

IDENTITY AND INCLUSION. THE HOUSING COMPLEXES MADE BY THE CHILEAN ARCHITECT LUCIANO KULCZEWSKI (1922-1956)

Identidad e inclusión. Los conjuntos de viviendas realizados por el arquitecto chileno Luciano Kulczewski (1922-1956)

Identidade e inclusão. Os conjuntos habitacionais do arquiteto chileno Luciano Kulczewski (1922-1956)

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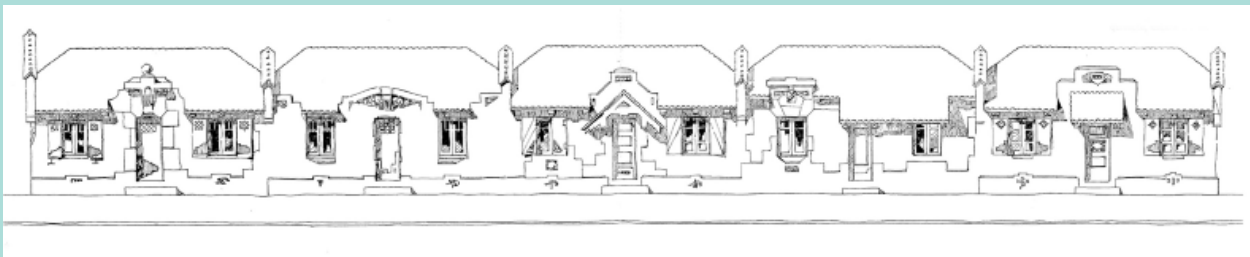
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Façade survey, unidentified housing estate.

Source: Ortega, O. (1974). "Luciano Kulczewski García". AUCA 26. 45-48.



ABSTRACT

Luciano Kulczewski was a professional who played a key and distinctive role in the first half of the 20th century, a period considered as crucial for the development of Chilean architecture, since it is the moment that brought the advent of modernity to the country. One of the most eloquent illustrations in this regard is the corpus, that collects more than a dozen housing complexes aimed for the middle and the working classes. Today, we recognize in these solutions not just the fact that they are in sync with the web of social, political, cultural, and economic processes that characterized the beginnings of the past century in Chile, but that they also have, among their most notable merits, having been conceived in terms of what we would understand today by "inclusion". This article seeks to investigate these parameters, which range from urban proposals - that approached the city in "inclusive" terms - inasmuch as they did not push for these housing proposals to be in the metropolitan peripheries - to more particular issues, such as the stylistic management of homes as a tool to serve identity causes, in order to achieve the integration of the user with their environment.

Keywords: Garden cities, housing complexes, architectural identity, social inclusion, cooperative housing

RESUMEN

Luciano Kulczewski fue un profesional que cumplió un rol clave y distintivo en la primera mitad del siglo XX, período que se considera crucial para el desarrollo de la arquitectura chilena ya que es el momento en que se produce el advenimiento de la modernidad en el país. Una de las ilustraciones más elocuentes a este respecto es el corpus constituido por más de una docena de conjuntos habitacionales destinados a los estratos socioeconómicos medios y populares. Hoy reconocemos en estas soluciones no solo el hecho de que se hallen en sincronía con la trama de procesos sociales, políticos, culturales y económicos que determinaron los comienzos del siglo pasado en Chile, sino que tienen también, entre sus méritos más destacables, el haber sido concebidas en términos de lo que hoy entenderíamos por "inclusión". El presente artículo busca indagar en estos parámetros, que abarcan desde las propuestas urbanas -que se aproximaban a la ciudad en términos "inclusivos", en cuanto renunciaban a relegar estas propuestas habitacionales hacia las periferias metropolitanas-, hasta cuestiones más particulares, como era el manejo estilístico de las viviendas a guisa de herramienta puesta al servicio de causas identitarias, con el fin de lograr la integración del usuario con su entorno.

Palabras Clave: Ciudades jardín, conjuntos habitacionales, identidad arquitectónica, inclusión social, viviendas en cooperativa

RESUMO

Luciano Kulczewski foi um profissional que cumpriu um papel fundamental e distintivo na primeira metade do século XX, período considerado crucial para o desenvolvimento da arquitetura chilena por ser o momento em que ocorre o advento da modernidade no país. Uma das ilustrações mais eloquentes a esse respeito é o corpus formado por mais de uma dúzia de conjuntos habitacionais voltados para as camadas socioeconômicas médias e populares. Hoje reconhecemos nessas soluções não apenas o fato de que estão em sintonia com a teia de processos sociais, políticos, culturais e econômicos que marcaram os primórdios do século passado no Chile, mas também, entre seus méritos mais notáveis, o fato de terem sido concebidas em termos do que entenderíamos hoje por "inclusão". Este artigo busca investigar esses parâmetros, que vão desde as propostas urbanas, que abordaram a cidade em termos "inclusivos" – na medida em que desistiram de relegar essas propostas habitacionais às periferias metropolitanas –, até questões mais particulares, como a gestão estilística das moradias como ferramenta ao serviço das causas identitárias, no intuito de conseguir a integração do usuário com o seu ambiente.

Palavras-Chave: Cidades-jardim, conjuntos habitacionais, identidade arquitetônica, inclusão social, habitação cooperativa

INTRODUCTION

In the early 20th century, when the processes of modernization were being consolidated in Chile, the figure of Luciano Kulczewski García (1896-1972) stood out in the field of architecture. His work, translucently, reveals the challenges that his work had for society and the Chilean State. His architecture and urban proposals manifest not just a formal and plastic effort of renewal, but also the intention of understanding the ethical and social project that the avantgarde carried. With this willingness, the empowered middle class emerged as a relevant player, playing a key role in the challenges that the country would go through at the turn of the century. In that framework, amid a stale oligarchy that had dominated the political sphere until then, and the struggles started by the proletariat, the middle classes felt the need to build a space of identity that was their own¹. In that sense, and only from a mediatic aspect, his productive body has managed to be individualized by the community, and thus acknowledged as part of the national urban imaginary (Harris, 2016).

In an attempt to outline the strategies behind this statement, the arguments gathered in this article will focus on the housing complexes that, targeting the middle and working classes, were led by Kulczewski. The suitability of these examples is in sync with the renewal that the destabilization of the social and cultural processes the country had been experiencing since the 19th century implied, but it is also about proposals which, in hindsight, were resolved under what today we could characterize as “inclusive”².

The first inquiries made for the research presented here, began with the study of historiographic sources that addressed the best-known creations of Kulczewski in this regard, namely, the neighborhoods of Catedral (1923), Madrid (1925) for the NCOs of the Cavalry (1926-1928), Los Castaños (1927-1930), Comunidad Keller (ca. 1930) and the Virginia Opazo complex (1941-1944). It is worth saying that said texts were never accompanied by the original planimetries, which is why the investigation took more than two years in the technical files of the communal Works Directions (DOM, in Spanish), of the Ministry of Public Works and of Aguas Andinas (where the search was more successful). The plans of the facilities obtained there were the sources which, along with onsite work, allowed making digital planimetries, part of which have been incorporated to this article.

The result of this patient examination is that a series of up until now unheard-of Kulczewski works came to light, doubling his known body, among those, the housing complexes of Santo Domingo street (1922), Esperanza street (1923), the Esperanza cité³ (1923-1924), for the NCOs of the Tacna Regiment (1927-1928), Emilio Delporte Worker's Cooperative (1929), the National Savings Fund (1930), General Saavedra (1944-1945), Pintor Cicarelli Street (1945-1952), and finally, the complex of the commune of Vitacura (1956) [Table 1].

1 For middle class and identity, see Méndez & Bazoret (2012).

2 For a recent analysis of this phenomenon, see Duk & Murillo (2016), and Afacan, Y. & Afacan S. (2011).

3 A cité is a group of houses that share an interior patio in the form of a passageway.

On the other hand, to these fifteen creations, which share the fact of all having been built in the country's capital, the complexes built in the provinces are added: the collective buildings for workers of Arica, Iquique, Antofagasta, and Tocopilla (1939-1940), and the housing complex of Isla Teja (1939-1940), in Valdivia. These works will be addressed more underhandedly, in the understanding that the role Kulczewski had in their materialization was rather that of a political manager, as an administrative director before

Table 1.

Residential complexes by Luciano Kulczewski.
Source: Prepared by the Author.

Complex	Years	Client	N° of dwellings	Commune	City
Housing on Santo Domingo Street	1922	Alejandro Guttmann L.	6	Santiago	Santiago de Chile
Housing on Esperanza Street	1923	Alejandro Guttmann L.	8	Santiago	Santiago de Chile
Esperanza Cité	1923-1924	Alejandro Guttmann L.	31	Santiago	Santiago de Chile
Housing on Catedral Street	1923	Alejandro Guttmann L.	6	Santiago	Santiago de Chile
Housing on Madrid Street	1925	Alejandro Guttmann L.	15	Santiago	Santiago de Chile
NCOs of the Cavalry School Neighborhood	1926-1928	National Defense Fund	113	Ñuñoa	Santiago de Chile
NCOs of the Tacna Regiment Neighborhood	1927-1928	Chilean Army	26	Santiago	Santiago de Chile
Los Castaños Neighborhood	1927-1930	Police Welfare, Social Security, and Support Fund	85	Independencia	Santiago de Chile
Emilio Delporte Workers Corporative Neighborhood	1929	Emilio Deporte Arturo Prat Workers Cooperative	39	Providencia	Santiago de Chile
Keller Community Neighborhood	ca. 1930	Emilio Keller Portales & Demófila Portales	28	Providencia	Santiago de Chile
National Savings Organization Neighborhood	1930	National Savings Fund	9	Providencia	Santiago de Chile
Collective Buildings for Arica's Workers	1938-1940	Obligatory Workers Insurance Fund	110	Arica	Arica
Collective Buildings for Iquique's Workers	1938-1940	Obligatory Workers Insurance Fund	80	Iquique	Iquique
Collective Buildings for Tocopilla's Workers	1938-1940	Obligatory Workers Insurance Fund	110	Tocopilla	Tocopilla
Collective Buildings for Antofagasta's Workers	1938-1940	Obligatory Workers Insurance Fund	110	Antofagasta	Antofagasta
Isla Teja Housing Complex	1938-1940	Obligatory Workers Insurance Fund	56	Valdivia	Valdivia
Virginia Opazo Complex	1941-1944	Armed Forces Social Security Fund	33	Santiago	Santiago de Chile
General Saavedra Neighborhood	1944-1945	Lucía Yáñez Cerda	8	Independencia	Santiago de Chile
Pintor Cicarelli Street Housing	1945-1952	Different owners	7	Independencia	Santiago de Chile
Housing in the Commune of Vitacura	1956	Viviendas Metrópoli Ltda Cooperative	70	Vitacura	Santiago de Chile

the Obligatory Workers Insurance Body (Galaz-Mandakovic, 2011; Harris, 2020).

It was pertinent, considering the transformations that these complexes have seen, to seek in the collections of historic photographs, images that could reveal their original appearance. Likewise, magazines and written press from the period were reviewed, be these specialized architecture publications or magazines. As a result of this task, a series of works that are being identified and analyzed are now available. These sources also provide the few first-hand testimonies we hear of the architect. Although, as will be seen, these are discourses coming from a political role, showing glimpses of his idea of the work of an architect, and his way of conceiving the city.

Exceptionally, as of the 1960s, the visionary attitude of academics like Fernando Riquelme and Óscar Ortega, interested in the work of Kulczewski —running against the strict rulings of the overbearing international style— led to the appearance of articles and a monographic book (Riquelme, 1996). Several research works made by their students are added to these, where that of Enrique Burmeister (1969) stands out, whose merit is having made an extensive interview with the architect, today compulsory reading for anyone studying his legacy.

During the reflection that accompanied the systematization process of the information gathered, it became clear that the housing complexes built by Kulczewski transversally had, among other values, having been conceived under parameters that today would be defined as identity and socially inclusive. The purpose of this article is precisely drawing attention to the effectiveness of the procedures that allowed these achievements.

ORNAMENT AND IDENTITY

One hundred years ago, the work of Kulczewski appeared as a pioneer in different senses. Back then, as the main cities of the country were in a full process of metropolitization, the concerns of the authorities and the architects were mainly linked to the idea of mixing progress and development, i.e. inclusive and sustainable cities-. In this way, the issue of housing for the middle and working classes began to be faced for the first time, a matter that would mean that the projects of Kulczewski were considered referential in this day and age. The careful management of the scale of his proposals at an urban level, and especially their formal treatment, are the elements on which the pedestal occupied by the architect rest. In his work, each house was individualized by the layout of the ornamental elements of the façade, favoring, in this way, the identification of the user with their residence; a resource that would face a crisis with the arrival of the Modern Movement. As Kulczewski himself expressed: “the dwelling must be well located, considering the work needs of its occupants, be well built, fun, comfortable,

and beautiful, regardless of its cost" (Burmeister, 1969). Hence, this sensitivity became an operation that allowed him to integrate the apparent contradictions that the plural and singular entailed, in the context of residential typologies.

The goal of the alluded ornamental handling was humanizing architecture and favoring the sense of identity. Thus, his complexes were set up, in general, using a limited variety of standard dwellings, but that, in regards to formal handling, were unlimited. However, this did not imply the loss of a unitary sense, just like the architect explained:

... [I am] completely against the proletarianization of the common man. On the contrary [...], I want to raise him up. That's what led me [...] to making all of these neighborhoods with houses that are different from one another, but within a common resemblance. (Burmeister, 1969)

It is fair to remember that this operation was quite widespread at its time, but for the Chilean setting, Kulczewski constitutes one of its standout exponents.

Following the line of thought set out by Palmer (1984), using his interpretation of the essay *Character and composition, or some vicissitudes of architectural vocabulary in the nineteenth century* (Rowe, 1980), a desire to work the compositive and formal features of a building would seem to be acknowledged even in the work of the architects of the first half of the last century, to the service of that which the authorities of the 18th and 19th centuries defined as "character" (Palmer, 1984, pg. 9-11). In his essay, Rowe outlined how the rationalist critique has expunged this term from their vocabulary – from Viollet-le-Duc onwards – as part of the historic revision made in the text, thus establishing that character entailed the expressive sufficiency that a work must have in order to transmit "the impression of artistic individuality and symbolic or functional externalization, of the goal it was destined for" (1980, p. 65)

Going against the grain of the theoretical principles, which at the time were being forged in Germany, Kulczewski did not want to renounce the communicative principles that had singularized architecture of recent centuries. Reliant on its power as a vehicle of cultural communication, Kulczewski seems to have used the idea of character associated to the composition and ornament of dwellings, which not only must appear as such, but rather that they must also have a quality that was distinctive or identity-based of the set of social groups they targeted (Harris, 2018).

The notion of character was thus left insolubly associated to that of social consensus, because it unified differences,

and marked the existence of groups and collectives with common interests and shared wishes. Making the character a primary category was not an innocent act, as it guaranteed that the architecture embodied these values of consensus in a built materialization thereof, in representative and outspoken buildings (Quesada, 2014, p. 6).

Anti-academic language was expressed in Kulczewski through the formal syncretism that characterized his decorative language. Taking elements from both the historicist tradition and the architectural avantgarde, he created his own imaginary from bizarre juxtapositions (Harris, 2018). The overall originality of this practice is what gave these complexes an undeniable distinctiveness.

The practice of Kulczewski of leading stucco-plasterers onsite in the ornamentation, which was projected naturally and directly, was coming to an end (Harris, 2018). Working alongside those doing the work, promoting the value of decorative arts, was something that made Kulczewski proud. As Torrent and Atria (2015) mention, this work had an ideological background, on being associated to the pioneering socialist currents of the 19th century: "Many of his stylistic approaches could be dominated by an ideological interest in the relationship between craftsmanship and architectural production, closer to the ideas of an integrated whole [Gesamtkunstwerk] than those of the French traditional decorative art" (2018, p. 38).

LEGISLATIVE FRAMEWORKS

Trying to argue the reason why the housing complexes of Kulczewski are considered as models in the context of Chilean architecture, is a subject that must be seen from different angles. In an inferential sense, the analysis on these urban developments, allows acknowledging the materialization of state policies that sought, from the beginning of the last century, to encourage the building of affordable housing by private agents. In the case of Kulczewski's interventions, most of them were concreted for Armed Forces employees and worker cooperatives. As Burmeister (1969) confirms, without providing dates, Kulczewski could have worked as an architect of the Police Direction, an example of this work being the Santiago Police Stadium in 1925, today demolished, while he also worked as an architect for the State Railroad Welfare Department (Riquelme, 1996).

The legislative scenario that led to the housing cooperatives in Chile was the Affordable Housing Law of 1925, Decree in Law N°308, which replaced its predecessor of 1906. This regulation was promoted by the State as an essential measure to resolve the housing shortage in the country, where these organizations had a fundamental role, as Hidalgo mentions:

Housing cooperatives are placed, for the first time, on an important pedestal to solve the shortage of housing. The contribution that the employee and worker entities could provide to solve this shortage, was considered as one of the key points of the law (2005, p. 121).

Under its control, more than 6,000 houses were built up and down the country. In Kulczewski's professional work, this law would allow him to pursue his social concerns, materializing affordable residential complexes for diverse cooperatives and organizations, exceptionally working with private projects. In the decade after the law's passing, a total of more than 300 affordable homes would be built [Table 1].

A city that in the 1920s reached half a million inhabitants, would without a doubt require managing the housing issue, both from the opportunity for private investment, and from public promotion. This was a professional sphere that Kulczewski exceptionally capitalized on, particularly under the opportunity that the new institutionality provided -the affordable housing Law of 1925, but surely also because this was where his ideals of a better society came to life (Torrent & Atria, 2015, p. 28).

New housing policies formulated in 1936 were brought to fruition in the works that Kulczewski would manage as the administrator of the Obligatory Workers Insurance Organization, between 1939 and 1940. These laws appeared as a result of the State's interest to modernize coordination among the levels that they could organize, set the technical terms and conditions of this housing legislation, and likewise generate concrete solutions. In this way, the Popular Housing Organization is created (Law N°5950), whose purpose was to jointly handle the work set out by the Workers Insurance Organizations.

In the speech made by Kulczewski, as spokesman of the Government in the First Pan-American Congress on Social Housing, held in Buenos Aires in 1939, he stated that:

Ingenuity and ink are spent on finding solutions that range from implausible material to absurd planimetries, like burial niches; or sites are sought which, due to their price, are surrounded by wastelands and landfills on the outskirts of the cities, creating new and cruel differences for housing. Affordable housing districts are formed, which evidence yet further the contrast between the happy and the hapless, upbraiding once more, the misery of the latter. [...] The Chilean Government, the Workers Insurance Organizations consider that the housing policy must provide hygienic,

comfortable, and beautiful housing, that tends to rebuild the home, the working-class family, and with it, recover for society something that is fair and harmonically organized (cited by Anonymous, 1939, pg. 199/93-200/94).

It is important to highlight that the introduction of the term “hygienic” in the speech, reflects the way in which state policies had been impacted by the modernizing processes associated to housing construction (Aguirre, 2011, p. 58). Likewise, over time, concepts like that of “beauty” would be excluded from the rationalist vocabulary.

MODERN CITY AND INCLUSION

From the words of the architect, words are also cited that, regarding the urban situation, the location of these complexes had to be materialized on centrally located urban areas, to thus avoid segregation. This aspect did nothing more than reflecting the state positions of the time, as can be taken from the opinion of the President, Pedro Aguirre Cerda, in his speech on housing policy:

In my opinion, the employee and the worker must live inside the cities, so that they all have the civilizing benefits of schools and libraries, of electricity, drinking water, sewerage, transportation, etc., so that the working class feels like a social component, as worthy and respectable as all citizens forging the public wealth are (cited by Galaz-Mandakovic, 2011, p. 59).

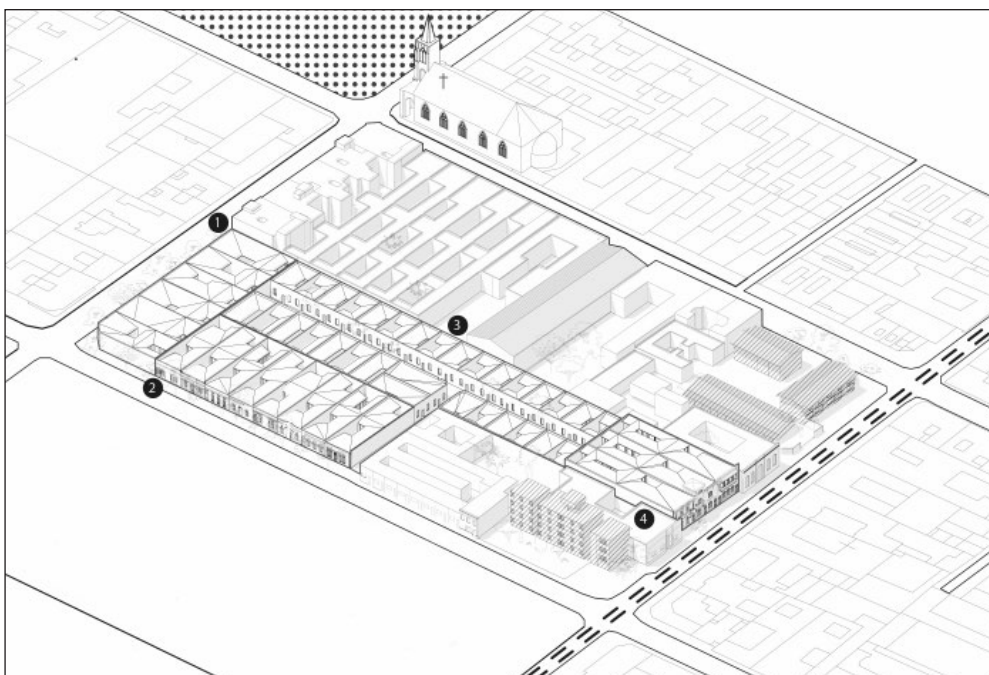
Of a similar sort, the housing complexes of Kulczewski will illustrate the way of how the modern metropolis was expanding. For the particular case of Santiago de Chile, while complexes like those of the Yungay Neighborhood [Figure 1], and Madrid street, show the incursions of the architect into the historic hub (González, 2019; Fuentes, 2009), and after 1926, housing complexes in the new communes that would emerge on the outskirts began to be built, particularly in the Providencia and Ñuñoa communes, linked to the “garden city” concept [Figure 2]. Palmer discusses this issue in his monograph on the matter, on stating that Kulczewski’s works are among the first settlements articulated using the fledgling notion of neighborhood (1986, p. 71).

Intervening in such diverse contexts would force the architect to, on one hand, pluralize his urban agency strategies and, on the other, to be associated to an innovative outline of housing. If in the historic hub he used the traditional terraced housing, on urban land between party walls, and organized around indoor yards, in later urban developments, he opted for block housing, which would adapt better to the large gardened urban land [Figures 3 and 7]. This process gradually gained ground, as the neighborhood for the

Figure 1

Axonometry of the complexes in Barrio Yungay. 1. Santo Domingo Street, 2. Esperanza Street, 3. Cité Esperanza and 4.

Source: Javier Vargas Martínez.

**Figure 2**

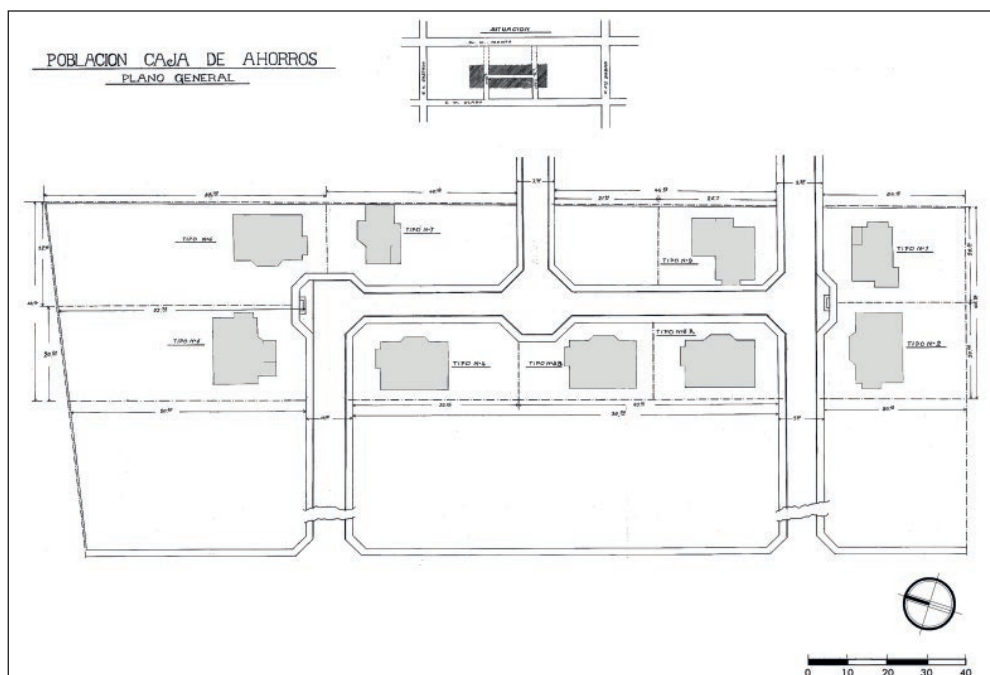
Population Keller Community, north pavement.

Source: Kulczewski Archive, Chilean Architecture Archive, University of Chile.



Figure 3

National savings bank population, overview. Source: Plan from the Aguas Andinas Technical Archive, intervened by Raúl Pacheco Aravena.

**Figure 4**

Cité Esperanza, general view. Source: Photograph by the author.

NCOs of the Cavalry School and the Keller neighborhood would confirm [Figure 2], which were built in the aforementioned eastern communes. In these cases, although the complexes were built using the principles of the garden city, and each house has a front and back yard, the constructions do not abandon the terraced layout, forming continuous blocks.

Continuing with the idea of emphasizing unity, Kulczewski opts for a type of urban operation that involved the creation of small complexes, laid out using smaller streets and passageways inserted within large blocks. While in the interventions in the historic hub, the architecture adopted the concept of “cite”, which is a set of dwellings, generally with a continuous façade, that face a private common-use space, connected to the main street through one or several accesses [Figure 4], in the garden neighborhoods he would organize them considering the route drawn out by discrete inside streets. This peculiarity, apparently transversal to all his works, would turn his complexes into “small microcosmos”⁴, with a certain degree of spatial autonomy regarding their context [Figure 5].

The housing project was central in his activity as architect, and it was therefore, the one that shaped the city. [...] The key was in the definition of the complex through a route, to fully take advantage of the urban land, but with a greater definition of the design, by using the large lines of the urban shape. (Torrent & Atria, 2015, p. 34).

4 For a critical revision of this term, see Eliade (1988); and, regarding the city, a similar argument is styled in Kostof (1991).

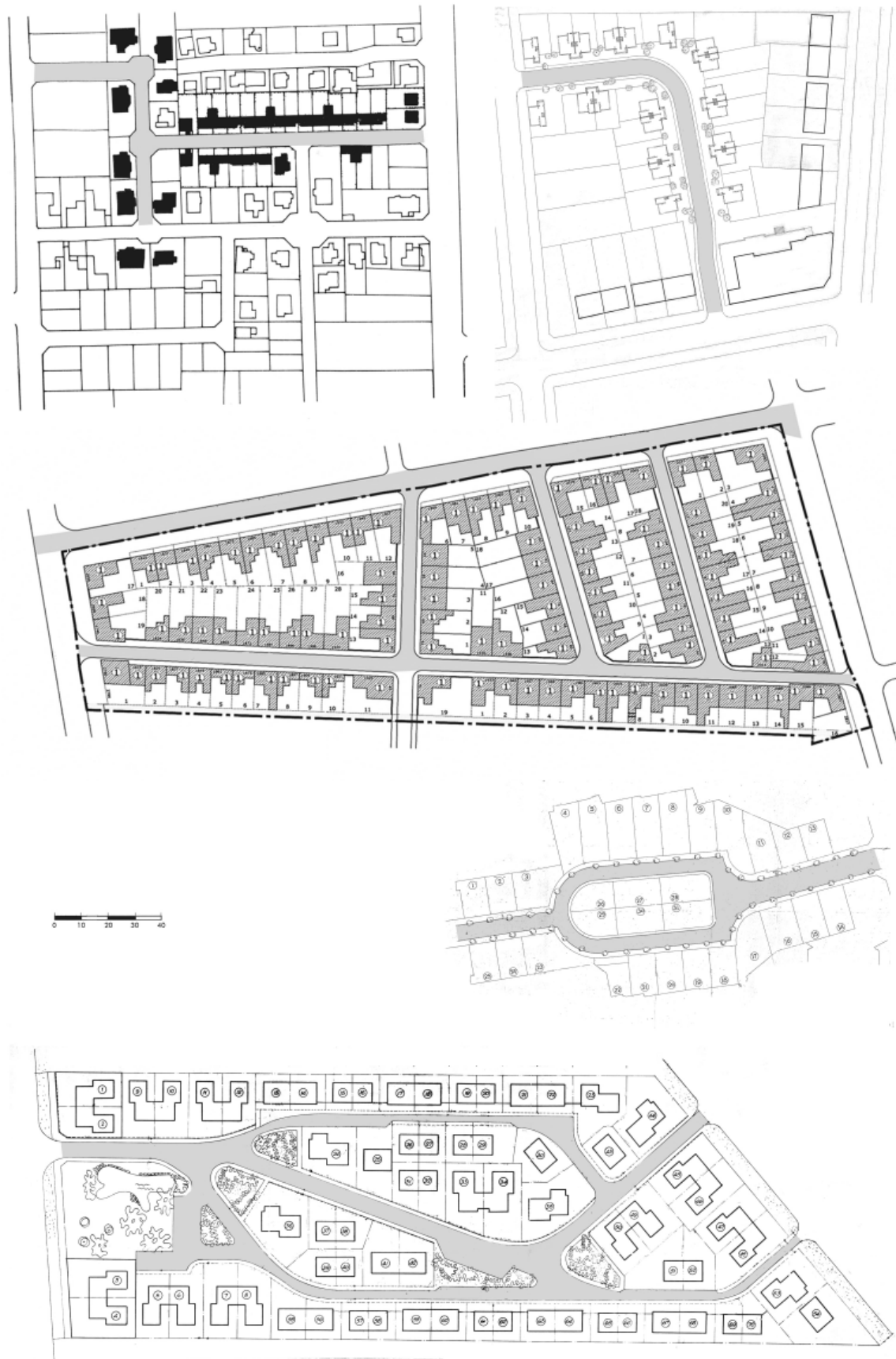


Figure 5

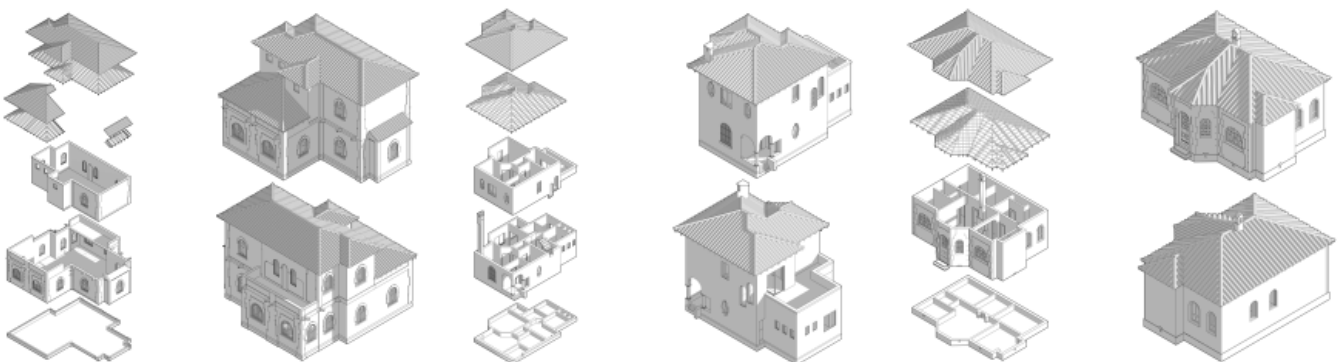
Comparative analysis of the road structures of some of the housing complexes designed by Kulczewski. Keller and Caja Nacional de Ahorros, 2. Población de Suboficiales, 3. Conjunto Calle Pintor Cicarelli, 4. Conjunto Virginia Opazo and 5. Source: Plans from the corresponding Technical Archive of the Municipal Works Directorate, intervened by Raúl Pacheco Aravena.

This type of routes is openly indebted to the artistic principles proposed by Camillo Sitte, as Kulczewski sought to create meaningful and protected places that would favor the integration or inclusion of their residents. From this perspective, for his strategy of conceiving recognizable urban shapes, favored by a clearly defined row of housing, the handling of access thresholds would be added, that would allow their residents to become aware of when they were entering or leaving the place.

Given that the idea of street, as an organizing element, was formed by means of aligning the houses, in those others, conceived as a townscape, the entrances are manifested by setting the dwellings on the corners of the access roads, forward or askew. Different strategies can be seen, in the thresholds created in the community of Keller street, the most successful in this aspect, where large lights would be erected on the access arteries, which, like lighthouses, guided their inhabitants [Figure 2]. Another solution, as can be seen in the National Savings Organization neighborhood complex, is the treatment given to where the streets meet, whose corners are beveled, and which together form an octagonal widening [Figure 3], obtaining, in this way, that “the entrance or exit to and from the neighborhood and to each one of its streets [is given] though a figure that marks a kind of relief, like the hallway in older houses” (Palmer, 1984, p. 71).

Figure 6

Population of Caja Nacional de Ahorro, axonometries of dwellings: type D (1154 Alberto Decombe Street), type C (788 Luis Barros Valdés Street), type B (1155 Alberto Decombe Street). Source: Carla Vega Osorio.



Another aspect that needs to be highlighted is the scale management of the dwellings, which manages to transmit towards the public common space, a character of intimate privacy. Architecture, understood as a place of protection, gains strength on appreciating these complexes understanding that Kulczewski, with his design, was forming the modern habitat, the place of shelter and wellbeing for working families, which correspond to the core of a new national project that his countrymen and women had been raising as the century emerged.

One aspect mentioned, which should be underlined on recapping, is the way in which, on echoing the foundational principles that were associated to architectural modernity, Kulczewski, used a given number of standard dwellings whose variants were defined, at the same time, by the setup of their indoor spaces [Figures 6 and 7]. This operation had a greater scope than the purely formal- namely, offering a morphological variety that avoided the plastic monotony inherent to neighborhood design-, as the determining element of this diversity was related to the different footprint of the dwellings, allowing the inclusion of buyers from different economic classes into the same complex. And even when the origins of some of these were linked to the military or police worlds, in them, Kulczewski managed to give room, in the same setting, to the members of different ranks, on using different typologies.

Figure 7

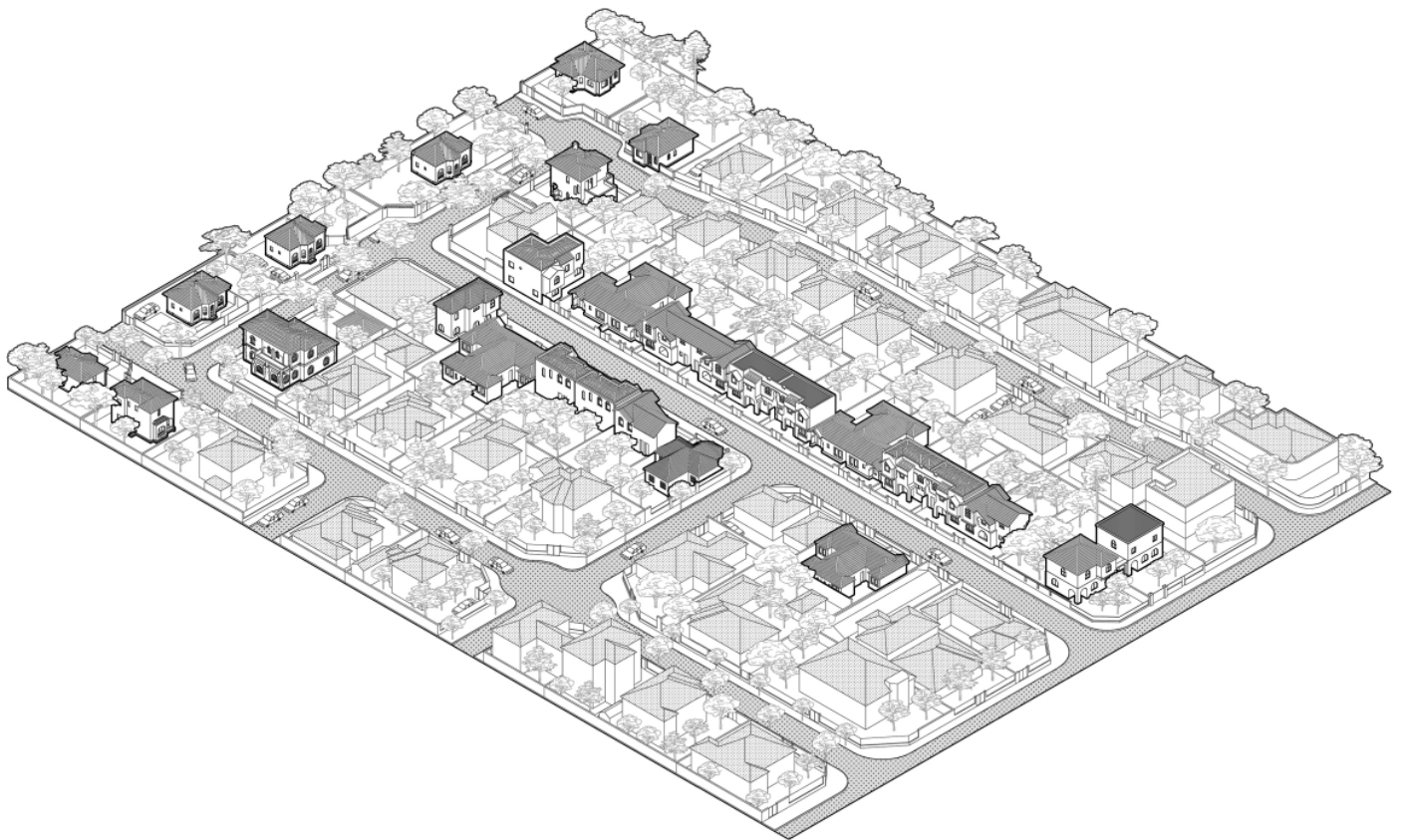
Caja Nacional de Ahorro population, section along General Córdova street.
Source: Carla Vega Osorio.



Many of the strategies that would allow discriminating the different housing types, at an ornamental level, are also connected to economic aspects. On mainly being affordable houses, the economy of resources would only allow variations in the structural solutions and rhythms of the openings (linteled or following different types of arches) [Figure 6], and in the stucco decorative elements, placed on walls and false gables. The morphological variations were limited to the generally limited types, and always to dwellings of up to 2 floors [Figure 2]. It would be in some later complexes, for the well-off middle class, like the set of dwellings in the commune of Vitacura, and the National Savings Organization neighborhood, that Kulczewski could give himself the luxury of playing with a greater number of mutations. In fact, it is in the latter where he had information on the owners beforehand, as such, on adapting the solutions to their varied needs, the volumes of the houses ended up having to be heterogeneous [Figures 3, 6 and 8].

Figure 8

Axonomy of Keller
Community and
National Savings
Bank Populations.
Source: Carla Vega
Osorio



FINAL COMMENTS

With the advent of post-modernity, one of the aspects that has been questioned is the traditional definition of what we understand by "place". This has been summed up both in the critique that was made towards some of the Modern Movement proposals, and in the current issue highlighted by the virtual spatiality, "the crisis of place". In this unsatisfactory context, it stands out that there are communities which proudly externalize the benefits of the places where they live, converting Kulczewski in the most mediatic architect in the country.

What has been argued in this article is endorsed by the actions of the residents in the analyzed complexes, who have known how to acknowledge the urban and architectural value of their own homes, organizing them to achieve the category of Typical or Picturesque Zones, a heritage designation given by the State to protect neighborhoods or housing complexes that are representative of the evolution of human communities, and that stand out due to their stylistic units, material or construction techniques. Pérez de Arce mentions the following in this regard: "in these spaces, Kulczewski achieves an acceptance that few architects have had in our medium. At least from the space of the street, these appear as properly preserved spaces, showing a real affectivity" (1997, p. 78). Said distinction, although it has allowed the preservation of these complexes, does not allow fully protecting all the environmental nature of their immediate surroundings. There, the common trait that characterizes the neighborhood groups is that of being empowered to face the threat that the advance of the 'housing capital' in their territory, expressed in the high-rise buildings" (Olguin, 2018, p. 27). The shadows of enormous apartment towers tend to be projected in these neighborhoods, not just defacing the appreciation of the urban landscape, but also symptomizing the increase of housing density that severely threatens the intimate scale of the complexes.

As DoCoMoMo Chile proposes, in the voice of Horacio Torrent; it is necessary that the popular recognition of heritage values has room in the organizations that propose State Protection Laws, and, eventually, private parties. This, even more so, if the current discussion that the Culture Commission of the Chilean House of Representatives has, to modify Law 17.288 on national monument of 1970, is considered:

The [historic conservation] request is always accompanied by a claiming condition, that assigns historic, social, and even economic values to these urban sectors or complexes, as a defense against the threat of the profit expectation. It is basically, the acknowledgment that the population makes of a material condition, because it carries its memories of community, but more than that, because it involves a series

of meanings associated to the daily life that they do not want to lose (2018, p. 11).

Contrary to the logic that the scientific discourse uses, the origin of this research has become a telling argument when it comes to concluding. In a talk on Kulczewski, made by Fernando Riquelme on May 27th, 2012, in the Gabriela Mistral Cultural Center (GAM, in Spanish), for Heritage Day, Paulina Uribe Campos, resident and the main promotor to safeguard the Cavalry School NCOs neighborhood- action that led to its declaration as Typical or Picturesque Zone in May 2007- asked for the floor to comment on the privilege it had been for her to live in a complex designed by the architect. Said valuation was based on the fact that, although this complex was formed by affordable dwellings, Kulczewski had known how to give them a sense of beauty linked to the “style and aesthetics of the time”. This prerogative of building “trendy” homes was something that, according to her, in those years was only reserved for high class residences. Due to her unquestionable certainty, this testimony is an eye-opener regarding the analytical vision that has been used to address these works.

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