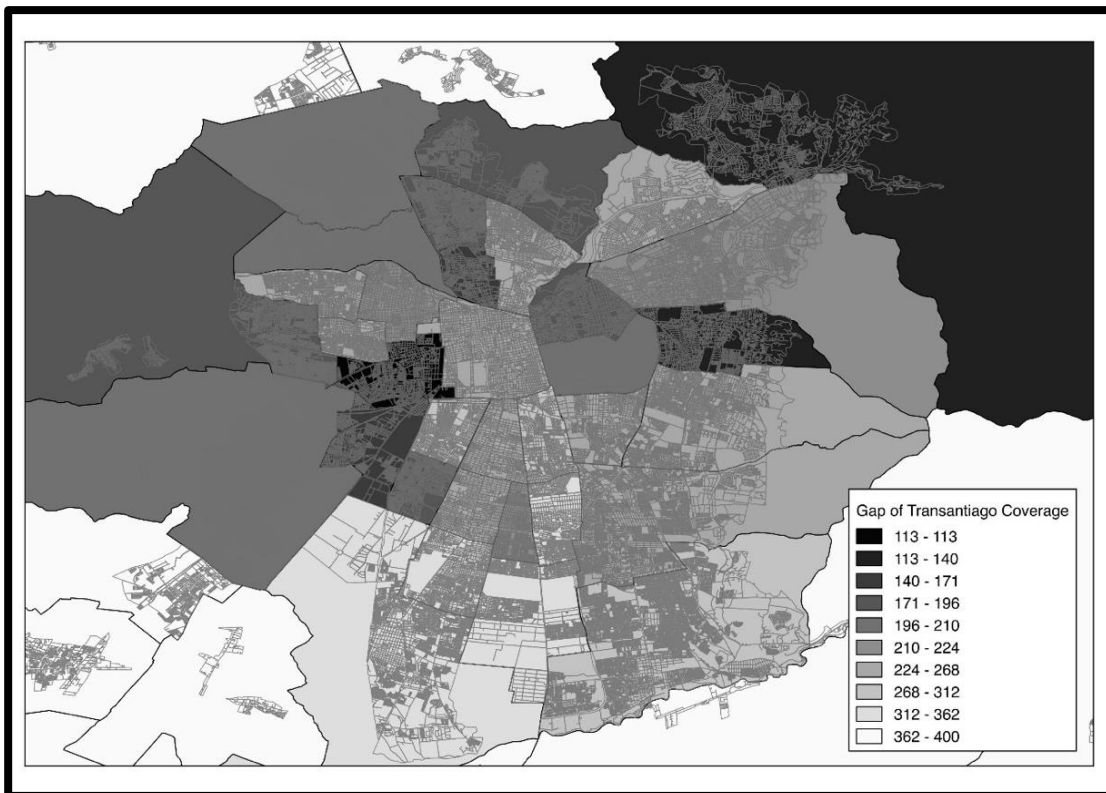


Figure 6.16. Gap between Transantiago lines and inhabitants. The higher the number the worse the coverage of public transport. Source: own elaboration based on data collected by Georesearch.

6.3.4. *Costanera Center*: the icon of the neoliberal city

“Rather than becoming a sign of Santiago's emergence as one of South America's leading cities for international business, the tower is a symbol of how ambitious real-estate developments can be undercut in emerging markets by poor planning and shifting political currents.” (Grant & Dube, 2015, p. n/a)

Since 2014, the postcards of Santiago started to present Costanera Centre as the one iconic building considered as one of the main attractions of the city, despite most urban designers stated that this skyscraper was problematic (Figure 6.17). Costanera Centre is a multi-functional building containing a shopping mall (Figure 6.18), parking, restaurants, and offices. It is the highest building in Latin America, at 300 metres. This building is the result of a personal project of a billionaire, Horst Paulmann, who implanted this tower as part of his legacy to Santiago.

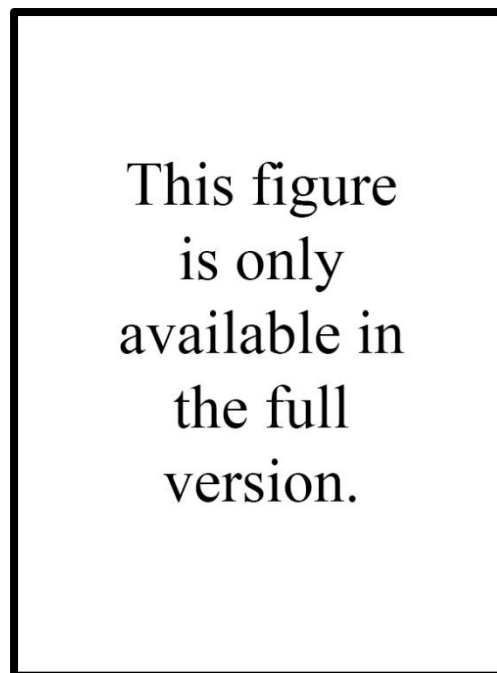


Figure 6.17. Postcard of Santiago. On the left is the Titanium Tower and on the right is the Costanera Centre Tower. At the back, you can see the Andes. Source: <http://isolatek.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/05/Torre-Titanium-Gran-Torre-Santiago-CHILE-4.jpg>

Regarding the findings of Chapter 5, Costanera Centre is an icon of how land tenancy and wealth are still the vital sources of power in Santiago. The history of the Costanera Centre started around 1988 with the first sketches made by the architecture studio Alemparte y Barreda. They proposed the idea to Horst Paulmann for getting the funds and he proposed to invite Cesar Pelli to be part of the designers team. Alemparte y Barreda agreed. Thus, in 1991 Paulmann bought a plot of land and subsequently purchased other plots nearby in order to accumulate space to build his own *Tour Eiffel*⁶².

However, his building had more complexities than its aesthetical considerations. For instance, the Costanera Centre transgressed transit rules and Paulmann used his influence to change the regulations that jeopardised his financial goals within this project. For example, the municipality of Providencia ignored the construction of this tower even when its permits had expired. The building's construction authorisation (which in Chile is granted by local government through its Municipal Department of Construction) expired in 2006 but the works continued after this date. Indeed, the National Comptrollership of Chile determined that the Costanera Centre was under construction with an expired permission (Dictamen 27.392 of 18-06-2007). However, instead of stopping the works, the building company was given the chance to regularise its construction and the municipality had to amend the permissions in order to legalise the situation. Moreover, the irregularities of this project continued emerging (Fossa, 2011). Patricio Herman (2013) says that the only reason that projects of such impact as Costanera Centre are built is because of the lenient attitude of the authorities towards building companies.

⁶² Diverse specialists criticised the urban design of Costanera Centre. When a journalist asked to Horst Paulmann about this criticism he said: Eiffel also was criticised for his Tower in Paris at the beginning but now everyone loves it (Cooperativa 2012).

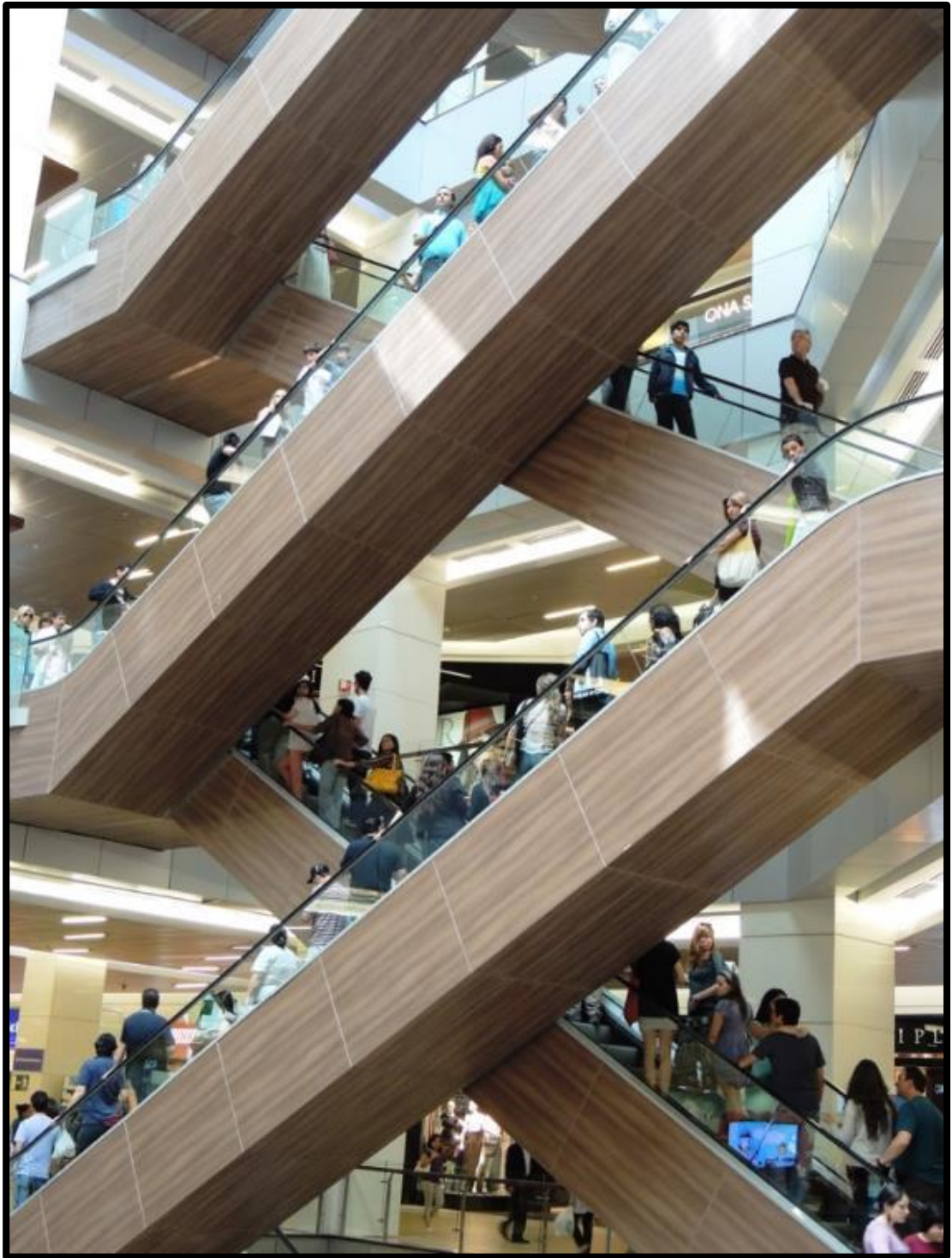


Figure 6.18. Inside Costanera Centre and the scene of the stairs and consumption in process. Source: <https://i.pinimg.com/originals/0d/90/c4/0d90c4640fc1daacb4689c70a35e1dba.jpg>.

In Chile, all urban projects that are considered to be high-impact constructions have to apply for a certification of Environmental Impact, and an Urban Transport Impact permission. Both permissions are evaluated and eventually granted by the central government. However, evidence collected by Patricio Herman evidenced that Costanera Centre was constructed illegally. For instance, the environmental permission was obsolete because it was granted on a previous version of the design whose area was 30% lower. Similarly, the Urban Transport Impact Study approved this project, despite the fact that the building lacked a strategy for reducing traffic, and the construction continued.

A third irregularity is that the area on which the building was constructed was composed of several plots of land whose legal fusion was not certified when the works were started (Cociña, 2007; Herman, 2013). Eventually, by the end of the construction, the project had obtained all of the necessary permissions.

Costanera Centre illustrates that the good city is threatened by urban-design-under-neoliberalism, because the regulatory frameworks are shaped for the sake of capital and not for the sake of better space. Also, this project shows that when regulations jeopardise private investment, the authorities may twist the rules, change them or simply turn a blind eye. From the perspective of an urban designer view, the project rejected the potentialities of pedestrian areas and, instead, was placed over one of the most complicated areas in the city from the perspective of traffic and the urban grid. An intricate space with irregular forms, it is difficult to access because even before the construction of this building it was an area of high congestion.



Figure 6.19. Popularly the tower of Costanera Centre has been named as MORDOR in reference to 'The Lord of the Rings' movie, where a gigantic tower with an eye at the top represents the evil of the middle earth. Source: own elaboration.

The Costanera Centre shopping mall creates an illusion of a public space on the inside. The sidewalks that surround the building are inhospitable, vast, and lack design. Inside the building, the pedestrian paths are luxurious and smooth, with an impressive void in the centre and escalators composing a scene of desirable consumerism (Figure 6.18). The private space inside the Costanera Centre creates a mirage of public pavements in order to invite pedestrians into the consumption temple and worship the shops. Protected from the precarious urban design proposal of the outside, the interior seduces through a vibrant space.

"On its allegoric feature, the huge mega shopping mall on the border of the Mapocho river confirms the traditional interpretations of the high-rent area of the city. As a solar clock, the tower indicates where the wealthy families are placed, organised by the cast of the capital. The localisation of Costanera Centre arranges strategically the neoliberal discourse about the city. It is an icon that represents both in plan and in elevation, the ideals of the city constructed for capital, imagined for the enjoyment of the private over the public." (De Simone, 2012, p. 8)

One of the most interesting aspects of urban-design-under-neoliberalism is its capacity to adapt to times and changes in consumption patterns. As Liliana de Simone (2012) reveals, other shopping malls such as the Parque Arauco were initially designed as an introverted box of bricks, but are now more an open space, aiming to create the illusion of a public space. The same happened with the initial form of Plaza Vespucio, another emblematic shopping mall in Santiago that nowadays operates as a civic centre by accommodating banks, restaurants and even areas with public services. Urban-design-under-neoliberalism is adaptable to changes in *consumption patterns* and it recognises the preferences of people when they change their behaviour. Being the biggest building ever constructed in Chile, the Costanera Centre is an icon of the neoliberal era of this city. It is not only a temple for consumerism, but a representation of the persistent hegemonic power of land owners in the process of shaping Santiago. In this case, the land owner decided to build a gigantic tower and the authorities, instead of stopping him, preferred to facilitate the process of construction. Of course, from the perspective of a politician, this huge project created 3,000 jobs during its construction and promised to create 8,000 jobs after its inauguration. Horst Paulmann and his tower may be the symbol of urban-design-under-neoliberalism. What is interesting is that the tower nowadays faces a crisis because it has not been capable of fulfilling its profit expectations in the short term and has had to readjust its plans for the near future.

“Industry executives say part of the blame for the fiasco lies with the government's tangled approval process. Cencosud has had to get approvals from seven different national and local government agencies. But part of the blame for the empty office tower also lies with the hard-driving Mr. Paulmann, 80 years old, who emigrated to South America with his family from Germany in 1948 when he was 13 years old. His tough-minded approach to business usually was successful as he dealt with expropriations, multiple currency crises and other vagaries of doing business in South America. But it has tripped him up with the Costanera Center office tower. Mr. Paulmann "is used to the fast track," said Nicolás Cox, managing director of CBRE's Chile office. "Now he's facing the other side of the coin.” (Grant & Dube, 2015)

6.4. Contestations against urban-design-under-neoliberalism

Urban-design-under-neoliberalism has produced several problems that have triggered reactions, mainly from academia and some practitioners, fuelled by local communities aiming to contest the way that the city was producing unfair outcomes. Transformative urban practices emerged to provide different solutions for the city, using various means: collective housing, questioning the city by occupying public spaces, visualising problems as a consequence of the neoliberalisation of spaces, and institutional responses.

These processes of contestation are optimistic because they not only criticise the urban form and its modes of production but also generate practices of change. Indeed, there is a latent revolutionary potential expressed in these approaches that may lead to a more extended urban revolution.

From 1987, a group of neighbours of Estacion Central organised themselves under the name of UKAMAU to claim their right to housing. After two decades of struggling against the rigid regulatory framework of the state and protesting over their rights, in 2011 two architecture students from ARCIS University proposed to their tutor that they should use the demands of UKAMAU as a case for a practical module. The tutor was Fernando Castillo-Velasco, one of the most influential architects with regard to social housing, characterised by fostering community engagement in the production of spaces.

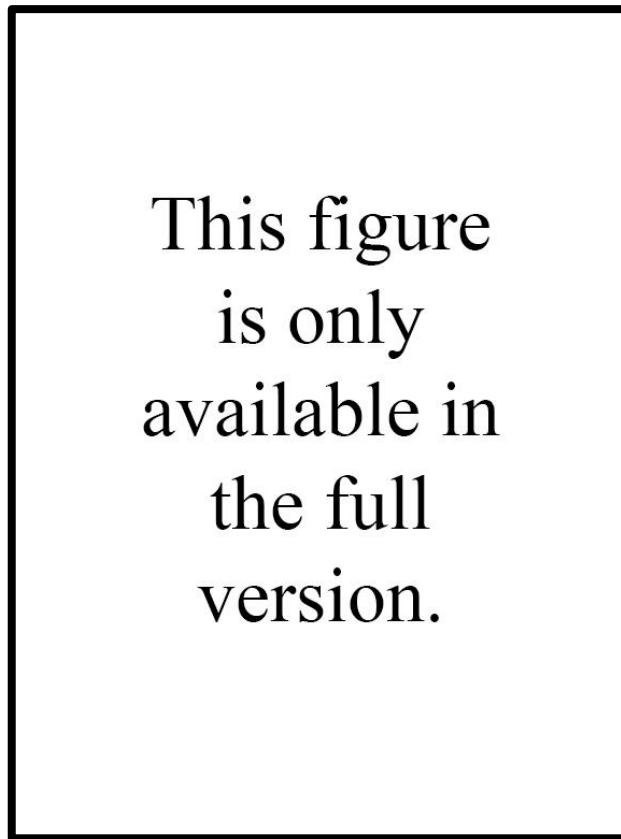


Figure 6.20. Public area of UKAMAU II by Fernando Castillo Velasco Architects. Source: <https://i.pinimg.com/originals/c8/f1/40/c8f140ad47d8ee853ae597496c0f1473.jpg>

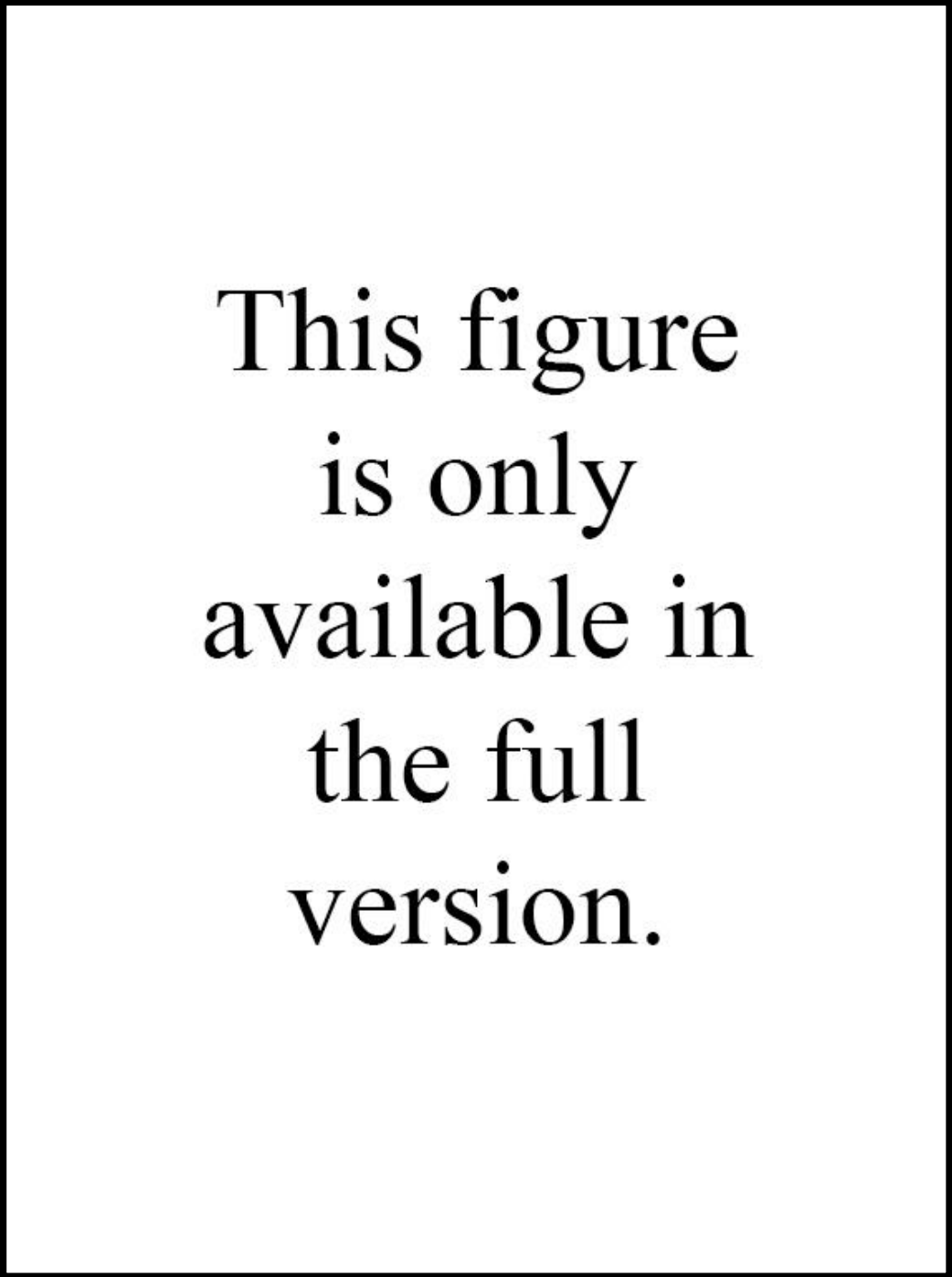
Since the 1960s, far before Alejandro Aravena's Elemental, Fernando Castillo-Velasco had designed social housing of high quality in Santiago and other cities. Thus, Castillo-Velasco said to his students that they would not only design housing for UKAMAU but that they would also build it. The design considered 424 apartments of 62 m² and significant areas of public space (Figure 6.21), near Santiago's downtown. In this case, the process was bottom-up: the people of UKAMAU designed the project and found the plot of land for its construction. They came with the finished project to the Ministry of Housing to negotiate its construction, under UKAMAU's terms and not under the possibilities of the market or through the solutions provided by the state. The young architects of ARCIS were hired by the state to develop the project, while UKAMAU became a construction cooperative that would be hired by the state for constructing their houses.

“We want to end with this logic of displacing the urban poor to the periphery of the city. We aim to create participative spaces where people decide how they want to live, fulfilling their needs for building a good living, as we name it. It was not easy because the State only wants people waiting patiently for their solutions” (Doris González in di Girolamo, 2015, l. online)⁶³

The model of UKAMAU has been replicated by other communities in the country (Pudahuel, Cerro Navia, Pedro Aguirre Cerda, Antofagasta, Calama), becoming a practice capable of, at least, empowering people to subvert urban-design-under-neoliberalism. Similar to UKAMAU are the Movimiento de Pobladores en Lucha (Movement of Struggling Dwellers) and ANDHA Chile, both grass root movements organising social forces in order to claim their right to housing. Furthermore, different organisations have extended the idea of housing as a right, to foster the reclamation of the city for the people.

The public space has remained as an open space for free expression since Chile returned to democracy in 1990, but even today repression is applied by the state to marches and special types of demonstrations. Despite the supposed freedom of speech, it is constrained if it becomes awkward for the authorities. Thus, the arts are still an apparent inoffensive occupation of the public space, but they still may become a provocative action that awakens the consciousness of citizens and makes them question the way that they live under neoliberalism. This is the case of Proyecto Pregunta (Figure 6.22), an ephemeral intervention designed by the collective MilM2, whose aim is to enable debates through the activation of public spaces.

⁶³ Original language: “Nosotros queremos terminar con esa lógica de expulsión de los pobres hacia la periferia de la ciudad. Buscamos la construcción de espacios participativos donde la gente decida cómo quiere vivir, las necesidades que tiene para poder construir la vida buena, como le decimos. Pero no ha sido fácil porque el Estado lo único que quiere es que la gente se ponga a la fila y espere.” (Doris González in di Girolamo, 2015, l. online)



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is only
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Figure 6.21. Proyecto Pregunta (Question Project) of MilM2. The question here presented is: What would you ask your city? Source: <https://issuu.com/milm2/stacks/ea11032e85164e3692fa7a9c55ccd0da>

“Proyecto Pregunta (Question Project) is a tool for community engagement and participation designed to foster the collective generation, visualisation and viralisation of debates on the public space. Proyecto Pregunta is a critical device, aimed to intervene with civic participation methodologies in order to question and open new types of community awareness and civic engagement.”(Boano & Vergara-Perucich, 2017a, p. 145)

Asking the citizens what they feel and think about their urban lives has been a successful initiative for activating the public space. Indeed, the project has now been performed in thirty different spaces in Chile, producing more than 2,000 questions. Also, Proyecto Pregunta has been implemented in Europe and Brazil. More ironic are the activities of Grupo TOMA, a collective of architects and urbanists whose goal is to generate collective reflections on the urban space, occupying it and encouraging people to question the city by using it. They believe that cities are political and that each space has a political voice that needs to be heard.

By making these territories ‘speak’, we intend to considerate the political role of architecture as quotidian activism. It is an attempt to understand the different means through which architecture is able to politicise spaces and reflections and to identify disputes and conflicts. In this retrospective reflection, biographical, we have used our own experiences, but the discussion remains open to be redefined as new aspects and elements of urban transformations in the Neoliberal context will continue to appear. (Grupo TOMA in Boano & Vergara-Perucich, 2017, p. 170)

Grupo TOMA considers that objects and ephemeral interventions in the public space are a way to activate a series of reflections on the city’s history and also on the ethical role of architects. Their practice valorises the utopian thinking of a more collective city in which the role of the architect is precisely to facilitate the encounters of people and to engage in the pursuit of a new identity. It is possible to say that for Grupo TOMA the neoliberalisation of cities in Chile has erased the identity of its spaces and they are trying to reclaim it, even by using neoliberalism itself to create identity. For instance, in the Chicago Architecture Biennial of 2016 they performed a project named Especulopolis, an open invitation to speculate with the urban collectively. This project was searching for the traces of urban neoliberalism following the lead of speculation (Figure 6.23),

proposing a transparent exposition of how cities have been manufactured following the ideas of the Chicago Boys in Santiago.

Along with the contestation emerging from grassroots movements and activists, the state has also provided responses to the problems generated by urban-design-under-neoliberalism. After several years reproducing this model, the state now is aiming to provide a different approach to the problem of housing for the poor. In 2013 a group of specialists started the design of a new National Policy of Urban Development, aiming to tackle these problems and finally replace the policy of 1979. The formulation of the new policy was published in 4th March 2014, with significant transformations to the way that urban development was to be conducted, taking a step away from neoliberalisation. The goals are ensuring the production of more equitable cities, and more socially integrated and more democratic urban environments (CNDU 2017). It is focused on people and their living conditions, promoting a sustainable approach to urban development, valorising the public sphere and assuming a progressive implementation of its guidelines and strategies (CNDU 2014). This policy presented 5 pillars for action:

1. Social cohesion policy: guarantee equal access to public goods, stop and reverse social segregation in cities, reduce the housing deficit, develop a land policy for fostering social cohesion, promote community engagement, increase connectivity and universal access to cities, and incorporate remote urban settlements for policies of social cohesion.
2. Urban economic development policy: create urban conditions for fostering economic development and innovation, integrate urban planning with investment programmes, amend and organise the land markets, improve the competitiveness of cities in the light of globalisation, improve urban planning instruments, monitor the efficiency of infrastructural development, rationalise transportation costs, and flexible planning instruments for changing contexts.
3. Environmental urban development policy: incorporate eco-systems into urban planning, incorporate disaster risk reduction, manage waste and natural resources efficiently, monitor urban environmental factors, foster sustainable uses of urban land, foster the use of bicycles and promote the pedestrian use of spaces.

4. Identity and heritage policy: valorise the built environment as part of the identity of communities, recognise and protect the cultural value of the built environment.
5. Urban governance policy: decentralise urban management, organise territories into four scales of governance (national, regional, metropolitan and municipal), comprehensive urban planning, binding participatory processes, indexation of urban quality developments to ease the measurements, and accelerate the approval of plans and projects for urban development.

The results of the policy were not completely satisfying for all specialists. For example, Dr Jorge Inzulza (in Lopez et al., 2014) exposes the lack of coordination between the proposals of this policy and the planning instruments in each regional context. Chile has quite a diverse geography, from the driest desert in the north to evergreen forest in the south, which also represents very different modes of the production of spaces. Javier Ruiz-Tagle (in Lopez et al., 2014) criticised the lack of clarity in some of the guidelines, leaving space for interpretations that may differ for the development of just spatial transformations. For Ernesto Lopez-Morales (2014), the exclusion of people from the amenities of urban centres is not completely tackled by the proposal.

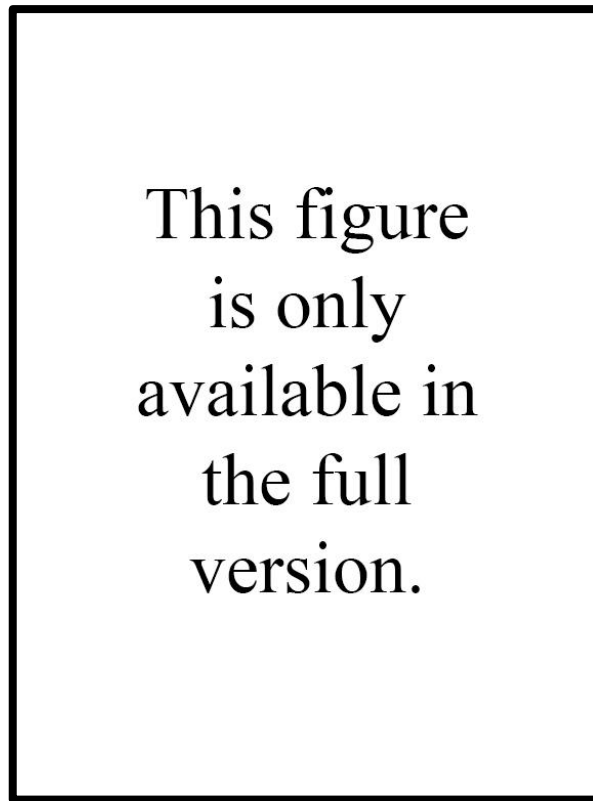


Figure 6.22. A board of evidence of the Especulopolis case investigated by Grupo Toma for the Chicago Biennial. Source: <http://www.plataformaarquitectura.cl/cl/775368/especulopolis-grupo-toma-en-la-bienal-de-arquitectura-de-chicago/562901d0e58ece127a0003eb-especulopolis-grupo-toma-en-la-bienal-de-arquitectura-de-chicago-imagen>

This policy provides a new approach for fortifying the role of the state, but it is not yet clear how the policy contributes to dismantling urban-design-under-neoliberalism. During the development of this research, the policy has not yet been implemented so it is not possible to evaluate its results. It seems like an adequate response although the Chilean Chamber of Builders has already rejected part of its proposals. Considering the power this organisation has in matters of urban design, although the new policy seems promising it would be prudent to preserve some scepticism about its outcomes at the beginning.

6.5. Concluding remarks

The chapter presented how a series of neoliberal political-economic transformations reshaped the way of practising urban design in Santiago. By doing so, this chapter has illustrated how urban-

design-under-neoliberalism operates in the production of the urban, characterised by chasing profit-oriented goals and also by embracing the economic growth as the main objective for spatial transformations. The exploration of how urban-design-under-neoliberalism was implemented reveals that the transformation of the urban space of Santiago under neoliberalism occurred under a profit-oriented scheme, employing economic theories for making decisions. Hence, it is possible to argue that urban-design-under-neoliberalism adopts borrowed theories from economics, embraces a positivist reasoning and neglects its capacity for imagining cities beyond the limits of capitalists interests.

These criteria were institutionalised by the state in relation to most of the processes for assigning funds for urban projects. This means that not only private actors but also the state aimed for profit-oriented goals. This happened because both public and private realms assumed that growth and economic development were the better ways to modernise the country. After analysing the social housing developments from 1990 until 2006, along with the public transport system, urban highways and permissions for construction, it can be seen that the urban apparatuses of the Chilean state have a clear leaning towards making decisions for the sake of capital instead of actually protecting the public interest. However, this particular observation is nuanced because the Chilean Constitution and the objectives of the state follow a neoliberal interpretation of reality: if capital is healthy and growing, then there are more funds for investing in social programmes because it increases tax revenues. This is the trickle-down theory, but its inefficiency has been previously presented: The trickle-down does not get equally for all and prejudices low-income communities and the middle class. In a way, the defence of capital by the state could be justified by this aim of defending the raising of funds, but this assumption would require further revision.

This chapter offered a series of fundamental insights into the theoretical constructs of urban-design-under-neoliberalism: A profit-oriented practice of urban design did not emerge as a consequence of re-theorising consciously the discipline but as a reformation forced by the complete transformation of the Chilean society. The landmarks of this process are the transformation of the

state ignited in 1975 after Friedman's letter to Pinochet, the National Policy of Urban Development of 1979, the Constitution of 1980, the democratisation of the country that started in 1990, and the deficit of more than a million housing units when democracy returned. This context forced a disciplinary change in urban design in order to provide urgent solutions to cities that lacked the time required for changing the existent institutional framework created by the dictatorship. The urban urgencies inherited from the dictatorship contributed to de-theorise and de-politicise the disciplinary field of urban design. A consequence of this accelerated and unreflective method of urban development is that the free-market economics consolidated its position as the main guide for shaping the built environment. The market defined the aesthetics, criteria and methods for producing cities, following the goals of profit and taking advantage of permissive regulations facilitated by authorities that were aligned with an economicistic understanding of society. Urban design, thus, does not have a strong political body to defend its disciplinary transformation and it succumbed to neoliberalism. It is necessary to unpack why this disciplinary body was not organised. Finally, a refreshing finding has been the set of practices that are contesting urban-design-under-neoliberalism. From my appreciation, the one that may have the most impact is the new National Policy of Urban Development, but the practices presented by UKAMAU, MilM2 and Grupo TOMA also reveal some of the cracks in the virtual object. Thus, social engagement, grassroots processes of the production of spaces, and the public space as an opportunity for raising critique from the very activation of citizens are progressing towards the subversion of urban-design-under-neoliberalism. Nevertheless, one of the elements that seems strongest and most difficult to tackle is the financialisation of housing. Embedded in the financial system, this feature of urban-design-under-neoliberalism seems solidly constructed and its transformation needs further information to arrive at a comprehension of how to crack it. While this chapter has presented the current conflicts and conditions that have characterised Santiago under neoliberalism, the following chapter will illustrate the practice of urban-design-under-neoliberalism, with special focus on how urban designers face their everyday profession and what conflicts they have to face in the design of the city of Santiago.

CHAPTER 7. The practice of urban-design-under-neoliberalism in Santiago

“The urbanist passively obeys the pressures of number and least cost; the functionality he thinks he has created is reduced to an absence of "real" functions, to a function of passive observation. Critical phase. Black box. The architect and the urbanist, sometimes confused as partners in an ambiguous duo, sometimes as twins or warring siblings, as distant colleagues and rivals, examine the black box. They know what goes in, are amazed at what comes out, but have no idea what takes place inside.” (Lefebvre, 2003, p. 27-28)⁶⁴

7.1. Introduction

This chapter presents the ethical reflections of urban design practitioners under a neoliberal regime. By doing so, the chapter illustrates the ethos of urban-design-under-neoliberalism, complementing then the historical basis of its creation (presented in chapter 5) and its praxis (presented in chapter 6). The data here comes from the fieldwork’s semi-structured interviews and an internet-based survey conducted with urban practitioners. The chapter is divided into four parts in order to illustrate the conflicts, the practice and the obstacles encounters in the everyday making of urban design in Santiago in the neoliberal era. The idea of a neoliberal era is based on the evidence collected in Chapters 5 and 6, and, chronologically it starts in the year 1975 (when Pinochet and Friedman met in Santiago) and unfolds until the present. Furthermore, following the historical processes that shaped the city of Santiago I presented in Chapter 5 and the series of transformations

⁶⁴ Original language: “L’urbaniste obéit passivement aux pressions du nombre et du moindre coût; la fonctionnalité qu’il croit concevoir se réduit elle-même à l’absence de fonctions “réelles”, à la fonction du pur regard. Phase critique. Boîte noire. Tantôt confondus en un duo ambigu, tantôt jumeaux, tantôt frères ennemis, tantôt associés lointains et rivaux, l’architecte et l’urbaniste regardent la boîte noire. Eux aussi savent ce qui entre, s’étonnent de ce qui sort, ne savent pas ce qui s’y passe” (Lefebvre, 1970, p. 41)

undergone in it by the neoliberal transformations observed in Santiago, previously presented in Chapter 6, this chapter elaborates the very practice of urban design when seen from the point of view of its main actors: urban designers.

Specifically, the chapter focuses on the way urban design professionals see their own practice from a reflexive point of view and how they see themselves in the city they work in. It is important to recall that in Chile urban design, as a discipline and a practice, is mainly conducted by individuals trained as architects or planners. In a way the basic assumption of the chapter is that the discipline of urban design does not exist, either a formal training for it. Therefore, in Chile, architects study a postgraduate course on urban projects (*Master in Proyectos Urbanos* at Universidad Católica), urban development (*Master in Urban Development* at Universidad Católica), or urbanism (*Master in Urbanism* at Universidad de Chile)⁶⁵ to deepening the understanding of practitioners in urban design's disciplinary field. Indeed, as was mentioned in Chapter 2, an urban project is not necessarily an outcome of urban design because one refers to a product and the other to a disciplinary field, a process of city making. The supply of this type of programmes is limited so many urban design specialists take courses abroad. Alternatively, architects get a better understanding of the disciplinary field of urban design when working at public institutions (Municipalities, the Housing Ministry or the Public Works Ministry). The national Law of Urbanism and Construction (MINVU, 2017) determines that qualified architects are entitled to design buildings and act as urban advisors in public institutions (such as municipalities and ministries). Most of the interviewees are architects that work in the disciplinary field of urban design in Santiago.

⁶⁵ The National Agency of Postgraduate Programmes of Chile only recognises these programmes in areas related to Urban Studies. There are more Master programmes in Architecture that, sometimes, provide modules related to urban design but not as part of the core modules.

7.2. Urban-design-under-neoliberalism: Conflicts in practicing city making

The profit-oriented logic of neoliberalism changed people's lives in Chile, and it implied a redefinition of disciplinary approaches to society at large. These changes affected specifically the disciplinary field of urban design and particularly the processes of spatial production. Consequently, the mindset of urban designers shifted to endorse and adopt a neoliberal ethos.

“Most of the young architects I met studied for their bachelor degree in Chile, and then they got postgraduate diplomas abroad, but in both cases, they were educated under the neoliberal paradigm and defended its principles. For example, when we were developing the new National Policy on Urban Development I realised that neoliberalism is in their DNA as professionals, it is part of their language. I proposed some ideas about increasing the control and regulatory power of the state, and they usually told me that I was proposing old-fashioned ideas. Then I wonder: what was wrong with old-fashion urbanisms? And then I reflect: what is good in the cities that these architects have built?” (INT15)ⁱⁱ

A whole new generation of Chilean architects and urban designers from the eighties were educated with no consideration of the production of the urban as an independent matter from capitalism. Neoliberalism has transformed not only economics but also the culture of Chileans; all is tradeable and if there is not certain profitability involved there is no interest of people in participating (Atria et al., 2013; Ruiz & Boccardo, 2014). Thus, urban designers find themselves at the centre of the implementation of the exploitative mechanisms of neoliberalism that operates through the constitution of a market driven process of shaping the city. As was presented in Chapter 6, this started with the implementation of the PNDU of 1979 onwards. The urban process under neoliberalism was driven by the interests of capital and the role of the urban designer in the process changed for the sake of accelerating the returns of rent from urban investments. As reported by INT15 before the beginning of the neoliberalisation of urban development the country had a smaller public budget to invest in public goods. However, even with less funding social housing presented better qualities than after the return to democracy when the GDP per capita reached European rates similar to Croatia or Portugal. As it is exposed in Table 7.1, the growth of the GDP

(usually employed for determining the economic success of a country) has no correspondence in the increase of the size of social housing units.

Table 7.1. Variation of square meters of social housing units built by the state per year in comparison with the variation of the GDP. Source: Vergara and Boano 2016.

<i>Year</i>	<i>M² per social housing unit (average)</i>	<i>GDP (£ of 2003)</i>	<i>Variation of GDP (ref=1963)</i>	<i>Variation of M² (ref=1963)</i>
1963	62	£5,482,761,660	0%	0%
1972	52	£11,532,517,864	110%	-16%
1983	42	£19,770,402,076	261%	-32%
1994	39	£55,154,226,760	906%	-37%
2004	39	£100,631,000,000	1735%	-37%
2015	50	£240,216,000,000	4281%	-19%

Nowadays, despite Chile being a more prosperous country, social housing units are smaller than in the sixties. This contradiction may have emerged from the methodology used by the state for selecting typologies of housing to build. As the interviewee below confirms, profitability is the main criterion of allocation of public funds in urban projects:

“This is the way that city works: the Finance Ministry assigns resources to the Social Development Ministry (MIDESO) through the System for National Investments (SNI). The MIDESO evaluates projects and decides if they are recommendable or not. This recommendation is mainly based on the profitability of projects. This is an economic vision that contributes to increasing inequality because it tends to concentrate the investment in comunas with higher populations or with better public goods that ensure the return of investments. Thus, the qualitative side of the social consequences of public investment is not considered, and effects such as segregation are reproduced. Innovation is zero. For instance, great urban improvements are considered as unnecessary. The cheapest projects have more chances to get funding. That’s why urban design is not really considered in this formula. However, the richest municipality can afford *luxuries* such as good urban design.” (INT11) iii

Table 7.2. Incomes of municipalities and average income per household in each municipality. The spatial inequality between comunas may be illustrated by comparing the budget per capital of each Municipality. Source: own elaboration based on CASEN 2015 and Sistema de Información Municipal.

<i>Rank (Municipal income per capita)</i>	<i>Municipality</i>	<i>Municipal Income</i>	<i>Municipal budget per capita</i>	<i>Household incomes</i>	<i>Population</i>
1	VITACURA	68,573,191 CLP	774 CLP	4,444,561 CLP	88,548
2	LAS CONDES	217,329,504 CLP	762 CLP	3,474,634 CLP	285,14
3	PROVIDENCIA	97,306,128 CLP	652 CLP	3,133,694 CLP	149,165
4	LO BARNECHEA	63,562,488 CLP	599 CLP	4,591,334 CLP	106,187
5	SANTIAGO	122,927,690 CLP	330 CLP	1,190,959 CLP	372,33
6	HUECHURABA	27,154,409 CLP	279 CLP	1,092,563 CLP	97,47
7	LA REINA	19,370,173 CLP	191 CLP	2,660,650 CLP	101,614
8	QUILICURA	32,065,099 CLP	148 CLP	1,155,046 CLP	216,857
9	CERRILLOS	11,978,843 CLP	139 CLP	786,063 CLP	86,24
10	ÑUÑO A	30,788,748 CLP	137 CLP	2,114,814 CLP	225,109
11	SAN MIGUEL	14,058,255 CLP	125 CLP	1,650,387 CLP	112,686
12	RECOLETA	18,591,704 CLP	110 CLP	845,389 CLP	169,372
13	PEÑALOLÉN	26,549,746 CLP	109 CLP	1,451,987 CLP	243,847
14	MACUL	13,401,982 CLP	108 CLP	1,347,228 CLP	124,492
15	SAN JOAQUÍN	11,215,456 CLP	107 CLP	1,025,919 CLP	104,588
16	ESTACIÓN CENTRAL	15,454,260 CLP	106 CLP	995,784 CLP	145,749
17	INDEPENDENCIA	8,037,493 CLP	95 CLP	1,263,556 CLP	84,354
18	PUDAHUEL	20,451,235 CLP	87 CLP	1,063,766 CLP	235,629
19	LA CISTERNA	7,343,606 CLP	79 CLP	1,118,233 CLP	92,831
20	QUINTA NORMAL	9,120,969 CLP	79 CLP	956,333 CLP	115,592
21	RENCA	11,774,066 CLP	77 CLP	858,463 CLP	152,399
22	LA FLORIDA	24,051,406 CLP	62 CLP	1,211,707 CLP	389,392
23	CONCHALÍ	8,184,339 CLP	58 CLP	903,223 CLP	141,185
24	MAIPÚ	29,386,197 CLP	53 CLP	1,189,563 CLP	554,548
25	PEDRO AGUIRRE CERDA	3,639,992 CLP	30 CLP	889,094 CLP	122,462
26	SAN RAMÓN	2,843,109 CLP	28 CLP	828,719 CLP	99,86
27	LO PRADO	2,994,965 CLP	26 CLP	873,375 CLP	113,146
28	EL BOSQUE	4,939,900 CLP	25 CLP	836,300 CLP	194,555
29	LA GRANJA	3,368,690 CLP	23 CLP	993,292 CLP	143,558
30	LO ESPEJO	2,492,357 CLP	21 CLP	755,101 CLP	120,145
31	CERRO NAVIA	2,889,509 CLP	18 CLP	842,726 CLP	158,506
32	LA PINTANA	3,614,973 CLP	17 CLP	830,330 CLP	213,702

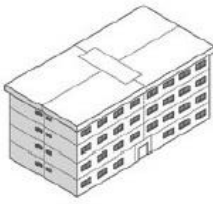

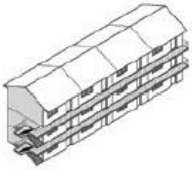

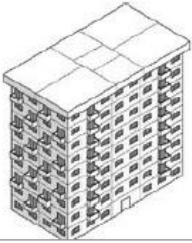



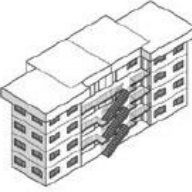

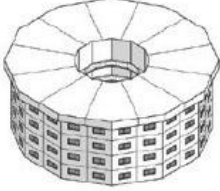

FICHA 1 - TIPOLOGÍAS DE SISTEMAS DE AGRUPAMIENTO			
A - SISTEMAS DE AGRUPAMIENTO SIMPLE			
A1	Bloque con acceso vertical interno.		
A2	Bloque con acceso horizontal externo.		
A3	Torre independiente.		
A4	Bloque con acceso vertical interno.		
A5	Bloque con acceso vertical externo.		
A6	Otro tipo de sistema de agrupamiento simple.		

Figure 7.1. Social housing typologies presented as successful by Housing Ministry. Source:.(MINVU, 2014)

Profit has defined spatial transformations. This has happened in part because companies and entrepreneurs concentrated the tenancy of the capital to invest in the city but also due to the state and urban policies being transformed to accelerate the fluxes of capital (as explained in Chapter 6), adopting profitability as the main criterion of action and thus redefining the methods used by public institutions, as private companies'. This new entrepreneurial state (Hidalgo Dattwyler et al., 2017) influenced all levels of the urban governance system. This became more evident in the case of municipalities as they were left competing for resources: the richest municipalities concentrate more capacities and resources to develop good public spaces (Table 7.2). From the perspective of INT05, practitioners designing urban projects do not develop innovative projects because the revenues must be secured and the better way not risk a good profit is using models that were successfully implemented in the city. Urban practitioners have normalised the way that public institutions deal with transformations in the city based on criteria related to financial evaluations and positivist understanding of spatial problems, just like the IRR and NPV under the scheme of cost-benefit approach for evaluating urban projects mentioned in Chapter 6. That was the case of Casas COPEVA, where the building company maximised benefits at the expense of dwellers.

“If I want to develop a project I must find a source for funding it in the government. I complete a sample of investment, and if the evaluation is positive, MIDESO generally approves the initiative. In some cases MIDESO requests some amendments. The problem is that everything is governed by specific regulations for defining investments; there is no innovation in public projects. The state does not innovate. Perhaps in some specific cases of municipalities some mayors dare to innovate, but never from central government. It is not usual at all”. (INT05)^{iv}

In this scenario of a constrained capacity for innovation, the urban designer has to accept the limitations imposed on their creativeness and accept that they must meet with the demands of investors that in Santiago seems to be reluctant to advance in better designs. For example, in the case of social housing, the Housing Ministry have a set of predefined designs, standards and spatial norms, that architects and designers may apply to build projects in specific communities. Indeed, using these predefined designs is convenient because the samples are pre-approved by the ministry and its process of construction may begin earlier (Figure 7.1). In general, these designs are quite

similar: made by concrete blocks, five stories as the maximum height (generally four stories), no elevators (too costly and too time-consuming to build), composed by flats with two rooms, one bathroom, kitchen and a common area. Typical apartments have an average area of 36 m² to 44 m². Recently, the government has included new and better designs but most social housing projects comply with these features. On the other hand, if the designers decide to innovate, modify or change, it may take longer to get the approval and the project get entrapped in the bureaucratic system of evaluation of the Housing Ministry and the Municipality. Hence, there is no incentive for creativity or innovation at the level of morphology, form, material and design at large. To support this, according to the survey conducted with 70 urban designers, 80.4% disagreed with the statement *Santiago is a city where innovation in urban design is abundant*, and 60.4% disagreed with the statement *Santiago is a city where creativity thrives*. Urban-design-under-neoliberalism produced an inhibition to innovate, and therefore a homogenised landscape in relation to social housing but also in real estate development. Both typologies follow the same criterion, and the main difference is that real estate has more budget. The conflict for urban designers is projects not having a main objective that values the imagining of a better future for communities and cities at large but simply, to provide “ready made” and codified products ensuring that investment generate acceptable rates of profit while keeping down the costs of production (time of production and design solutions).

“When working with public policies, you must recognise what are the real possibilities for new developments. This is a bit frustrating because, in my experience, the most interesting designs or, if you prefer, the more radical proposals for urban projects cannot be implemented in the end. The capacity of urban designers’ lobbying is vital. For instance, during the formulation of the new PNDU we worked together with the CChC and the AOA, but also with social organisations such as the Movimiento por una Reconstrucción justa and Ciudad Viva. We also invited professional unions and universities. What happens, in reality, is that if conflicts emerge these actors step down and prefer to remain in defensive positions. There is no dispute for ideas.” (INT09)^v

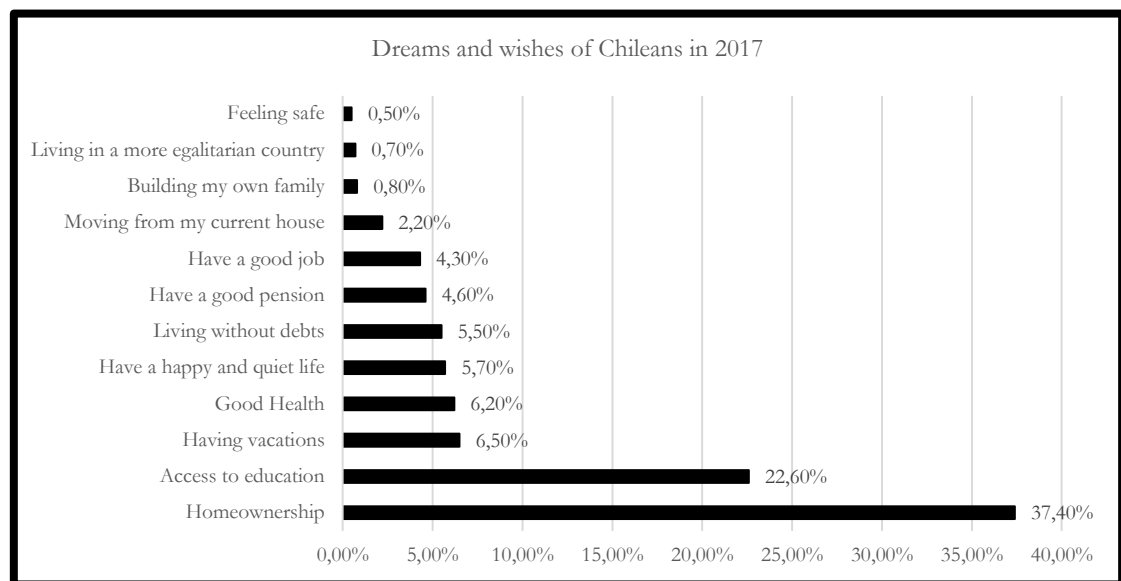


Figure 7.2. Chart that summarizes the wishes and dreams of Chileans. Source: own elaboration based on the study “Chile Dice” elaborated by Universidad Alberto Hurtado in 2017.

Under an extremely deliberative scheme, urban design enters in a phase of irrelevance because spatial proposals going beyond the limits of the common ground are immediately excluded from the possibilities of being even discussed. Also, the common ground, the discussions for finding agreements, or the feasibility of urban projects in a neoliberal context depend mostly on the interests of the capitalists. In this scenario, where diverse forces struggle and compete in shaping the city present and futures, it is expectable to see an unbalanced decision environment in which the city becomes a representation of the interests of capital. The case of the CChC emerged constantly in this research as they have the capital and the organisational structures to strongly influence a very specific idea of urban development to prevail. Fernando Herrera, president of the CChC, manifested that the plan of his organisation is to intensify the densification of Chilean cities, reducing the restrictions to the land supply by regulations which – from his perspective – increase the price of land and housing (Herrera, 2015, p. 19). From the perspective of Herrera, these restrictions explain the urban inequality and segregation in the city. The CChC asks for a significant increase of the urban area of the city and avoiding policies that can undermine property rights

(Herrera, 2015). During decades, the CChC has employed all its influential power to foster property rights, and their success is evident. Nowadays, in Chile, the main priority of people is homeownership (Figure 7. 2) and the main pathway to its achievement is through personal efforts and meritocracy (Mayol, Azocar, & Azocar, 2012). This is also reflected in a decline of collective discussions about the future of cities, its public nature, structure and places. The city as a collective product is at stake because increasing individualism has characterised the country where 8 out of 10 distrust people different from their families (COES, 2015). Considering the individualistic stance that emerged from neoliberalism, dissensus is avoided and preference is being given to a trench-on strategy of fighting ideas without entering into confrontation, as INT09 explained clearly above. With this logic, it is to be expected that the stronger party wins the battle and in the case of Santiago, it seems that those who hold capital are successful in defining who shapes the urban space.

“I see a lot of ingenuity by the state when searching for social justice. There is an excessive confidence in capital, but when housing and transport tend to become oligopolies, it is logical that the market will not be efficient in developing self-regulation. Asymmetries emerge due to the uneven distribution of good and services in the city” (INT02) ^{vi}

Under neoliberalism, each social actor attempts to defend their positions and capitalists will avoid any risk of jeopardy to the efficiency of capital investments in the city. Thus, when the state adopts the methods and strategies of entrepreneurialism – represented in space as urban-design-under-neoliberalism practices –, it starts to foster the fluid circulation of capital and enhances its performance. The methods were mentioned in Chapter 6, referring to the excessive care paid to the Internal Rate of Return and Net Present Value as the measures to define if an urban project. The strategies refer mostly to marketing and defining an image of the city that is easy to sell because the typologies are not very innovative and their aesthetic is similar independent of the area of the city where buildings are located. This strategy is particularly visible in the segregation of housing projects showed in Figure 7.3: buildings are similar but in Las Condes each square metre has £1,000 more value invested than in other *comunas*.

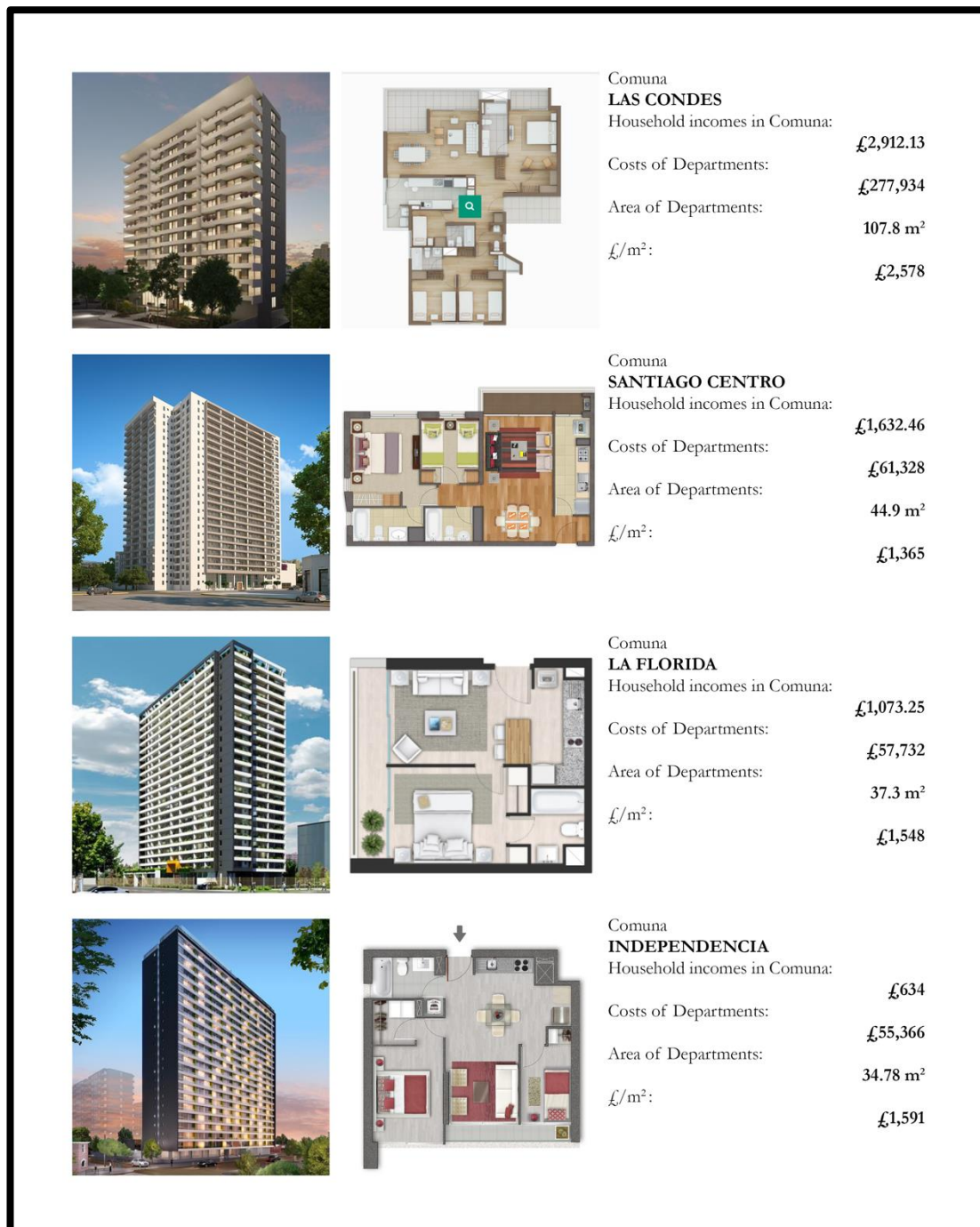


Figure 7.3. Sample of Real Estate Projects in 4 different comunas in Santiago. Source: own elaboration.

Poorer *comunas* have smaller dwelling space than richer *comunas*. Also, it is visible that household incomes are related to housing price. As Milton Friedman claimed (1975), the reduction of barriers for the flow of investments was assumed by Chilean institutions, specially in relation to urban policy.

“It was a great problem the replacement of the methodology for defining how public funds are invested in cities. Nowadays the method is through tenders, but in my time we used to call for construction proposals. In other words, before neoliberalism, the state designed projects comprehensively, then the private sector only executed these projects based on the best offer but with specifications and spaces already defined. Indeed, we aimed to design high-quality standards of spaces keeping in mind an idea of the city. The use of tenders nowadays delivers the responsibility of the design to the companies that win the projects. Thus, these companies are responsible for investing but also for the design. Nowadays the only criteria are money and optimising public resources.”
(INT15)vii

Following the interviewees’ affirmations it seems to be a fact that the city has been shaped following the expectations and plans of companies, mostly oriented to better allocating investments in order to obtain short-term revenues from urban development projects. In this entrepreneurial scheme, the state has only provided funds for investing in specific areas of the city, resisting involvement in any other roles. The inequalities that are reproduced by the redistributive weakness of local institutions are aggravated by the general dismantling of the regulatory capacities of public agencies and reinforcement of market discipline. As was discussed in Chapter 2, much of the vision, direction and aesthetics of cities is shaped through regulations and norms developed in the state by urban designers. In a capitalist context, when the state does not get involved in designing cities – as the case of Santiago in the last 44 years, space is shaped exclusively by profit-oriented strategies. While examining how the municipal planning departments and the ministries manage urban processes, it is necessary to reflect on how the image and the vision of the city is constructed by the regulatory framework and what are the market forces attempting to conduct urban process to extracting value from cities. INT06 has a vast experience working in public institutions, and provided a reflection of how the state is apparently not much involved – nor interested - in defining the image of the city:

“In the Architecture Department of the Public Works Ministry we do not design spaces but only execute public policy. In fact, the Ministry does not design public policies either; they come defined from the presidency or the Congress. This represents a great fragility because there is no diagnosis of urban issues from the state. Instead, we simply trust in the projects developed by the central government, which changes every four years, or some private company. With private companies, if they present a valuable project for the city that meets the feasibility criterion, we sign an agreement for its implementation, and that’s it. Therefore, in many cases, the private sector executes the projects using the state as investor. No risks at all. So, here, we do not even imagine the future of the city, we only follow orders that emerge from the market itself.” (INT06)^{viii}

Therefore, what is emerging from the interview is that the state’s involvement in the development and the design of urban vision and form is quite limited not only because the availability of funds but also because any aesthetical reflections are out of their responsibilities. In seeking to unveil the reasons behind the abandonment of aesthetics discussions, some interviewees elaborated that the cause was that public institutions lack a long-term vision for cities, and thus the imagining of the built environment is ignored. This is as a consequence of the fact that decisions are mostly in the hands of politicians whose commitment depends on how long they will be in administration. For instance, some interviewees mentioned that still, Mayors make most of the decisions about urban spaces, particularly public spaces and urban facilities. As reported specifically by INT12, who works as advisor in a municipality:

“My practice as urban advisor for the municipality is developing and monitoring the Communal Regulatory Plan. In order to do so, I simply follow the methodology that is very commonly known: research urban changes in the district, and review demographic trends, variations in the land market and the needs of the community, all based on what is stipulated in the *Ley General de Urbanismo y Construcciones*. In Chile, nowadays, urban planning is only about regulation. The state cannot actually decide how to invest because it is used to regulating only.” (INT12)^{ix}

The instrument known as the *Plan Regulador Comunal* is the principal planning instrument used by Chilean municipalities to define the urban image. However, it is quite limited because it works only by zoning areas of the city per specific functions (industrial, commercial, residential, leisure). Considering that its function is only regulatory, the capacity of the municipalities for deciding where to invest seems absent.

Table 7.3. Distribution of income per taxes, concentration of wealthy people and green areas per habitant. Sources: own elaboration based on Asociacion de Municipalidades, CASEN 2015 and ATISBA.

<i>Comuna</i>	<i>Income per Taxes of municipality over the national revenues</i>	<i>Concentration of wealthy people over the national level. (A, B1 and B2 income groups)</i>	<i>Green areas per habitant over the Metropolitan region.</i>
Las Condes	9%	23.2%	10.82%
Santiago	6%	1.2%	8.59%
Providencia	4%	17.8%	7.28%
Lo Barnechea	4%	3.6%	4.04%
Vitacura	3%	4.1%	6.2%

It is important to make the point that in Chile municipalities must be self-funded. It means, that each municipality works as an enterprise that needs to ensure its yearly incomes. All municipalities in Chile receive a basic income provided by the *Fondo Comun Municipal* (Municipal Common Fund) that allow the payment of rents and salaries for workers. All other investment emerges from the collection of municipal patents and taxes. Of course, this is a method that perpetuate the uneven distribution of public funds. For instance, the most expensive properties are located in the wealthy comunas of the city. Thus, the territorial tax (*Impuesto Territorial*) that these properties pay is high so the municipality receives higher funds. This is completely the opposite in low-income comunas where the properties are cheaper and then they pay lower taxes and thus municipalities are shorter of funds for investing in public spaces and facilities. At a national level, the concentration of incomes of municipalities per taxes are as follows: Las Condes 9%, Santiago 6%, Providencia 4%, Lo Barnechea 4%, Vitacura 3%, which is correlated with the concentration of wealthy people and availability of parks and green areas as a share of the region (Table 7.3). Of course, these *comunas* concentrate the wealthiest population of the country. If municipalities have autonomous funds, they can create their own projects but in reality (as was shown in table 7.4), only a few *comunas* have autonomy for investments. The others, need to apply to the regional government, whose main criterion is the cost-benefit method. As was previously revealed in Chapter 6, resources are mostly

assigned according to the profitability of investments for the owners of capital and those responsible for projects. INT12 illustrated that, for example, a tree is not an easy investment because its profitability is difficult to demonstrate, so getting public funds for installing trees in a sidewalk is difficult. Indeed, a tree from the cost-benefit method is observed more like an expenditure because it implies water and maintenance. Therefore, it is possible to observe that wealthy municipalities have more green areas than poorer municipalities (Table 7.4), because the trees are planted with autonomous funds and not applying to the MIDESO to getting approval in this kind of investments. As for the tree, the example applies to good quality sidewalks, benches, wastebaskets and so on. Thus, the investment in public spaces seems conflictual because its revenues are hard to demonstrate using the methodology of MIDESO. The National System of Investments (SNI) determines what are the social prices of public investments (Sistema Nacional de Inversiones, 2017). For public spaces, SNI demand the elaboration of a project profile that fulfils the requirements of the cost-benefit approach, which implies: (i) identify benefits of investments, (ii) quantify those benefits, (iii) identify costs, (iv) quantify the costs, (v) indicate profit of investment and elaborate the indicators of cost-efficiency of the project (MIDSEO, 2013).

“The major conflict when designing public spaces is the scarce availability of financial resources. This limits the expectations of people about their cities. When you work under a scarcity of resources, you must maximise the investment doing durable projects, and those solutions are not necessarily interesting.” (INT06)^x

In the case of Santiago, an urban ensemble of 32 municipalities, it is difficult to ensure that public space will be distributed equally maintaining the same quality. The budget varies depending on the income of the municipality as it was mentioned above, therefore, the access to public spaces and facilities and their quality depends on the socioeconomic characteristics of the municipal community: the richer and the wealthier the better equipped. Given that the access to high-quality public space is not for everyone in the sense that is not conceived as a collective urban dimension, the city becomes discriminatory developing exclusionary mechanisms and unequal access to spaces.

Table 7.4. Rank of availability of municipal budget per capita in Santiago, compared with household incomes and green areas per capita. Source: own elaboration based on Asociación de Municipiudades, CASEN 2015 and ATISBA.

<i>Rank</i>	<i>Municipality</i>	<i>Municipal budget per capita (£)</i>	<i>Household Incomes (£)</i>	<i>Green Areas per Capita (m2)</i>
1	VITACURA	0,92	5.291	16,74
2	LAS CONDES	0,91	4.136	9,07
3	PROVIDENCIA	0,78	3.731	11,67
4	LO BARNECHEA	0,71	5.466	9,08
5	SANTIAGO	0,39	1.418	5,52
6	HUECHURABA	0,33	1.301	3,67
7	LA REINA	0,23	3.167	10,99
8	QUILICURA	0,18	1.375	2,89
9	CERRILLOS	0,17	936	6,14
10	ÑUÑO A	0,16	2.518	3,96
11	SAN MIGUEL	0,15	1.965	1,75
12	RECOLETA	0,13	1.006	2,15
13	PEÑALOLÉN	0,13	1.729	3,53
14	MACUL	0,13	1.604	3,59
15	SAN JOAQUÍN	0,13	1.221	2,15
16	ESTACIÓN CENTRAL	0,13	1.185	3,7
17	INDEPENDENCIA	0,11	1.504	0,87
18	PUDAHUEL	0,1	1.266	1,37
19	LA CISTERNA	0,09	1.331	1,22
20	QUINTA NORMAL	0,09	1.138	1
21	RENCA	0,09	1.022	1,99
22	LA FLORIDA	0,07	1.443	3,04
23	CONCHALÍ	0,07	1.075	2,44
24	MAIPÚ	0,06	1.416	4,23
25	PEDRO AGUIRRE CERDA	0,04	1.058	0,99
26	SAN RAMÓN	0,03	987	2,8
27	LO PRADO	0,03	1.040	1,78
28	EL BOSQUE	0,03	996	1,48
29	LA GRANJA	0,03	1.182	1,89
30	LO ESPEJO	0,02	899	1,3
31	CERRO NAVIA	0,02	1.003	2,49
32	LA PINTANA	0,02	988	3,07



Figure 7.4. Ricardo Lyon Avenue in Providencia. Source: own elaboration.



Figure 7.5. Santa Rosa street in Bajos de Mena. Source: own elaboration.

“Public goods should be a luxury that all citizens have access to. This luxury should be a right materialised in the public space. The access to public space as a luxury is a responsibility of the state, but it is not ensured for everyone. It is visible when walking through Lyon Avenue (Figure 7.4) in Providencia and then you go to Bajos de Mena (Figure 7.5) or La Pintana. It is not democratic, and it should be.” (INT26)^{xi}

The urban designer attempts to develop good designs but the asymmetries of resources between municipalities undermine the provision of more even results between different areas of the city. Spatially, this unevenness of public facilities is of course a symptom of segregation. As municipal incomes depend on how wealthy are their residents and the needs of low-income population of public goods is concentrated in certain *comunas*, urban life is deteriorated in part of these *comunas* while urban life is enhanced in high-income areas. “In short, public institutions reinforce market trends that promote selective residential migration. As a consequence, socio-spatial segregation has become an uncontrolled vicious circle.” (Garretón in Boano & Vergara-Perucich, 2017b, p. 41).

This condition of unevenness is structural; however, urban designers have not been particularly active in contesting these conflicts, the advocacy for a more just city is not organised. They complain in private situations but not much in public. In a way, urban designers are accomplices of this model of urban development that seems to reproduce segregation in the city. For instance, as was explained in Chapter 6, this cost-benefit approach to urban development was implemented during the dictatorship but it seems like it continues. “There are no real advances from the urban development model implemented by the dictatorship and the current model. There are some additions but not real changes. It is difficult to say why, I do not have a straightforward answer” (INT01). Subsequently, “In Chile, there is no urban planning, it is extinct, we only have the market that defines the city form” (INT15). The extinction of urban planning is in the state apparatus. For example, real estate developers still have plans for the city. These plans are mostly oriented to defining strategic investments for extracting value from urban products. Indeed, there are architects and urban designers supporting these plans. So, what is their stance in relation to producing a better city? INT16 points out their complicitness:

“It bothers me when people blame real estate companies while urban designers are allowing these kinds of projects. It may be corruption or influence peddling as well, but in the end, there is always an urban designer signing a project because in Chile this is obligatory by law. Regulatory plans, projects and other urban ideas must be signed by a certified urban practitioner. What is real is that real estate companies hire urban designers and they must do what their bosses ask. As every urban designer wants to preserve their job, the city’s development depends on unprincipled ideas. That is why nowadays real estate companies are out of control too.” (INT16).^{xii}

“The city has become a derivation of the economic model, a direct effect. The grim symbiosis between the urban model and the economic model has been accepted. People believe blindly in free entrepreneurship that has transformed urban discussions into ideological issues. These groups have ideologised urban development through a frenetic defence of neoliberalism that was imposed by force. The Chilean neoliberal experiment is directly related to crimes, and this contributes to an ideologised discussion. Also, this has strengthened the resistance to solidarity and to imagining a better city. I believe that this is because the Chilean elite is ignorant, especially the entrepreneurial elite.” (INT26)^{xiii}

As discussed in Chapter 5, the design of the city in Chile has been historically controlled by an elite (either settlers, oligarchy or entrepreneurs) whose understanding of the spatial production is quite conservative and it stems from the simple gaze of capital. For the Chilean elite, it is important to use processes capable of producing good spatial results but especially, ensuring profits. It seems like urban professionals have not been efficiently enough to change and contribute to a public debate on the value and form of the city as well as able to lobby the elite by showing different and better means to producing cities for good and not only for profit.

“The architects working for the state used to be in direct contact with communities. We used to present to them our projects in plans and models and we were used to receiving critiques and observations directly from people. That is why our projects were so good, and people really liked them. I challenge you to find one single project developed by CORVI and CORMU that is worse than those developed by the state from the dictatorship onwards. You will find none.” (INT15)^{xiv}

The dictatorship and the forceful implementation of neoliberalism succeeded in changing the understanding of the practice of urban design in a short period – not only by fostering the profit-oriented logic in the development of the city, but also by transforming the way that practitioners relate to citizens and the practice of building the city.

As is shown in Figure 7.6, in the last 7 years the processes of building Santiago has been directed by the profitability of investments. The tables and maps of Figure 7.6 are quite self-explanatory, wealthy *comunas* – such as Las Condes, Santiago, Providencia, Lo Barnechea and Vitacura - are always in the list of the 15 *comunas* that allocate most of the investment in relation to real estate development projects. Although it is difficult to demonstrate the coordinated action of building companies in how they decide where to invest, the patterns and the trends are clear. Also, as there are some *comunas* where investment on real estate projects is fixed, some low-income comunas are also subject to good amount of investment depending on the year. It seems like the real estate capital is allocated for secure investments in high-income *comunas* while it speculates in lower-income *comunas* to test the ground for greater further investments in the future. My reflection, is that if the investment in low-income *comunas* is profitable enough, then the companies start to invest higher amounts of capital in these *comunas* and more companies participate in the market of each specific area. Same otherwise, if investments are not profitable, then they move away to another *comuna*.

As was explained in Chapter 2, in the present, the disciplinary field of urban design has engaged to discussions that push its practice from a deep dependency on architecture to a more autonomous approach that stresses the role of urban designers in developing urban policies and regulatory schemes for ensuring that projects comply with the law. From the interviews it emerged that urban designers working for the state have quite limited capacities for designing the city. Instead, these professionals have an almost exclusive role of checking that the private fulfil certain criteria for shaping the space. Therefore, for the case of urban designers working for public entities, their imagination is not required. It is in the private sphere that it is still possible to find urban designers shaping spaces, although they also function under the dogma of profit.

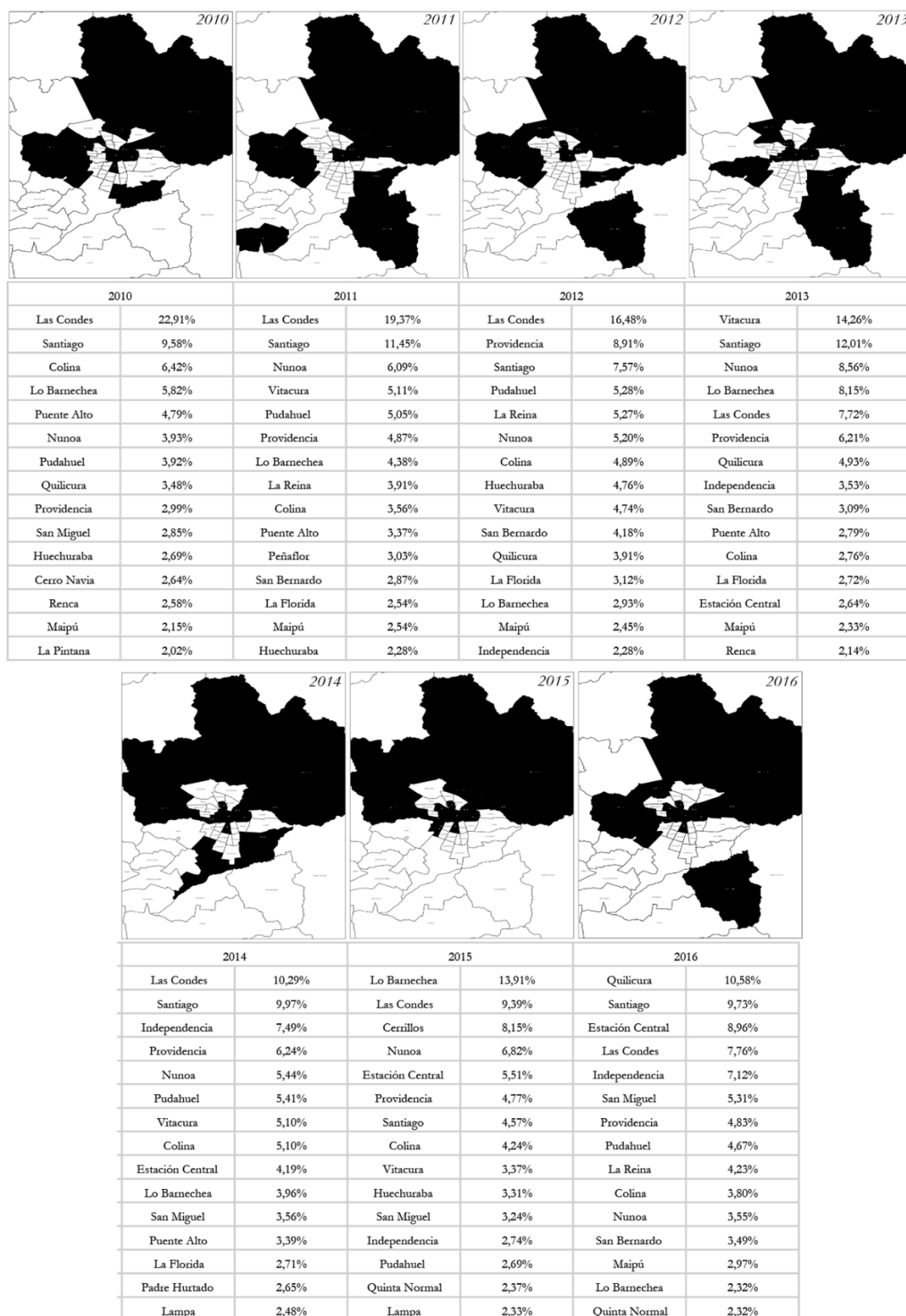


Figure 7.6. The figure indicates the percentage of square metres constructed per *comuna* of the total square metres built in Santiago per year, between 2010 and 2016. The maps reveal the way that the city has a clear tendency to concentrate investment on the east side of the city. Source: own elaboration based on data of INE.

“At least in Santiago, urban designers working in the private sector still depend on the investors and their expectations of profit. When you are an employee, it is difficult to develop some innovative project, especially when the status quo is particularly profitable for the people who hired you. For example, one of my students was working in an architecture studio, and he saw the possibility of improving the design of a residential building’s windows. He proposed the idea to his bosses, but it was rejected. One of his bosses, who also lectured him in the School of Architecture, told him: why do you bother so much if you are not going to live there? This was not the first time that I heard this kind of story, and I believe that this clarifies a bit the ethical distortion in our colleagues.” (INT04)^{xv}

This quotation from INT04 is disturbing because it is not only a reference to a professional but also it makes reference to a lecturer of urban design talking to a student. The role of urban designers under the neoliberal context of Santiago is mostly valued from an economic perspective, how profitable, efficient and fast is a proposal. This is frustrating from the perspective of the artistic creativity that urban designers should have (Barnett, 1982; Matthew Carmona, 2014b). While urban design has a political, cultural, economic and social role (A. R. Cuthbert, 2011) in Santiago it seems not to be the case. The practice of urban design seems to have abandoned any of those roles to be relegated to a simple method for mere execution of norms for producing space. As the interviews advanced, I noted down a worrying question: Is it possible to argue that urban-design-under-neoliberalism eliminated urban design? Perhaps the pursuit of designing good cities for all was replaced by a new ethos of designing cities for profit. During the interview, I presented a Henri Lefebvre’s quote to see their reactions. This was the quote:

“They (*urbanistes*) fail to perceive that every space is a product and that this product does not arise in conceptual thought, which is not necessarily immediately productive. Space, as product, results from relationships of production that are taken control of by an active group. Urbanists seem to be unaware of or misinterpret the fact that they themselves figure in these relationships of production as organisers and administrators. They implement, they do not control, space. They obey a social command that is not directed at any given object or any given product (commodity) but a global object, the supreme product, the ultimate object of exchange: space.” (Lefebvre, 2003, p. 154).

This generated various thoughts from the interviewees I’m reporting below:

“In Chile, urban designers are completely represented in Lefebvre’s definition. When I was working as an urban designer for the state, we never discussed the city’s imaginaries or the influence of public policies on urban land. We were restricted to monitoring the accomplishment of norms and law. We never discussed the image of the city. Indeed, several times I approved projects that I disagreed with. Nowadays, we want to install a broader discussion of urban design in Chile, but the idea of a good city does not exist.” (INT14) ^{xvi}

The role of urban designer in the context of urban-design-under-neoliberalism was exposed as a profound contradiction to the original ethos of building good cities. I based my understanding of good city in Ash Amin’s definition:

“I have chosen to redefine the good city as an expanding habit of solidarity and as a practical but unsettled achievement, constantly building on experiments through which difference and multiplicity can be mobilised for common gain and against harm and want.” (Amin, 2006, pp. 1020–1021).

Amin articulates the idea of good city with the values of ethics of care that embraces social justice, equality and mutuality as principles to achieve collectively. In this sense, so far, it seems like the idea of good city chased by urban-design-under-neoliberalism is completely the opposite: individualistic, competitive and uneven by facilitating that the winner takes all. Recalling Lefebvre’s provocation, some interviewees exposed their agreement with the contention that of urban design is being eliminated by the process of neoliberalisation.

“In Chile, there are no urban designers but architects who are specialised and in the end they facilitate land accumulation for the elite. There is an evident cultural and educative influence of architecture on urban development in Santiago. The city is a sum of objects rather than a coordinated effort to comprehensively organise functions in space.” (INT06)^{xvii}

“In Chile, there are no urban designers; there is no diagnosis before developing a project. What we have in Chile are market planners. They only follow the rules of the market. Some public constraints make urban discipline in Chile difficult, but in the end, the diagnosis comes from outside of the urban. Then, urban designers are not critical about these imposed variables of analysis” (INT02)^{xviii}

The difference between an urban designer and a marketing managers⁶⁶ in Santiago seems to be separated by a thin line. The marketing manager is a professional – generally economists – whose speciality is defining strategies for selling any kind of products in certain segments of the population, defining prices based on these segments and also arising new demands for designing new products that ensure profits. In the end, both specialists – urban designers and marketing managers – develop their practice basing decisions on the information of the market, and both try to accomplish the expectations of consumers but ensuring high revenues for investors. Furthermore, this feature implies an epistemological gap in urban design that is then filled with neoliberal ideology.

“Urban designers are reductionists, and sometimes we believe that we have all the power regarding cities. I do believe that ideologies must be recognised for adding transparency to urban decisions. Some politicians and architects do not assume their ideological role. For instance, there are no doubt that planning in Chile is about regulating private property but many avoid this responsibility.” (INT12)^{xix}

⁶⁶ Marketing manager is a professional specialised in understanding how to make people buy certain products. Most of them hold an MBA. They use advertisement mainly for ensuring that companies allocated their products in market successfully. A marketing manager must have the capacity of transform complex processes and objectives into simple and sellable products.

“Urban designers are unnecessary thinkers. We are only technicians who execute projects. Thus, we have two options: either you become a technician working for the state or some consultancy, or you become marginal. For example, Luis Eduardo Bresciani is a technician: he uses his knowledge for the sake of politicians. Thus, great urban technicians can be great destructors such as Le Corbusier. Urbanists do not assume their political responsibility. I believe this is because in Chile we do not have good architecture and urban design schools. Rather, we have good schools of spatial aesthetics with any kind of political education. Thus, other disciplines more politically prepared absorbed us, such as economics or political science.” (INT07)^{xx}

“Urban designers are over ideologised or vulgarised. They do not comprehend the processes of investments, and when the city appears on the political agenda, it is not due to urban designers.” (INT11)^{xxi}

The criticism of the lack of political training by urban designers for becoming actual agents of change in Santiago illustrates the importance of advancing towards a theoretical reflection of urban-design-under-neoliberalism. Operating as spatial specialists and leading processes of production of the spaces, urban designers have an advantaged position for pushing political agendas that may politicise spatial transformations and infuse society of the importance of controlling the future of their cities. From the findings of the interviews, it is possible to argue that the absence of discussions and projects imagining the far future of Santiago lies in the way that urban designers were absorbed by neoliberalism and they did not question their role in the circuit of capital.

“The city has been fragmented into pieces by each discipline, with a huge role played by economics. This is represented in a political structure organised by investment targets depending on the magnitude of projects. For example, the Public Works Ministry is considered as a contributor to economic development in Chile because it invests in infrastructure, roads, ports, and facilities for capital flow. On the other hand, the Housing Ministry is considered as a cost for the national budget because it provides housing and works for society with a focus on low-income communities. In the end, this fragmentation eliminates the city from the discourse. Instead, the city is used for diverse political discourses in building power. For me, land is power, and for concentrating this power, the city seems very useful.” (INT05)^{xxii}

The fragmentation of the city produced urban designers who were disconnected and thus the possibilities of thinking the city collectively have been diminished. This observation criticises the fragmentation of urban institutions. This influences the way urban designers work and develop projects. It also divided so their possibilities for engaging in a broader claim for changing their

practice seems hampered by a fragmented reality. This could be a situation of an alienated body of professionals whose goal is similar (shaping the space) but their cohesion is low because the system in which they work is designed for avoiding the organisation of collective views of their practice. As a result, the future idea of Santiago is not the result of a collective reflection but only a series of isolated ideas for the city.

“Nobody imagines Santiago in the future. We are not even dreaming it because it must be a collective construction. It cannot emerge from the individualistic society in which we live in now. Who is doing a collective discussion of the city nowadays? Nobody, nobody is doing so.” (INT15)^{xxiii}

It is important to mention that diverse groups of the society have advanced to break the alienation and think collectively new futures for the Chilean society. Particularly for the case of education and social security rights, diverse social movements have occupied cities and paralysed the country more than once since 2011. It is the awakening of the Chilean society from the neoliberal dream (Castells, 2015). Diverse authors have recalled the importance of a new generation of politically active citizens whose idea of democracy is not being fulfilled by Chile’s political structure (Ruiz & Boccardo, 2014; Salazar, 2012b; Valenzuela, Penaglia, & Basaure, 2016). In the last presidential and parliamentary elections of 2017, 20,94% of voters preferred emergent forces for electing MPs and 20,27% voted for Beatriz Sanchez for president, a journalist representing emerging political forces of a left-wing coalition named *Frente Amplio*. The demands that fuelled the social movements that then became political forces came from the involved: students, deprived workers and pensioned. In this context, the interviewees reflected on the significant opportunity that these movements represented for reactivating the importance of urban design in Santiago.

“A democratic city is being organised in the streets. Today it is impossible to modify a regulatory plan without consulting the citizens. Communities are rising when they want to defend their neighbourhoods. This practice is getting more common.” (INT09)^{xxiv}

“The only way to recover urban design for people is through popular mobilisation. It is difficult, but organisation is needed. I choose my own struggle for contributing in this way: eliminate the subsidies as a mechanism of urban development. I believe that after eliminating subsidies, the necessity of association will emerge between communities in the struggle for housing, avoiding individualistic approaches such as those promoted by subsidies. This is my humble attempt at reconquering a city for everyone.” (INT15)^{xxv}

From the survey results, 51.7% of urban designers considered that social movements are not influential in relation to the way urban development is happening at the present. Although some practices of urban design emerged with critical proposals about Santiago (review in Chapter 6), the city remains controlled by the set of neoliberal policies designed during the dictatorship. Interviewee 18 reflected on the importance of developing a different intelligence capable of uniting people to defend the right to the city. For doing so, it is necessary to detect a claim, an urban contradiction that affects the life of thousands that can trigger a broader demand from citizens for deep transformations. This contradiction must be detected by urban practitioners, just like students explained how education was biased in Chile. I believe that changing urban-design-under-neoliberalism would be possible after a more in-depth theoretical construction of the processes that reproduce urban-design-under-neoliberalism.

7.3. Santiago as a product of urban-design-under-neoliberalism

In the internet-based survey (Appendix 1), there was an open question about defining Santiago. The diversity of the responses included concepts such as grey, extended, uneven, maturing, disarticulated, eclectic, unfair, under-valorised, good for the wealthy and bad for the poor, just to mention a few comments (Table 7.5). One of the possible interpretations of these diverse responses is that urban design practitioners in Santiago have some sort of criticism on the processes that explain the urban form of the city. Although they recognise some improvements, in general, there is a rejection of the way that the urban development system was moved from a centralised mode in which urban planning was an active state function, to the profit-oriented practice of the present. The perception about this process exposed by the interviewees sustains the data presented in

Chapter 6, about how Santiago was formed following economic principles based on cost-benefit and profitability of investments. Among the consequences of the relationship between neoliberalism and urban design in Santiago, one of the most referred-to problems was housing questions, along with public transport.

Various urban design scholars have illustrated how neoliberalism transformed urban practice in Santiago and how this has changed urban life. Antonio Daher in the early years of neoliberalism in the nineties reflected on how urban development was transferred to the market for its regulation in what he named as the market dis-managing the city (*desadministración de la ciudad*). His reflection was that an imperfect market as a city distributes wrongly the resources and assets and prices mislead the rules of supply and demand which makes the urban property market highly inefficient for citizens (Daher, 1991).

Table 7.5. A summary of responses from the internet-based survey to the question: How would you define Santiago? Repeated concepts were eliminated although there were only seven repetitions. Source: own elaboration.

Grey	Awakening	With a lot to discover	Emerging
Extended	Zinc's paradise	Eclectic	Contested
Uneven	Disarticulated	Unfair	Conflictive
Maturing	A Patch	Uneven	Under-valorised
A city that grew more than it should	A territorial neoliberal experiment	Chaotic	Much better than you can imagine
A segregated city that reflects the reality of the country	Overpopulated with a reduced public space	Inertia	Good if you are wealthy bad if you are poor
An ambitious city	Money oriented	Contrasted	Cosmopolitan sometimes but discriminatory
Heterogeneous but not respectful	With weak public spaces	Services and beautiful natural frame	Accessible
Asymmetric	Beautiful but dirt in the air and stressed people	Modern	It could be beautiful, but it is chaos instead
Plain	A city that privileges some areas only	It is not a totality	A city in which authorities have not fulfilled their responsibilities
Classist	Nice for walking stressful in a vehicle	A consequence of economic interests	on the verge of the collapse
A glorious Latin American metropolis	Reckless	Polarised development	Central
Absorbing	A non-governed urban space	A city in the landscape	Disoriented
Profitable but sad	Divided by wealth	32 Domains	Almost a good city
Not bad, not good either	Capitalist capital	Good enough	An elitist space

Patricio Gross explains that neoliberal urban development focuses on an individualistic conception of men in which private property and markets define the social order and as consequence, the common good is neglected (Gross, 1991). For Carlos De Mattos, the neoliberalisation of Santiago was a result of globalisation and its spatial features were the suburbanisation, the diffuse peri-urban areas, the metropolitan polarisation and high segregation. Also, De Mattos said that globalisation in the city is represented by urban artifacts such as business *comunas*, shopping malls, hotels, segregated housing projects and gated communities (De Mattos, 1999). For Alfredo Rodriguez and Paula Rodriguez, Santiago is a neoliberal city because mercantilism has priority over redistribution and social rights. For them, the poor quality of social housing is representative of the neoliberal city in which rather than a policy of social housing there is a policy of cheap housing solutions. In their view, the housing solutions constructed in Santiago are a social problem that goes straight against the right to the city of marginalised people living in these new *comunas* (Rodriguez & Rodriguez, 2009b). Diverse authors that have studied the neoliberalisation of Santiago tend to focus on housing because in the end it represents the most basic space that people struggle to get access to.

“The excess we see today is inconceivable. Housing as a commodity is the worst. It is impressive the number of housing blocks built with awful standards. Many must be demolished in Bajos de Mena, Rancagua, Temuco and so on. Visiting these districts is like visiting bombing zones in Gaza. People coexist with some of these buildings that the state still is attempting to fix while others have already been demolished. You can see the skeletons of these buildings scattered in cities.” (INT15)^{xxvi}

The commodification of housing represented a means for igniting cycles of capital accumulation from construction activities. As it was explained in Chapter 5, since the 19th century the construction business has been used not only for building facilities and shelter but also to use space as a resource for creating wealth. As is shown in Table 7.7, the average return of buildings in the city of Santiago during the last 7 years present an Internal Rate of Return of 47%. As was presented in Chapter 6, all investments in real estate whose IRR is over 20% are highly profitable, which provide evidence to argue that in Santiago the construction business is an outstandingly profitable activity. This criterion also applies to projects funded with the fiscal budget. For example, the

average profitability in the construction of roads in cities is 44% on average (see Table 7.6). Thus, if the state must invest £1,000,000 in a road, £400,000 may go directly to the company as profit.⁶⁷ Given the repetition in the diagnoses made by the interviewees on Santiago, the adoption of free-market economics in the realm of urban development appears to be the principal problem of urban-design-under-neoliberalism.

Table 7.6. Profitability rates of projects funded with the fiscal budget. Source: own elaboration based on information of Mercado Publico.

	<i>Project 1: Nursery in La Cisterna</i>	<i>Project 2: Football court Buin</i>	<i>Project 3: Road Maintenance in Metropolitan Region</i>	<i>Project 4: Surgery in La Florida</i>	<i>Average</i>
IRR	23%	55%	49%	49%	44%

“The market has configured Santiago. Personally, I make a distinction between architects and urban designers because in Santiago you don’t see urban designers anymore. Here, you can only find urban projects whose goal is generating dynamics in the production of the city, aiming to spatialise profits. Thus, in Santiago, urban design is controlled by free-market investors. Urban designers are absent from discussions about space; we lost the battle against money and its logic now controls urban disciplines.” (INT11).^{xxvii}

Following the argument of INT11 and above it is evident that market functioning organises the space. This recalls directly the idea of the invisible hand proposed by Adam Smith and then taken by Milton Friedman to saying that the “invisible hand of Adam Smith is a far more effective and equitable means of organizing economic activity than the visible hand of government” (Friedman, 1987, p. 26). Therefore, if the market operates as an invisible hand that moves around supply and demand to find the best option for consumers and sellers, it would be possible to assert that urban-design-under-neoliberalism has similar characteristics. It operates in areas of the city where capital

⁶⁷ This information is available on the website www.mercadopublico.cl, which is the platform used for organising public tenders.

is more efficient for allocating investments to produce spaces and revenues. A broad estimation of how profitable the real estate business in Santiago has been indicates that the Internal Rate of Return in the last 7 years is over 45% (Table 7.7). In other words, the city of Santiago under neoliberalism has been “drawn” by an invisible hand of the market that aims to increase the profit of investors, at the same time as the outcomes of this process provide spatial products for the usage of people in everyday life. In a way, it could be argued that urban design is complicit with the invisible hand of market, materialising its effects in the space.

Table 7.7. Estimation of how profitable have been the construction industry in Santiago in the last 7 years. The table show the calculation of the total number of square metres constructed in buildings over 8 floors in Santiago since 2010 and multiply it for 20 UF (average cost of construction in the city for high-rise buildings) for getting the average costs of these projects. Then, it is calculated the returns from the sell of these project using the average housing price since 2010. Source: own elaboration based on data from INE and ADIMARK.

Total Square Metres Constructed in Buildings over 8 Floors	21,499,857	m ²
Average Cost of Investment (UF/m ²)	20	UF/m ²
Average Sale price (UF/m ²)	45	UF/m ²
Total cost of constructing these buildings	429,997,140	UF
Incomes per selling these buildings	967,493,565	UF
Gross profit from the commercialisation of these buildings	537,496,425	UF
RETURN FROM INITIAL INVESTMENT	55.56%	
<i>IRR Evaluation</i>		
Investment	-429,997,140	UF
First year of sales (20%)	193,498,713	UF
Second year of sales (40%)	386,997,426	UF
Third Year of sales (40%)	386,997,426	UF
INTERNAL RATE OF RETURN	47%	

“Santiago is an example of how unfair a city can be when it is developed by private capital, where the public regulator has resigned to regulate or reduce these spatial injustices. The state is not expressing its will to regulate these issues in practice; all are polite discourses.” (INT02)^{xxviii}

“Santiago is an uneven metropolis as a totality: it is totally unequal, with uneven spaces, variable speeds, different materiality, polarisation and contrasts. Santiago is the geography of unevenness, with a rich top and a poor bottom, a non-levelled playing surface with a clear leaning.” (INT03)^{xxix}

The invisible hand of the market in space resulted in an apparent condition of spatial inequality. This inequality has been quantified by analysing the segregation of Santiago. Miguel Vargas has studied the phenomenon and determined that the dissimilarity index (for measuring residential segregation) in Santiago is 64% (2009, p. 24) which is almost twice the segregation level of Amsterdam or Athens (van Ham, Tammaru, de Vuijst, & Zwiens, 2016) as it is expressed in Table 7.8.

Table 7.8. Dissimilarity Index of Santiago compared with European Cities. Source: Vargas (2009) and van Ham et al (2016)

<i>Santiago</i>	<i>Madrid</i>	<i>London</i>	<i>Stockholm</i>	<i>Vienna</i>	<i>Amsterdam</i>	<i>Athens</i>
64%	49%	42%	40%	40,50%	33%	35%

For Miguel Vargas (2016), in Santiago there exists a tacit collusion in the housing market which may explain the abnormal returns of real estate projects, which implies a series of consequences:

“Amongst the welfare costs, the following list would cover some of the most important. First, prices will tend to be higher than those that guarantee economic efficiency. Second, the dwellings supply will be lower than the one that could be observed in a competitive environment. Third, an important group of the population will not be able to access to the market. Fourth, as developers will not have incentives for differentiation, then house-holds will have a lower chance of finding a unit that fully satisfies their requirements. Fifth, developers will not have incentives to improve dwellings quality. Sixth, given the higher prices, developers will extract rents from households, which belong to the lower income segment, hence there will be a problem of income distribution. Finally, developers will not have incentives to provide information about dwellings quality and main characteristics, increasing searching costs and reducing the household’s possibility of purchasing in an informed way.” (Vargas, 2016, p. 5272)

Vargas’ study make sense with the reflections made by INT03 exposing that Santiago’s inequality is expressed as a totality, which is a provocative definition because it implies that urban processes in Santiago are producing uneven outcomes in different scales.

INT07 suggested that the inequality is not exclusive to Santiago, but it is an expanded condition within Latin America:

“Santiago is a typical capitalist city in developing countries: socially segregated, with a high difference between spatial qualities and spatial performances; typologically it is similar to other cities in the region.” (INT07).

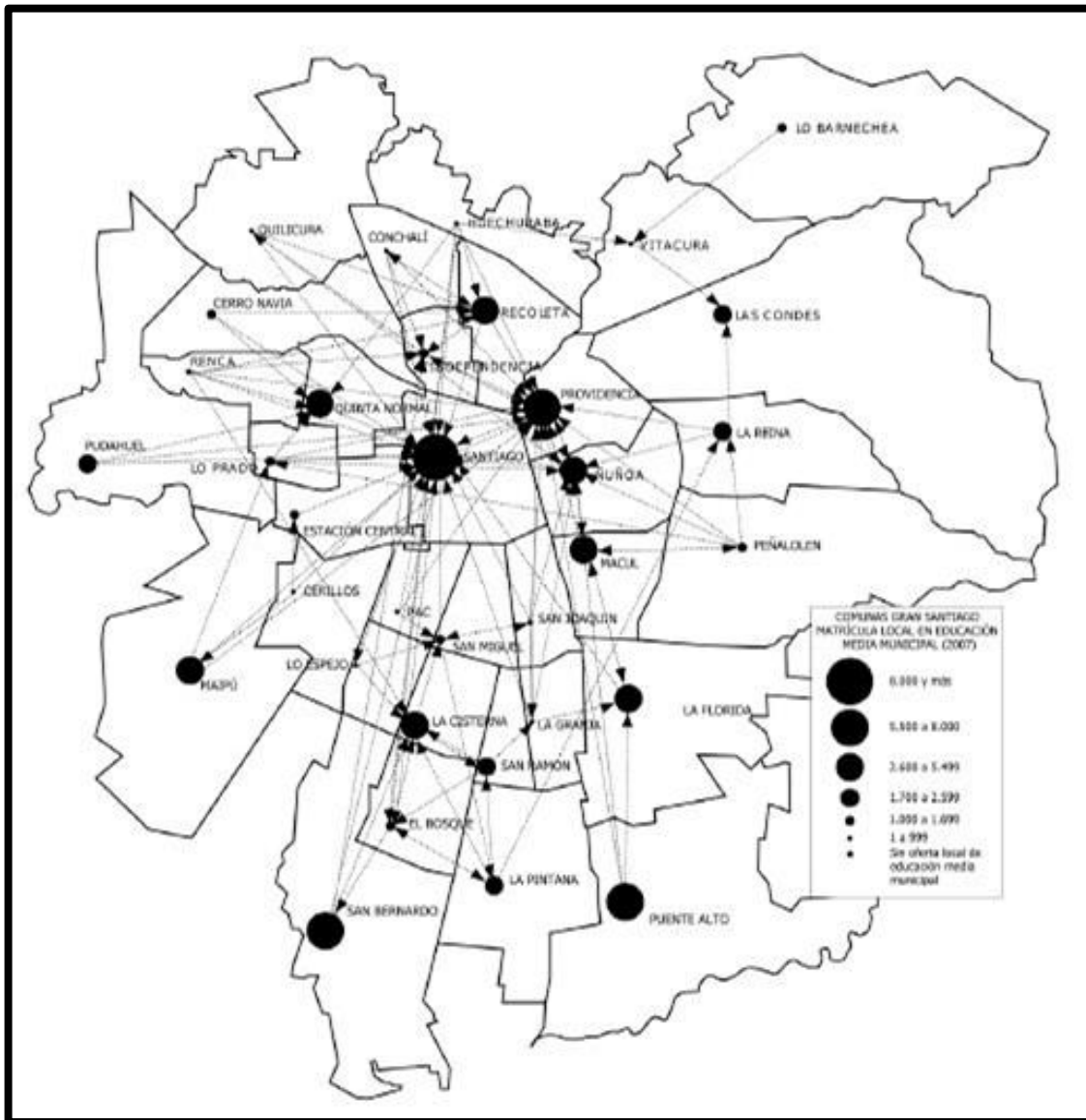


Figure 7.7. Commuters students between *comunas* in Santiago. Source: Donoso-Díaz & Arias-Rojas, 2013.

The typological similarities of Santiago with other Latin American cities are difficult to prove in the present when the size of cities is so big, but at least they share a common initial pattern based on the Spanish colonial city and the checkerboard presented in Chapter 5. Furthermore, recent studies sustain the argument of Santiago as an uneven city, mostly referring to the access to public goods:

Public transport: As was presented in Chapter 6, public transport in Santiago (Transantiago) present significant issues that impact on the uneven access to the urban life in the city. Most of services and jobs are concentrated in the *comunas* of Santiago Centro, Providencia and Las Condes. “In comparison with the whole city, the most deprived groups require more time to access the available resources, thus showing signs of transport poverty in its accessibility component and social exclusion . People who lived in areas composed mostly by social housing estates need more travel resources than the averages of the city” (C. F. Martínez, Hodgson, Mullen, & Timms, 2017, p. forthcoming).

Access to Education: 50% of students living in Santiago do not attend a school located in the *comuna* where they dwell (Donoso-Díaz & Arias-Rojas, 2013). Furthermore, this imply that a great number of students have to commute to other *comunas* to receive education (Figure 7.7). As it was mentioned above, the times of travel vary but it implies a significant effort for families to ensure that their kids arrive to school every day considering the distance and the complications of traveling through Santiago.

Health facilities: The organisation of health services in Santiago is organised in 6 divisions: Central, North, West, East, South, South-East. The goal of the Ministry of Health is having 30 health professional for each 10.000 inhabitants per division. In the case of Santiago, only the East division (where the richest *comunas* of the city are located) have 0 deficit. The Central division has -525 of deficit, North -409, West -698, South -702, and South-East -689 (Subsecretaría de Redes Asistenciales & Ministerio de Salud, 2016, p. 49). The correlation between rich *comunas* and health is also an expression of how uneven the provision of public services in the city is distributed.

“The extreme Chilean neoliberalism has made of Santiago a principal city for Latin America. It is an extremely efficient business centre and a safe reservoir for capital. Almost like a potential state-city of global capitalism. Santiago is a global neoliberalism reserve. It will be seen how improvements appear in this market system in Santiago. It seems as if the branding of Santiago attempts to transform this city into the most neoliberal one in the world” (INT21)^{xxx}

In an era when cities are branded and marketed, the potentialities of Santiago as the most neoliberal city in the world seem like an interesting reflection. The magazine “Business Destinations” determined that Santiago is the best city for making business in South America:

“Behind Santiago’s rising reputation as a jewel within South America lies the long-standing collaboration between the public and private sector, most notably the partnership between Imagen de Chile and the Santiago Convention Bureau (SCB). This collaboration has sought to build on the nation’s reputation as a tourist destination and showcase the city as a hub for conference and business ventures. In fact, in 2015, one in every six visitors came to Chile on business, producing revenues in excess of \$617m.” (Gomez, 2017, p. online)

Santiago represents a centrality in relation to business centres in Latin America, a fruitful space for neoliberal practices given the regulations and laws that foster entrepreneurialism and free-trade. Also, the importance given in the country to the rule of law to defend private property and profitability are strategic for defining where to allocate investments. Some urban designers embrace this possibility as a positive outcome, although they recognise the necessity of resolving urban inequalities as those previously mentioned, mostly oriented to the provision of public services and access to public goods.

“I believe Santiago will be the capital of Latin America. The economic process is quite dynamic, and it is improving. It has a bad reputation and it is worth eradicating its problems. For instance, the accumulation of wealth is astonishingly different from that in other cities, which causes the socio-spatial segregation that characterises it. If this is resolved, I believe that it may become the actual capital of Latin America.” (INT12)^{xxxi}

Recalling the survey results, 89.3% agreed and strongly agreed with the statement *Santiago is an ideal city for business*, and 91.1% agreed and strongly agreed with the statement that *Santiago is a city whose urban form is a consequence of economic interests*. If Santiago is evaluated as a business centre in Latin America, for sure, it has succeeded and its urban development processes served usefully to accomplish this purpose. The question is if this model is sufficient for ensuring that most of the population in the city have access to minimum quality of urban development.

In relation to the perspective of practitioners with the methodology of the National System of Investments (SNI) for defining public investments by a cost-benefit approach, 84% of the surveyed urban designers agrees with the need to change it. The positivist and profit-oriented logic of this

system undermines the possibilities for developing a city in which urban life is accessible for everyone:

“A key reform is changing the methodology of public investment used by the Ministry of Social Development (MIDESO). The subsidiary bias is clear. Subsidies for housing and public transport are delivered without coordination, which undermines the development of a good city. For example, urban design does not exist in the Chilean laws. This is not by chance but part of the public policy. From my understanding, this comes from the National Policy of Urban Development of 1979, which defined that the profitability of land will order the city. In the end, this policy outlined the way that the state faces urban development.” (INT12)^{xxxii}

The adoption of this methodology to evaluate urban development comes from trying to ensure that the public funds are employed wisely. “The method for evaluating a public project investment hampers the possibility of developing multidisciplinary approaches. Indeed, there is a structural disincentive to cooperate, fostering fragmentation between public agencies.” (INT02) Quantitative methods are more respectable under a neoliberal scheme.

“Public policies aim to invest with exactitude. That’s why in Chile the mathematic model is so used for evaluating investments. The goal is optimising resources. Since 1973 the state has been dealing with the same model. That is why Aylwin massified the production of housing, privileging quantity over quality. As a consequence, a colossal segregation was created which in the end represented a more significant problem than the housing deficit.” (INT16)^{xxxiii}

For Carlos Ruiz and Giorgio Boccardo, the problem is that the democratic governments after Pinochet legitimated the neoliberal order by embracing the political-economic model inherited from the dictatorship and continuing with the privatisation of the state (2014). Under neoliberalism, the influence of economists displaced to other experts in key roles of the state because the whole public system of investment was based on the cost-benefit approach. As a consequence of this change, the role of other practitioners – such as urban designers- changed in order to being adapted to the new decision-making scheme. Thus, the critical thinking capacity of urban designers was no longer needed. They became technical bureaucrats in shaping spaces.

“The city was in the hands of scared politicians who urged efficiency. Thus, these politicians just followed orders with no reflection. I blame politicians for the urban transformations in cities. For example, the investment in housing increases during electoral years, but then the city disappears from the political discourses. The city, thus, depends on the government’s administration and the state. This is quite problematic.” (INT16)

“I am convinced that in Chile there is no conviction on changing the housing policies...There is no planning for the built environment, only administration of investment resources for private initiatives.” (INT15)^{xxxiv}

“The idea of urban planning is coordinating diverse sectors. A lack of multidisciplinary vision has been one of the causes of the problems in Santiago nowadays. Concerning urban development, the transformations have been commanded by the Public Works Ministry and the Finance Ministry. This implies the development of the city using a macroeconomic view instead of a more holistic approach. Thus, public works are conceived for increasing productivity and not necessarily enhancing everyday life. Clearly, we lack multidisciplinary structures in public institutions and education too. We are educated sectorally.” (INT16)^{xxxv}

For politicians, urban development has seemed to be a mechanism for invigorating the economy, creating jobs, advancing GDP through expansion due to urban development activities, and building infrastructure (See in Chapter 6).

“The city as a plan is absent from the political discourse. Even in mayors or districts. For example, Patricio Hales – who is an architect – doubled his votes when he stopped speaking about the future of the city and started to speak on other issues. The city has issues that are interesting for citizens, but there are no theories to politicise it as a discourse... Today, imagination is not convenient because it is not profitable. From our position as urban designers, we should advance with propositive critiques to fuel our discipline and foster the progress of the city as a discourse.” (INT10)^{xxxvi}

Five out of twenty seven interviewees mentioned the issues of apathy and the lack of political interest of urban designers, meaning they lack the actual capacity for influencing the way the city is produced. These interviewees suggested the urgency of moving towards a more politically informed urban practices – to the politisation of urban design practitioners – to then increase the importance of the city in the political arena, engaging in the defence of urban life, and installing the idea that the city is fundamental for social justice.

Table 7.9. Balance of a family living in Santiago by socio-economic quintile. Source: own elaboration based on CASEN2015, EPF2013, INE and Transport Ministry.

<i>Quintile</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>II</i>	<i>III</i>	<i>IV</i>	<i>V</i>	<i>Source</i>
Average Income	£318	£375	£474	£662	£1.958	Based on CASEN 2015 (<i>yautcor</i>)
Renting	£194	£214	£245	£317	£570	Based on CASEN 2015 (<i>n22</i>)
Basic goods	£162	£188	£207	£219	£205	Based on <i>Encuesta de Presupuestos Familiares</i>
Transport	£120	£139	£153	£162	£152	Transport Ministry considering 2 daily rides for 20 days
Balance	-£159	-£166	-£131	-£35	£1.030	
People per house	3,37	3,9	4,29	4,54	4,27	Based on CASEN 2015
% income for renting	61%	57%	52%	48%	29%	Based on CASEN 2015

For some of the interviewees, the city of Santiago and its problems already provide a possibility to politicise the urban. For INT08 and INT15, the commodification of the urban life is excessive, undermining the freedom of Santiago's inhabitants.

“The way that politicians provide solutions to cities is unbalanced. Citizens do not receive benefits for living in dense and compact cities, but instead, they have to pay the costs of the improvements: high prices of tickets for transport, expensive basic goods, most of the salary goes to pay accommodation, education and food.” (INT08)^{xxxvii}

“Even Arnold Harberger used to say that citizens must choose how and where to live at. I wonder: what chances have 80% of people in Santiago to choose where to live?” (INT15)^{xxxviii}

A fair question, considering that the average household expenditure in Santiago demands the use of a great portion of the household income (Table 7.9). Therefore, the limitation of 80% of citizens not being able to decide where to live in the city seems to be a legitimate observation. Also, it is striking to see that for low-income groups, 60% of their monthly income is used for paying accommodation. “A household that pays more than 30 percent of its gross income on rent and utilities is considered rent-burdened, according to [US] federal guidelines. If you pay more than half of your income on rent, you are considered extremely rent burdened” (Kaysen, 2016, p. online). In

the case of Santiago, even the wealthiest segments of the population have an average expenditure of 29% of their gross income.

“Santiago has a great concentration of poverty in areas of the city that have been developed with social housing policies, and ghettos of wealth that concentrate the high-income households. Political will and leadership are needed for eliminating both ghettos. But, if the urban development model works only following the land value as a criterion it is obvious that low-income families will occupy the cheapest plots of land. And, of course, the most expensive land will be occupied by the wealthiest people. The state is responsible for that because the private sector is always trying to find the most profitable investment for reducing the risks of business.”
(INT08)^{xxxix}

Under a monetarist scheme of urban development – where profit commands most of the decisions – the role of urban design seems irrelevant because the way to define transformations of space is focused only on the exchange value of these operations. This monetarist scheme of urban design is the very application of Milton Friedman’s theory of economic development to urban design, in which the availability of money and its circulation through trade would foster free-market benefits for the sake of the economic growth and increasing the wealth of the nation. However, Friedman never incorporated to his theory the problem of inequality. The monetarist theory ignores the complexities of production and focuses only in the circulation of money, even if it is printed by political command and not by consequence of a balance between supply and demand (Roberts, 2016). The use value, the imagination, space as a resource for social justice will not be considered in urban policy unless it also becomes profitable. This criterion is a spatial adaptation of the monetarist theory. Thus, for instance, if the government assigns a subsidy for good design projects or for innovating in the aesthetics of the space, only then would investors try to go beyond the exchange value and explore new spatial forms for the city.

Along the same lines of a monetarist approach to the city, a subsidy for housing projects appears to be one key factor disarming any attempt at social engagement in urban affairs.

“There are just a few social movements struggling for their right to housing in relation to the magnitude of the problem. Chile always had a strong movement based on dwelling organisations. They were admirable, but it disappeared. The subsidies were used as a mechanism for providing social housing but fostering individualism. Each applicant receives a document with the subsidy, and then they go directly to negotiate with real estate companies. Social organisation is not needed. This breaks the collectivity, and the struggle for the right to housing is a personal fight.” (INT15)^{xl}

Transformed into a strategy for profit, urban-design-under-neoliberalism has prioritised specific modes of thinking the city. None of these methods have advanced decidedly towards a more collective conception of the city, nor have they engaged practitioners for redefining their ethos, and individualised practices are a reflection of the society as a whole.

Based on the World Values Survey of 2014, only 12.4% of Chileans trust each other. Also, the way to develop a collective image of the city is hampered because of the crises of collectiveness. For instance, the regulatory instruments (as the PRMS100 shown in Figure 7.8) are the only potential imaginative approaches to the future of Santiago, and most of these ideas are based on zoning for defining the difference between urban and rural areas.

“People who were called to develop a utopian idea of the city never did it. Now, the scale of Santiago makes it impossible to think of a new image of the city. The return to democracy strengthened speculation with land and the massive production of housing. What was missing was reflecting on a more democratic city for Santiago. In the end, an illusion of a developed city was constructed by real estate and infrastructural investments. This fakeness is represented by housing towers which at the same time are symbols of land exploitation for real estate businesses. Thus, social housing populated the margins of the city. Urban designers were staggered before such a huge amount of mistakes, and they did not react properly. That is when the image of a developed Santiago defined by investors triumphed. Afterwards, development will be associated with these housing towers, and the urban designers will be only spectators of this history.” (INT11)^{xli}

The aesthetics of urban-design-under-neoliberalism seem to be represented by the set of high-rise towers for housing constructed in Santiago’s downtown and other *comunas* (Figure 7.8) – a pantone of colours and materials that have become monotonous in the urban landscape of Santiago.



Figure 7.8. Contrasted visualisation of PRMS100 to identify the new urban areas incorporated by this plan.
Source: own elaboration based on Housing Ministry Data. Original source and details in Figure 2.1.



Figure 7.9. Set of housing towers built in Santiago's downtown as a collage of textures and aesthetical proposals of real estate development in Santiago since 1990. Source: own elaboration.

“Santiago lost the capacity for imagining itself. For instance, the Metropolitan Regulatory Plan of Santiago (number 100) only set changes in the political-administrative limits of the urban area. Imagining the city is not even mentioned, and of course, utopia is not taken into consideration. There are no more utopias. We are trapped by an image of the city as an efficient machine for producing wealth.” (INT02).^{xliii}

The majority of the interviewees had a more pessimistic idea about the future of Santiago, but mainly because of the lack of social engagement in relation to urban affairs and its relative capacity to influence discourses and policies.

“The prospects of a future Santiago were developed in the past, around the fifties. Today there is no much reflection about it. We must imagine Santiago for the future because neglecting it is blindness for public policy. This is fundamental. What is going to happen to the Paz Froimovich buildings? I believe that imagining the city is a debt and with the current instruments it is quite difficult to do. Our colleagues already smash the visions of a future, and instead of advancing with new proposals, we usually do destructive critiques. We, as urban designers, are not in a propositive stance but instead, we are reactionary.” (INT09)^{xliii}

“Santiago nowadays is going directly to the cliff, but we are attempting to stop it from the streets. Some initiatives may refer to some utopian thinking that has emerged from academia and social roots. For example, Mapocho Pedaleable, Cerros Islas and a few more, but no more than that. Still, it is something when a few years ago we had nothing.” (INT02)^{xliiv}

As a final reflection, it seems as if the effort of those urban designers aiming to save Santiago from its total neoliberalisation relies on a practice embedded in social movements, encouraging people to contest urban-design-under-neoliberalism in the streets, marching and protesting. By taking this path of contesting the current situation of their practice, urban designers seem to constitute a potential resource, from different practices and approaches, to reconfigure already mentioned in Chapter 6.

7.4. The blind fields of urban-design-under-neoliberalism

In this part, I will explore the barriers and restrictions ‘constructed’ by urban-design-under-neoliberalism that impede any form of subversion and so preserving the capitalist dominance for producing the urban form. These restrictions may be ideological, theoretical, ethical, historical and

cultural, and hinder any possibility of producing changes in the status quo. Henri Lefebvre theorised these barriers under the idea of blind field:

“Was sex significant before Freud? Yes. Sin and shame were part of Western (Judea-Christian) culture. As were ideal patterns in poetry, for certain poets at least. Giving these things a meaning was an act. Before Freud, sex was isolated, torn apart. Reduced, rejected (repressed). It passed through a blind field, populated with shadows and phantoms, driven back from any concrete identity under unrelenting pressure, some fundamental alienation.” (Lefebvre, 2003, p. 31)

A blind field in Lefebvre’s terms is the representation of obstacles in the present for progressing in certain areas of knowledge, but its theorisation may transform the barrier into a possibility of transformation. Thus, this part explores the potential blind field observed by urban designers in Santiago.

“The fragmentation of information in public institutions is brutal. Each entity has its own system for organising data. This condition is related to the fragmentation of the state, its partitioning and division, which hinders any kind of effort for creating comprehensive public policies from the public apparatuses. In the end, exogenous agents such as companies must coordinate the state from outside.” (INT02)^{xlv}

“The blind field is the hyper-sectorialisation of the state. All is divided, and comprehensive works are not frequent. Given that, for everything, there is a norm, and these norms are fixed, we face a complex scenario in relation to possible multidisciplinary projects. I believe that all this is because Chile is an adolescent country which should seriously discuss its social model” (INT10)^{xlvi}

The fragmentation of the state into diverse parts is an interesting blind field when studying urban-design-under-neoliberalism. This fragmentation makes it difficult for state institutions to develop comprehensive urban projects. In Chile, the fragmentation is such that a road between two cities is developed by three different public institutions: The Public Works Ministry is entitled to build the road in the rural areas between cities, the Housing Ministry does it in the urban areas, but then within the urban limits is the Municipality. Thus, three institutions for one single strip of asphalt. While public institutions lack coordination, the private companies know how to articulate different institutions for projects, so, because of the own deficient design of public institutions, private companies are needed in the current scheme for advancing toward more comprehensive projects.

The fragmentation of institutions was identified as urgently needing change in urban management for the 89.2% of the surveyed urban designers. For example, the compactness of information means that only a few practitioners are capable of surfing through the complexity of the state apparatuses of urban development. Because few people know the paths, this design of public institutions segregates the companies that can actually work with public funds. This is a complication for urban design practice and was reflected in the answers from the survey. Specifically, 91% of the survey respondents agreed with the statement *the fragmentation of institutions facilitates that private agents define the way urban development is conducted*. However, others recognised these practices in the inefficiency of partitioning.

“It is not efficient having a Housing and Urbanism Ministry that is not articulated with the Public Works Ministry, nor with the Intendency, Municipalities and so on. This configures a quite complex structure whose improvement requires better-qualified professionals. However, again, the problem is unevenness. For example, municipalities of wealthy *comunas* can hire very good urban designers because the payments are high, while low-income *comunas* can only afford certain professionals that are not necessarily the best. Even today, several municipalities have not been capable of developing a Regulatory Plan for lacking urban designers in their boards.” (INT08)^{xlvii}

In relation to institutional design, there are also some problems with the tradition of institutions and their functions, especially when people are used to these features and are reluctant to be part of changes for the sake of the city.

“The most difficult is the internal resistance to changes. Changing mindsets is a real challenge within the ministry. We have always worked in this way, with architectural objects and not thinking holistically about the city. So, we have a partial perspective that values only the object but not its actual public impact. This resistance to changes comes from education, no doubts about it. For instance, the Public Works Ministry has always been an executive ministry, with no proposals. This is a historical problem because for decades this has been the ethos and changing it is quite difficult.” (INT06)^{xlviii}

“We have a legal body that works fine, the rule of law is respected. However, it is composed of several misleading laws that promote contradictory decisions. For example, there are an urban law and norms, people respect them, but its elaboration and scopes are totally insufficient.” (INT26)^{xlix}

Table 7.10: Modules of Urban Theory and Urban Design in the schools of architecture in Santiago. Source: own elaboration.

<i>School</i>	<i>Urban theories</i>	<i>Urban design</i>
Universidad de Chile	3	4
Pontificia Universidad Catolica	2	5
Universidad Central	4	4
Universidad Diego Portales	4	5
Universidad de Santiago	5	3
Universidad Mayor	2	6
Universidad Finis Terrae	7	8
Universidad Andres Bello	2	3
Universidad del Desarrollo	5	4
Universidad Tecnica Metropolitana	5	6
Universidad San Sebastian	6	10
Median	4	5
Average number of modules in Architecture BA Courses	60	

“For me, the urban legislation is the blind field in Santiago: too stubborn and not spatial at all. In the end, we convince ourselves that urban design is the regulations. Thus we reproduce an urban development model based on a set of regulation that we use like the Bible, which generates a lot of blindness.” (INT14)¹

Indeed, 35.7% of the respondents think that weak regulatory frameworks for defending the common good were the main threat to developing a just city. A reoccurring argument about the constraints of urban-design-under-neoliberalism focuses on the distance between academia and the political arena:

“Academics have a coherent narrative about the urban, but only within the academic arena. I mean, even right-wing and left-wing urban designers agree on most urban matters while within academic realms. For example, Pablo Allard (Dean of Architecture School at Universidad del Desarrollo) changed his academic views when he started to work with the administration of Sebastian Piñera. He became more pragmatic and subscribed to the necessities of the right-wing government. This is partly a problem of academia itself that does not work with reality. For instance, we rarely discuss profits. There is some kind of shame in speaking about money in schools of architecture. Academics think that this stance is a way of resistance against capitalism, but it is worse because in the end neither students nor scholars really understand its logic.” (INT16)ⁱⁱ

“The education of architects as urban designers is insufficient. Their formation is based on a technical positivist approach. Thus, they become executors of a certain way of designing cities based on data produced by other disciplines. In the end, they may become incompetent and inept. Besides, the market gains independence from their potential contributions, being replaced by marketing, market research and engineering.” (INT07)ⁱⁱⁱ

Indeed, when reviewing the course curriculum of architecture programmes, the presence of urban design modules is entirely scarce, as well as modules on urban theories (Table 7.10). While Urban Design modules make up on average 8% of the total, Theory modules are 7%. It is important to mention that in Chile, qualifying examinations for architecture and urban design are granted by universities, not by professional institutes such as the RIBA in the UK. The implication is that universities are mostly focused on the professionalisation of students. This mode of granting professional status was implemented during the dictatorship. One of the consequences is that even within universities, architecture students are being formed to suit real estate companies, with practical modules comprising an average 20% of the curriculum. Before the dictatorship, the granting of architecture professional certification was the role of the Colegio de Arquitectos (Architects Association).

“The dictatorship eliminated the ethical tutoring of professionals working in shaping cities. This occurred around 1980 and is another example of the ultra-liberal model produced by the Constitution of 1980. Therefore, professionals can do whatever they want, and their only regulation is law and their own conscience. In the neoliberal context in which we live, it is expected that they will learn to develop cities following the patterns of neoliberalism and ignoring their own ethos as urban practitioners for the sake of their own future.” (INT26)ⁱⁱⁱⁱ

The implementation of neoliberalism by the dictatorship followed the idea that unions and associations of professionals were complicated for the free market because their organisation against certain decisions may jeopardize the flow of capital. For example, if the Architects Association felt that real estate development was damaging the urban life and they agree to do not to certify any other project until changing the urban policy, it would imply a significant damage to capital and investors. As INT15 mentioned during the interview, the Architects Association had that legal attribution but never used it because the ethical tuition was efficient in ensuring that all buildings designed in cities have a minimum quality. The dictatorship eliminated this ethical tuition from professional associations through Decree 3621 of 1981. As it was expected, this measure weakened the Architects Association as ethical supervisors of the way that cities were developed, but it strengthened the role of the Chilean Chamber of Builders (CChC) as guarantors of the profitability of urban development activities. From the survey, 28.6% considered that the CChC was an influential actor in Santiago and 39.3% thought this union was a strongly influential actor in defining the urban development of the city. Also, several interviewees pointed to this organisation as being one of the most considerable problems of urban-design-under-neoliberalism.

“The Chilean Chamber of Builders is a perturbing actor, a destructive one if you are talking about improving the city. They are the only organisation opposed to the reforms proposed by the new National Policy on Urban Development. Also, they are the only organization that shamelessly lobbies in favour of extracting the maximum surplus value from urban development.” (INT26)^{liv}

The CChC is a defender of property rights and promotes the importance of the city as a means for the creation of wealth and business opportunities. It is possible to imply from the interviewees that the CChC sees urban development as an engine for GDP and growth. As defenders of property rights, several interviewees contested their view, advocating a more robust role of the state in controlling land uses and value.

“We believe that the state should be the manager of land use and value and that has been included in the National Policy of Urban Development. On the other hand, the Chilean Chamber of Builders opposes this measure. For them, the only relevant change is to improve the current regulations. This would be insufficient. For me, the most important change is that the state should be the owner of the land. And that is where we all crash against property rights. Although it is widely demonstrated that the liberation of land is not suitable for generating socio-spatial justice, the private property right remains out of discussion.”^{lv}

The new National Policy on Urban Development is presented as an essential moment in the history of urban design in Santiago. Most of the interviewees referred to this new regulatory framework as the first step towards reconciling urban designers with the political arena. 87.5% of the surveyed urban designers agreed with the statement *the state must regulate real estate businesses*. Although there are some critiques of its scope and the actual possibilities of generating change, its formulation prompted rethinking of the ways in which the city is being shaped and discussions over urban development as a means of capital accumulation.

“The new National Policy on Urban Development is a regulatory framework that promotes good ideas about cities: sustainable development, incorporating more technical specialists, increasing participatory approaches, and so on. However, it is still just a framework, a guideline. The law remains the same, and there are specialists who know very well how to bypass instruments such as the PNDU.” (INT26)^{lvi}

Furthermore, the discussion on the National Policy of Urban Development that started in 2012 raised the problem of the aesthetic effects of urban-design-under-neoliberalism. The final document of this policy, proposed the valorisation of the identity of spaces by designing projects capable to represent the social, geographical and cultural characteristics of territories. Although this is a small part of this new policy it is an advance toward resituate the importance of reflecting on the aesthetics of space as a significant part of its social development, going beyond the pragmatism of the cost-benefit approach.

“I believe that there is no evilness in people trusting in the free market for developing cities, but there is ignorance when rejecting the contradictions of the model that they defend. This is a partial vision of the world, a selfish, myopic and short-term understanding of the city. All is about revenues. But, for instance, ask the board members of the Chilean Chamber of Builders what their vision of the city is in 20 years’ time. They have no idea, they do not even think about it.” (INT26)^{lvii}

Real estate development, thus, has created its own image of the city based on favourable formulas of urban development that are shared and copied to ensure the profitability of investments. Many of the interviewees pointed to the Chilean Chamber of Builders as the principal cause of this phenomenon because most of the real estate companies are members of the CChC. Also, because the CChC organises seminars, conferences and courses to explain urban development strategies, it advises its members regarding materials and construction techniques that optimise investments, and the CChC shares data that illustrates better ways of developing profitable projects. Thus, the housing models are replications, a consequence of a serial production of proven lucrative spaces. Indeed, it is possible to say that the aesthetic identity of the city of Santiago since its return to democracy has emerged as a consequence of the successful process of coordination led by the CChC. However, in the same argument, the question is also how good has this aesthetic identity been? It has been good at densifying Santiago and building housing quickly in a city with high demand. Also, this model of urban development has been efficient in contributing to economic development. Nevertheless, besides the problem of extracting value from urban development itself, there is the question of the spatial reflection of design and the aesthetics of neoliberal Santiago.

“There is not much supervision of the real estate aesthetics. The idea of beauty is dead. In exchange, the real estate market provides a standardised interpretation of everyday life which also implies an imposition of beauty. Both everyday life and beauty are assimilated by people but also by urban designers. Neoliberalism produces its own aesthetics, the housing tower being a typology of the massive reproduction of dwelling modes and the extraction of surplus value from its production.” (INT22, 23, 24)^{lviii}

When the interviewees talked about aesthetics, they referred to a subjective appreciation of spaces in relation to a sensorial or emotional judgement that it is possible to develop in the presence of specific works. (Zangwill 1995). From the categories established by Denis Dutton (1977), the

aesthetic observation, in this case, refers to the style of real estate urban spaces, about the rules of composition that make them recognisable. For John Dewey (2003), aesthetics and ethics are a unity that articulates both an attractive form and a morally acceptable meaning, and both together can represent human conduct. In this case, the aesthetic reflection also seems to reflect an ethical critique, because some of the interviewees connected the aesthetic proposals of real estate companies with their morals, exposing this conflictual relationship as a blind field.

“Recently I had a discussion with a CChC leader because he was speaking pejoratively about the aesthetical aspects of projects. I had to explain to him that aesthetics were not only important for architects but also for the businesses of the CChC. If the city is not beautiful, it becomes undesirable, and it gets cheaper. They are not even capable of understanding this because they are too concerned with increasing profit quickly.” (INT26)^{lx}

Despite some critiques and reflections referencing the lack of aesthetic consideration of the outcomes from real estate development under neoliberalism, the articulation between the critique and the practice was not clarified by the interviewees. The survey indicates that 57.1% agreed with the statement that *Santiago is a beautiful city*, while 28.6% disagreed. It seems that the aesthetics of urban-design-under-neoliberalism are an open field for theorisation.

“The spatial practices in Santiago are particular, from the private realm. Therefore, it is not easy to transform that work into a public contribution. How to articulate people with their spaces? It is difficult in this neoliberal context, but there is the challenge that justifies the development of politics of architecture. In my opinion, some pending disciplinary reflections require practice. For instance, how do architects understand the problem of land? There are some aesthetical explorations on the relationship between politics and architecture, but the problem of land is absent.” (INT21)^{lx}

It emerged from the interviews that one of the leading obstacles is the question of land because its problematising must combine economics with urban design, and the preparation of practitioners in this realm is scarce.

“Land property is the blind field. This is a society of land owners, which makes people think -- how profitable is my piece of the city? This way of thinking puts the individual over the collective and all urban initiatives, thus, it must first be good for the landowners and then eventually be part of a broader improvement for everyone. The public as a discourse is hard to install because it may imply changes in the value of my land and then it starts as a vicious circle” (INT03)^{lxi}

“Nowadays the city has been transformed into a huge financial construct organised as a country of landowners involved in financial activities. The idea of fostering land ownership is a strategy for including people in the financial system through banks and credits. Putting it simply, banks needed universal access to having an asset, so then people can be involved as debtors. Thus, credits are extended when people own even a little bit of land.” (INT18)^{lxii}

These definitions imply that the banks and financial institutions may be fuelling the universalisation of land ownership. Thus, the state transferring land to low-income communities is widely accepted by the elite because it implies benefits in the middle term through indebtedness to the financial system. A report elaborated by the National Service of Consumers indicated that 10.9 million Chileans have debts (Paez, 2016). The Financial and Banks Superintendency determined in 2015 that people in Santiago have liabilities of £19,000,000 in average, and the relationship between debt and income in households represents 62% (Fundacion Sol, 2016).

“The state is partner and perhaps a principal actor of the economic power built through urbanisation. The state transmits wealth by subsidies to the real estate market. From the state, the neoliberal discourse with human faces is invisible for the most. We even believe that the state is fair, but in practice not so much. I believe that Friedman’s shock doctrine normalised capitalism and the state has not been capable of getting out of this mould.” (INT25)^{lxiii}

For instance, checking the national budget of 2017 developed by the Finance Ministry, 78% of the Housing Ministry expenditure on spatial transformations will be transferred to the private realm through subsidies. In money, this represents £532,487,389. Thus, the role of the state in fostering a neoliberal mode of urban development cannot be discarded. The surveyed urban designers were asked if the constant application of subsidies by the state, targeting housing production, undermined the production of just cities and 75% agreed with this statement.

Table 7.11. Summary of proposals for improving urban development in Santiago that emerged from the internet-based survey applied to urban designers. Source: own elaboration.

Metropolitan Mayor	Participatory Processes	Strategic planning	A model for urban management
Incorporate social housing into the urban tissue	Fostering the creation of neighbourhood life	An institution for imagining the city in 25, 50 and 100 years' time	Disaster risk reduction plan
A model of urban planning for the whole metropolis	Strengthening the role of Colegio de Arquitectos	Articulate urban regulations between different municipalities	Creating an efficient and excellent public transport system
I don't know	Create better cycle paths	Reducing the number of institutions dealing with the urban form	More parks and green spaces
Better urban education	Environmental planning	Ethical monitoring by professional colleges	Regional Corporations of Urban Development
Increase the assignation of resources for low-income municipalities	Redesign the city in its central areas	Central urban planning apparatus	Involving companies and private sector in developing public spaces
Disempowering the Chilean Chamber of Builders (CChC)	Zoning specific areas of the city for economic activities	Establish university centres for developing critical thinking and not for developing professional skills	Create strategies against gentrification
Creating a City Authority entitled to deal with urban design and planning	Grassroot decision-making models	Fostering social responsibility of companies	Incorporating cities into primary and secondary schools syllabus

“The blind field is capitalism because access to land ownership is considered as a meritocratic consequence when it is not so. All this under a productivist logic. In Chile, we have a theoretical framework of our society, and we remain within its boundaries. We do not see beyond its limits. Consequently, this fake meritocracy over rights is the blind field and that has conditioned urban development.” (INT16)^{lxiv}

A study of 2014 determined that in Chile people still believe that people are poor because they are lazy or because they do not take advantage of the opportunities available (Mayol et al., 2014).

However, this has been widely discussed to be a misconception. In 2017, Seth Zimmerman published a paper indicating that in Chile the primary way to become part of the elite was to be born in a wealthy family and to be educated in an elite school (Zimmerman, 2017). Considering that elite schools are segregated because of their location and fees, it seems that meritocracy is not a real path towards success and in Chile, the reproduction of the elite remains the same as the oligarchical trends in previous centuries. Thus, it is possible to believe that the segregative pattern of the city uses similar logic, as the interviewees have already revealed.

Finally, from the internet-based survey, diverse ideas emerged from the question: What transformations are necessary for improving the urban development of Santiago? The concepts of the surveyed specialists are listed in Table 7.11, which details a series of insightful approaches that may be taken into consideration for discussing the possibility of cracking urban-design-under-neoliberalism.

7.5. Concluding remarks

This chapter explored the approaches and attitudes of urban design professionals to their practice in Santiago, enquiring how they observe and criticise the ethos of their disciplinary field colleagues under a neoliberal regime. The chapter served to illustrate, discursively, forms and values of how professionals of space in the neoliberal city of Santiago are tackling the problems related to urban design. This chapter provides evidence for elaborating a reflective critique in the attempt to explain urban-design-under-neoliberalism and its socio-spatial consequences. The qualitative findings

emerging from the narratives used by the practitioners interviewed helped to collect different interpretations toward constructing a meaning for urban-design-under-neoliberalism from the particular perspective of everyday practices.

Professionals of the disciplinary field of urban design do not recognize the role of shaping public spaces or designing the space between buildings as it was presented in Chapter 2. When asking interviewees to speak about the city they rapidly move on to the matter of social housing problems or public transport. The reflections about public spaces, images of the city in the future or reflections on the urban form were scarce and I had to conduct the discussion toward that area. Perhaps this lack of clarity about the role of urban design in the public space justifies why the claim for a more just city is not very high in the political agenda. A concerning finding is that urban designers in Santiago recognised their political irrelevance, despite acknowledging that urban design is quite important for advancing toward a just society. Instead, as it was previously discussed in Chapters 5 and 6, urban designers mostly see their disciplinary field as a way of organising the allocation of capitals in the urban space for optimising its growth. The artistic, imaginative and innovative importance of design was missing from the interviews. An aesthetical reflection is not part of everyday urban design in Santiago, it seems an irrelevant matter. Because of the scarce consciousness of the importance of urban design, the limited availability of urban design educational programmes and the excessive importance given to private property in shaping cities, urban design in Santiago is under-theorised, lacking epistemological reflections about the ethos of this disciplinary field. My reflection is that the excessive importance given to private property and the rapid privatisation of urban life fostered by the neoliberal ideology explain –in part– why urban design and public spaces are not much considered when talking about urban specialists in Santiago. It implies that the space between buildings is under-designed and the value of the public city – public goods, streets, roads, parks, pavements, and so on - may differ from the value of the private city – composed by the buildings within private property boundaries. From these conclusions, it may be said that public space of urban-design-under-neoliberalism is a leftover of capitalists’

investments in the process of producing profitable spaces for obtaining rent. I think that the future of public space in Santiago under neoliberalism is conflictive and may face a privatisation for surviving. From these reflections, it is possible to consider that the city of Santiago since 1979 has been produced and constructed simply through the aggregation of private plots whose articulation with the public space is weak. Therefore, during the last decades, the development of public spaces in Santiago has not been a priority.

From the interviewees, it is possible to say that the aesthetics and ethics of urban design are flipped to the side of productivity and profitability. The situation in the case of Santiago is that urban design practices are subsumed to the cost-benefit rule and its profitability ends by defining even its aesthetics and the ethos of practitioners. The complicity between urban design and neoliberalism is rather the subjugation of a set of practices for shaping the city by the mantra of neoliberalism: all human activities must be motivated by profit and decisions made in every realm should ensure profitability. In other words, the ethics of urban-design-under-neoliberalism in Santiago is chrematistic. This means that all decisions are made for getting the higher monetary revenue from human activities. The ethics of urban-design-under-neoliberalism that emerged reveals a crack of this practice: ethics based on profitable processes of the production of space may be confronted by another ethical stance in relation to urban design, such as the one elaborated by Brenner, Marcuse and Meyer: *cities for people not for profit* (2012).

In other words, urban designers in Santiago are facing a contradiction: on the one hand, they are aware that urban-design-under-neoliberalism's ethics force them to make decisions for the sake of profit as priority neglecting the good design of spaces and developing projects limited by the expectations of investors (either state or private). On the other hand, the making of urban design projects in Santiago depends on the will of investors whose motivation is profit as well. In this scenario, the imagining of good spaces and the pursuit of a better city does not fit in, it does not suit in the scheme. This contradiction may be the trigger for an emerging disciplinary transformation

to revolutionise the practice of urban design in Santiago. It would require a different ethical definition, and also, a theory for practice.

Urban designers under neoliberalism in Santiago have lost ground for defining the urban form in relation to politicians, economists and engineers. While other disciplines have better skills for dealing with conflicts and politics, urban designers lack critical positionality when the chance of producing spaces appear. From interviews and the survey, I interpreted that urban designers in Santiago often present more reactive postures to urban developments, than plans and imaginative discussions. Utopian thinking is completely missing from the urban design discussion in Santiago.

The next chapter uses the method of building theoretical constructs to provide a series of critical reflections in order to discuss the possibilities of theorising urban-design-under-neoliberalism (reflecting on how to remove the hyphen) and exploring the meaning of revolutionising the disciplinary field of urban design to contribute to its emancipation from neoliberalism.

CHAPTER 8. Towards a theory of urban-design-under-neoliberalism design

“Couldn’t the passivity of those who inhabit, who could and should “dwell poetically” (Hölderlin), be compared to the strange impasse that architectural and urbanist thought has come up against? It is as if their projects were under the influence of some strange curse. It seems that the only progress they have made involves the use of graphics and technology. The imagination is hampered in its flight. The authors of these projects have clearly not succeeded in locating the intersection of the following two principles: (a) there is no thought without utopia, without an exploration of the possible, of the elsewhere; (b) there is no thought without reference to practice” (Lefebvre, 2003, pp. 181–182)⁶⁸

8.1. Introduction

The research began by stating that neoliberalism has wholly subsumed urban design. It has neglected its original ethos of designing good cities for living; aligning its theory and practice with the objectives of neoliberalism. This thesis has contributed to knowledge by providing a series of findings and reflections about the object urban-design-under-neoliberalism. The thesis focused on how urban designers became instrumental actors of capital when helping to commoditise urban development, undermining the possibility of developing just and good cities. In this final chapter, I reflect on the findings of the research, which helped me to construct a preliminary set of theoretical reflections on the features and contradictions of urban-design-under-neoliberalism from the case of Santiago de Chile. As an ensemble, these reflections contribute to the definition of a strategy for

⁶⁸ Original language: La passivité de ceux qui habitent et qui pourraient et devraient ‘habiter et poètes’(Hölderlin) ne pourrait-elle pas se rapprocher de l’étrange blocage qui arrête la pensée architecturale et urbanistique ? Une sorte de malédiction frappe les projets. Ils ne peuvent aller plus loin que l’utilisation de quelques procédés graphiques ou technologiques. L’imagination n’arrive plus à prendre son vol. Les auteurs de projets ne parviennent évidemment pas à trouver la jonction de ces deux principes opposés : a) il n’y a pas de pensée à sans utopie, sans exploration du possible, de l’ailleurs ; b) il n’y a pas de pensée sans référence à une pratique » (Lefebvre, 1970 , p. 240).

revolutionising urban design: to strip the practices of urban design from neoliberal ideology and thus contribute to elaborating an autonomous theory for informing and defining its practice. Urban design needs a revolutionary strategy for liberating its potential as an instrument to create better cities for all. Under neoliberalism, the ethics, practices and the theory of urban design in Santiago were transformed into a profit-oriented disciplinary field that commodifies urban processes for the sake of capital and aims to increase the exchange value of urban products. These findings emerged from research conducted using the methodological strategies developed by Henri Lefebvre in *The Urban Revolution*. Therefore, this chapter reflects on these findings and outlines a possible revolution that I propose in order to overcome urban-design-under-neoliberalism.

8.2. Research Findings

This section responds to the research questions by providing critical reflections based on the evidence that emerged in the previous chapters. Consequently, this part attempts to contribute to the theorisation of urban-design-under-neoliberalism, unveiling its cracks.

8.2.1. RQ1: What is urban-design-under-neoliberalism?

To answer this first question, I made visible the relationship between urban design and neoliberalism in the literature and using the case of Santiago for specificity. In its implementation in Chile, neoliberalism employed a series of political-economic practices for ensuring the profitability of social relations. Under Augusto Pinochet's dictatorship, as instructed by Milton Friedman, the transformation of Chile into a free-market champion followed a non-gradualist path of monetary reforms, reducing the scope of the state in public affairs, privatising social services and opening the borders to international capital. Consequently, in 1979, urban development adopted neoliberal principles, transforming urban land and urban space into assets for capital accumulation and inputs for wealth creation (Chapter 6, p.203). It has been fundamental to remark the importance given to property rights in order to ensure that its availability for trading is liberated from

restrictions. Before 1979, the access to land was viewed as a right and acts of occupation of private property was seen as a problem that the state should resolve. After the implementation of neoliberal policies and the PNDU 1979, the state changed its logic and started to defend the property owners, and aimed to transform as many people as possible into property owners as well. This was one of the reasons that justified the urban sprawl policy that has characterised the urban development processes in Santiago: increase the availability of urban land to ensure that all have access to owning a piece of it. Urban design, thus, started to become more prone to following the free-market reasoning, giving priority to increasing the exchange value of land and following the supply and demand rule (Chapter 6, p. 211).

By declaring the land as a non-scarce resource, extending the urban limits of Santiago and defining urban development by market trends, after 42 years, neoliberalism in Chile apparently succeeded. It transformed the social contract, establishing profit as the engine of progress, as most of the interviewees revealed in Chapter 7. Recently, diverse scandals have illustrated how neoliberalism coerced several Chilean democratic representatives, through a scheme where companies provided funds to politicians and politicians facilitated the promulgation of laws and ad-hoc regulations in order to strengthen entrepreneurial freedom and private property defences: “This has been the case for land regulations (Caso Caval), fishing (Ley de Pesca), international conflicts (Piñera and Bancard), pension schemes (Grupo Penta), education (Reforma educacional) and environment (Minera Dominga) just to mention a few recent cases” (Vergara-Perucich in Boano & Vergara Perucich, 2017, p. 21). Neoliberalism is a concrete utopia of the unlimited exploitation of the working class by a dominant elite (Bourdieu 1998). As Janoschka and Hidalgo (2014) observed, the transformation of citizens into consumers created a profit-oriented society, the consequence of which was a neoliberal city. Consequently, urban design adopted the new demands and started to design for fulfilling the requirements of customers and their purchasing power rather than citizens with rights.

Urban-design-under-neoliberalism is a mode of spatial production whose target is extracting profit from urban products. In the case of urban-design-under-neoliberalism, the profit emerges when

pricing urban products at much higher costs than the capital invested (Chapter 7, p. 259, 282; Chapter 6, p. 225, 226). In other words, under neoliberalism, the prices of urban products fluctuate independently from its fundamentals (land price, labour wages, and construction material costs). This was elaborated in Figure 6.14 of and stressed in Chapter 7 where the interviewees problematised the commodification of housing and how Santiago's inhabitants nowadays struggle to pay the prices for accommodation (Chapter 7, p. 291). Capitalism is the blind field of Santiago's urban design (Chapter 7, p. 307) and this city has plenty of cases that show how urbanisation and capitalism are linked through mechanisms for extracting value from land, properties and spatial changes. From a Marxist perspective, the methods of urban-design-under-neoliberalism are defined to reduce the time taken to design cities for good, as well as the quality of projects, standardising design and thus maximising the utility extracted from the processes of the production of the space (Chapter 7, p. 258). This is similar to what happened in Chile during the 19th Century when after 1879 the Chilean elite learned how to extract surplus value from urbanisation (Chapter 5, pp. 156-157), reshaping urban design disciplines for the sake of ensuring that every spatial decision increased the rent of investors.

Paradoxically, urban-design-under-neoliberalism was not only implemented by urban designers but by an elite interested in maximising the utility of land value for the sake of profit (Chapter 5, p. 173). I would like to point out that profit in the case of urban-design-under-neoliberalism may refer to the profit of capitalists but also that of politicians. Urban-design-under-neoliberalism has also been useful in helping the political class to produce urban solutions to social urgencies that are beneficial for obtaining votes and collaborating with the capitalist elite (Chapter 5, p. 173). The public-private partnership has become a standard practice because both public and private elites are closely related to their interests (Chapter 6, p. 229). Under neoliberalism, economic growth, employment and production have been the primary goals of governments and enterprises, so it is expected that an activity such as urban development and its economic profitability will be subject to exploitation for the sake of a hegemonic class (Chapter 5, p. 178). This was exposed in historical data (Chapter 5) and also by cases such as the COPEVA houses in Bajos de Mena, Transantiago

and Costanera Center (Chapter 6), but also mentioned by the interviewees as a commonly accepted practice for developing urban projects. In practice, urban design under neoliberalism follows a rigid set of economic rules, which are arranged in three key criteria:

- a) *Localisation defines the quality of developments*: In housing production, real estate marketers have precise definitions of typologies for buildings based on the location of the plot, which defines the level of income of their potential customers. Thus, based on these two precepts, the design must fulfil specific criteria of prices, materials, colours, shapes, number of parking spaces per flat, and the dimensions of the dwellings (section 6.3). In social housing, the criteria are more straightforward: everything must be the cheapest it is allowed to be by the regulations. In this case, any improvement in social housing design must be funded by the government through subsidies.

- b) *Internal Rate of Return*: Another rule is the IRR, which defines how much the investor (public or private) can spend on innovations in urban design without ensuring high rates of return for the investment (refer to 6.3.2). Thus, if an investor agrees to allow the urban designer to develop a more innovative design, it cannot reduce the earnings and the profitability of a previously proven model of space.

- c) *From the private to the public space*: As was found in Chapter 7, in Santiago, urban design does not exist because the city is mostly planned from the private to the public sector. There are some exceptions such as infrastructure projects (Metro, some parks and roads). However, it is more common to see architects developing public spaces as an extension of private projects (Chapter 7, pp. 262, 264, 265, 267). Urban designers interviewed stated that in Santiago instead of urban design projects there are only urban projects, which are developed under architecture criteria but bigger (Chapter 7, p. 283). Urban-design-under-neoliberalism could be identified as a collection of architectural objects populating the urban tissue.

Based on these conditions, both imagination and creativity are constrained. In the case of Santiago, this problem was observed in 2005 by Alfredo Rodríguez and Ana Sugranyes who criticised social housing and its scarce advances in design (Chapter 6). The economic vision of urban investment has neglected the value of urban design, and nowadays innovation about urban design is scarce. This is because the state gets used to participating in urban development by financing initiatives and not designing them, and thus the state does not dare to innovate because it is not one of its

attributes (Chapter 7, p. 298). Worse is the scenario for urban designers working in big urban development or real estate companies, whose primary goal is profit – innovation, therefore, seems like taking a risk with capital (Chapter 7, p. 274). Urban-design-under-neoliberalism oversimplified the complexities of the city to control its development, orienting high revenues of spatial transformations towards ensuring the reproduction of capital through urban transformations. Thus, the goal of urban-design-under-neoliberalism is not a good city but defining efficient methods for capital accumulation in the city. As a consequence of this oversimplification, the design is voided, de-theorised, culturally empty. The use value of urban spaces is only considered when it increases the exchange value of urban products. Paraphrasing Marx, the control over spatial production is another method of domination that represents the power of a neoliberalist class. Urban-design-under-neoliberalism, thus, is an instrumental resource for social domination.

The fierce defence of private property rights ensured by the Chilean Constitution eases the way to capital accumulation through urban development. As was mentioned in Chapter 6, researchers such as Ivo Gasic, Rodrigo Cattaneo and Jorge Vergara (Chapter 6, p. 221-224) have already observed the financialisation of housing as one of the consequences of the neoliberalisation in the way of shaping the city. Therefore, innovation in urban-design-under-neoliberalism is not creating better urban design methods, but it is becoming more creative at finding new ways to use urban development processes for the sake of capital. It would not be surprising that in the near future urban designers get specialised into financial innovation, finding methods to design policies that aim to definitely transform space into a long-term fixed asset with similar financial efficiency to stock and bond markets. This possible future would represent the final negation of the artistic feature of urban design. If the pursuit of beautiful cities under neoliberalism is decaying, the financialisation of urban design will finish its agony.

By embracing an economic theory (monetarism) as its own (Chapter 6, pp. 195, 201), urban-design-under-neoliberalism contains an internal contradiction because design practice is restricted to developing lucrative spaces, and in order to do this efficiently, urban design relies on methods

borrowed from economics, renouncing to develop and deepening its own methods. Therefore, the contradiction emerges when creativity and imagination are limited by the interests of capitalists and their expectations of profit. Consequently, urban-design-under-neoliberalism represents the absorption of urban design by economic theories and practices, giving up on the creation of an autonomous discipline. Hence, it may be said that urban-design-under-neoliberalism is a spatial specialisation of the monetarist theory from economic disciplines. This thesis has exposed the influence of the monetarist theory and the way that financial institutions are capturing urban design for their own sake (Chapter 6). Also, it shows that the process of shaping space for profit has historical roots (Chapter 5), which started with the very foundation of Santiago in 1541. Neoliberalism strengthened the power of an elite in relation to defining the spatial transformations of the city (Chapter 7). As an economic instrument, urban-design-under-neoliberalism is efficient for clustering groups of consumers based on their socio-economic segments, in order to develop better targeting strategies to allocate urban products, ensuring its commercialisation. Under neoliberalism, urban design fits as a marketing strategy whose theoretical implications deserves a deeper reflection.

Figure 8.1 summarises the productive process of urban-design-under-neoliberalism. At the core of the problem is the urban product, a commodity for extracting value from urban development. This product has a twofold set of practices: the practice of urban designers in developing this product and the objective of property owners or investors (the private realm), which is to ensure the profitability of the urban product to sustain their hegemonic positioning in society. Property ownership, especially urban land, has been observed as means of power and decision making which historically has been narrowly related to land tenancy (Chapter 5). In this twofold set of practices, there are two trajectories that the urban product fulfils:

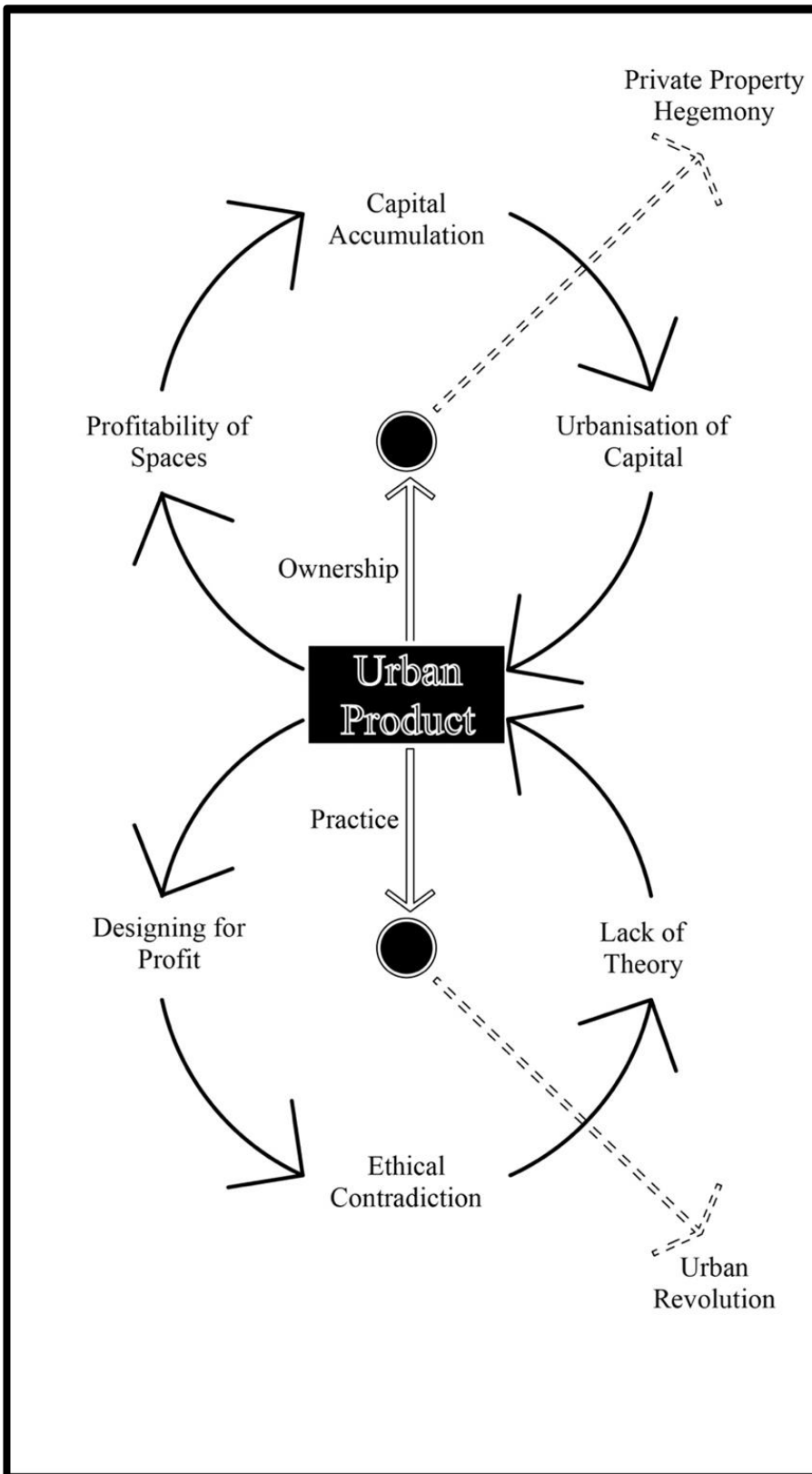


Figure 8.1. The cycle of urban-design-under-neoliberalism. Source: own elaboration.

For the property owner of urban land, the urban product provides a possibility of transforming space into wealth through profiting from its production. This enables the process of capital accumulation through urban development. For urban designers, the urban product implies a strategy of designing for ensuring profitability of spatial transformations. In this side of the analysis there appears a fundamental contradiction for urban designers because their ethics involve developing good cities which may clash with the goal of neoliberalism of increasing the profitability of spaces.

As was argued mainly in Chapter 7, rarely does the pursuit of profit ensure the development of good urban design projects. Furthermore, urban design, lacking theory, facilitates the cycle in which the urban product contributes to capital accumulation and the reproduction of the hegemonic control of a ruling class. Figure 8.1 presents two segmented arrows pointing in different directions. Both arrows point towards new virtual objects: one is the total consolidation of the hegemonic class in controlling urban design by owning the space and the final success of urban-design-under-neoliberalism. The second virtual object is the urban revolution in which urban designers redefine their ethos and develop a new practice, breaking the hyphen of urban-design-under-neoliberalism. This second scenario would require the imagining of a post-capitalist disciplinary approach to urban design, and a revolutionary transformation of this practice.

Based on the empirical material illustrated in the previous chapters, both scenarios are virtual but possible. The privatisation of social services and the already existing relationship between state and private through PPP makes a feasible that in the future the whole city making will depend on the interest of a few actors interested in extracting profit from urban products, neglecting the common good for the sake of capital. On the other hand, the second scenario also seems feasible based on some experiences observed during the fieldwork. Some practices already are developing strategies for imagining a post-capitalist urban design, such as UKAMAU, the Movimiento de Pobladores en Lucha, ANDHA Chile, and Grupo TOMA (Chapter 6.5). However, the challenge for these approaches, as a counter-practice to urban-design-under-neoliberalism, will be scaling up the strategies, changing from a neighbourhood to a metropolis, such as Santiago. This may constitute

part of a revolutionary strategy for urban design, adapting the methods used by these groups on a bigger scale of action, scaling from 100 homes to 2,400,000.

The evidence presented in Chapters 5, 6 and 7 suggests that urban-design-under-neoliberalism in Santiago generates spaces of injustice represented in residential segregation, the fragmentation of the urban tissue, gentrification and also the complex situation of the financialised housing market. Reflecting on how neoliberalism may have caused these problems, the trajectory of political transformations that illustrate the changes started with the forceful relocation of low-income communities in Santiago between 1979 and 1985, then the promulgation of the National Policy of Urban Development of 1979, and the Political Constitution of 1980. After these institutional and spatial changes, the city started to be reshaped by profit-oriented methods of urban design which became more evident during the nineties, when segregation increased. Along with the consolidation of Santiago as a segregated city, the process of financialisation appeared, around 2001 with the reform of capital markets and the incorporation of real estate business as mean for absorbing financial efficiency. This sequence has been facilitated by the close relationship between the state and real estate companies. The origins of the spatial injustice seem to be linked to urban land ownership, as was observed in Chapter 5. Therefore, any kind of revolutionary action in urban design for stripping neoliberalism from urban processes, will require a further discussion on the regulatory frameworks of property rights and the way of managing urban land.

As the case study suggested, urban-design-under-neoliberalism tends to generate a monotonous city based on the reproduction of the same typologies of buildings and streets (Chapter 7, p. 258), using profitability as the primary criteria and reducing the importance of design in the processes of spatial production. The evidence emerging from the research suggests that urban-design-under-neoliberalism strategically reproduces standardised aesthetical proposals that ensure the efficiency of capital investments (Chapter 7, pp. 275, 293, 302-303).

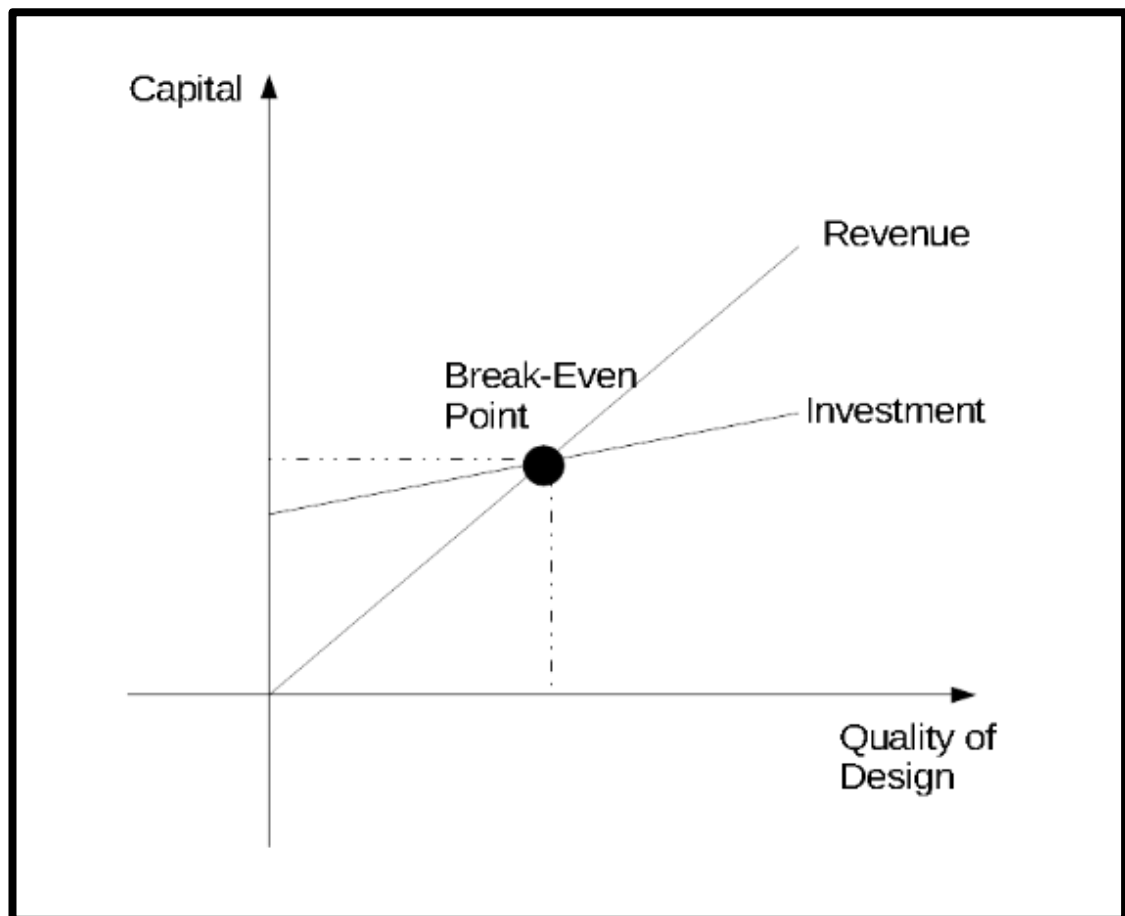


Figure 8.2. Break-even point model of analysis for investments of capital in relation to quality of design. Source: own elaboration.

Under neoliberalism, the success of the city is measured by its exchange value, which is deliberate in the phase of design by the returns that an investment may provide to investors applying an IRR and NPV analysis to designs. The potential contributions to public spaces are not considered to be relevant in urban-design-under-neoliberalism in Santiago unless it is demonstrated that it increases its profitability.



Figure 8.3. Set of images of real estate development projects to be constructed in the desert (left), in the central valley (centre) and in the forest (right), represented on the map on the left from top to bottom. Source: own elaboration.

As part of its commitment to ensuring profitability, urban-design-under-neoliberalism developed its own particular aesthetic project, based on certain principles from the modern movement that were adapted to increase profitability. Paraphrasing Mies Van der Rohe, for urban-design-under-neoliberalism, *less is more*: lower costs mean greater earnings. This is a principle that follows the rules of the Internal Rate of Return, which has a direct influence in the typologies of space (Chapter 6). Indeed, this criterion is based on an adaptation of the supply and demand rule and the break-even analysis for determining the point at which revenues outperform the investment costs (Chapter 7).

Following this model, urban-design-under-neoliberalism uses break-even analysis to know the level of design quality that is needed to ensure profitability (Figure 8.2). This model influences the use of economies of scale for urban design, which means that a successful urban product already designed is replicated throughout the city with slight differences. This strategy reduces the time required for designing and thus increases revenue. Urban-design-under-neoliberalism borrows economic theories to inform its spatial strategies, such as the already mentioned IRR and the NPV to decide what can be constructed and what cannot, the economies of scale, the monetarist theory, the cost-benefit approach, and the generalised acceptance of using a positivist framework for interpreting urban problems. The city has transformed into a set of generic architectural models (Figure 8.3), which are efficient as commodities that ensure revenue through their commercialisation, but weak

with regard to their aesthetic proposals and not at all innovative. Urban-design-under-neoliberalism is a quite conservative way of developing the city.

The city of Santiago has increased its number of housing units, and the availability of amenities (Chapter 5, p. 188), but the magnitude of new urban problems makes them more difficult to resolve without more radical approaches to urban design discipline. The data reported in Chapter 6 (p. 200) reveals how after 40 years of urban-design-under-neoliberalism income inequality did not vary which may be reflected in the levels of urban segregation in this city (Chapter 7, p. 285).

The availability of urban products increased, but this does not necessarily imply an improvement in the quality of urban life. Because profit was the main motivation and not the good city, in the end, Santiago's new spatiality is efficient from the perspective of investments but not a sign of a delightful built environment— Santiago is not a thriving city. In the voice of the city's urban designers, Santiago has become grey, zinc's paradise, chaotic, asymmetric, profitable but sad, elitist and cosmopolitan but discriminatory (Chapter 7, p. 279). The volume of construction and investments in urban developments has not been the problem of this non-delightful space. For instance, from 2010 to 2016, the number of buildings built in Santiago was equivalent to 4.5 times the total area of the city. This implies 68,930 km² of new constructions, and the capital invested in them may have produced an average IRR of 47%, which means a far beyond profitable business (Chapter 7, pp. 273, 284). The earnings represent 14% of the yearly GDP of the country and 60% of the fiscal budget.

Based on the findings, urban-design-under-neoliberalism was implemented because of the greed of the Chilean ruling class. Historically, the elite exploited the value of land in order to extract profit and create cycles for accumulating capital. As was revealed in Chapter 5, between 1938 and 1973, the state attempted to develop a set of regulations to democratise the access to land and housing. This changed drastically with the coup-d'état of 1973. While neoliberalism started to be implemented in 1975, for urban design a pivotal year was 1979. From this moment the *urbanismo científico* was eradicated and replaced by urban-design-under-neoliberalism. *Urbanismo científico* also was a profitable activity, but its main goal was providing better cities for all and modernising the

built environment of Chilean cities. The change introduced by urban-design-under-neoliberalism is the almost exclusive focus on profit.

Under a neoliberal regime, the disciplinary field of urban design has aligned its ethos with economic theories aiming to ensure that urban development is lucrative through a series of profit-oriented modes of production of space. The apparent truth of a neoliberalised urban design has been illustrated and discussed from the findings of this research. The hyphenated object, urban-design-under-neoliberalism is represented by the practices in relation to urban design that have shaped the city of Santiago since 1979. Urban-design-under-neoliberalism has a deep complexity that this research helped to outline and explore, advancing towards understanding its logic and unpacking its contradictions, mostly related to the commodification of the built environment by urban design practices. The analysis conducted by this research on urban-design-under-neoliberalism as a virtual object illuminated different theoretical reflections that besides illustrating its contradictions also reveals the revolutionary potential of the disciplinary field of urban design.

After reviewing the findings and assessing what urban-design-under-neoliberalism means in the case of Santiago, I outlined some definitions of components that inform the theoretical constructs of this virtual object:

Neoliberalisation: Under a neoliberal regime, this refers to the transformation of certain aspects of society into a means for extracting the profit from the relationships between members of the society. Neoliberalisation is a type of privatisation, with the exception that in the particular case of a neoliberal regime it affects issues of public interest, such as health, education, housing, public spaces and other social security affairs. Therefore, neoliberalisation represents the operation in which public goods are detached from the control of public institutions, a free market scheme takes control over social security, and the state acts as a partner of private companies or a facilitator for privatising these services. In the case of Santiago, the neoliberalisation of urban design was characterised by the dismantling of the public urban planning apparatuses (Chapter 6, p. 219), and the privatisation of functions related to the design, land control and focus of urban development. Interviewees presented their nostalgia for public institutions related to urban design such as CORVI or CORMU, probably due to the vacuum left by the process of neoliberalisation.

Private property: Although generally private property is related to tangible and intangible

goods, in this reflection I will refer exclusively to private property of spatial assets, such as land, buildings and public spaces. Private property is owned by an actor (an individual or organisation) that has exclusive rights to it. This ownership is legally framed in the Chilean Constitution of 1980 as one of the fundamental rights defended by the state. Also, the Constitution states that private property, regardless of its nature, may be traded in the market. In the case of neoliberal urban design, private property rights are the central principle behind the success of its model, and the transactions involving private property between agents allow the development of cities. By saying so, the role of the state is only as an organiser of regulations to facilitate these transactions. Considering the urban history of Santiago, the transaction of private property may be problematic because certain social groups have been accumulating wealth in the form of land for centuries, while there are other social groups that acquired their first property ownership recently. This relationship for trading could be uneven, although such statement would require further research. About public space, it is affected by the same rules, which directly influences the practice of urban design, as was discussed in Chapter 2. In Santiago, public space is a mode of private property because the state owns it and the state shares the neoliberal principles on facilitating the privatisation of public goods for developing social services. Indeed, the role of the state is fostering entrepreneurialism and defending private property.

Urban products: Urban product is private properties that emerge from processes related to the investment of capital, labour and design. Their goal is ensuring profitability and functioning for certain social needs such as housing, leisure, commerce, productivity, transport, and another type of facilities. It is related to spatial transformation in the city, the development of which articulates public and private spaces. An urban product is an outcome of the neoliberalisation of urban design. It refers to the fact that cities are mainly economic resources and spaces are assets that generate incomes for investors. Maximising the rate of rent of spaces is the principal objective of the creation of urban products. As a process, the creation of an urban product is based on the premise that private interest in spatial transformations is important. Therefore, public space is also treated as a facilitator of private activities.

Profitability of space: The profitability of space is a measurement for determining how profitable a spatial transformation is in relation to its internal rate of return (IRR) and its net present value (NPV). Both metrics ponder how profitable an investment is, considering time as a variable that affects the price of cash inflows. These measurements are usually employed by real estate companies and the state to determine whether or not they should invest in a certain type of project. Based on these criteria, neoliberal city developers determine their priorities about the production of spaces.

From these components, I advance towards the secondary question of this research, which attempted to understand the stance of urban designers under the neoliberal rule and, specifically, their ethical considerations when analysing their own practice. The research provided a set of interpretations made by urban designers about their awareness of how other disciplines colonised

urban design, and their reflections are vital for delineating a path towards revolutionising urban design in Santiago.

8.2.2. RQ2: What are the ethical contradictions of urban-design-under-neoliberalism?

This question enquired into urban designers under neoliberalism, focusing on the complicity of these practitioners with capital interests, unveiling how they resisted neoliberalism through urban design practices and their contradictions when participating in developing the city.

Urban-design-under-neoliberalism triggers ethical paradoxes for producing the urban. When referring to ethics, I refer to discerning between the right and wrong in decisions made by people related to a specific activity (Frey & Wellman, 2003). In the case of urban design in Chile, its ethical definitions are focused mainly on the processes of the production of space and its outcome: the city (Munizaga, 2014). In Marxist approaches, ethics depict the awareness of individuals and their responsibility for making a better society (Lukács, 2014). However, for Marx, also, ethics was a moral illusion for social practices in which a hegemonic class defines what is right and wrong. Indeed, the late works of Marx advanced to questioning the moral stance of ethics as an illusion and an ideological construction (Kain, 1988). By embracing the critical stance of the Marxist approach to ethics, urban design refers to the decisions taken when shaping cities, in order to develop spaces that benefit the majority, producing spatial equality and engaging inhabitants in adopting their built environment with a sense of belonging. This definition is different from the profit-oriented mindset of urban designers under neoliberalism, as was revealed in Chapter 7.

The thesis argued that in the case of Santiago it is possible to find two ethical streams on urban design: urban design for the good city and urban-design-under-neoliberalism. The first stream is defined by an idealisation of what urban designers should aim for when shaping cities. In this sense, the ethical reflection about urban-design-under-neoliberalism needs to make clear the difference between the profitable city and the good city. Under neoliberalism, it is expected that a good city will be outlined as profitable, growing and dynamic. This is fundamental because, from a neoliberal

perspective, a profitable city is a good city as well. This thesis faced the challenge of a lack of epistemological definitions of urban design ethics for neoliberalised practices. Thus, in part, the response to the second question of the thesis contributes to a gap in knowledge that it is essential to theorise.

“Given the confusion surrounding ideology, it is worth repeating that my criticism of urbanism is a criticism of the left (by the left). Right-wing criticism, whether liberal or neoliberal, attacks urbanism as an institution but extols the initiatives of developers. This leaves the path open for capitalist developers, who are now able to invest profitably in the real-estate sector; the era of urban illusion has given them an opportunity to adapt. The radical critique of urban illusion opens the way to urban practice and the theory associated with this practice, which will advance together during the process of overall development (if this development assumes greater importance than growth, together with its ideologies and strategies)” (Lefebvre, 2003, p. 163).

Just like Marx, Lefebvre also agrees that ethical illusions may show paths to building a revolutionary practice. Theories of aesthetics and ethics can be worked out in order to elaborate strategies for stripping capitalism from social practices (Kain, 1988). Furthermore, the critique of the ethos of neoliberalists may lead towards the development of revolutionary tactics against urban-design-under-neoliberalism, as attempted already by UKAMAU, MilM² and Grupo Toma (Chapter 6). Eamonn Canniffe argues that urban disciplines may take ethical positions regarding the exploitation of people and land by capitalist modes of production. In his words, these positions do not need to be expressed in public value judgements but may be contended in the very practice of designing spaces and outlining the process of spatial production (Canniffe, 2006b). Karsten Harries (1997) argues that the ethical function of design disciplines is to advance towards the ideal of a better life. “One task of architecture is to preserve at least a piece of utopia, and inevitably such a piece leaves and should leave a sting, awaken utopian longings, fill us with dreams of another and better world” (Harries, 1997, p. 291).

As was revealed throughout the thesis, urban-design-under-neoliberalism certainly has an ethical code based on the goal of maximising the profitability of human activities. As Tuna Tasan-Kok and Guy Baeten state, neoliberalism restructured the praxis and created an ethos that trusts in the

market. “Planning, in this view, can simply not be neoliberal since that would imply planning declaring itself an obstacle to optimal city building conditions” (Taşan-Kok & Baeten, 2012, p. 24). Their claim is supported by the research developed in this thesis. Chapters 6 and 7 provide evidence that in Santiago urban design has trusted excessively in free-market economics. Neoliberalism moves and fluctuates with the supply and demand rules, so planning long-term ideas of cities would undermine the possibilities of optimising the market related to the building environment, mostly focused on obtaining short-term revenues from investments. For instance, a long-term project of urban transformations or strict regulations on *comunas* in Santiago would slow down the urbanisation of capital, undermining the efficiency of investments. Thus, urban design becomes a discipline that adopts this ethos and instead of anticipating the development of the city for planning better spaces, urban design reacts to market changes and adopts the market’s goals and objectives.

From the findings, it is possible to assert that the ethical transformation of urban design in Chile started in 1979 when the National Policy of Urban Design determined that the market would define the use of the land. In other words, land uses are dependent on the interests of the investors and not on a long-term plan for the city. Indeed, the long-term plan for Santiago was not considered as a priority (Chapter 7). This policy changed the way of interpreting the processes of the production of space, stressing the extraction of surplus value from urban development. As a consequence, urban design as a disciplinary field was not considered to be an important discipline because the use of land and private property was the main method of ordering the shape of the city. Public space was considered to be a resultant and given that it did not offer profits its design was more a leftover of urban development (Chapter 7). The neoliberal revolution (Chapter 5) implied the dismantling of the strong urban planning apparatus of the Chilean state, composed of a series of public institutions entitled to define the urban form and organise its development (Chapter 5, p. 197)).

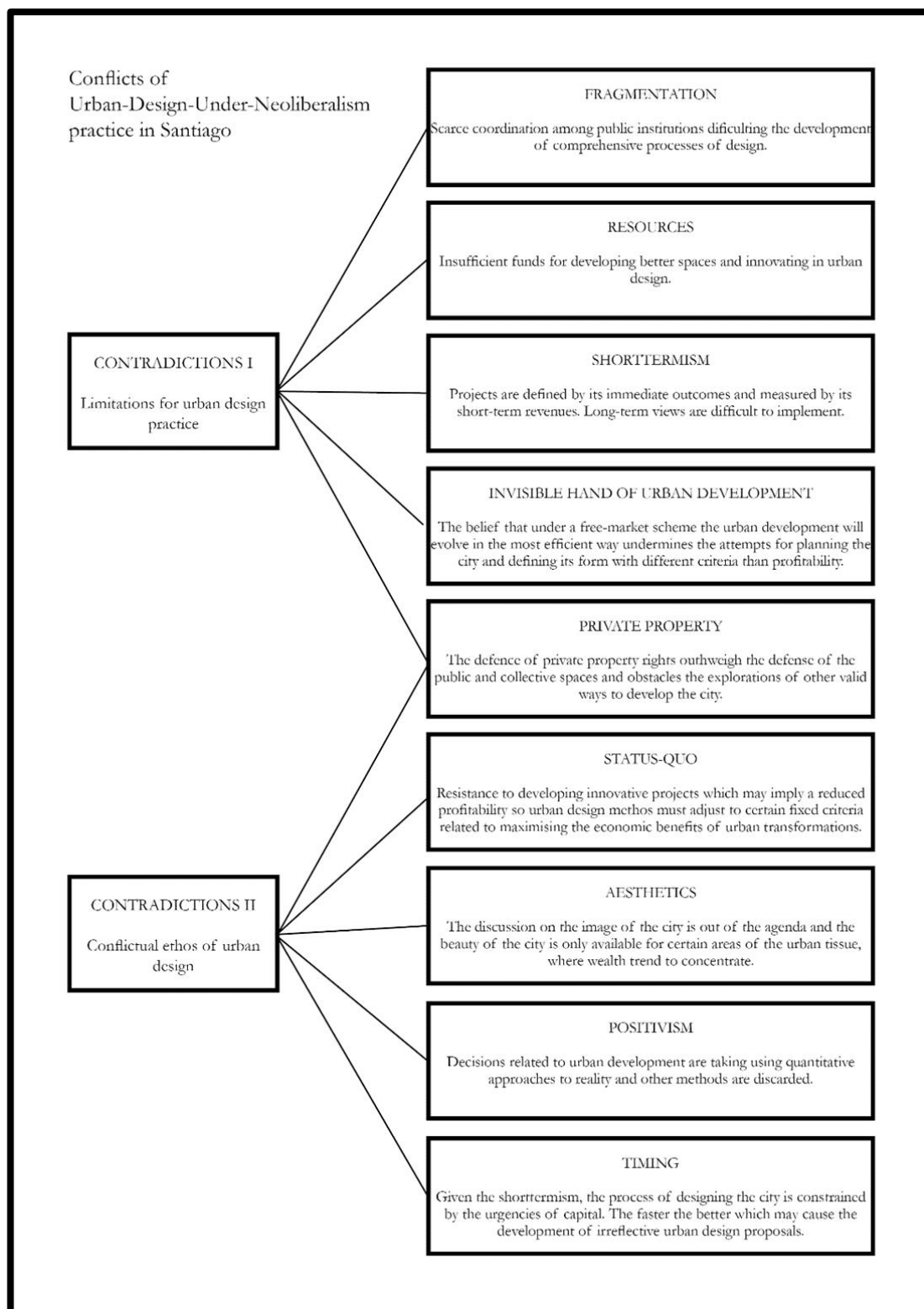


Figure 8.4: Summary of findings that reflect on the conflicts of urban designers under neoliberalism. Source: own elaboration.

When the state embraced the use of the IRR and the NPV (Chapter 6) for defining public investment, profitability became the obligatory method for measuring the feasibility of urban developments for public and private initiatives. Subjugated by this principle, urban-design-under-neoliberalism created scenarios in which the profitability of real estate projects in a low-income commune in Santiago reaches 86% while it could be around 20% (Chapter 6), reducing the cost of housing without becoming a risky business for investors. Unquestionably, urban-design-under-neoliberalism has a robust greed component.

Figure 8.4 organises the ethical contradictions that emerged from studying urban-design-under-neoliberalism. The limitations of urban design practice include the problem of fragmentation between institutions entitled to coordinate the urban processes, the scarce resources for developing public spaces in relation to private spaces (Chapter 7, p. 265), the objectives for urban space planned according to short-term schedules (Chapter 7, p. 303), the excessive trust in the free market's invisible hand for regulating urban development (Chapter 7, p. 283), and the rule of private property that was previously mentioned. Regarding the ethos and its conflicts, there is resistance to innovation due to the constraining framework of profitability (Chapter 7, p. 282), a scarcity of aesthetical discussions about the image of the city (Chapter 7, p. 304), and a dominance of quantitative methods for informing decisions while rejecting more complex resources of data (such as observation and qualitative methods in general).

Furthermore, urban designers in Santiago naturalised the public-private partnership as a better way of developing cities. Urban-design-under-neoliberalism justified an efficient way of developing the city in which the state provided the funds, and the private companies executed the works, ensuring the earnings. In this scheme, the state develops projects that are relevant to the country, and the private companies participate in the spatial developments of the country because the state guarantees profitability (Chapter 6). The problem is that the state has no control over profits.

Is a profitable city better for everyone or just for the few? In the case of Santiago, because of the segregation, fragmentation and gentrification, the good city is an illusion. As it was illustrated in this thesis, Santiago is a divided city, with deep contrasts. One city at the top –wealthy, green, vibrant, expensive- and the other one at the bottom – impoverished, dry, cheap-, with ghettos of poverty and ghettos of wealth (Chapter 7). From the findings, it is possible to state that Santiago's urban designers would prefer a more just city in which everyone has access to public goods and excellent quality of spaces. However, this is only an aspiration. Urban-design-under-neoliberalism created a compelling illusion of a good city, *the candidate for becoming the capital of Latin America*, as described by Interviewee 12 (Chapter 7). Thus, an unsolved question to urban designers is how they articulate urban design under neoliberalism and relieving social injustice, how to reconcile free-market dogmas with the pursuit of the good city in the Latin American context.

Free-market economics and its rules conquered the disciplinary focus of urban design. As Felipe Assadi revealed, there are formulas based on consumption studies that define measures, location, materiality, colours, and even views (Chapter 6, p. 215). The organisation of these principles and strategies is coordinated institutionally by the Chilean Chamber of Builders (CChC), which, as reported by many interviewees, represents a dominant institution that aims to develop a fierce defence of private property and the spatialities of urban-design-under-neoliberalism (Chapter 7, p. 261). Also, by doing so, the CChC can shape the practices of urban designers to its convenience. As emerged in several responses from the interviewees, the frenetic defence of private property is one of the main constraints of urban design in Santiago. As I argued through the archival research, this condition is historical because the first spatial design of Santiago in 1541 was based on a division of the city into plots for the hosts of Pedro de Valdivia, the same as with the oligarchy, and then with the struggles for land in the fifties and sixties.

With the transformations introduced by the Constitution of 1980, the right to (urban) land ownership contributed to reshaping the discipline of urban design. As was revealed in Chapter 5,

there is consistent evidence that historically Santiago was designed from the inside of property borders, with a weak mode of articulation with the rest of the city. The weakness of the design of public spaces makes sense with the historical trend in which the elite have been more preoccupied with taking care of their own properties, neglecting the public realm. There are some moments in Chilean history in which public space has been a concern, particularly for the Centenary of the Republic at the beginning of the 20th century. Also, an exciting period for public space and a more collective understanding of the city occurred between 1938 and 1973. However, most of the spatial history of Santiago is entirely influenced by private property as a means of organising the urban tissue. Therefore, historically, the ethics of urban design disciplines have been oriented to privilege the private over the public.

The ethics of urban-design-under-neoliberalism are framed by profitability and by the rigorous respect for private property and the intention and will of the owner. Rather than a proper approach to urban design, what actually exists in Santiago is the result of the aggregation of urban projects treated as isolated objects on urban land. All of these projects have been developed by keeping in mind the rent of the capital invested. The common good is subjugated to the private interest. In this scenario, urban designers are trapped because their existence depends on adopting this mode of production of space, which neglects the public and implies a profound change of ethos. I recall the case cited by Interviewee 14 when he was working for the government and had to approve an urban design project that ethically he rejected, but because the project complied with all the regulations, he had to approve its construction (Chapter 7).

Urban designers are aware of the neoliberalisation of their discipline and its effects. As the evidence has suggested, urban designers know very well that their practice has been distorted to make it profit-oriented, but still, they keep using the same methodological apparatuses to shape city spaces and urban life because the decision-making power remains in the hands of an oligarchy. This implies that the first step towards taking action for emancipating urban design from neoliberalism is already

happening. The consciousness of urban design practitioners about the crisis that their disciplinary field is experiencing because the profit-driven logic as an imperative. They recognise that this condition is this jeopardising their ethical integrity. I cannot assert that this disciplinary consciousness is starting to be more discussed in the field of urban design. Both the survey and the interviews shed light on the possibility of advancing in a line to contesting neoliberalism from urban design practices.

A reflection emerged from the critical context in which neoliberalism was implemented: violence, dictatorship and human rights violations. This is not minor because it is clear that urban-design-under-neoliberalism emerged in a hostile social context. In order to survive the process of neoliberalisation, urban designers transformed their ethos. This survival was not only in relation to their lives but also to livelihood. Basically, urban designers depend on spatial transformation for their living wage, which is a means of control as well. In order to be hired for designing projects, then, urban designers must fulfil the requests and expectations of investors. This occurs because urban-design-under-neoliberalism was not created by urban designers but by investors, capitalists, speculators, the state and the elite. What could an urban designer do against all this power? This is not an apologetic reflection on the moral stance of urban designers, but a triggering question. As the interviewees stated in Chapter 7, the fragmentation of urban processes and entities is critical, but so is the fragmentation between urban designers, whose disciplines have been assaulted by capitalists, reshaped and profoundly transformed. Indeed, for capitalists, the most convenient scenario is a fragmented and disarticulated relationship between urban designers. I believe that if urban designers do not organise their claim of stripping their practice from profit-driven goals, capitalists will continue in their hegemonic position, and neoliberalism will continue to be the leading influence on urban design practices.

While Lefebvre observed the complicity of urban practitioners in masking capitalism with spatial processes, in the case of Santiago, different specialists are attempting to develop a contested practice

against urban-design-under-neoliberalism. By saying so, I contest the idea of a hegemonic urban-design-under-neoliberalism, and I can only confirm that this mode of production of spaces is dominant but also resisted. In developing the resistance, academics have been fundamental in providing critical information for fuelling a radical discourse in practice. For instance, in Santiago, academics have been increasingly involved in research about segregation (Sabatini & Brain, 2008), gentrification (López-Morales, 2016), financialisation (Cattaneo Pineda, 2011; Gasic, 2016; Vergara, 2016), fragmentation (Jiron & Mansilla, 2014) and public transport (Ureta, 2014). Furthermore, new advances in research are dealing with the problem of Santiago as a neoliberal city (Garreton, 2017; Dattwyler, Voltaire, & Rivas, 2017; Janoschka & Hidalgo, n.d.; López & Meza, 2014; Solimano, 2014). As was revealed in Chapter 6, the new National Policy of Urban Development has gathered together various scholars to discuss the necessary changes for Santiago and to advance towards a de-neoliberalisation in the way of producing cities. Although critiques have emerged of this new policy, I observe that its discussions are a good opportunity to build a counter-neoliberal urban design practice. From civil society, diverse organisations are developing radical practices in Santiago, whose central ethos is finding solutions to their claims by contesting the neoliberalisation of space. UKAMAU used neoliberal urban policies for extracting resources from the state and developing their ideal neighbourhood, assisted by a group of highly qualified urban designers, while Grupo TOMA is situated in the cracks of neoliberalism (mostly in public spaces) in order to unveil the discourses that people have about the neoliberalisation of their city. MilM2 takes advantage of art and performance to make people question the actual success of urban-design-under-neoliberalism. These approaches exposed the awareness of specialists and practitioners about the problematic situation that urban-design-under-neoliberalism has produced in Chilean cities.

Lefebvre advocated the development of a subversive practice of urban design, and it is possible to see in Santiago some rays of hope towards building a good city. Considering that most of the interviewees presented their critical discourses against urban-design-under-neoliberalism, I regret that theoretical developments on how to repoliticise the spatial practices were scarce in number and

small in impact. Indeed, the most striking finding is that the spatial practices aiming to repoliticise urban design are developed separately, and only occasionally it is possible to find collective attempts to contest the system.

Recalling the question of the ethical contradictions of urban designers under neoliberalism, although there is a complicity by omission (urban designers recognise the problems of neoliberalisation but have not organised resistance against it), an awareness of the problems and contradictions of urban-design-under-neoliberalism seems to be present in the critical discourse about urban design practice in Santiago. The collective organisation of these practitioners to share their views is fundamental for redefining the ethics of urban design in Santiago and clearing the neoliberal fog that has blurred their ethos from the neoliberalisation of the city.

8.2.3. RQ3: How may the instruments of critical analysis developed by Henri Lefebvre guide the critical theoretical understanding of urban-design-under-neoliberalism?

The methodological value of *The Urban Revolution* has been assessed in this thesis. The organisation of this research followed three main methodological strategies suggested by Henri Lefebvre in this book: transductive reasoning, levels and dimensions, and spatial dialectics. Global, mixed, and private levels have been used for structuring the chapters that studied urban-design-under-neoliberalism in Santiago:

- Chapter 5 developed a historical analysis in order to provide a general perspective of certain aspects of Santiago's urban history, which help to explain how the elite have used the disciplinary field of urban design and its practices as a means of reproducing their hegemonic control over society. This chapter represented the global level.
- Chapter 6 articulated the neoliberal ideology with several examples and practices that illustrate how a political-economic transformation – the neoliberalisation of Chile – has a spatial representation in its main city. This chapter was organised as a mixed level of analysis.
- Chapter 7 questioned the mindset of urban designers in Santiago, in order to recognise their perspective on the city and how they criticise the relationship between urban design and neoliberalism. This chapter corresponded to a private level of analysis.

- Throughout the three levels, spatial dialectics have been a frequent instrument of analysis, situating space at the centre of the dispute between stakeholders, capitalists, the state and practitioners.

Moreover, the configuration of a virtual object, urban-design-under-neoliberalism, fuelled the conceptual structure of the relationship between urban disciplines in Santiago and neoliberal ideology. Methodologically, this research was testing the idea of the virtual object for conducting research. This object was employed as a non-fixed theoretical element constructed from an initial reflection based on preliminary data which was completed through the research process. By using the evidence collected in chapters 5, 6, and 7, the virtual object urban-design-under-neoliberalism was incorporating new reflections from the historical, practical and ethical information analysed. Thus, the virtual object was a mode of elaborate a dynamic theorisation of how urban design is conceived under a neoliberal regime. The virtual object served as a constant reference to the questions and aims of the research. It was useful because it maintained the focus on a complex set of relationships. Also, it was presented as a provocative way to presenting research in urban studies, thus adopting the approach of Henri Lefebvre to research contended in *The Urban Revolution*.

This thesis probed that *The Urban Revolution* is suitable for elaborating a critical approach to urban-design-under-neoliberalism and useful by contributing towards building a theory of urban design under (and against) neoliberalism. The methodological contributions of *The Urban Revolution* are not developed prescriptively by Lefebvre. Instead, the book is an intellectual work that was constructed comprehensively, integrating diverse methods, of which I have employed only three. Therefore, my research proposed an interpretation of Lefebvre's methodological proposal but other authors may further develop different interpretations. Developing urban research using *The Urban Revolution* as a methodological framework is advocated because its method has similarities with the processes of urban design: it employs creativity for imagining a future based on evidence and social needs, then this virtual object requires to be tested when developing the process of study for research or the space for urban design. Also, the method promotes a developing of three time-space scales of research:

Historical analysis based on a larger scale of the urban element: Chapter 5, where Santiago's urban history is presented and critically assessed;

Analysis of the critical phase of the urban phenomenon: Chapter 6, where the process of neoliberal transformations in the disciplinary field of urban design in Santiago is illustrated;

Enquiring into the decision environment of urban practices: Chapter 7, focused on unveiling the contradictions and analysing the reflections about the practice of urban design in a neoliberal regime in Santiago.

The work of Henri Lefebvre is rich and fruitful for analysing the spatial consequences of neoliberalism. Within Marxist literature, *The Urban Revolution* represents a vital text for articulating a critique of political economy with the crises of urban disciplines. The book provides a critique of the ethics of urban practitioners while exposing how capitalism has subjugated its methods. By doing so, Lefebvre guides the way to observe urban disciplines such as urban design as practices dominated by capitalists oriented to work in favour of their goals.

Lefebvre points out that the crisis of urban disciplines in urban society is not only visible in the practices but also in the ideologies and epistemologies that, for instance, urban design adopts from other disciplines. Also, Lefebvre emphasises that in order to analyse the spatialisation of capitalism, the division of class in space is a crucial input. In Latin America, there are other cities highly segregated and fragmented, which may also allow the use of the methodological framework of Lefebvre to critically observe the relationship between capital, space and social relations. Because of the potential effects of neoliberal policies in the segregation of the city, the methodology used in this research may be replicated in, Mexico DF (Monkkonen, 2012) Sao Paulo (Villaça, 2011), Montevideo (Kaztman & Retamoso, 2005), Bogota (Mayorga Henao, 2017), Buenos Aires (Salerno, 2014), to mention a few examples.

Through the use of *The Urban Revolution*, I was able to develop a Marxist urban analysis of Santiago. As a result, the study is not only about classes and capital; different outcomes and reflections also emerged that contribute to building a more comprehensive understanding of the social effects of the creation of urban-design-under-neoliberalism. This virtual object was useful for exposing how

the neoliberalisation of urban design redefined space as a commodity. It showed that urban design was an essential discipline for optimising investments, adding value to private property and increasing the profitability of spatial transformations.

I have explored the contribution that the work of Henri Lefebvre may provide for producing a theory of urban design under a neoliberal regime, thus expanding the Marxist approaches to analysing space. In order to do so, I have operationalised the transductive reasoning proposed by Henri Lefebvre. So far, I have found no other research in which transductive reasoning is used for analysing urban design practice, so I could state that this is an original contribution of this thesis. The methodology embraced the dialectical method for analysing spatial transformations, mixing inductive with deductive reasoning, breaking the dogmatic rule of social sciences regarding the use of monodisciplinary approaches to knowledge, and attempting to produce a broader analysis. Finally, using this radical approach to the research of Henri Lefebvre, I have contributed with reflections towards building a theory of neoliberal urban design, advancing the production of new theoretical statements in my field of knowledge and providing tools for exploring new ways to revolutionise this practice. Using *The Urban Revolution* for urban research may be both critical and optimistic. In this sense, I believe that urban designers may develop strategies for stripping their practices from neoliberalism by elaborating a more in-depth questioning of their practices in Santiago. Defining a revolutionary strategy for the practice of urban design is an interesting suggestion made by Lefebvre, which is achievable following his methodological strategies.

In *The Urban Revolution*, Lefebvre refers to several examples of urban phenomena in Europe, and specifically in France. By doing so, he implies that grounding his critical analysis in cases provides a concrete corpus of social relations for interpreting and discussing urban disciplines. If Marx focused his analysis in Manchester because it represented the most advanced industrial area of the moment, Lefebvre explored Paris and its contradictions; I believe that Santiago was an appropriate case for analysing the urban effects of neoliberalism but also a starting point for further

research in the region. Urban-design-under-neoliberalism reshaped Santiago, but also other cities in Latin America. The struggle of some practitioners observed in Santiago in redefining the future of the city may be occurring in other regions of the global south, and the methodology may be useful for developing comparative research, thus creating a more regional discussion about how urban-design-under-neoliberalism mutates depending on the metropolis and what common patterns may be found. Therefore, this research constitutes the first step toward elaborating a theory of neoliberal urban design in Latin America.

This thesis employed Henri Lefebvre's contribution to urban studies for researching the disciplinary field of urban design and its transformation under a neoliberal regime. Adopting Henri Lefebvre's work as methodological framework implies the embracing of radical critique as a constant throughout the process of observing reality. In this case, I offered a radical critique of the urban development trends under neoliberalism based on the evidence obtained in Santiago. As has been mentioned in the thesis, this is not an isolated contribution but adds to the work of other authors that from different perspectives assumed a radical stance for analysing neoliberalism and space in Santiago. In saying so, I recall the work of Antonio Daher, Carlos De Mattos, Alfredo Rodríguez, Ana Sugranyes, Rodrigo Hidalgo, Rodrigo Cattaneo, Walter Imilan, Jorge Inzulza, and Ernesto López. Thus, the thesis contributes to the controversial debates on the relationship between spatial practices and the politico-ideological project of neoliberalism. If neoliberalism uses spatial disciplines for its own reproduction, Lefebvre provides the weapons to enter in the battlefield and critically deconstruct the contradictions and cracks of these practices.

8.2.4. RQ4: What theoretical approaches does need urban design to resist urban-design-under-neoliberalism?

In *The Urban Revolution*, Lefebvre continually denounces the absence of theory in urban disciplines, and the lack of epistemological constructions to inform their practices.

“Urbanist discourses are sometimes articulated using the discourse of urban practice. A deformed image of the future and the possible may still contain their traces and indexes. The utopian part of urbanist projects (generally masked by technology and the abuse of technicism) is not without interest as a precursor symptom, which signals a problematic without explaining it. This does not mean that there exists an epistemology of urbanism, a theoretical core that can virtually generate an urban practice. Far from it. In fact, the argument I have developed would claim the contrary.” (Lefebvre, 2003, pp. 161-162)

The absence of a theory for urban disciplines is alleviated by using theories developed by other fields of knowledge (Carmona, 2014; Cuthbert, 2006). Under neoliberalism, this is a problem because urban design was totally influenced by free-market economics and the monetarist theory (Chapter 6 p. 201), which not only became dominant as theoretical approaches to the urban but also transformed the ethos of the discipline. However, after the interviews and mainly when speaking with practitioners who are developing urban design practices that contest neoliberalism (Chapter 6, p. 242), I see the lack of theory as an opportunity for introducing a significant transformation in urban design. From my perspective, a revolution in urban design is possible, in part, due to the lack of a theory of urban design in Latin America.

By revolution, I refer to a critical understanding and replacement of urban design methods that neoliberalism used for subjugating this practice for the sake of capital. The hyphenated term urban-design-under-neoliberalism represented a contradictory phenomenon for being a practice entitled to designing good cities but dominated by profitability. Urban-design-under-neoliberalism is contradictory because urban designers must compromise their ethical commitment to producing good cities and assume profit-oriented goals as their own. Furthermore, the absence of a theory is a critical condition because it implies that urban-design-under-neoliberalism is an emptied discipline, without methodological frameworks and constructed by economic theories. Under neoliberalism, urban design is a useful instrument of reproducing cycles of capital accumulation and the creation of wealth, at the time it organises the city for invigorating the economic growth and segmenting the population for a better allocation of urban products. As the interviewees stated in Chapter 7, neoliberalism is not comfortable for urban designers. The rule of profitability inhibits their discipline. My interpretation is that there is a desire for a revolutionary transformation of urban

design in Santiago. From the findings, I assert that in Santiago a good number of urban designers are keen to produce a significant change in the way that their discipline is exercised, taught, theorised and evaluated. I believe that the revolution capable of overthrowing the hyphenated object urban-design-under-neoliberalism may start by organising the claim of urban designers, breaking the alienated condition of their current practice and mainly through occupying the vacuum available in the lack of theory of urban design.

Nowadays it seems that urban-design-under-neoliberalism's theory is simple: it just searches for the best way to produce spaces that ensures the revenue expected by the investor. In the case of Chile, history shows that investors have been greedy since the beginnings. While in other countries the IRR aims to obtain a 20% of profitability as a great business, in Chile investors aim to get an IRR of 45% or more. This greed affects the urban form, as it was previously reflected. Urban-design-under-neoliberalism is an instrument of capitalism lacking of theory. The theorisation of this instrument, searching to resituate its original ethos of designing good cities and stripping profit-oriented goals as the main priority may lead toward the destruction of urban-design-under-neoliberalism. Hence, from the findings of this thesis, it is possible to say that a theory of urban-design-under-neoliberalism would reveal a series of despicable issues that may help to foster a total rejection of this practice by urban designers. The evidence collected reveals that urban designers are instrumentalised for the sake of capital, coercing their freedom as designers and hampering their creativity.

Following the ideas of Henri Lefebvre, urban design requires its own urban revolution in order to strip its practices from the leashes of neoliberalism and to start to develop a new ethos for cities (Lefebvre, 2003). Despite the existence of critical, resistive and antagonist small practices born to resist urban-design-under-neoliberalism, its subversion still seems remote. The resistance may work as an example for a broader practice. However, while these processes of resistance remain isolated, the possibilities of subverting urban-design-under-neoliberalism are limited. The subversion should

be understood as the path towards the revolution in urban design. Thus, subverting urban-design-under-neoliberalism starts by comprehending its critical elements of reproduction. Therefore, theorising urban design without the influence of neoliberalism is a revolutionary strategy that would reveal the potential agency of its praxis as a revolutionary action for transforming society by changing the process of the production of space.

I have outlined the theoretical elements that may contribute towards building a theory of urban-design-under-neoliberalism. As was mentioned above, two values frame the practice of urban-design-under-neoliberalism: profit-oriented decisions and the defence of private property. The articulation between the practices associated with these values in time validates that space is used as an instrument for capital accumulation and the creation of wealth. Urban design is vital to facilitating these processes. Under a neoliberal rule, the principal objective of urban designers is the creation of profitable urban products. Therefore, urban design becomes “almost unwittingly, class urbanism. When the urbanist realises this, when he attains this level of knowledge, he becomes cynical or simply resigns” (Lefebvre, 2003, p. 160). The transformation of the ethos of urban design is a consequence of the prior premise of neoliberalism in space: maximising “the amount of initiative allowed to private enterprise and, concerning urbanism, developers and bankers” (Lefebvre, 2003, p. 78). In the case of the total neoliberalisation of society, it advances to include individuals – and not the society collectively – in acquiring private property, and shrinking the public space until its unavoidable and final privatisation. Under this premise, the form of the city will depend on the profitability of space. Hence, theories that increase the efficiency of spatial production and augment the profitability of urban products serve as borrowed theories for use in urban-design-under-neoliberalism. This has transformed the city of Santiago into a gigantic showcase of commodities, and the commoditisation of housing represents its better example (Chapter 7, p. 266).

Through the implementation of urban-design-under-neoliberalism, space lost its relevance as use value and stressed its exchange value. Thus, as David Harvey asserts, space is capital (2012). This implies that the social role of spaces as a resource for a living (or as a human right) has been subjugated by its role as a long-term fixed income asset. Also, this implies that theories that analyse capital are also suitable for analysing urban-design-under-neoliberalism because one of the main objectives of the analysis is the choices of people (a key aspect of economic studies) and not necessarily the urban form. Urban-design-under-neoliberalism can be analysed on the basis of individuals who invest in housing or properties to increase their wealth, instead of purchasing a house for living only. Thus, this could reveal if the urban form is relevant in relation to how efficient spaces are for capital. Following this argumentative line, decision-making processes in urban-design-under-neoliberalism are centred on the profitability of the spatial transformations. In this sense, the theory of urban-design-under-neoliberalism positions its strategies by the rule of profit and its spatial operations may be theorised under this perspective. Therefore, in urban-design-under-neoliberalism, space is managed for extracting as much surplus value as is socially sustainable. The limit is the rage and riots in the street. If the inhabitants of the city start to organise themselves to contest more radically the abuses of urban-design-under-neoliberalism strategies, the model simply reduces its profitability expectations and alleviates social outbursts. Urban-design-under-neoliberalism prefers to face social risks rather than economic risks.

Urban-design-under-neoliberalism produces a particular type of city and, as Lefebvre recalled constantly, space is a social product. The city represents the society that produced it. Under this premise, it is possible to say that Santiago's society advances towards its total neoliberalisation: if health were privatised there would be a neoliberal space associated with this, and the same would happen with education, industry and housing. The success of neoliberalism relies on the privatisation of social security because basic needs such as health, education or housing have a constant demand and people will always be forced to consume social security, which activates circulation of money in the market, just as suggested by the monetarist theory. The scheme of social

rights is not useful for circulating money because there is no process of exchange in the transaction of services. Under the total neoliberalisation of society, neoliberalism seems to be everywhere, and the rule of profitability infiltrates every discipline.

A good urban designer for neoliberal goals will find the way to produce functional spaces while increasing the return on the initial investment (IRR). Consequently, aesthetics become a secondary outcome of urban design, and its innovation or quality is subjugated to maximising profit. In doing so, urban design had to redefine beauty to make it more profitable. Thus, minimalism and its variations are desirable to urban-design-under-neoliberalism: cheap, clean and fast to construct. Another type of design, more reflective and complex processes of design would delay the production of revenues, which is not desirable under a neoliberal regime. Capital must be in constant flux, and if it is slowed down, it starts to reduce its value. Therefore, urban-design-under-neoliberalism must ensure rapid construction and a fluid urban development.

In principle, private property transformed the objective of urban design from fulfilling a collective space for everyone to accomplishing the personal expectations of individuals. Consequently, the outcome is a city populated by buildings that fragment the urban tissue into an immense number of individual spatial units aggregated over the urban fabric. Therefore, the public space has lost its value and may face its end. Urban-design-under-neoliberalism privileges the private over the public, so public space has been reduced to a leftover. It is only useful as a spatial articulation between two or more private properties. Hence, its design and construction should use the minimum amount of capital possible.

As public spaces agonise, so do urban designers. The emergence of the urban project as strategy evidenced that urban designers as organisers of the city might be unnecessary. Urban-design-under-neoliberalism has been effective in organising a functional and profitable city by aggregating spatial objects with connections. As soon as urban-design-under-neoliberalism resolves the way that

private properties interact with each other, avoiding public spaces, urban designers will no longer be required in the process of urban development. For instance, nowadays transport and traffic engineers are taking control of the way that buildings are connected, and architects are in control of the space within property limits. Furthermore, urban planners are defining the direction of cities for the future, so where does the urban designer fit? Paradoxically, urban-design-under-neoliberalism prepared the city for the extinction of urban design as a discipline. Since the emergence of neoliberal urban development in Santiago, the city has advanced towards its complete privatisation, towards fulfilling the process of neoliberalisation.

In summary, the theoretical constructs of urban-design-under-neoliberalism that emerged from this research in Santiago are composed of the following principles:

- The decision-making process related to shaping space is profit-oriented. Thus, only highly profitable alternatives of design are desirable in building a neoliberal space.

- Spaces are financial instruments, given their condition as fixed-income assets for long-term investments. Therefore, building spaces are used for the initiation of cycles of wealth creation and capital accumulation.

- Utopian thinking is avoided because it produces uncertainty and it may destabilise the profitability of spatial assets in the long term. Instead, the best method of interpreting reality is using positivist methods, like the IRR and NPV.

- Cities need to be designed by segments according to individuals' purchasing power or at least by household incomes. This eases the way to define where to build a specific building for specific functions, allocating products and developing certain kinds of facilities.

- Minimalism and functionalism are good criteria for defining an aesthetic strategy. For innovating, urban designers must consider whether or not their ideas are profitable and decide accordingly.

From my reflection and based on the analysis of the findings, I propose that the way toward overthrowing neoliberalism from urban design is through advancing toward a theory of the good city. In order to elaborate a theory of the good city, urban designers need to think outside the limits of the blind field imposed by urban-design-under-neoliberalism, exploring a different society by using imaginative approaches to design, recovering creativity and the freedom to think outside the box. For instance, to contest the individualistic ideology of neoliberalism, urban design could start by imagining cities in which the collective is more relevant than profit, and where quality is more important than quantity, de-commoditising space and using the method of virtual objects to push the discipline forward. A collective organisation of urban designers will be required in order to advance in this direction.

From my perspective, the challenge to achieve a more collective image of the city starts by breaking the urban designers' alienation. For Lefebvre alienation is the objectification and externalisation of a human being in everyday life (Elden, 2014). While for Marx private property represents the material manifestation of an alienated society (Marx, 1994), Lefebvre observed that alienation is the return of the man to become social. For Lefebvre, alienation is both a philosophical concept and an analytical tool for decomposing the psycho-sociology of man under capitalism.

“The alienation or, to be more precise, the 'reification' of man's activities is, therefore, a social fact and also an internal fact, exactly contemporaneous with the formation of the inner or 'private' life of the individual. A psycho-sociology of alienation is possible. We have alienated individuals. All our desires are by nature brutal, one-sided and erratic. They arise haphazardly, infrequently and only when stimulated by some elementary physiological need. Moreover, they are brutal in their externalisation, repressing other desires and dominating thought itself. The individual may even take a mutilated, one-sided form of activity as his 'vocation', and so be completely led astray and despoiled. Both within and around him the contingent is in control; he is a 'victim of circumstances'. Hitherto freedom has meant simply the opportunity of profiting from chance.” (Lefebvre, 2009, p. 66)

Alienation among urban designers in Santiago is one of the concerning outcomes of the research.

This means that the link between urban designers is weak; they are fragmented as a collective body

of practitioners, and the model of urban-design-under-neoliberalism forces them to compete with each other to ensure the limited possibilities of actually participating in the market. This is because the control of the production of spaces is not in the hands of urban designers but in the hands of those who invest capital to extract surplus value from the city (state and companies mainly). Therefore, one of the first strategies for developing a proper theoretical approach is breaking this alienation and engaging politically for a common cause. Again, the virtual object of the-good-city could serve to unleash a discussion about what urban design should be in Santiago.

The use of the hyphenated urban-design-under-neoliberalism, its dissection and the forensic analysis of the object of study are represented in Figure 8.5. In the centre is the object urban-design-under-neoliberalism, which is a representation of the practice, ethics, and theories that command urban design under the neoliberal rule. This object is situated in a Cartesian field of spatial operations, composed by four fields of analysis: (Market; Praxis); (Urban; Praxis); (Market; Ethos); and (Urban; Ethos).

These coordinates are theoretical; they construct a model of understanding how urban-design-under-neoliberalism operates in the case of Santiago. The field (Market; Praxis) represents how free-market economics uses urban-design-under-neoliberalism for extracting surplus value by producing spaces under a profit-oriented scheme and developing cycles of capital accumulation. The field (Market; Ethos) frames how the building and real estate companies organise their system of production through the practice of ensuring that every spatial transformation creates surplus value.

8.3. Assessing urban-design-under-neoliberalism

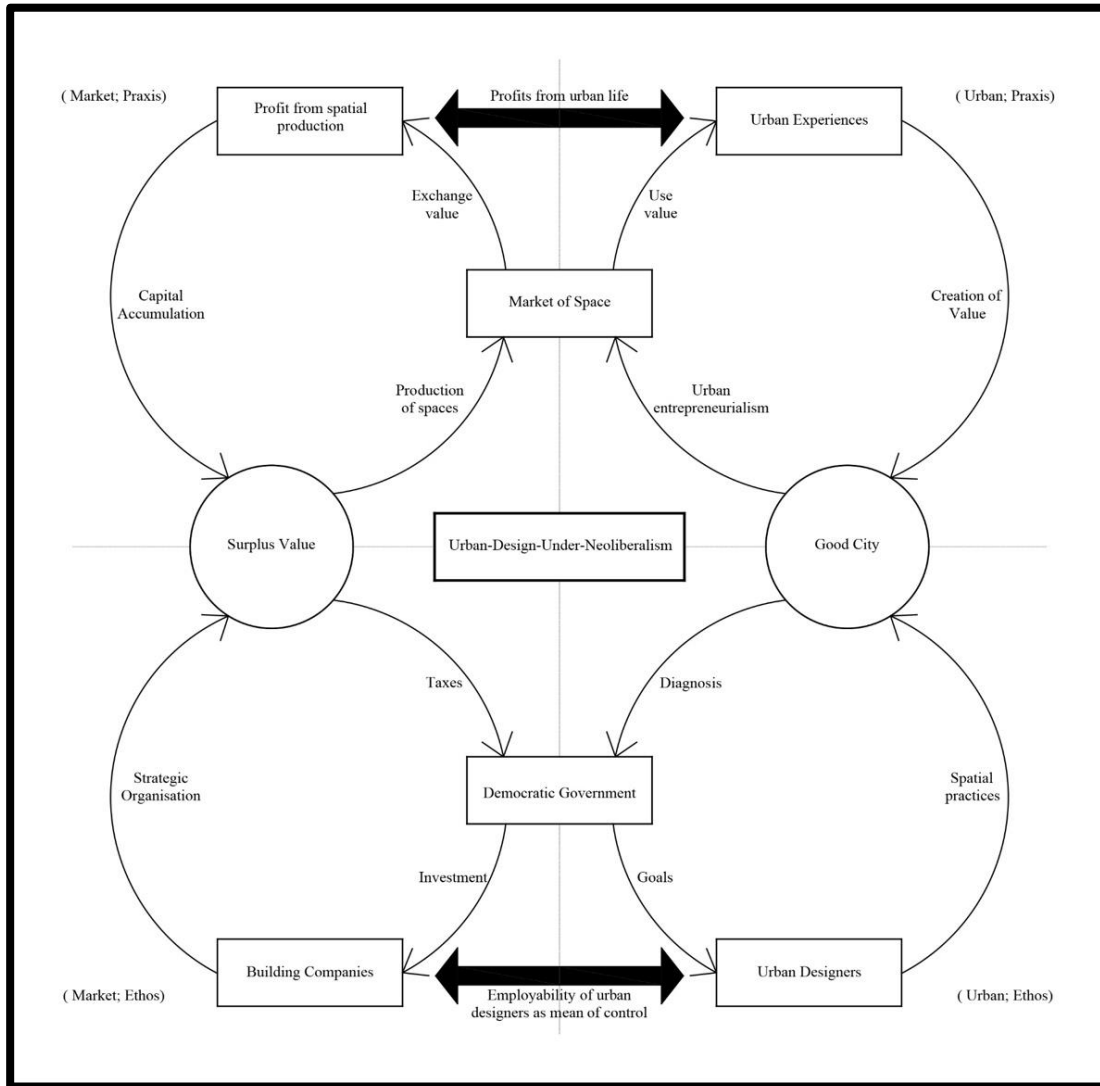


Figure 8.5. Diagram of the composition of urban-design-under-neoliberalism. Source: own elaboration inspired by David Harvey (1978).

In this field, the action of building companies and the coordination of the government are fundamental for adding dynamics to this cycle. The democratic government is interested in this cycle because from the surplus value created by the building companies they extract a significant amount of financial capital through taxes. On the right-hand side of the diagram are deployed the praxis and ethos of the urban. The coordinate (Urban; Praxis) focuses on the everydayness of urban-design-under-neoliberalism but as a daily experience. The market for spaces and urban products are

sold to generate urban experiences. In this coordinate, the idea of the good city is strongly influenced by the goals of the market. Thus, the urban experience and the profitability of spatial production are linked. The link derives from the fact that on the left (Market; Praxis) supply is organised, while demand comes from the right (Urban; Praxis). Through the urban experience, the processes of the consumption of urban products are developed, fabricated by urban-design-under-neoliberalism.

Finally, in the field of (Urban; Ethos) are situated the urban designers, directly linked with the demands emerging from the government and depending on the jobs created by building companies and investors. Urban designers have to assume the goals of the government as their own. Thus, the spaces of the good cities are infused by both the interests of building companies and the goals of the government. In urban-design-under-neoliberalism, the idea of good city is based on profitable outcomes, interventions that create surplus value and activate cycles of consumption of urban products in everyday life.

The ethics, theory and practices of urban design are the three main elements that this diagram attempts to organise. By doing so, I also suggest that urban designers are subsumed by the goals emerging from the government and profit-oriented institutions. The ethics of urban-design-under-neoliberalism are contradictory from my ontological position because I embraced a particular stance of what I understand as the goals of urban design, as the pursuit of better spaces for all. To change the way of practising urban design in a neoliberal regime, it will require a revolutionary strategy for liberating its ethos and redefining it with a different framework. I believe that profitability is not bad per se, but a whole disciplinary field entirely transformed by an exogenous theory is conflictual, especially when it aims to take advantage of the skills and capacities of practitioner. I was trained as an urban designer in Santiago. During my years as a student, most of the modules aimed to foster an imaginative and creative attitude in the way of designing cities. If a project was too simple or ignored the social contribution, it was failed at once. The worse grades were for projects designed

like real buildings in Santiago. All those years of critical formation disappeared when starting to work in the real world. In the attempt to use imagination for design in a professional environment, imagination was deeply constrained, and criticism ignored. After school, urban designers enter in a productive phase and all years of critical formation in the university are disregarded. If an urban design requires a revolution for its emancipation, the manifesto for that revolution is already written in the imaginative and thought-provoking realm of architecture schools where urban designers are trained in Santiago. The challenge is how to bring that thrilling and critical way of reading the city from universities to the actual processes of producing spaces. A new virtual object would be required to push forward a revolutionary agenda of urban design.

Throughout the thesis, I have elaborated a series of explanatory reflections on urban-design-under-neoliberalism. Through the findings and analysing the case of Santiago, I illustrated the profit-oriented rationality of decision-making processes for producing city spaces. Also, the frenetic defence of private property complements this profit-oriented logic because it concentrates wealth in the form of space in a small group of the society. In this sense, profit-oriented urban design and the defence of private property are both the most relevant theoretical constructs of urban-design-under-neoliberalism, which is explicitly represented by its praxis. Although urban design is only one component in the big scheme of the neoliberalisation of society, its role in reproducing the dominance of this ideology is vital because it perpetuates in space the social relations that neoliberalism promotes. The praxis is the final moment in which urban-design-under-neoliberalism is materialised and transformed into a city.

It is possible to say that urban society in Santiago has been neoliberalised with the collaboration of urban-design-under-neoliberalism, a complicit discipline tailored to the objectives of capital. Borrowing from monetarist theory, urban-design-under-neoliberalism has weakened creativity and smashed the possibilities of imagination. The ethical crises of urban design in Santiago are represented by the pragmatist praxis, abandoning utopian thinking and reducing imaginative

capacity regarding what the market allows. In doing so, urban design is trapped in a blind field constructed by the neoliberal ideology. Finally, from my interpretation, the essential ethical paradox of urban-design-under-neoliberalism is that urban designers recognise their disciplinary imprisonment and yet they do not organise themselves to contest this domination. Furthermore, urban designers in Santiago dislike the city produced by neoliberalism, or at least, they believe it has not been a successful model from the point of view of its inhabitants, which makes me think that there is a fertile soil for igniting a discussion toward breaking the links of urban-design-under-neoliberalism. For doing so, the urban revolution is much needed. It may help to strip profit-oriented logic from urban design and rip apart urban-design-under-neoliberalism.

The revolution of urban-design-under-neoliberalism needs a critical practice informed by a radical theory, capable of transforming the ethics of urban designers to generate a self-sufficient discipline for developing good cities. Revolutionising urban-design-under-neoliberalism is a project of disciplinary autonomy. In the interviews, when asking about the future of Santiago, most of the reflections were pessimistic, and just a few mentioned some ideas for change. Therefore, a prospectus of a different future without neoliberalism has not yet been spatialised or imagined by urban designers in Santiago. This is a problem but also an opportunity.

8.4. A virtual object for further research: the-good-city

To contest the actual existence of urban-design-under-neoliberalism, I propose the development of a counter-virtual-object capable of offering theoretical contestation. I believe that the-good-city may serve as a virtual object because what I found missing in the fieldwork was the counter-proposal to the neoliberal city. There is a critique to the neoliberalisation of Santiago, but it is hard to find an alternative pathway toward a different understanding of urban life. The concrete utopia of a post-neoliberal city is absent from the discussion. From my perspective as an urban designer trained in Santiago, the-good-city definition starts with a practice that struggles to make everyday life in cities better for all. From the evidence presented in this research, it can be seen that specialists

associate urban-design-under-neoliberalism as one of the causes for severe urban effects such as segregation, gentrification and fragmentation. While urban design has significant responsibility for providing adequate spaces for society and benefits the majorities, the outcomes of urban-design-under-neoliberalism are individualistic, alienated and facilitate the spatial division of classes. The-good-city could offer a city with precisely the opposite values and principles.

The-good-city is a virtual object as well as urban-design-under-neoliberalism, but it does not exist yet. The-good-city needs to be developed in Santiago. This thesis has presented diverse cases in which people such as Grupo TOMA, UKAMAU, Movimiento de Pobladores en Lucha, and even people in charge of implementing the National Policy of Urban Development, are searching for new ideas for Santiago, attempting to outline a future for the city in which neoliberalism is not the predominant trend. The-good-city takes these initiatives as starting points for outlining its own virtuality, its proper concrete utopia. Although the general perspective of the interviewees on Santiago's future was negative, it is possible to extract some purposeful ideas that some of them mentioned during the interviews for advancing towards a preliminary definition of the-good-city (Figure 8.6).

In this virtual elaboration of the city, the common good rather than capital is at the centre of the decision making in urban design projects. This implies that the city must be designed in a way to reduce the asymmetric access to good-quality urban spaces. In practice, this implies a double challenge of increasing the quality of the public space across the whole city and ensuring that all inhabitants can commute smoothly from one side of the metropolis to the other. In the-good-city, the affordability of access to urban life – namely housing, transport, leisure and services in general – is a basic principle. No citizen can be excluded from these benefits. This addressed one of the maximum values of the-good-city: spatial justice. In order to ensure the development of a spatial justice, the-good-city should create institutions and agencies capable of organising people for discussing and defining the urban form. Therefore, the-good-city is imagined by the whole population that dwells in it, and its spatial conception is collective. These ideas can be extracted

from the evidence collected during this research. The-good-city fit within the political agenda of the right to the city that Henri Lefebvre developed in 1968:

“The right to the city cannot be conceived of as a simple visiting right or as a return to traditional cities. It can only be formulated as a transformed and renewed right to urban life. It does not matter whether the urban fabric encloses the countryside and what survives of peasant life, as long as the ‘urban’, place of encounter, priority of use value, inscription in the space of a time promoted to the rank of a supreme resource among all resources, finds its morphological base and its practice-material realization. Which presumes an integrated theory of the city and urban society, using the resources of science and art.” (Lefebvre, 1996, p. 158)

The-good-city, just like the right to the city, could provide a common cause for starting a critical discussion about Santiago. However, this discussion cannot be academically confined. It has to be an open process that involves dwellers, professionals, academics, students, the government and also the private investors. From my perspective, the-good-city is embedded in the cracks of the theorisation of urban-design-under-neoliberalism. Therefore, I suggest the development of further research by imagining the-good-city as the antithesis of urban-design-under-neoliberalism. Potentially, the discussion over defining the-good-city in Santiago would trace a path towards abolishing alienation between urban designers. The exploration of the-good-city may serve to organise the widespread alternative practices in Santiago around a concrete utopia, reflecting on a future for the city that is desirable, possible and needed. As a contribution to igniting this debate, I developed six reflections shaped as potential strategies that emerged from the findings, that may help to subvert urban-design-under-neoliberalism, breaking its hyphenation and finally advancing to outline the-good-city theory:

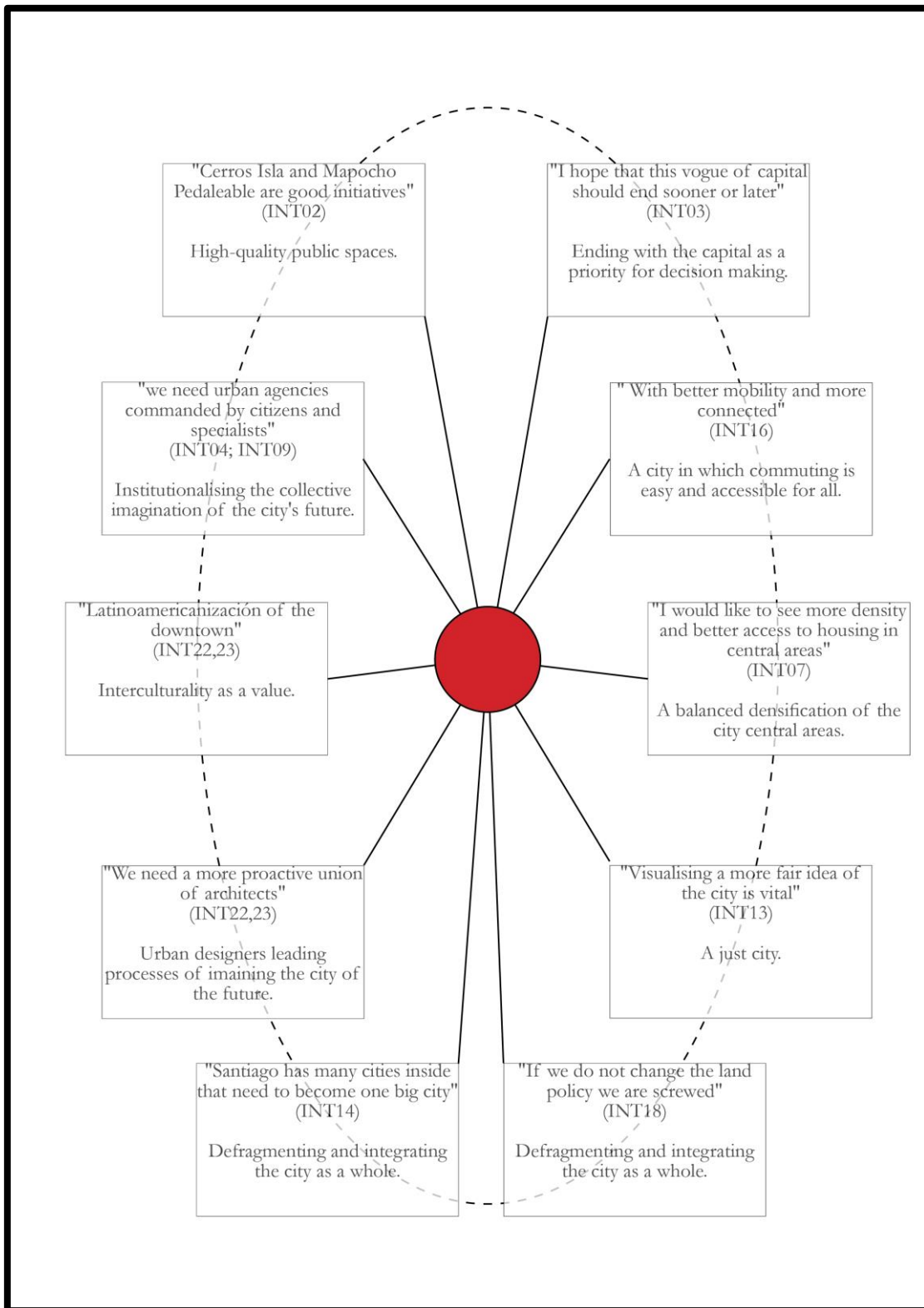


Figure 8.6. Summary of process of urban designers leading processes of imagining a fairer idea for a better city of Santiago based on findings. Source: own elaboration.

1.- Urban designers constitute a body of specialists whose central ethical commitment is shaping cities for good, or, as I suggested before, elaborating a theory of the-good-city. Urban design has to be re-politicised. In order to do so, urban designers need to turn the focus from the elite to the ordinary people, embedding their practice in the spatial scarcities of the many who live in precarious conditions. Those affected by urban-design-under-neoliberalism are the primary target of a subversive strategy to overthrow this mode of producing spaces. Acting as social catalysers, urban designers must put their knowledge to the service of the civil society that lives segregated, gentrified, fragmented, alienated, indebted and isolated.

2.- Urban designers could evaluate and recognise the importance of engaging in producing a theory of their practice, building an epistemology of the art of shaping cities. While this discipline remains subjugated to econometric, sociological and political theories, its theoretical reflection could provide ideas for planning an emancipation from neoliberalism. Theoretical autonomy is crucial because it emerges from the ethics and expectations of the practitioners, avoiding the influence of external disciplines that may see in urban design an opportunity for exploiting its value for their own sake.

3.- Resuming the use of utopias for building imaginative and desirable futures for an alternative world. Urban designers could return to their creative nature by proposing alternative futures for society. This was one of the messages of Henri Lefebvre throughout his literature. The concrete utopia is about providing a future spatial scenario that is feasible. The main goal of this utopian thinking is developing prospects that society will want to live in, helping to convince people to claim spatial changes in their everyday lives. Furthermore, the concrete utopia may become a political tool for politicising urban design and use it for offering people a better future in which neoliberalism is no longer needed.

4.- Urban designers must enter into the political arena as mayors, representatives, social leaders and politicians in every realm of the political spectrum. This would be fundamental because the struggle for overthrowing urban-design-under-neoliberalism will require significant transformations in laws, regulations, bureaucracy and market rules.

5.- The previous point allows me to propose a structural modification: private property must be conditioned to the social role of the space as it was before (Chapter 5, p. 182). Private interest cannot be given priority over the common good in relation to urban development processes. Specific spaces in cities must be assigned for inverting segregation, gentrification, fragmentation and financialisation. One of the main goals of the-good-city theory is consolidating a methodology in which the collective is more important than the individual.

6.- The-good-city is a revolutionary approach to the discipline of urban design, with the aim of contesting and eradicating urban-design-under-neoliberalism. This revolution has already been mentioned in this chapter and refers to a profound change in everyday life in which the city as a whole is reorganised for the sake of the community, and urban design plays a key role in providing the spaces for this goal. The urban revolution is not only a motto, but a radical agenda for changes that require the involvement of several disciplines, such as urban design, architecture, politics, economics, sociology, geography, and several

disciplines that use the space as an object of study. The urban revolution, therefore, is a politico-spatial programme of the-good-city.

8.5. Further Research

I suggest that new research using *The Urban Revolution* may be developed by enquiring into the processes of urban design and spatial transformations. In this thesis, I developed an approach using transductive reasoning as the main methodological framework. However, other methodologies could emerge from this book. As well, further developments may serve to advance the study of urban space from the perspective of Henri Lefebvre. The recent work of Lukasz Stanek (2014; 2017; 2008; 2011) on Lefebvre's academic contributions show that Lefebvre not only has value as a critical urban theory thinker but also for developing empirical research.

As I employed this methodology for the case of Santiago, it could be expanded, and similar research could be conducted in other cities in Latin America, to start building a continental theorisation of urban-design-under-neoliberalism. Similarly, although more ambitious, there could be an exploration of urban-design-under-neoliberalism in the global south. On the other hand, while in this thesis I analysed the main city of Chile, it would be appropriate to investigate the case of medium-sized cities throughout the country and to evaluate the effects of neoliberalisation in subordinated urban systems.

Along with this research, I have been focused on the profit-oriented logic of urban-design-under-neoliberalism. In the collection of data, I had no access to labour information about urban development processes. By labour, I mean not only people working in construction industries but also the labour conditions of urban designers in studios. The wages, working hours, labour environment may also inform how urban-design-under-neoliberalism undermine (or not) the everyday life of urban designers beyond their ethical commitment only.

The research conducted during the fieldwork for gathering historical data about the urban history of Santiago demonstrated that there are some gaps in the way it has been written. For instance, the historical analysis of discourses and methods of the disciplinary field of urban design are mostly focused on the 20th century onwards. However, there has been incipient forms of urban design practices since before the arrival of Spaniards in 1541. Further research may be conducted in order to gather that information and interpret it to provide reflections on how different urbanisms have been applied in Chile. Also, in a broader sense, this may apply for developing a study aiming to raise the Latin American history of spatial design practices. For instance, I believe that an unexplored area of study is about the urbanisms of aboriginal communities in South America and their spatial patterns that may have prevailed to the current cities. This is a cultural feature that has been studied by archeologists and anthropologists but scarcely by urban designers (Jorge Hardoy is one of the few).

If urban-design-under-neoliberalism has been subsumed by economic theories related to business and monetarism, it would be interesting to connect some business strategies to urban design processes. For instance, I believe that using the theoretical framework of marketing theory for studying urban design practices in real estate development may offer exciting results and reflections about how urban design has adopted techniques and methods from these business administration theories. Furthermore, another approach to theorising urban-design-under-neoliberalism may start in what Alexander Cuthbert named as a spatial political economy (2006a). The analysis of the urban as an outcome from a specific economic project such as neoliberalism have political implications reflected in the space. People inhabiting a neoliberal city may have a different understanding of their everyday life, and this influences their decisions. This thesis has suggested some paths toward interpreting the spatial political economy of neoliberalism, but further research may improve the reflections about the particular theoretical conditions, connecting urban studies with political theory.

If neoliberalism will prevail and the profit-oriented logic will continue as the main criterion for defining the urban form, then, an investigation about the value added by good urban design to the price of land may be useful for giving more importance to urban design under neoliberal regimes. For conducting such study, the work of Matthew Carmona (2001) serves as guidance.

Data collected reveals that homeownership in Santiago reaches near the 80% of the households. Further research would be on the qualitative side of this information, researching what the quality of the space of the dwellings of these homeowners is. This could illustrate the difference between an individual who became a homeowner during the neoliberal era and those who were homeowners from before. Also, a study like this may shed light on the concentration of property ownership in certain individuals. The-good-city as virtual object offers the possibility for developing further research to inform what does it mean the-good-city for urban designers in Santiago and its inhabitants. What is expected to find in a good city, how does it look like, what happened in the urban life of the-good-city? The construction of this virtual object may serve as a strategy for resituating the importance of utopia and imagination in the reflection about the future of cities.

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Appendix 1. Computer-based Survey Results

What is your professional background?

Architect 66.1%	Designer 3.6%	Philosopher 1.8%
Geographer 3.6%	Anthropologist 0%	Other 19.6%
Sociologist 1.8%	Economist 0%	
Political Scientist 0%	Engineer 3.6%	

In which comuna do you live at?

Other 4 7.1%
Santiago Centro 5 8.9%
Recoleta 1 1.8%
Providencia 17 30.4%
Vitacura 1 1.8%
Lo Barnechea 1 1.8%
Las Condes 11 19.6%
Ñuñoa 4 7.1%
La Reina 2 3.6%
Macul 1 1.8%
Peñalolén 4 7.1%
La Florida 2 3.6%
Maipú 2 3.6%
Pudahuel 1 1.8%

You have to indicate if you completely agree (Completely agree), agree (Agree), disagree (Disagree), completely disagree (Completely disagree) with the following statements.

I do like Santiago

Completely disagree 0%
Disagree 16.1%
Agree 60.7%
Completely agree 23.2%
Skip 0%

Santiago is a city with lot of innovations in relation to urban development

Completely disagree 14.3%
Disagree 66.1%
Agree 17.9%
Completely agree 0%
Skip 1.8%

Santiago is a city with a lot of creativity

Completely disagree 7.1%
Disagree 53.6%
Agree 26.8%
Completely agree 7.1%
Skip 5.4%

Santiago is an ideal city for making business

Completely disagree 0%
Disagree 8.9%
Agree 66.1%
Completely agree 23.2%
Skip 1.8%

Santiago is a city where most people are happy

Completely disagree 35.7%
 Disagree 53.6%
 Agree 7.1%
 Completely agree 0%
 Skip 3.6%

Santiago is a socially segregated city

Completely disagree 3.6%
 Disagree 0%
 Agree 3.6%
 Completely agree 92.9%
 Skip 0%

Santiago is a city whose urban form is consequence of economic interests

Completely disagree 1.8%
 Disagree 3.6%
 Agree 25%
 Completely agree 66.1%
 Skip 3.6%

Santiago is a city whose form is consequence of the pursuit of social equity

Completely disagree 67.9%
 Disagree 25%
 Agree 0%
 Completely agree 5.4%
 Skip 1.8%

Santiago is a beautiful city

Completely disagree 0%
 Disagree 28.6%
 Agree 57.1%
 Completely agree 10.7%
 Skip 3.6%

Personally, I like Santiago very much

Completely disagree 0%
 Disagree 28.6%
 Agree 50%
 Completely agree 17.9%
 Skip 3.6%

Policy

The use of subsidies for building housing undermines the possibility of building a just city

Completely disagree 7.1%
 Disagree 46.4%
 Agree 28.6%
 Completely agree 7.1%
 Skip 10.7%

The urban limit should continue expanding

Completely disagree 39.3%
 Disagree 39.3%
 Agree 14.3%
 Completely agree 1.8%
 Skip 5.4%

The investment in public transport should be complemented with a policy of capital gains capture

Completely disagree 3.6%
 Disagree 17.9%
 Agree 41.1%
 Completely agree 28.6%
 Skip 8.9%

The fragmentation of urban institutions hampers the design of the city

Completely disagree 0%
 Disagree 7.1%
 Agree 32.1%
 Completely agree 57.1%
 Skip 3.6%

The fragmentation of urban institutions facilitates that the market defining how urban development is addressed

Completely disagree 0%
 Disagree 5.4%
 Agree 32.1%
 Completely agree 58.9%
 Skip 3.6%

The Public-Private Partnership contracts were good but now need to be re-evaluated

Completely disagree 1.8%
 Disagree 17.9%
 Agree 37.5%
 Completely agree 37.5%
 Skip 5.4%

Short-term plans prevails in urban planning

Completely disagree 3.6%
 Disagree 1.8%
 Agree 23.2%
 Completely agree 69.6%
 Skip 1.8%

Santiago needs a metropolitan authority elected democratically

Completely disagree 0%
 Disagree 7.1%
 Agree 42.9%
 Completely agree 48.2%
 Skip 1.8%

The state must regulate real estate business

Completely disagree 5.4%
 Disagree 5.4%
 Agree 51.8%
 Completely agree 35.7%
 Skip 1.8%

It is necessary to redesign the methodology of the SNI

Completely disagree 0%
 Disagree 3.6%
 Agree 28.6%
 Completely agree 55.4%
 Skip 12.5%

The comunal zoning plans need to be replaced by more contemporary urban planning instruments

Completely disagree 3.6%
 Disagree 8.9%
 Agree 39.3%
 Completely agree 44.6%
 Skip 3.6%

Participatory processes must be strengthened and obligatory

Completely disagree 10.7%
 Disagree 17.9%
 Agree 26.8%
 Completely agree 42.9%
 Skip 1.8%

About the statement: the city is political and politics is urbanism are you:

Completely disagree 0%
 Disagree 8.9%
 Agree 48.2%
 Completely agree 30.4%
 Skip 12.5%

Grew up in certain comuna of Santiago defines your future:

Completely agree 37.5%
 Agree 44.6%
 Disagree 14.3%
 Completely disagree 3.6%

The main threat to Santiago's equality is:

Real estate speculation 21.4%
 Depolitization of citizenship 10.7%
 NIMBY 17.9%
 Weak regulatory frameworks in relation to public goods 35.7%
 Others 14.3%

Priorisation: Define the priority for each of these issues to address in the urban design of Santiago

Public transport reforms

1st Priority 37.5%
 2nd Priority 19.6%
 3rd Priority 26.8%
 4th Priority 3.6%
 5th Priority 12.5%
 6th Priority 0%

Good public spaces

1st Priority 8.9%
 2nd Priority 23.2%
 3rd Priority 17.9%
 4th Priority 30.4%
 5th Priority 10.7%
 6th Priority 8.9%

Capital gains capture

1st Priority 8.9%
 2nd Priority 16.1%
 3rd Priority 16.1%
 4th Priority 14.3%
 5th Priority 26.8%
 6th Priority 17.9%

Social mixture in neighbours by integration policies

1st Priority 12.5%
 2nd Priority 19.6%
 3rd Priority 12.5%
 4th Priority 26.8%
 5th Priority 16.1%
 6th Priority 12.5%

A metropolitan mayor

1st Priority 23.2%
 2nd Priority 16.1%
 3rd Priority 12.5%
 4th Priority 8.9%
 5th Priority 12.5%
 6th Priority 26.8%

Public funds for real estate cooperatives

1st Priority 8.9%
 2nd Priority 5.4%
 3rd Priority 14.3%
 4th Priority 16.1%
 5th Priority 21.4%
 6th Priority 33.9%

Define the influential capacity for shaping the city of the following organisations (no influence, low influence, influential, very influential)

Regional Government

No Influence 3.6%
 Low Influence 39.3%
 Influential 30.4%
 Completely Influential 17.9%
 Skip 8.9%

Local Government

No Influence 1.8%
 Low Influence 19.6%
 Influential 48.2%
 Completely Influential 26.8%
 Skip 3.6%

Neighbourhood councils

No Influence 23.2%
 Low Influence 55.4%
 Influential 17.9%
 Completely Influential 0%
 Skip 3.6%

Chilean Chamber of Builders (CChC)

No Influence 1.8%
 Low Influence 26.8%
 Influential 28.6%
 Completely Influential 39.3%
 Skip 3.6%

Architects Association

No Influence 21.4%
 Low Influence 51.8%
 Influential 19.6%
 Completely Influential 1.8%
 Skip 5.4%

Universities

No Influence 19.6%
 Low Influence 50%
 Influential 21.4%
 Completely Influential 3.6%
 Skip 5.4%

Central Government

No Influence 5.4%
 Low Influence 7.1%
 Influential 44.6%
 Completely Influential 39.3%
 Skip 3.6%

Social Movements

No Influence 7.1%
 Low Influence 44.6%
 Influential 39.3%
 Completely Influential 5.4%
 Skip 3.6%

Political parties

No Influence 23.2%
 Low Influence 25%
 Influential 25%
 Completely Influential 23.2%
 Skip 3.6%

How would you define Santiago?

Gris
 Extensa
 Desigual
 EN MADURACION
 DespertandoEl paraíso del zinc
 desarticulada
 Una ciudad llena de hermosos rincones por descubrir.
 Ecléctica
 emergente
 Injusta
 parche
 Subvalorada
 Como una ciudad que crecio mucho No pensar en la capacidad de comunicacion entre los distintos lugares hacia donde crecio.
 única y caotica
 mucho más de lo que puedes imaginar
 Una ciudad segregada que refleja la inequidad social del país pero que tiene atributos dignos de destacar como estar rodeada por la cordillera, atravesada por un río de agua limpia, un cerro parque y un par de comunas consolidadas con una excelente calidad de vida como Providencia y Vitacura que ojalá se extendiera al resto de la ciudad..
 Sobre poblada, donde el espacio público es reducido cada día y se privilegian sistemas de transporte privados que deterioran la ciudad al largo plazo.
 Inercia
 buena si se tiene un buen nivel economico y mala si no se lo tiene
 Como una ciudad ambiciosa que crece dejando de lado a los que más necesitan apoyo.
 Ciudad extensa, vehicularmente saturada, con acceso a todo, y una ciudad llena de contrastes barrios tremendamente bellos, poblaciones pobres y No veredas. Ciudad insegura, pero accesible. Ciudad que gusta mucho y desagrada en el mismo día. Ciudad cosmopolita a ratos, y tremendamente discriminadora. Providencia me gusta, Recoleta no me gusta, y son comunas adyacentes. Falta alcalde mayor.
 Money oriented.
 Heterogénea pero poco respetuosa, linda
 Ciudad Completely segregada debil en lo publico.
 Capital, servicios y un bello marco natural
 Accesible
 Contrastes
 Megacefalea asimétrica
 ciudad bellisima con suciedad en el aire y estrés en el medio ambirnte
 Experimento territorial neoliberal
 ciudad moderna y cauta, un recodo de valles entremedio de la cordillera
 Santiago es una ciudad que bien cuidada puede ser una hermosa ciudad, lamentablemente es un caos
 Plana
 Ciudad que privilegia solo algunos sectores para su desarrollo
 pueblos unidos por carreteras
 Santiago es una ciudad planificada por secciones, no se lee como una totalidad.
 Una ciudad donde las autoridades no han realizado las desiciones que corresponden a su envergadura y desafios, quedandose con proyectos para la galeria como ciclovias y no proyectos mas complejos como tranvias, tarificacion vial, procesos de peatonalizacion y contro mas agresivo de la contaminacion ambienta (agua, areas verdes y aire)n
 Como una ciudad segregada y clasista
 Ciudad agradable de caminar pero estresante de transitar en vehiculos
 santiago es una ciudad planificada por intereses economicos de privados y no contempla una buena planificacion urbana
 Completely extensa
 Ciudad al borde del colapso
 Metropolis Latinoamericana en su gloria.
 segregada y despreocupada
 Ciudad en desarrollo polarizada
 Segregada
 central
 Absorbente
 Como una urbe desgobernada, exclusiva y segregada

Ciudad en el paisaje
 No orientacion y segregada
 Una ciudad rentable pero triste
 Gris
 Extensa
 Desigual
 EN MADURACION
 Despertando
 El paraíso del zinc
 desarticulada
 Una ciudad llena de hermosos rincones por descubrir.
 Ecléctica
 emergente
 Injusta
 parche
 Subvalorada
 Como una ciudad que creció mucho No pensar en la capacidad de comunicacion entre los distintos lugares hacia donde creció.
 única y caótica
 mucho más de lo que puedes imaginar
 Una ciudad segregada que refleja la inequidad social del país pero que tiene atributos dignos de destacar como estar rodeada por la cordillera, atravesada por un río de agua limpia, un cerro parque y un par de comunas consolidadas con una excelente calidad de vida como Providencia y Vitacura que ojalá se extendiera al resto de la ciudad..
 Sobrepoblada, donde el espacio público es reducido cada día y se privilegian sistemas de transporte privados que deterioran la ciudad al largo plazo.
 Inercia
 buena si se tiene un buen nivel economico y mala si no se lo tiene
 Como una ciudad ambiciosa que crece dejando de lado a los que más necesitan apoyo.
 Ciudad extensa, vehicularmente saturada, con acceso a todo, y una ciudad llena de contrastes barrios tremendamente bellos, poblaciones pobres y No veredas. Ciudad insegura, pero accesible. Ciudad que gusta mucho y desagrada en el mismo día. Ciudad cosmopolita a ratos, y tremendamente discriminadora. Providencia me gusta, Recoleta no me gusta, y son comunas adyacentes. Falta alcalde mayor.
 Money oriented.
 Heterogénea pero poco respetuosa, linda
 Ciudad Completely segregada debil en lo publico.
 Capital, servicios y un bello marco natural
 Accesible
 Contrastes
 Megacefalea asimétrica
 ciudad bellisima con suciedad en el aire y estrés en el medio ambiente
 Experimento territorial neoliberal
 ciudad moderna y cauta, un recodo de valles entremedio de la cordillera
 Santiago es una ciudad que bien cuidada puede ser una hermosa ciudad, lamentablemente es un caos
 Plana
 Ciudad que privilegia solo algunos sectores para su desarrollo
 pueblos unidos por carreteras
 Santiago es una ciudad planificada por secciones, no se lee como una totalidad.
 Una ciudad donde las autoridades no han realizado las desiciones que corresponden a su envergadura y desafios, quedandose con proyectos para la galeria como ciclovias y no proyectos mas complejos como tranvias, tarificacion vial, procesos de peatonalizacion y contro mas agresivo de la contaminacion ambiente (agua, areas verdes y aire)n
 Como una ciudad segregada y clasista
 Ciudad agradable de caminar pero estresante de transitar en vehiculos
 santiago es una ciudad planificada por intereses economicos de privados y no contempla una buena planificacion urbana
 Completely extensa
 Ciudad al borde del colapso
 Metropolis Latinoamericana en su gloria.
 segregada y despreocupada
 Ciudad en desarrollo polarizada
 Segregada
 central

Absorbente

Como una urbe desgobernada, exclusiva y segregada

Ciudad en el paisaje

No orientacion y segregada

Una ciudad rentable pero triste

How would you define Santiago de Chile?

Ciudad segregada entre primer y tercer mundo, con centralidad urbanístico (centro histórico y barrios pericentrales) de gran valor urbano, social y cultural

Despertando

Potencial tremendo, mucho q hacer, aún en una inmadurez urbana, arquitectónica y estética, intentando reemplazar la escala humana por una frenética escala de megapolis. Completely poca oferta cultural/urbana para ayudar a vivir la ciudad de manera amable. Si se logra matizar eso, a mediano plazo podría ser algo interesante.

Grande, desregulado y altamente clasista.

Gris

En general no lo encuentro tan polarizado como sucede en otros país de la región, pero eso no quiere decir que no hasta que luchar para que estas desigualdades desaparezcan lo más que se pueda.

Santiago es una ciudad rara, Completely interesante de analizar, porque aunque reúne todos los elementos de una ciudad típicamente sudamericana, guarda aun, como pequennos tesoros, vestigios de un pasado en donde se penso una ciudad mas justa y mas europea.

Una ciudad con mucho potencial urbanístico, afectada por la falta de regulación y que se desarrolla de manera errática, poniendo en evidencia una falta de planificación.

Uno de los peores ejemplos en la pérdida de derechos ciudadanos y en la creación de áreas desiguales e injustas y que fomentan y perpetúan la pobreza.

extensa, resolviendo lo urgente, la suma de parches.

Una ciudad museo de experimentos urbanos, en que los ricos huyen de la clase media y de los pobres, la clase media quiere parecer ricos y huyen de los pobres... y los pobres huyen de los más pobres... Una ciudad con modelos de expansión urbana americanos, densidades europeas y olor latinoamericano... Santiago es una ciudad que huye de su realidad, es la bonita que se cree fea de tanto mirar a ciudades más bellas, quiere ser grande urbana y es el 46% de Chile.

Como la ciudad que concentra mas del 50% de la poblacion nacional y centro politico del país. Una ciudad con un sistema de transportes deficiente y crecimiento desregulado, pero que ofrece las mejores oportunidades de desarrollo en comparacion con cualquier otra del país.

una mezcla de distintas situaciones en un mismo lugar No un orden o guía común.

Es una ciudad viva, moderna, coqueta, que esta despertando y se esta dando cuenta de sus contrastes, hermosa por un lado y de primerísimo mundo y horrible e injusta por el otro lado, viva muestra de nuestro subdesarrollo.

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Ciudad segregada, en desarrollo, Completely extensa, Completely dañada con autopistas, a modo de intentar conectarla, y un deficiente transporte público que no responde a las necesidades del ciudadano. Una ciudad que urbanísticamente se olvida de sacarle provecho a la riqueza de su geografía, lo cual debiera ser una tremenda oportunidad.

Santiago de Chile, es a mi parecer una de las peores ciudades del territorio. Viví toda mi vida aquí y basta con experimentar otra realidad para darse cuenta lo mal que esta esta ciudad.

La gente no vive su ciudad la encuentra como algo ajeno y no propio donde el espacio público es de alguien más lo que provoca una crisis de identidad, una ciudad que no identifica/refleja a su habitante, donde después de las 20hrs la gente se encierra en sus casas. Donde las plazas son de tránsito y echarse en el pasto se siente como algo

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Una ciudad extendida, segregada, desigual y triste, pero con gran potencial.

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Una ciudad desigual, pero con mucho potencial para lograr la inclusión de la gente, sobre todo trabajando y empoderando a los que no creen merecer ser parte de la transformación de su propia ciudad

Una ciudad amable para quienes tienen los medios para vivir cómodamente en ella, pero es completamente lo opuesto para quienes viven con lo mínimo considerando que es porcentaje más alto de la ciudad. Santiago tiene dos caras, todo depende del lado que toque vivirla.

Como una ciudad que carece de planificación enormemente, donde los municipios con mas recursos gozan de una mejor calidad de vida, dado que cuentan con mas y mejores profesionales a cargo del tema. A la vez, Santiago tiene una serie de oportunidades de renovación, de rescate de áreas verdes, puesta en valor de barrios completos, inuebles

valiosos, borderío, entre otros. El desarrollo inmobiliario visto como una oportunidad, puede generar un cambio significativo en la ciudad, para ello, se requieren de ajustes en el aparato público urgentes.

Completamente segregadora en todos los sentidos. Es una ciudad que no está orientada a las personas, a su seguridad y calidad de vida. Siento que es un parche tras otro, No un plan a largo plazo, y donde todos están compitiendo por más dinero, olvidando completamente el bienestar. Me parece totalmente nefasto que aceptemos perder horas diarias de nuestra vida simplemente transportándonos a nuestro trabajo. Eso demuestra cuan olvidado tenemos el concepto de bienestar.

Santiago es una ciudad Completely heterogénea pero lamentablemente esta sectorizada y eso es Completely notorio.

Santiago es una ciudad segregada, con pocos bienes públicos de calidad (no me refiero solo a plazas o equipamiento urbano) Noo que a educación y transporte también. "Si reeducó a la gente y esta se empieza a comportar de un modo diferente, la ciudad se transformará a sí misma" Antanas Mokus, Documental BOGOTÁ CHANGE. "La abundancia de bienes públicos es la base de la equidad, no es el dinero" Bernardo Toro, TED Amazonia

La capital política y financiera, segregada económicamente empujada por el dinero
Ciudad amable fuera de las hora punta. Mucha diferencia de calidad de una comuna/barrio a otro

Ciudad con Priorityes equivocadas gestión territorial deficiente y falta de conexión de sus esferas académicas, publicas y privadas.

La materialización de una sociedad fraccionada e inequitativa, que en su aglomeración desregulada no comprende la administración del territorio ni el despliegue de oportunidades ni tomadores de decisiones.

como una ciudad aparentemente mas desarrollada que la mayoría de las ciudades del mundo, donde los intereses son independientes del estrato economico ya que la mayotía lucha por motivos aspiracionales mas que por el bien común, y eso se traduce en un eterno estres donde todos velan por si mismo y apaga la belleza potencial que tiene la ciudad.

Experimento neoliberal en materia territorial

Una ciudad que se desarrolla rápidamente, cada vez se hace más bonita, ofreciendo cada vez mejores estándares de calidad de vida. Compite con otras ciudades del resto de continente y se despegas y desvincula del contexto y realidad nacional, concentrando acaparadoramente riquezas, bienes, servicios, toma de decisiones, cultura, etc.

Ciudad es una ciudad que es hermosa y lamentablemente por malas politicas publicas se ha convertido en un caos. Existen multiples construcciones, sobretodo en el centro, que son maravillosas, pero que estan tan mal cuidadas. Santiago es una ciudad bella que ha sido dejada de lado para dar paso a construcciones a gran escala que no conjugan con la arquitectura historica de la ciudad. Por otro lado hay barrios como lo Barnechea que parecen un mamarracho, challa, etc arquitectonicamente. Las construcciones no se rigen por ningun patron.

Segmentada, chica No valor de los espacios públicos (buenos parques, falta de espacios públicos de calidad, segregación de los espacios de esparcimiento, etc)

Santiago es una ciudad segregada, con gran potencial urbanístico pero No programas que se ocupen de unificar la ciudad, existen muchas comunas dormitorio alejadas de los centros urbanos de negocios y administración, los tiempos de transporte son excesivos dado a mala conectividad vial y de transporte público, no hay nuevas alternativas de transporte, lo que afecta directamente a la calidad de vida de los ciudadanos, haciendo de la ciudad buena para los negocios pero mala para habitar

como una sucesión de pueblos articulados a través de carreteras y el metro, que se extiende como una telaraña que no logra tener otros centros, como una ciudad donde la discusión urbana no existe y tampoco logra existir un urbanismo, como una de las ciudades con mayor potencial geográfico que conozco

Santiago es una ciudad que funciona, pero a niveles al limite, respecto a todos los temas.

Una ciudad con todas las posibilidades para ser uno de las 3 ciudades mas importantes de america latina. Tristemente la falta de voluntad política y de vision clara de un proyecto de ciudad, que es mas alla de la vision ensimismada y de corto plazo de los alcaldes. Santiago debe hacer los cambios en sus estructuras de infraestructura, normativas y de gobernanza para acercarse mas a las ciudades de la OCDE.

Como una ciudad ideal para la especulación y la perpetuación de la supremacía de la elite económica y política sobre la sociedad civil

Ciudad en constante expansion inmobiliaria No una coherencia en el plan regulador y una mantencion adecuada de edificios o fachadas patrimoniales. No embargo siento que es una ciudad Completely atractiva para el turista y el peaton pero agresiva y violenta para ciclistas y automovilistas. Ademas es una ciudad No plan regulador para comunas marginales con bajos presupuesto municipales, donde los ghettos inmobiliarios se han convertido en la

manera de acomodar a familias de recursos bajos y medios

Santiago ciudad que vive bajo estres

Santiago ciudad desigual que día a día fomenta la inequidad.

Suiza y El Congo atrapados por la carretera. Como decía una canción de los años '80 dedicada a la circunvalación Amerigo Vesputio: "La Circunvalación es democratizante, Al norte viven los ricos, al sur viven los picantes..."

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Una ciudad No políticas publicas de impacto a merced del empresariado. Una ciudad contaminada, enferma.

Una ciudad gris, bastante contaminada, pero que aún así conservó la esperanza de una mejora y embellecimiento.

ciudad polarizada politicamente, actua normativamente por omisión. Refleja fragmentacion y segregacion

Es una ciudad monopolizada y polarizada gracias a una mala gestión política que permite el desarraigo forzado, lo cual crea lugares disimiles que no se conectan en el plano urbano y favorece las múltiples lecturas espaciales en las cuales se desarrollan las diferentes "culturas".

Ciudad segregada en donde existe una mixtura de barrios y sectores. Despreocupación por edificios y barrios que componen la memoria colectiva de los ciudad; los que actualmente están preservados consiguen esta categoría gracias a los vecinos. Como aspecto positivo, existe una apropiación del espacio público y áreas verdes por parte de la ciudadanía, aunque aún existe una carencia de estas en zonas con riesgo social.

Centralizado

Una ciudad densa, Completely competitiva en términos laborales. El ciudadano se encuentra presionado a generar recursos. El tiempo libre es caro. La atención de servicios es Completely deficiente. La belleza de la ciudad debe vincularse a los actos humanos, y si solamente se trabaja, entonces no hay belleza. La inversión en infraestructura no es el problema, se debe invertir en capital humano y calidad de vida.

Segregado y exclusivo. Creciendo No gobernabilidad y bajo un sistema que celebra la acumulación de bienes materiales y el enriquecimiento de algunos. Un sistema de transporte paupérrimo incentivando al auto y No espacios públicos de calidad. Con habitantes frustrados y con inestabilidad e inseguridad social. Un malestar generalizado y una actitud negativa ante los demás que va en desmedro de los valores y el espíritu último de la vida en comunidad, la prosperidad (no necesariamente la impuesta como crecimiento material) y la libertad.

Uf. Mucho potencial, poco explotado. Mucha segregación e injusticia urbana. Falta de PLANIFICACIÓN con altura de miras y mirando hacia el futuro.

Es una ciudad que nunca ha tenido una autoridad que piense en términos de desarrollo urbano la totalidad de la ciudad.

Una ciudad triste para todos, pero rentable para unos pocos

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Experimento neoliberal en materia territorial

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Santiago ciudad que vive bajo estrés

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Es una ciudad que nunca ha tenido una autoridad que piense en términos de desarrollo urbano la totalidad de la ciudad.

Una ciudad triste para todos, pero rentable para unos pocos

How do you imagine Santiago in the future?

Una ciudad integrada física y socialmente, con multiplicidad de focos de desarrollo social, cultural y urbano en anillo de bajos recursos; una ciudad donde el Tpte publico sea múltiple en tecnologías e intermodalidad; Una ciudad donde la cordillera se vea en invierno.

Despierto

Me gustaría ver una ciudad un poco menos atomizada, compartiendo con otras ciudades q han alcanzado un desarrollo decente para poder vivir a su alrededor. Con barrios q aporten a la ciudad, y posibilidad de entregar servicios q permitan a los habitantes menores desplazamientos

Mas grande y con incremento en los índices de inseguridad. Tiende -de manera "natural"- a obtener todos los rasgos de capital latinoamericana.

Blanca

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verde, aire limpio. bella

Una ciudad moderna, democrática en que los servicios y el empleo sea de buena calidad,

Decir que sólo es un probela urbano... o urbanístico... sería ser Completely arrogantes...

Idealmente, con areas verdes (no cafes) en todos los sectores y no algunos privilegiados; con un sistema de Metro muchisimo mas complejo que el actual y con menor contaminacion. Pero creo que lamentablemente la realidad será una ciudad atochada de vehiculos en calles donde no se puede circular y Completely contaminada.

Como una ciudad construida con la participación de todos sus ciudadanos y no solo de unos pocos con poder, inclusiva y organizada vialmente en su totalidad.

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Mas aire libre, un Santiago que se reencuentra y reconcilia con su entorno natural.

mas compacta y menos gentrificada

Sería con mayor desarrollo de transporte público, y más inclusión para medios de transporte alternativos (desentivar el uso del automóvil) una ciudad que los mismos habitantes la quieran y la puedan disfrutar, además de quitar el estigma que tienen sectores de menores

recursos para que la igualdad de la gente que vive en ellos, gocen de las mismas oportunidades que otros.

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la imagino mucho más amigable con los ciudadanos que viven en ella, donde finalmente se entra en razón acerca del bien común, probablemente no como Priority única y principal, pero donde es una de las variables importantes a considerar. La imagino más limpia gracias al esfuerzo de todos los rubros asociados y a la nueva conciencia que va a venir mejor internalizada en las nuevas generaciones. También creo que se va a respetar el poco patrimonio que queda y se le agregue el valor que merece.

Un desastre urbano para corregir

Una ciudad que ha encontrado e inventado mecanismos propios para resolver problemas relacionados con la sustentabilidad y el medioambiente, y así también ha incorporado a las organizaciones de la sociedad civil en sistemas de gobernanza compartidos y responsables de manera conjunta. El resto de modernidad y desarrollo que falta llegará solo.

Quiero imaginarla con sus barrios recuperados, limpia, bella, descontaminada, amigable.

Descontaminada

Creo que esta ciudad va en un mal camino, y que en un futuro van a haber solo edificios de grandes alturas que no van a permitir disfrutar de las vistas que nos entrega la ciudad, además de colapsar las calles con vehículos

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Si se sigue en las mismas condiciones que las actuales, imagino una ciudad en altura, donde los espacios públicos y de recreación son escasos y mal utilizados, con graves problemas de tránsito, debido al excesivo parque automotriz. Una ciudad para trabajar, más que para disfrutar.

volver a la ciudad que se pensó en el PRIS 1960, no por el tema normativo, pero si la visión de una ciudad con múltiples polos sociales, mixtos e integradores, donde el ESTADO en sus diferentes escalas plasma sus visiones y sus inversiones, dejando espacio al privados, pero no administrando para ellos. Una ciudad sostenible, pero no para la elite, sostenible para todos sus habitantes. Una ciudad que exacerbe la integración como un bien ciudadano.

Como la máxima expresión del capitalismo: pobreza abundante, clase media precarizada, informalidad, represión y mucha riqueza en un círculo completamente definido del territorio.

Ciudad con polos urbanos descentralizados, con grandes extensiones de ciclovías, una red de metro que conectara con casi todos los puntos de la ciudad, alto impuesto a automovilistas en áreas saturadas, y un plan regulador preocupado del patrimonio y de un crecimiento armónico con el plan regulador de la comuna o en su defecto de la ciudad en su totalidad.

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Una ciudad en función del ciudadano, que motiva el sentido de apropiación de los espacios de manera consciente, generando que la planificación territorial sea acorde a los espacios que se disponen para ello. Una ciudad amigable y con identidad.

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Una ciudad permanece y crece de manera sana, cuando se respeta a los habitantes, una ciudad se forma a raíz de asentamientos humanos que ven en un espacio las características necesarias para quedarse. cuando estas características son transformadas en residuos de una mala gestión, la población buscara otro lugar que habitar. Es por esto que es necesario enfocarnos en las diferentes necesidades de la población, esto no significa segregar Noo crear una mixtura entre ofertas y demandas.

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Lo que tiene que mejorar en Santiago es el ánimo de las personas: Quisiera pensar que se apunta a una ciudad mas inclusiva, con menos horas de trabajo, con mas horas de deporte en espacios públicos, con mas uso de las plazas para recreación, con menos prohibiciones y énfasis en la "seguridad" y más gente buena que controla su barrio.

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Con un comando total por parte del mercado, No mucho patrimonio historico y cada vez mas segregada entre el oriente y el resto de la ciudad

-

Una ciudad integrada física y socialmente, con multiplicidad de focos de desarrollo social, cultural y urbano en anillo de bajos recursos; una ciudad donde el Tpte publico sea múltiple en tecnologías e intermodalidad; Una ciudad donde la cordillera se vea en invierno.

Despierto

Me gustaría ver una ciudad un poco menos atomizada, compartiendo con otras ciudades q han alcanzado un desarrollo decente para poder vivir a su alrededor. Con barrios q aporten a la ciudad, y posibilidad de entregar servicios q permitan a los habitantes menores desplazamientos

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Appendix 2. Excerpts from interviews.

This appendix presents the set of questions used for guiding the semi-structured interviews. After the questions (in Spanish) are presented the citations corresponding to Chapter 7, particularly to the Spanish version of the responses from interviewees. These responses are ordered in relation to its appearance along that chapter.

CUESTIONARIO ENTREVISTA

NOMBRE: _____

DIRECCION (area, sector): _____

EDAD: _____ NIVEL DE ESTUDIOS: _____

MARQUE EN QUE ÁMBITOS LABORALES SE DESEMPEÑA:

___ *ACADEMLIA* ___ *EMPRESA PRIVADA* ___ *FUNCIONES PUBLICAS* ___ *ORGANIZACIONES CIUDADANAS***INSTRUCCIONES**

Esta entrevista se ha desarrollado de manera semi-estructurada para facilitar que el entrevistado desarrolle ideas y eventualmente proponga temas de acción. Sin embargo, se invita al entrevistado a seguir la pauta de la entrevista en busca de aumentar la posibilidad de cubrir los que se consideran son los principales temas que se buscan abordar, dada la experiencia específica del entrevistado. Este instrumento consta de dos partes: La primera corresponde a comprender el campo de acción propio del entrevistado en cuanto a su desarrollo como especialista en el ámbito de la ciudad. La segunda parte corresponde a comprender la postura del entrevistado en relación a algunos de los principales planteamientos de Henri Lefebvre y como estos se puede interpretar en la ciudad de Santiago.

CUESTIONARIO**Parte 1: Postura particular del entrevistado**

1. En cuanto al ejercicio profesional y su postura como actor relevante de la ciudad ¿Cuál es la descripción que usted hace de sus propias actividades en este ámbito?
2. Explique cuales son los pasos y mecanismos que usted sigue cuando inicia una nueva actividad referida a la ciudad, dentro del marco de su ejercicio profesional regular. Por ejemplo: Para desarrollar un proyecto urbano, para desarrollar una investigación urbana, para desarrollar una política pública, para desarrollar una demanda ciudadana.
3. ¿Cuales son los principales conflictos a los que se enfrenta cuando desarrolla su actividad en el ámbito de la ciudad? Idealmente nombrar las razones de esos conflictos, los actores que son parte de estos conflictos y cual es su perspectiva personal en relación a los caminos que se podrían seguir para resolver estos conflictos.
4. Bajo su perspectiva personal ¿Que rol cumple la ciudad en un desarrollo social equitativo y como se avanza hacia una sociedad equitativa a través del desarrollo urbano? Si no cree que la ciudad cumple un rol en este ámbito, se solicita argumentar.
5. Desde su posición como especialista en materias de ciudad, ¿Como le explicaría el fenómeno urbano de Santiago a un especialista que no conoce esta ciudad?

Parte 2: Interpretaciones a planteamientos de Lefebvre en la ciudad de Santiago

1. "El espacio, considerado como producto, resulta de las relaciones de producción dirigidas por un grupo activo. Los urbanistas parecen ignorar o desconocer que ellos mismos forman parte de las relaciones de producciones que acatan ordenes. Creen dominar el espacio y únicamente ejecutan. Obedecen a una orden social, que no concierne a tal objeto o a tal producto (mercancía), sino a un objeto global, este supremo producto, este último objeto de intercambio: el espacio. Ya no se conforma solo con los contenidos, con los objetos en el espacio. Desde hace poco, (1970) el mismo espacio se vende y se compra. No solo la tierra o el suelo, sino el espacio social como tal, producido como tal, es decir, con este objetivo, con esta finalidad (como se suele decir). El espacio ya no es el medio indiferente, la suma de los lugares donde se forma, se realiza y se reparte la plus-valía." p. 159.

Ante esta afirmación de Henri Lefebvre, ¿Cree que existe alguna relación entre este argumento y el desarrollo urbano en Santiago? ¿Como usted interpreta esta afirmación en Santiago?

2. Para Lefebvre, el Campo Ciego es un conjunto de reglas sociales que impiden romper los márgenes disciplinarios hacia revoluciones y consecuentes avances en dichos campos. Por ejemplo, la sexualidad antes de Freud solía ser vista con vergüenza, sin embargo Freud rompe el campo ciego para generar nuevas interpretaciones de la sexualidad desarrollando una naturalización de este fenómeno humano. Desde su perspectiva: ¿Cuales son los campos ciegos en el desarrollo urbano de la ciudad de Santiago y como esto afecta el funcionamiento de la ciudad?

3. En el libro "La revolución urbana" de Henri Lefebvre, se propone una nueva sociedad urbana como consecuencia de una revolución trans-disciplinar, donde en vez de la focalización disciplinaria, exista un enfoque transversal al fenómeno urbano, donde sea la reflexión multidisciplinaria y su consecuente proyección resulten en la creación de una nueva y mejor manera de distribuir los beneficios de los procesos de urbanización logrando así una vida urbana democrática y equitativa.

¿Como evalúa usted la gestión urbana de la ciudad de Santiago en relación al trabajo multidisciplinario a la hora de desarrollar proyectos urbanos de diferente índole? ¿Que aspectos considera positivos y cuales considera negativos?

4. En relación al mundo político, Lefebvre denuncia que en la sociedad contemporánea ha existido un verdadero bloqueo por parte de los partidos hacia discutir e instalar en la agenda pública los problemas propios de la urbanización y del desarrollo urbano. ¿Cuales son sus argumentos al respecto de esta afirmación?

5. "Los proyectos reciben una especie de maldición. No pueden ir mas allá de la utilización de algunos procedimientos gráficos y tecnológicos. No se permite a la fantasía que se exalte. Evidentemente los autores de proyectos no logran la síntesis de estos principios opuestos: a) No puede haber pensamiento sin utopía, sin explotación de lo posible, de la otredad. b) No puede haber pensamiento sin referencia a una práctica." p. 187

¿Cree usted que los procesos de producción urbana en Santiago calzan con esta descripción? ¿Que reflexiones tiene al respecto?

I. “The urbanist passively obeys the pressures of number and least cost; the functionality he thinks he has created is reduced to an absence of "real" functions, to a function of passive observation. Critical phase. Black box. The architect and the urbanist, sometimes confused as partners in an ambiguous duo, sometimes as twins or warring siblings, as distant colleagues and rivals, examine the black box. They know what goes in, are amazed at what comes out, but have no idea what takes place inside.” (Lefebvre, 2003, p. 27-28)

II. “La mayoría de los arquitectos jóvenes que he conocido son formados en Chile y con másteres afuera, educados en ambos casos educados bajo el paradigma neoliberal y defienden estos principios. Por ejemplo, cuando nos dividían por mesas para trabajar en la nueva Política Nacional de Desarrollo Urbano, me daba cuenta que esto de lo neoliberal está en el lenguaje, en el ADN de ellos. Yo proponía ideas que aumentaban el poder de control del estado y me decían que me había quedado en el pasado. Yo me pregunto ¿Qué tiene de malo? Y contra-pregunto ¿Qué tiene de bueno la ciudad que estos muchachos han construido?” (INT15)

III. “La ciudad se hace así: Ministerio de Hacienda asigna recursos al Ministerio de Desarrollo Social a través del Sistema Nacional de Inversión (SNI). Este ministerio evalúa y define si recomienda como favorable o no un proyecto. Dicha definición depende principalmente de la rentabilidad social. En lo concreto, esto es una visión economicista que a la larga profundiza la desigualdad porque concentra la inversión en ciudades con mayor población o con mejores prestaciones y que aseguran un correcto retorno de los fondos invertidos. En este proceso, no hay evaluación de consecuencias socioeconómicas y eso facilita la generación de segregación. El Ministerio de Desarrollo Social con esta metodología perpetua el estado de tener una sociedad con muchas necesidades que deben resolverse con pocos recursos. Así, se tiende a usar lo mínimo que solo cumpla con la norma para los estándares de proyectos urbanos. Innovación es cero. En otras palabras, grandes mejoras urbanas se ven como excesos innecesarios. A menor costo mayor rentabilidad social y eso promueve una ciudad que resuelve problemas pero que no mejora sustancialmente en su diseño urbano. O, simplemente, no tiene diseño urbano. Lo otro, es que las municipalidades inviertan en ciudad. Ahí te metes en otro problema, en que las Municipales se autofinancian, como empresas privadas. Por ende, una comuna rica tendrá buenos bienes públicos, que serán mejores que el estándar mínimo normado, y una *comuna* pobre solo tendrá soluciones, no diseño urbano” (INT11)

IV. “Para llevar a cabo un proyecto sé que debo buscar una fuente de financiamiento en el gobierno. Lleno una ficha de inversión y si la evaluación en el Gobierno Regional es positiva, el Ministerio de Desarrollo Social generalmente aprueba la iniciativa. A lo más, pide algunas modificaciones. Lo que sí, como está todo muy normado en cuanto a los alcances de los proyectos, la innovación no se da más que con recursos propios. El estado no innova. Quizás algún alcalde se atreva a innovar, pero desde el gobierno no surgirán iniciativas muy novedosas. No es usual.” (INT05)

V. “Cuando se trabaja en políticas públicas se deben reconocer los alcances de lo posible, lo cual es un poco frustrante porque las posiciones radicales no llegan a ser implementadas. Nuestra capacidad de lobby es vital. En estos procesos de formulación de la nueva PNDU, trabajamos con la Cámara Chilena de la Construcción y con la Asociación de Oficinas de Arquitectura; pero también trabajamos con organizaciones sociales como el Movimiento por una Reconstrucción Justa y con Ciudad Viva. Invitamos a los colegios profesionales y universidades. Lo que pasa es que, ante cualquier conflicto, estas entidades en vez de hacerle frente se refugian en sus trincheras de disputa. No salen a batallar para encontrar arenas comunes o triunfar con las ideas, se repliegan.” (INT09)

VI. “Veo mucha ingenuidad de parte del sector público a la hora de buscar justicia social. Se confía excesivamente en el capital, pero cuando la vivienda o el transporte tienden a oligopolios, es lógico que el mercado no es eficiente para desarrollar una autorregulación y se generan asimetrías de distribución de bienes y servicios.” (INT02)

VII. “Es conflictivo haber reemplazado el modo de invertir en ciudad por parte del estado. Hoy se licitan proyectos, antes se llamaba a concurso de propuestas de ejecución. La diferencia es que antes el Estado

diseñaba los proyectos íntegramente, por lo que llamaba a una propuesta presupuestaria que ejecutara un proyecto que estaba ya espacialmente definido, con altos estándares de diseño y con conciencia de ciudad. La licitación saca al estado del proceso de diseño y por lo mismo, todo queda en manos de la empresa que se adjudica la licitación. Estas empresas se adjudican tanto la plata como los propios criterios espaciales para la ejecución de los proyectos. Hoy, el criterio es únicamente la plata, la optimización de recursos públicos.” (INT15)

VIII. i “En esta oficina, la Dirección de Arquitectura del Ministerio de Obras Públicas, no hacemos diseños de espacios, sino que ejecutamos políticas públicas. De hecho, el Ministerio no hace políticas públicas tampoco, vienen desde presidencia y el congreso. Esto es una gran fragilidad, porque no se realiza un diagnóstico desde el Estado, sino que simplemente se ejecuta lo que llega mandado desde el gobierno de turno o desde alguna entidad privada que justifica una inversión pública. Para ejemplificar, generalmente, llega una corporación privada con un proyecto valioso para la ciudad, se evalúa su factibilidad, se firma un convenio-mandato para su ejecución y ya está. Los privados ejecutan el proyecto con el Estado como inversor. Cero riesgo. En lo concreto, a pesar de ser una Dirección de Arquitectura, aquí no hacemos nada prospectivo, no imaginamos espacios, solo seguimos órdenes que muchas veces nacen del mismo mercado” (INT06)

IX. i “Mi práctica como asesor urbano municipal se basa en el desarrollo y seguimiento del plan regulador comunal. Para esto sigo la metodología que es bien conocida: Se investiga la comuna, revisando las tendencias demográficas, el mercado de suelos y las necesidades de la comunidad a partir de las herramientas que otorga la ley. En Chile, hoy, la planificación urbana es en la práctica solo regulación. El Estado tiene una carencia relacionada a como decide la inversión si es que ya se acostumbró solo a regular” (INT12)

X. i “El principal conflicto para diseñar espacio público es la escasez de presupuesto. Esto limita las expectativas que tiene la gente al respecto. Cuando la escasez de recursos es la norma, se busca maximizar lo durable de los proyectos y esas soluciones no necesariamente tienden a ser las más interesantes.” (INT06).

XI. i “Los bienes públicos deberían ser un lujo, el lujo al cual todos los ciudadanos deben tener acceso. El lujo es un derecho y se debe materializar en el espacio público. El acceso al espacio público como un lujo es responsabilidad del estado y no está asegurado para todos. Es cosa de darse una vuelta por Lyon en providencia y luego ir a pasear a Bajos de Mena o La Pintana. No es democrático y debería serlo” (INT26)

XII. i “Me molesta cuando se le echa toda la culpa a las inmobiliarias cuando hay urbanistas que permiten ese tipo de desarrollo inmobiliario. Puede haber corrupción y tráfico de influencias también, pero al final siempre hay un urbanista porque en Chile, por ley, los planes reguladores o proyectos deben ir firmados por un arquitecto. Creo que bajo esta lógica se ha desarrollado Santiago. Como cada cual tiene que cuidar su trabajo, la ciudad queda a merced de una mirada un poco inescrupulosa de la disciplina. No hay solidaridad. Consecuentemente, hoy las inmobiliarias están descontroladas” (INT16)

XIII. i “La ciudad se ha convertido en un derivado del modelo de desarrollo económico, como una consecuencia directa. Se ha dado por aceptado la nefasta simbiosis entre el modelo de ciudad y el modelo económico. La ciudad va siempre a la saga de este modelo económico...Hay sectores que creen en el libre emprendimiento sin obstáculo transforman la discusión urbana en un tema ideológico. Estos grupos han ideologizado el desarrollo urbano, a través de un fanatismo por defender un modelo neoliberal impuesto por la fuerza y las armas. El experimento neoliberal chileno está directamente ligado a crímenes y eso ideologiza la discusión, lo cual aumenta las resistencias a la generosidad y a imaginar una ciudad mejor. Existe una cierta ignorancia propia de la elite chilena, particularmente la elite empresarial”. (INT26)

XIV. i “Antes, los arquitectos públicos, los que trabajábamos en las instituciones del estado haciendo diseño, siempre estábamos en contacto con la comunidad. Les mostrábamos nuestros avances, exponíamos las maquetas, recibíamos sus críticas y observaciones de forma directa. Por eso también las obras que hacíamos eran tan buenas. Te desafío a que busques una sola obra realizada por la CORVI o la CORMU que sea peor que las que se hacen desde la dictadura. No hay ninguna, todas son mejores.” (INT15)

XV. i “Por lo menos en Santiago, los urbanistas de oficinas siguen dependiendo de los mandantes económicos en busca de rentabilizar sus inversiones con proyectos urbanos. Cuando actúas como empleado es difícil romper con esquemas impuestos y más aun si estos esquemas son exitosos para quien los promueve. Por ejemplo, a un alumno mío que trabajaba en una oficina de arquitectura le parecía que podía mejorar el diseño de un edificio, particularmente en relación a la ubicación de una ventanas. Lo propuso a sus jefes pero lo hicieron quedar mal. Este alumno me contó que el arquitecto jefe, quien había sido su profesor en la

universidad, le dijo: y que te preocupas tanto si tu no vas a vivir ahí. Con eso me quedó clara la distorsión ética de nuestra profesión, dado que no era la primera vez que escuchaba una historia como esa” (INT04)

XVII. ⁱ “En Chile los urbanistas están completamente apegados a esta definición. Cuando trabajaba como urbanista del Estado, nunca discutíamos sobre imaginarios ni de la incidencia sobre la tierra de las políticas públicas, solo nos restringíamos a hacer cumplir las normas referidas a los artículos legales. Nunca discutimos la imagen de la ciudad. De hecho, muchas veces tuve que aprobar artículos con los que estaba en desacuerdo. Queremos hacer que el tema se instale el tema del diseño urbano en Chile, la buena forma de la ciudad no está.” (INT14)

XVIII. ⁱ “En Chile no hay urbanistas sino arquitectos que se especializaron y que le terminaron facilitando la pega de la acumulación de suelo a la elite. Se nota la carga cultural y educativa del arquitecto en relación a lo urbano en Santiago, dado que la ciudad lleva décadas construyéndose como una suma de objetos más que a partir de una coordinación de funciones.” (INT06)

XIX. ⁱ “En Chile no hay urbanistas, no hay diagnóstico antes de intervenir. En Chile, lo que hay en realidad son planificadores de mercado. Solo se acatan órdenes del mercado. Existen condicionantes públicos que determinan el actuar del urbanista en Chile, pero en definitiva se acata simplemente un diagnóstico exógeno a la disciplina urbanística, quienes tampoco tienen una postura crítica ante variables impuestas.” (INT02)

XX. ⁱ “Los urbanistas somos reduccionistas y creemos que todo esta en nuestras manos. Las ideologías también deben ser reconocidas para sincerar el urbanismo. Hay políticos y arquitectos que no asumen su rol ideológico; claramente la planificación es regular la propiedad privada; pero muchos le hacen el quite a esta responsabilidad.” (INT12)

XXI. ⁱ “Los urbanistas somos objetos prescindibles como pensadores, solo somos técnicos que ejecutamos. Tenemos dos opciones: o te tecnificas si trabajas para el Estado o alguna empresa consultora, o te haces marginal. Por ejemplo, Luis Eduardo Bresciani es un tecnificado: usa su conocimiento a favor de la política. Así, también, grandes técnicos urbanistas pueden ser grandes destructores, como fue Le Corbusier en su fase de urbanista. La gente cree que los urbanistas tienen la culpa de las ciudades chilenas, pero a los urbanistas como que eso les resbala un poco, no asumen su responsabilidad política. En Chile no tenemos grandes escuelas de arquitectura y urbanismo, más bien, tenemos buenas escuelas de estética espacial y nos alejamos de la política. Perdemos ante disciplinas más preparadas para la política que nosotros.” (INT07)

XXII. ⁱ “Los urbanistas están muy ideologizados o muy banalizados con poca comprensión del fenómeno de las inversiones, y recién cuando hay crisis es que aparece la ciudad en la agenda urbana, no por virtud de los urbanistas.” (INT11)

XXIII. ⁱ “La ciudad se transformó en sectores disciplinares fragmentados, con un rol principal para la economía. Esto se representa en una estructura política organizada por focos de inversión de acuerdo a la magnitud de los proyectos. Por ejemplo, se entiende que el Ministerio de Obras Públicas aporta al desarrollo económico para Chile, mientras que el Ministerio de Vivienda es considerado como un gasto al tener que hacerse cargo de las personas de escasos recursos. De todas maneras, no se habla de la ciudad, sino mas bien se usa desde diversos sectores políticos para sus propias instrumentalizaciones en busca de poder. El suelo, es poder y en eso la ciudad es muy útil” (INT05)

XXIV. ⁱ “Nadie esta imaginando Santiago a futuro. No lo estamos pensando ni soñando, porque esto tiene que ser una construcción colectiva, no puede surgir de la realidad individualista en la que vivimos hoy. ¿Quién está haciendo eso hoy en día? Nadie lo hace, no hay donde.” (INT15)

XXV. ⁱ “Una ciudad democrática se esta gestando desde la calle. Hoy es impensable, por ejemplo, que se modifique un plan regulador sin consultar a la ciudadanía. Las comunidades se levantan cuando se pretenden cambiar los barrios. Cada vez se generaliza mas esta practica” (INT09)

XXVI. ⁱ “La única forma de recuperar el urbanismo para la gente es mediante la movilización popular. Es difícil, pero se necesita organización. Yo elegí una lucha: eliminar el subsidio como mecanismo en desarrollo urbano. Creo que después de eliminar el subsidio reaparecerá la necesidad de asociarse por el derecho a la vivienda, sin búsquedas individualistas, sino mediante la organización colectiva. Es mi humilde intento de aportar a recobrar una ciudad para todos” (INT15)

XXVII. ⁱ “A los excesos a los que se ha llegado es inconcebible. La vivienda como una mercancía es lo peor. Es impresionante la cantidad de bloques de vivienda de pésima calidad que se han demolido en Bajos de

Mena, en Rancagua. Ir a ver el estado de esas viviendas es como visitar una zona de bombardeo en Gaza. La gente coexiste con bloques que aun se intentan arreglar mientras otros ya están demolidos. Se ven los esqueletos de estos edificios." (INT15)

- XXVII. i “Es el mercado el que ha configurado Santiago. Personalmente, yo hago la distinción entre arquitecto y urbanista: ya no hay urbanistas en Santiago solo hay proyectos urbanos que generan dinamismo en la ciudad y que solo buscan espacializar la rentabilidad. Así, en Santiago, hablamos más de la planificación del territorio mientras el urbanismo queda en manos de inversionistas de libre mercado. Los urbanistas estamos lejos de la discusión sobre el espacio; perdimos la batalla contra el dinero y su lógica, por sobre la técnica urbanística.” (INT11)
- XXVIII. i “Santiago es un ejemplo de lo injusto que puede ser una ciudad orientada a los capitales, donde el regulador público ha renunciado a regular o salvar estas injusticias, no manifiesta voluntad de regular en la práctica, solo discursos de buena crianza.” (INT02)
- XXIX. i “Santiago es una Metrópolis desigual como totalidad: Es totalmente desigual, espacios desiguales, velocidades desiguales, distintas materialidades, polarizadas y contrastadas. Santiago es claramente la geografía de esa desigualdad; con un arriba y un abajo, como una cancha desnivelada con dirección es muy marcada.” (INT03)
- XXX. i “El neoliberalismo extremista chileno hace que esta ciudad sea necesaria para Latinoamérica, tanto como un centro de negocios de extrema eficiencia como una reserva segura para el capital, casi como una ciudad-estado del capitalismo mundial en la región. La importación cultural hace que Santiago sea una especie de reserva global neoliberal. Se verá como aparece el realismo o no en Chile. Creo yo que a futuro se producirá un perfeccionamiento de este sistema de mercado, dado que pareciera ser que la marca de ciudad que busca instalar Santiago es ser la más neoliberal de todas las ciudades del mundo” (INT21)
- XXXI. i “Santiago es candidato a convertirse en la capital de América Latina. El proceso económico de Santiago es muy dinámico y va en proceso de mejoramiento. Tiene mala fama y vale la pena sacarle la mala fama. La acumulación de riqueza es astronómicamente diferente a las otras regiones, lo que explica claramente la segregación social que tiene. Si esto se comienza a resolver, creo que lo de ser la capital de América Latina se terminará por lograr tarde o temprano”(INT12)
- XXXII. i “Una reforma clave es sobre la metodología de inversión pública del Ministerio de Desarrollo Social. Hay un claro sesgo subsidiario. Subsidios para la vivienda y para el transporte público y sin coordinación desaparece la búsqueda por la buena ciudad. Por ejemplo, el diseño urbano no existe en la institucionalidad chilena y eso no es casualidad, sino política pública. Todo esto viene desde la implementación de la Política Nacional de Desarrollo Urbano del año 1979, la cual determina que la rentabilidad del suelo será el ordenador de la ciudad. Al final, esta política define la lógica del Estado en materia de Desarrollo Urbano.” (INT12)
- XXXIII. i “Las políticas públicas buscan invertir con exactitud. Por eso en Chile se usa mucho el modelo matemático para evaluar la inversión. En el fondo, se busca optimizar recursos. Es obvio, más aún considerando que se ha mantenido el mismo modelo desde el año 1973. Sin dudas que por esta lógica es que Aylwin masifica la producción de vivienda, privilegiando cantidad por sobre calidad. Como consecuencia, se generó una gran segregación que termina siendo un problema más profundo que el déficit de vivienda. ... La ciudad estaba en manos de unos políticos que estaban urgidos por demostrar eficiencia. Así, estos políticos hacen lo que saben: seguir a la demanda ciudadana del momento –votantes- y se mueven en base a las urgencias de la población. No hay reflexión. Por eso, creo, que los políticos tienen harta culpa sobre el resultado de nuestra ciudad. Sin ir más lejos, durante los años electorales sube mucho la inversión de vivienda; pero luego la ciudad desaparece de los discursos oficiales. La ciudad depende del gobierno de turno y no del Estado. Eso es problemático” (INT16)
- XXXIV. i “Estoy convencido que en Chile no hay convicción de cambiar como se hacen las cosas en materia de vivienda...No existe planificación física, solo gestión de recursos para inversión que usan los privados” (INT15)
- XXXV. i “La gracia de la planificación urbana es que puede ser un vehículo para lograr coordinar diversos sectores. Una carencia de visión multidisciplinar es la que ha hecho de Santiago lo que es hoy. En materia urbana, el desarrollo ha sido liderado por el Ministerio de Obras Públicas y el Ministerio de Hacienda; lo que es pensar la ciudad desde una perspectiva macroeconómica más que mediante una visión holística. Así, las

obras públicas han buscado aumentar productividad y no calidad de vida. Claramente faltan estructuras multidisciplinarias incorporadas a las instituciones, desde la educación. En general, somos educados sectorialmente, desde el colegio que todo es pensado de forma mono-disciplinar y es lógico que en esta línea se llegue hasta modelos de inversión mono-sectoriales también”. (INT16)

XXXVI. i “La ciudad como plan está ausente del discurso político. Incluso, a nivel de alcaldías es escaso su uso político. Por ejemplo, Patricio Hales, quien es arquitecto, duplica sus votos como candidato a diputado al cambiar su discurso desde la ciudad hacia otro tipo de promesas. La ciudad genera problemas de interés ciudadano, pero no hay una teoría que permita su inclusión político-social en un discurso. Lagos lo hizo con iniciativas estatales, pero con otro tipo de liderazgo. El tipo era un líder innato y las obras publicas fueron su fuerte. Hoy, la apatía ciudadana con sus ciudades es la clave. La ciudadanía debe comprender los procesos político-espaciales y para eso es fundamental generar agenda política de ciudad. Hoy, no hay imaginación, no conviene porque no vende. Desde nuestra posición como urbanistas, creo que hay que trabajar con críticas propositiva para alimentar tanto la crítica como disciplina, para fomentar el progreso en lo ciudad.” (INT10)

XXXVII. i “La forma en que la política le ofrece a los ciudadanos mejoras en sus ciudades presenta un desbalance notable. Los ciudadanos no reciben beneficios por vivir en ciudades densas y compactas, sino que por el contrario, terminan pagando directamente los costos de dichas mejoras: tarifas altas de transporte, insumos básicos de alto costo; en pocas ciudades de economías emergentes como Chile, gran parte del salario se va a vivienda, transporte, educación y alimentación.” (INT08)

XXXVIII. i “El mismo Arnold Harberger decía que son los ciudadanos los que deben elegir como y donde quieren vivir. Me pregunto ¿Qué opción tienen hoy de elegir donde vivir el 80% de la población de Santiago?” (INT15)

XXXIX. i “Santiago tiene una gran concentración de pobreza en sectores que han sido desarrollados con políticas públicas de vivienda y guetos de riqueza que concentran los mayores ingresos de los habitantes de la ciudad. Se necesita voluntad política y liderazgo para eliminar ambos guetos. Si el modelo de desarrollo urbano funciona únicamente en base al valor de suelo, es evidente que el peor suelo será para las personas de un nivel socio económico menor y el más caro será para las personas de más altos ingresos. El estado es responsable de eso, porque los privados buscan la concentración de riqueza en ciertas áreas dado que resulta ser una estrategia de localización más rentable, es menos riesgoso para la inversión.” (INT08)

XL. i “En vivienda, son muy escasos los movimientos de pobladores en relación a la magnitud de los problemas. Chile siempre se caracterizó por la fuerza del movimiento de pobladores, era admirable, pero eso ahora ya no se ve. La masificación del subsidio como mecanismo para acceder a la vivienda exacerba la individualidad. Cada solicitante recibe un papel y van directo a negociar con las inmobiliarias, sin necesidad de asociarse. Eso rompe el colectivo y la lucha por el derecho a la vivienda termina siendo una lucha personal.” (INT15)

XLI. i “Quienes estaban llamados a hacer una reflexión mas utópica ya no lo hicieron. Ahora la escala de Santiago se hizo inabordable. Con el retorno a la democracia se fortaleció la especulación con el suelo y la producción masiva de vivienda, pero a su vez no hubo un pensamiento de la ciudad democrática de Santiago. Se generó una imagen falsa de desarrollo y esta falsedad se representa con las torres de vivienda como símbolos de la explotación del suelo para fines inmobiliarios. Así también proliferó la vivienda social en los márgenes de la ciudad. Los urbanistas quedaron pasmados con tanto error, no supieron cómo actuar. Es ahí donde la imagen de Santiago desarrollada por los inversionistas triunfa. El crecimiento será reconocido y representado a través de las torres de viviendas, y los urbanistas lo miraran desde lejos” (INT11)

XLII. i “El Gran Santiago perdió la capacidad de imaginarse. Por ejemplo, el Plan Regulador Metropolitano de Santiago Número 100 solo plantea cambios en el límite urbano, lo de imaginar la ciudad ni siquiera aparece, ni hablar de una utopía de la ciudad. Ya no hay utopía, estamos atrapados por una imagen de una máquina eficiente y productora de riqueza.” (INT02).

XLIII. i “La prospección de un Santiago futuro se exploran el pasado en los años 50, pero hoy no mucho. Hoy tenemos que imaginar Santiago y negarlo es totalmente la ceguera para nuestras políticas públicas. Es vital. ¿Qué va a pasar con los edificios Paz Froimovich? Creo que imaginar la ciudad es una deuda y con los instrumentos existentes es muy difícil pensar un futuro. Las visiones de futuro son realmente chaqueteadas por nuestros propios colegas y en vez de avanzar hacia nuevas propuestas asumimos posturas autodestructivas entre nosotros. Por nuestra parte, los urbanistas tenemos la misión de prospectar la ciudad, pero en Chile se critica el proyecto urbano apenas sale una idea, sin discusiones en base a otros proyectos,

sino por rechazo a las propuestas que surgen. Es poco propositivo el gremio de los urbanistas en definitiva y es mas bien reaccionario.” (INT09)

- XLIV. ⁱ “Santiago, hoy, va directo al despeñadero; pero buscamos frenarlo en la calle. Existen iniciativas mas próximas a utopías que han surgido desde las bases académicas y sociales, como por ejemplo el Mapocho Pedaleable, los Cerros Islas y un par de cosas mas, pero no mucho mas que eso. Aun así, es algo que durante décadas no estaba.” (INT02)
- XLV. ⁱ “La fragmentación de la información en entidades públicas es brutal. Cada entidad tiene su propio sistema de datos. Esto, tiene que ver con la fragmentación del Estado, su compartimentación y división que entorpece cualquier tipo de esfuerzo por crear una política integral efectiva desde el aparato público. Al final, tienen que venir agentes externos, empresas con intereses específico, para coordinar a las entidades públicas.” (INT02)
- XLVI. ⁱ “El campo ciego es la hiper-sectorialidad; todo está dividido, no se generan trabajos integrales hay una lógica muy normativa donde todo está legalizado y no se modifica la legalidad que sea para trabajar integralmente la adolescencia de Chile como país deberá implicar la discusión de su modelo social” (INT10)
- XLVII. ⁱ “No es eficiente que exista un Ministerio de Vivienda y Urbanismo que se topa en materia de ciudad con el Ministerio de Obras Publicas, con la Intendencia, con las Municipalidades, es una estructura bastante compleja que para funcionar se necesitaría mejorar la calidad de los profesionales que, por ejemplo, en los municipios, bajo el modelo actual, dependerá del nivel de ingresos de cada municipio.” (INT08)
- XLVIII. ⁱ “Lo principal son las resistencias internas, hay una oportunidad grande ahora con un intendente preocupado por la ciudad como lo es Claudio Orrego. Él tiene una mirada urbana y esta dirección responde a su liderazgo. No obstante, la resistencia es interna, se obstaculizan los cambios de pensamiento dentro del mismo ministerio. Siempre hemos trabajado con objetos arquitectónicos y no con una ciudad integrada. Hay una mirada parcial, donde se aprecia solamente el producto arquitectónico, pero no su relevancia en lo pública. Tiene mucho que ver con la resistencia al cambio, que viene de raíz educativa. Siempre este ministerio ha tenido una naturaleza ejecutora, no propositiva; es un problema histórico dado que lleva años funcionando así y por eso cuesta tanto cambiarlo” (INT06).
- XLIX. ⁱ “Tenemos un cuerpo legal que opera, el estado de derecho se respeta, pero que esta compuesto de leyes mal hechas, que promueven conductas contradictorias. Es decir, la ley urbana existe, se respeta, pero esta elaborada de forma totalmente insuficiente”. (INT26)
- L. ⁱ “La legislación urbana y ese es el campo ciego: Es muy obtusa y poco espacial. Al final, se cree que la norma es el urbanismo. Reproducimos un modelo de desarrollo urbano a través de la normativa que se convierte en una biblia, lo que genera mucha la ceguera.” (INT14)
- LI. ⁱ “Sin ir más lejos, la academia tiene un relato coherente y consensuado, pero dentro de la academia. Ese discurso no es aplicable a la política. Por ejemplo, Pablo Allard y su visión académica cambió al trabajar con Piñera, se volvió más pragmático y suscribió las necesidades del gobierno de derecha. Esto en parte es culpa de la propia academia, que no trabaja con la realidad. Por ejemplo, la rentabilidad: Existe un prejuicio al hablar de plata en las escuelas de arquitectura. La academia cree que eso ayuda a resistir las lógicas del modelo capitalista, pero se termina sin profundizar en la crítica al modelo capitalista porque nadie en una escuela de arquitectura lo entiende en realidad.” (INT16)
- LII. ⁱ “Formación de los arquitectos es insuficiente. Luego la poca formación de urbanistas está orientada a la tecnificación positivista. Es un problema dado que se hacen solo ejecutores de una manera de hacer ciudad. Se vuelven así incompetentes e inoperantes. Además, el mercado se independiza de sus habilidades con otros mecanismos como el marketing, los estudios de mercado y la ingeniería de la información.” (INT07)
- LIII. ⁱ “La dictadura eliminó la tuición ética de las profesiones que operan sobre la ciudad. Otro ejemplo del modelo ultra-liberal consagrado en la constitución del 80. Con esto, los profesionales pueden hacer lo que quieran, lo que dicte su conciencia. En un contexto totalmente neoliberal, es esperable que tiendan a actuar a favor de esos modos de hacer ciudad.” (INT26)
- LIV. ⁱ “La CChC es un ente perturbador, destructivo en busca de una mejor ciudad. Son los únicos que resistieron las reformas que promueve la PNDU. Es la única entidad que hace lobby descaradamente a favor de extraer la máxima plusvalía posible del desarrollo urbano.” (INT26)

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- LV. ⁱ “Nosotros creemos que el Estado debe ser el gestor de suelo y eso va en la PNDU. La Cámara Chilena de la Construcción y los agentes inmobiliarios se oponen a esta medida; para ellos lo único importante era mejorar las regulaciones existentes. Eso no sería suficiente. Es mas, para mí, lo mas urgente es que el Estado sea el dueño del suelo. Ahí es donde chocamos todos contra el derecho a la propiedad privada. En Chile hemos demostrado que la liberación del suelo no es un mecanismo apropiado para genera equidad socio-espacial. Es una lucha difícil, porque además de algunos académicos y pequeñas organizaciones, no contamos con el respaldo de grandes movimientos sociales para instalar este tema en la agenda.” (INT13)
- LVI. ⁱ “La nueva Política Nacional de Desarrollo Urbano es un marco legal que promueve ideas sanas de ciudad: desarrollo sustentable, incorporar más a los estamentos técnicos, mayor participación ciudadana, etc. Sin embargo, sigue siendo un marco, dado que los decretos de ley siguen existiendo y están ahí para saltarse instrumentos como la PNDU.” (INT26)
- LVII. ⁱ “Yo creo que no hay maldad en estas personas que confían en el libre-mercado, pero si hay ignorancia en ignorar las propias contradicciones del modelo. Es una visión del mundo totalmente parcial y egoísta, miope, de corto plazo. Se busca constantemente el retorno. Ejemplo, pregúntale a los miembros de la Cámara Chilena de la Construcción cual es su visión de la ciudad de aquí a 20 años. No lo saben, ni se lo plantean.” (INT26)
- LVIII. ⁱ “No hay mucha vigilancia y supervisión sobre la estética inmobiliaria. La idea de belleza ha muerto. Se busca estandarizar la forma de vida a través del espacio y eso tambien es una estandarización de la belleza por parte del mercado termina siendo asimilado por la gente y por los propios urbanistas. El modelo neoliberal produce una propia estética, la torre como una tipología masiva de reproducción de vivienda y extracción de renta.” (INT 22, 23, 24)
- LIX. ⁱ “Me tocó discutir con un líder de la CChC porque hablaba peyorativamente de lo estético. Me tuve que dar una larga vuelta para exponerle como era de importante lo estético para los propios negocios de los miembros de la CChC. Si la ciudad no es bella, se vuelve poco deseable. Ni siquiera eso son capaces de comprender ante la afanosa necesidad de generar retornos rápidamente.” (INT26)
- LX. ⁱ “¿Cómo un arquitecto puede incidir en el ámbito político? La práctica espacial en Santiago es el proyecto particular, de un privado. Entonces, no es fácil hacer que esa obra inscrita en lo privado se vuelva política o pública. ¿Cómo articular a las personas con el espacio? Difícil en este contexto neoliberal, pero justamente ese es el objetivo principal de la arquitectura como política. Creo que existen reflexiones disciplinares pendientes para avanzar hacia responder estas preguntas con una práctica. Por ejemplo, ¿Cómo ven los arquitectos el problema del suelo? Pregunta sin resolver. Por un lado, existe una exploración estética de la relación política y la arquitectura, pero no del suelo. Esta reflexión podría ser un acelerador de prácticas espaciales. Por otro lado, no hay una política del Estado sobre lo público, que es lo más complejo, en definitiva, la agonía de lo público.” (INT21)
- LXI. ⁱ “La propiedad del suelo es el campo ciego al ser una sociedad de propietarios lo que empuja a pensar siempre en el valor de la propiedad y en el valor de la ciudad lo individual por sobre lo colectivo esto frena todo tipo de iniciativa urbana detrás de todos los discursos está la devaluación de la propiedad lo mío por sobre lo colectivo no hay posibilidad de instalación de una discusión por lo publica la voluntad de la ciudadanía esta porque no se devalúe el territorio es un círculo vicioso.” (INT03)
- LXII. ⁱ “Hoy la ciudad se ha transformado en un gran constructo financiero organizado como un país de propietarios que sostienen las operaciones financieras. La extensión de la propiedad contribuye a bancarizar a toda la población. En simple, los bancos necesitaban que las personas tuvieran respaldo patrimonial para dar crédito y así aparece la necesidad de que todos tengan un poquito de suelo.” (INT18)
- LXIII. ⁱ “El Estado es socio y quizás actor principal del poder económico urbano. Es un transmisor de riqueza mediante la inyección de recursos públicos al mercado inmobiliario. Desde el Estado, el discurso neoliberal se invisibiliza con un rostro humano. Creemos que el Estado es justo, pero en la práctica no tanto. La doctrina del shock de Friedman normalizó al capitalismo y el Estado no ha podido encontrar la forma de salir de este molde” (INT25)
- LXIV. ⁱ “El campo ciego es el capitalismo, porque se entiende el acceso al suelo como consecuencia de un mérito y nada que ver. Siempre con una lógica productivista. Ese esquema de pensamiento en el

suelo se mueve dentro de este marco teórico y en Chile no salimos desde ese círculo. No nos movemos más allá de ese límite. El supuesto mérito por sobre el derecho es el campo ciego y eso ha condicionado el desarrollo urbano.” (INT16)



