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OPERATION ZONE. THE TACTICAL HYBRIDITY OF THE SANTIAGO AMENGUAL DEMONSTRATION EXHIBITION IN PUDAHUEL

ZONA DE OPERACIÓN. LA HIBRIDEZ TÁCTICA
DE LA EXPOSICIÓN DEMOSTRATIVA SANTIAGO
AMENGUAL EN PUDAHUEL, CHILE

ZONA DE OPERAÇÃO. O HIBRIDISMO TÁTICO
DA EXPOSIÇÃO DEMONSTRATIVA SANTIAGO
AMENGUAL EM PUDAHUEL



Figure 0. H-56 prototype
(GAMA Group). Laguna Poniente
Neighborhood. Source: Photograph
taken by Jorge Vergara Vidal.

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RESUMEN

La Exposición Demostrativa de Viviendas fue uno de los últimos concursos convocados por la Corporación de la Vivienda (CORVI) antes de su disolución en 1976 y, a su vez, uno de los primeros proyectos gestionados por su sucesor, el Servicio de Vivienda y Urbanización (SERVIU). Marcada por la necesidad de la dictadura cívico militar de responder a una exigida demanda de viviendas, fue empleada por sus funcionarios para explorar un modelo donde las empresas constructoras asumieran el conjunto de los procesos involucrados en esa industria. Ello se implementó en un pequeño sector de ocho cuadras de la Población Santiago Amengual mediante un concurso que licitó la construcción de nueve tipologías CORVI y el desarrollo de ciento cincuenta y seis tipos de viviendas pareadas y continuas de diferentes tamaño, disposición y técnicas de construcción. Utilizando información de documentos recopilados en dos investigaciones asociadas al tema y contrastada con observaciones etnográficas realizadas durante 2022 y 2023 en el mismo emplazamiento, fue posible identificar las diferentes ideas de proyecto explorados para el conjunto de la Población Santiago Amengual, determinar variaciones en su coherencia e identificar al concurso de la Exposición Demostrativa como una forma de zona de operación, abiertamente dispuesta a la evaluación y especulación sobre el comportamiento y desempeño de los modelos, técnicas y materialidades empleados en ella. La información analizada también permite proponer que dicha zona de operación facilitó la instalación de una nueva relación jerárquica entre las prácticas de arquitectura y construcción, en particular, las asociadas al conocimiento técnico y al capital y que, en tal sentido, su extrema heterogeneidad mostraba la disposición táctica de promover las convenciones de competencia y prácticas de producción adecuadas a dicho cambio y a la instalación un mercado de vivienda de interés social sin participación estatal.

Palabras clave: conjuntos residenciales, corporación de la vivienda, vivienda experimental, empresas constructoras, tipologías.

ABSTRACT

The Housing Demonstration Exhibition was one of the last competitions organized by the Housing Corporation (CORVI) before its dissolution in 1976 and one of the first projects managed by its successor, the Housing and Urbanization Service (SERVIU). Marked by the need of the civil-military dictatorship to respond to the housing demand, it was used by officials to explore a model whereby construction companies would take on a set of processes involved in that industry. This was implemented in a small eight-block sector of the Santiago Amengual Neighborhood through a competition that tendered the construction of nine CORVI typologies and the development of one hundred and fifty-six types of semi-detached and terraced housing of different sizes, layouts, and construction techniques. Using information from documents compiled in two research projects associated with the issue and compared against ethnographic observations made in 2022 and 2023 at the same site, it was possible to identify the different project ideas explored for the Santiago Amengual Neighborhood complex, determine variations in their coherence, and identify the Demonstration Exhibition competition as an operation zone, open to the evaluation and speculation of the behavior and performance of the models, techniques, and materialities used in it. The information analyzed also allows proposing that this operation zone facilitated the installation of a new hierarchical relationship between architecture and construction practices, particularly those associated with technical knowledge and capital, and that, in this sense, its extreme heterogeneity showed the tactical willingness to promote the conventions of competition and production practices appropriate to this change and the installation of a social housing market without state participation.

Keywords: residential complexes, housing corporation, experimental housing, construction companies, typologies.

RESUMO

A Exposição Demonstrativa de Habitação foi uma das últimas competições organizadas pela Corporação de Habitação (CORVI) antes de sua dissolução em 1976 e, ao mesmo tempo, um dos primeiros projetos gerenciados por seu sucessor, o Serviço de Habitação e Urbanização (SERVIU). Marcada pela necessidade da ditadura civil-militar de atender a uma demanda por moradia, foi usado por seus funcionários para explorar um modelo em que as empresas de construção assumiriam todos os processos envolvidos nesse setor. Foi implementada em um pequeno setor de oito quarteirões da Población (bairro de escassos recursos) Santiago Amengual por meio de um concurso que licitou a construção de nove tipologias do CORVI e o desenvolvimento de cento e cinquenta e seis tipos de moradias geminadas e contínuas de diferentes tamanhos, layouts e técnicas de construção. Utilizando informações de documentos compilados em duas pesquisas associadas ao tema e contrastadas com observações etnográficas realizadas durante 2022 e 2023 no mesmo local, foi possível identificar as diferentes ideias de projeto exploradas para o conjunto da Población Santiago Amengual, determinar variações em sua coerência e identificar o concurso da Exposição Demonstrativa como uma forma de zona de operação, abertamente aberta à avaliação e à especulação sobre o comportamento e o desempenho dos modelos, técnicas e materialidades nela utilizados. As informações analisadas também nos permitem propor que essa zona de operação facilitou a instalação de uma nova relação hierárquica entre as práticas de arquitetura e construção, em particular aquelas associadas ao conhecimento técnico e ao capital, e que, nesse sentido, sua extrema heterogeneidade mostrou a disposição tática de promover as convenções de competição e práticas de produção adequadas a essa mudança e à instalação de um mercado de habitação social sem a participação do Estado.

Palavras-chave: conjuntos habitacionais, corporação habitacional, habitação experimental, empresas de construção, tipologias.

INTRODUCTION

In 1975, the Ministry of Housing and Urban Planning held a Demonstration Housing Exhibition that sought to consolidate the social housing market by exploring new typologies to reduce the housing deficit of the time (MINVU, 1976a). This implied shifting the design of social housing from state entities, such as the Housing Corporation (CORVI), which had been developing them since 1953, to private companies that had been building them since 1905, establishing their position (Vergara Vidal et al., 2021, 2022). This coincided with the institutional restructuring of the MINVU, which would merge its four corporations into a single institution in February 1976 (Decree-in-Law 1305, of 1975), called the Regional Housing and Urbanization Service (SERVIU), whose organizational structure would be established in each of the country's regions.

The Demonstration Exhibition followed the experience of housing complexes called Demonstration Works, which were implemented between 1959 and 1964 under the framework of the Alessandri Government's Housing Plan. It should be noted that the architect Luis Bravo Heitmann, director of the Housing Institute between 1960 and 1966 and one of the main promoters of the use of industrialization techniques in social housing construction, had participated in all these Housing plans.

Bravo Heitmann (1996) identified the first experience of this repertoire, as the San Gregorio Industrialized Housing Park, which was built in the commune of La Granja in 1959. Meanwhile, the second experience consisted of the Estrella de Chile Neighborhood, which was built in 1965 in the commune of Pudahuel, both supported by CORVI. The third experience was the San José de Chuchunco Demonstration Work, built in the commune of Estación Central in 1968 and framed in a Site Operation that consisted of 3,004 industrialized housing units.

As Alfonso Raposo (2009) argues, the Demonstration Exhibition consolidated the conviction that the solution to the housing deficit was not associated with urban planning objectives or rationalized modes of urban growth that were used by state institutions (Cajas, CORVI, CORMU, among others), but with models of mass production of units and intensive use of urban land led by the private sector.

Unlike the Demonstration Works complexes that used few types of terraced housing, which were led by one or two private entities, the Demonstration Exhibition considered types of high-rise collective housing, while determining that these would be led by a large group of construction companies. Therefore, the purpose of the Demonstration Exhibition was to test the company's logistical, constructive, and housing efficiency with the prototypes, to be able to choose those with the best performance for replication, since not only projects were judged, but also how quickly they could be built and their performance once inhabited.

The results of this new policy produced a particularly heterogeneous housing complex, similar to an exhibition of works of different authorship, where it was expected to test and observe the individual performance of both the typologies and the companies and the model itself in a limited time (no more than two or three years).

On the other hand, the “operation zone” (Schütz & Luckmann, 2009) is defined as a space of direct interaction with objects in a speculative sense. Like the notion of the “social world”, whose proposal is used to describe that region of reality where it is possible to intervene and modify the environment while being modified by it, an operation zone describes a space where one participates continuously in ways that are both inevitable and guided, and where “a surrounding, common, and communicative world can be constituted” (Schütz & Luckmann, 2009, p. 25).

Thus, the objective of this article is to analyze the experience of housing construction managed by SERVIU under an operation zone sociological approach in a housing complex called Santiago Amengual Demonstration Exhibition, to characterize it and determine possibilities of replicability.

The working hypothesis is that this operation zone can be characterized by its hybrid composition based on a tactical exploration of the housing units' behavior, considering later replicability of the typologies and their construction methods, which would differentiate the Exhibition from the previous experiences of Demonstrative Works.

The validation process of this hypothesis used information collected unsystematically in the framework of two previous investigations. The first news received by the research team about the Santiago Amengual Demonstration Exhibition was through an in-depth interview conducted at the end of 2021 with the architect Orlando Sepúlveda Mellado, who was assigned to supervise the works after losing his role in CORVI's Design Department.

The existence of the complex was later corroborated by two articles published in the AUCA journal, which reported on an evaluation panel held by the journal regarding the experience and the plan of the complex, along with the construction techniques, and the entities involved in building 16 of its typologies (AUCA, 2020; Granifo et al., 2020). Later, it was possible to gain access to two texts published by CORVI in 1976 regarding the general conditions of the Demonstrative Exhibition contest and its objectives, which included planimetry, templates, and technical sheets of 41 of the housing and collective typologies presented to the contest.

METHODOLOGY

Since these data were collected as part of a Fondecyt research project (11200480), focused on the evolution of high-rise blocks or collective housing, the team focused on making three ethnographic observations between January and February 2022. These observations made it possible to identify 4 T-shaped collective units that were not reported in the 1976 and 1977 plans. It should be noted that it has not been possible yet to obtain the typology and planimetry of these units, as they are typologies built by SERVIU, whose Works Archive has been particularly difficult to locate due to its continuous transfers that currently lacks a permanent person in charge.

This situation highlighted the vulnerability that affects the technical memory of this type of work and the fact that, although the Demonstration Exhibition was under a competition organized and built by CORVI in 1975, its culmination and final reception had taken place in 1976, when CORVI had been replaced by SERVIU. Hence, it was one of the last CORVI's last and one of the SERVIU's first projects. This led the team to further analyze and disseminate the case, this time under the framework of a National FONDART research project (676168), which allowed the collection of new sources and data about two other modifications to the urban design and the architectural composition of the Santiago Amengual Neighborhood that show it as an exploration process.

The process of collecting information was carried out asystematically by reviewing secondary sources and ethnographic observations made both on the Santiago Amengual Neighborhood and the sector of the Demonstrative Exhibition in 2022 and 2023. In the course of the *in situ* observation, it was possible to explore the practical value of the Exhibition experience as an operation zone, due to its characteristics in terms of a hybrid and tactical realization.

In the following sections, the theoretical framework of the concepts mentioned above will be explained and this experience will be addressed to discuss its implications for the subsequent production of urban organization.

OPERATION ZONES

The so-called operation zones emerge not only to note distinctions between different social worlds or to enable cooperation between communities of practices (Schütz & Luckmann, 2009), but, above all, they place the actors in a common semiotic spatiality, a form of metric and actional order or standardization of practices that allows them to interact and work cooperatively. The Santiago Amengual Demonstration Exhibition, for example, allowed companies, developers, and architects to measure and evaluate the performance of the prototypes as long as they were inhabited. There the daily activity was transformed into a type of cooperative work, an operation that collaborated with meaning within a



productively defined area. For the same reason, the operation zones do not emerge in isolation and their combinations and overlapping give rise to organic sets of objects that correspond to what Star and Ruhleder (1996) call “border infrastructures”, namely a notion close to that of the operation zone and that could apply to the case of the Demonstrative Exhibition (Figure 1).

Through a link between social worlds or communities of different practices, the operation zones give support or spatial infrastructure to specific practices, especially by constituting complexes and combinations where particular forms of action and cooperation not only serve to indicate the differences between one world of life and another but also to unite worlds of life among themselves, allowing interaction and the movement of actors between them. In the case of the Demonstration Exhibition, many built prototypes can be considered as permeable work spaces for inhabitants, architects, builders, real estate developers, and public officials, since the complex itself operates as an overall infrastructure and/or operation zone.

Observing what happens in these areas allows for identifying the organization and truth procedures that, concretely, embody the “politics of how objects of cooperation are produced” within a society (Law & Joks, 2019). The relational organization displayed by the actors and objects in these zones is observable from both inside and outside the zone, and it is as useful to describe the effects as to disassemble the design. This reaffirms the fact that architectural objects, singular and as complexes, are part of an exploratory way of thinking about and doing things in the world, a way

Figure 1. Aerial view of the Exhibition Work's blocks. The 1010 blocks of the lower part of the picture border with the Santiago Amengual Neighborhood. Source: Google Maps, May 17, 2023. <https://www.google.com/maps/@-33.4454141,-70.7476468,283m/data=!3m1!1e3?hl=en>

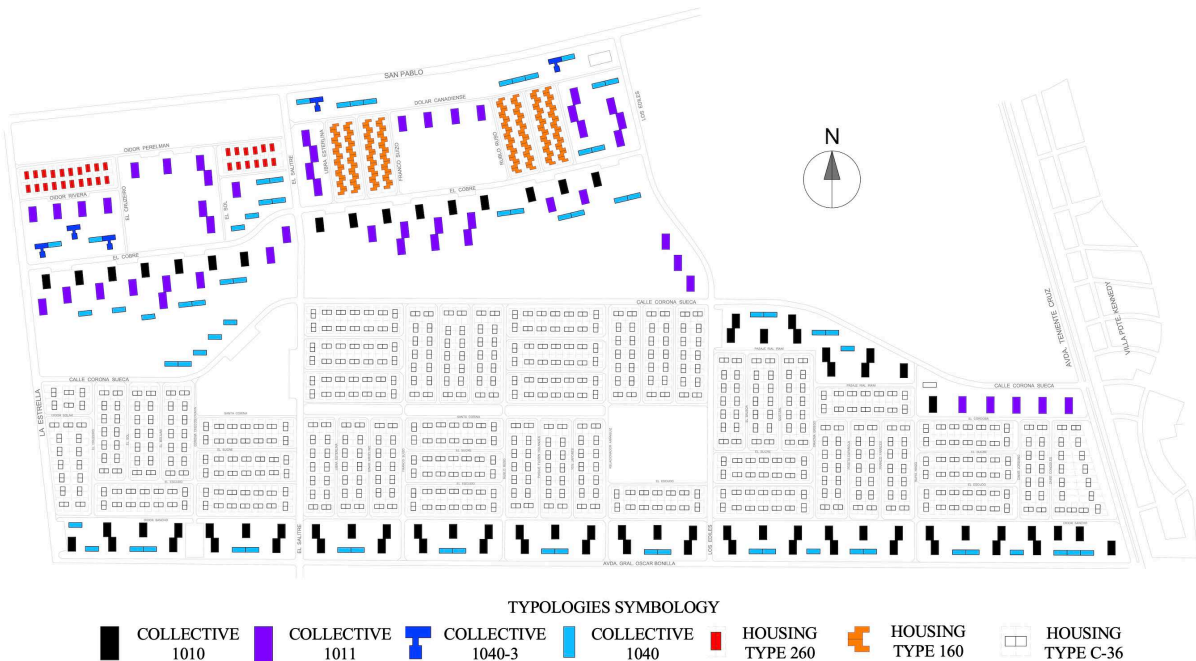


Figure 2. Overview of the Santiago Amengual Neighborhood in Pudahuel considering the densification proposal. Source: Prepared by Diego Asenjo using information from CORVI (1974).

of socially weaving their reality from the hybridity and tactical sense of their designs (Barrientos-Díaz & Nieto-Fernández, 2021).

In social studies, the notions of hybridity and heterogeneity have jointly been worked on. Michel Callon and Arie Rip (1991) use them to describe scenarios where different forms of knowledge and experience coexist, even though the actors involved dispute their validity. On the other hand, John Law (2002) and Annemarie Mol (2008) consider them as a way of describing a condition of the debates and agreements about the social composition of the world. Both aspects can be found in a competitive exhibition such as the one reviewed here, since, this particular operation zone tested and manipulated architectural objects, which are still observable, as the complex is still inhabited and transformed.

Likewise, as the Santiago Amengual Demonstration Exhibition was erected during the first three years of the Chilean civic-military dictatorship, it can be characterized as a reinterpretation within the framework of the systems of values of income efficiency and economic investment that articulate the neoliberal model, since a heterogeneity used in a tactical way for urban development is evidenced, as a housing market that uses conventions and values that already existed in the developmental social model, such as technical efficiency.

THE CASE OF THE DEMONSTRATIVE EXHIBITION

The original project for the Santiago Amengual Neighborhood considered a conventional complex of 42 rectangular blocks with 14 type



C36 houses, alternating in groups of three around green areas and a park. The complex, together with three irregular blocks of 16, 15, and 6 C3 houses, was bordered by 78 blocks of 1010 rationalized housing. In total, there were 662 terraced housing units and 1248 high-rise housing units. By 1974, a proposal for greater densification was explored that totaled 64 terraced housing units of type 260 and 56 in type 160, added to 69 blocks of type 1040 (552 housing units), 5 of type 1040-3 (60 housing units), and 51 blocks of type 1011 (816 housing units) (MINVU, 1974) (Figure 2).

However, this second design was not implemented, returning in 1975 to the original design, but freeing up the northern sector of the Neighborhood to locate 124 typology 135 terraced housing units and recreation spaces. In the same way, the northeast sector (B) was freed up to house the Housing Exhibition, which still exists today (Figure 3).

The documentary information collected on the characteristics of the Demonstrative Exhibition contest (AUCA, 2020; CORVI, 1974; Granifo et al., 2020; MINVU, 1976a, 1976b;), states that the purpose of this project was to provide to the organized community, several solutions that can be included in the Ministry of Housing's plans and programs, guaranteeing future users a suitable quality-cost ratio, as well as an end price for housing offered by the private sector. The call for proposals was made in two stages: first, a tender to build MINVU typologies, and later, another tender to implement the experimental housing plan designed and built by the bidding groups themselves. In both cases, the dwellings could be allocated to Social, Cooperative, and Ministry-owned Housing schemes (MINVU, 1976b, p. 1).

Figure 3. Site plan of the Santiago Amengual Demonstration Exhibition. Source: Prepared by Diego Asenjo using information from MINVU (1976).

Figure 4. Three-Story Overlapping House Prototype. SOCOANTO Company (architects Neira, Novoa, San Martín). Santiago Amengual Demonstrative Exhibition. Source: Photographs taken by Jorge Vergara Vidal.



These dwellings, which were intended for “the common low-income man, [who] is a *sui generis* purchaser in the housing market” (MINVU, 1976a, p. 13), considered the following types: social, with a built area comprising between 35 and 45 square meters, and that of cooperatives, whose area ranged between 35 and 60 square meters (MINVU, 1976b, p. 2).

This classification marks an obvious distinction with the types of housing of the CORVI projects, in that the designs are described as MINVU typologies given the housing forms (terraced or collective high-rise), and also, by the use of the acquisition modes as differentiating elements, denoting the change in the epistemological value of the housing from the architectural form to its cost.

The competition rules indicated that the organization of the Demonstration Exhibition gave the chosen construction firm a “plot” on which the proposed prototype(s) could be built, be these detached houses, semi-detached houses, or collective high-rise housing. In this framework, the aim was to present “the grouping possibilities that the housing cell reflects and the high density that could be achieved” (Granifo et al., 2020, p. 55), as pointed out at the time by the contractor Carlos Neira, from the company SOCOANTO and, in turn, set a production pattern for housing solutions based on the eligibility of prototypes according to their behavior over time (Figure 4).

In the words of one of the users asked about the case:

[...] from the cooperative point of view, the group can fully realize what it can obtain in terms of design, structure, finishings, quality of materials, and prices, by observing on its land what it wants to acquire given the little experience and knowledge

about construction, as it is very different to observe a house on a plan or drawing and to see it naturally" (Granifo et al., 2020, p. 58).

For this user, the possibility of choosing the model considering its performance over time made it better than those previously implemented by CORVI and CORHABIT.

The competition was opened on October 1st, 1975, to put the Demonstration Exhibition in place in November of that year. The call was organized by the architect Hernán Rivera Alonso and documented in two publications of MINVU's Technical Division of Housing Studies and Development (1976a, 1976b). Both publications give an account of the reference frameworks used to present the housing and collective housing typologies and the graphic documentation of some of these.

These documents indicate that 9 MINVU typologies were considered for the first phase of the tender: 88 private sector social housing solutions, 5 of them two-story; and 224 cooperative housing solutions, showing the work of 236 proposing companies that submitted an average of 1.32 solutions (MINVU, 1976a, Appendix 4; 1976b, p. 22-26). In this area, it is important to highlight the use of different metrics to characterize the MINVU typologies and private solutions on an overall level that did not consider detached units, which complicated having odd-numbered works. This aspect represents a governmental effect of hybridity, since what is possible to see from the overall plan differs from the metrics and numbers stated in the documents, in the sense that these only include the planimetric information of 9 MINVU typologies, which in reality are 10, and of 32 private sector typologies, including social and cooperatives.

This inconsistency in the communication of the data may be tactical, as there are 2 pairs of sites that are empty within the overall plan, while the others show the shape of the houses that would be located in them. In this sense, this difference may be because these sites were exploring forms of housing that did not persist and were replaced.

Orlando Sepúlveda, in an interview in 2021, mentions the case of modular homes made of fiberglass reinforced polyester, following the Modularq prototype (De la Fuente, 1976), which did not withstand climatic rigors and were dismantled, which is typical of the experimental sense of the Exhibition's objectives. However, the Minutes of the Jury and, therefore, the final list of the companies and prototypes selected for the exhibition were not made public (Granifo et al., 2020), which makes it difficult to articulate a base project image.

Among the aspects that have been established regarding the Santiago Amengual Demonstration Exhibition, it is found that 128 housing typologies were selected, although the terrain was divided into 240 sites. Of these solutions, 118 are low-rise typologies (houses), most of them



Figure 5. MINVU 3503 Typology. Santiago Amengual Demonstrative Exhibition. Source: Photographs taken by Jorge Vergara Vidal.

semi-detached, while the remaining 10 cases were 3 to 4-floor high-rise collective housing typologies, in which the CORVI 3502 and 3503 three-story collectives were included (Figure 5), and 7 housing typologies that provided 24 housing solutions.

Bravo Heitmann, regarding the prototypes designed and built, noted that it was expected

[that they] demonstrated their flaws and virtues to the maximum before launching them on a large scale. In addition, I consider it essential to exhibit in certain regions where the design determinants are more marked to stimulate the use of local resources, creativity, and technologies and receive the consequent responses from users. As can be seen, the Santiago Amengual Exhibition is called to powerfully influence all this (Granifo et al., 2020, p. 56).

It is important to consider that in 1974 and 1975, public construction had declined alarmingly, representing 9% and 20% respectively compared to the works started in 1973 (Petermann, 2006). For this reason, there was strong pressure from construction companies to increase their activity. At the same time, the dictatorial government was very interested in consolidating its alliance with the economy's private sector. In the words of Carlos Granifo, civil engineer and Minister of Housing:

after evaluating the Exhibition, it became clear to the Ministry that, to continue freeing the State from its overwhelming heavy burden of bureaucracy, it must progressively transfer an important share of responsibility to the private sector. This is how the Ministry began to tender neighborhoods through the bidding system and, later, through the newly created land tender-bid system. The final stage of this process, where the Private Sector would even participate in financing, is under study (Granifo et al., 2020, p. 56).

In this context, it is not trivial to take into account the leadership role that construction companies took on in the urban design of the complexes and that, later, would escalate to city management (Vicuña del Río, 2020). The Santiago Amengual Demonstration Exhibition was a competition between construction companies, not between architecture offices as happened with CORVI. Outstanding architects such as Margarita Pisano, María Isabel Videla, Beatriz Sariego, Raúl Farrú, Hugo Gaggero, and José Covacevich worked in many of these offices, which also included works signed by Hugo Boetch, Jorge Elton, Ramón Delpiano, Luis Eduardo Bresciani Prieto, and Oscar Zaccarelli V.

José Covacevich picked up on this situation in the conclusions of a meeting convened by the College of Architects in 1978, in which he pointed out the following:

The field of free exercise has received a good number of those who had to leave their positions. Obviously, this means that competition is actually greater. The sources of work on which this field is nourished are also contracting. State institutions deliver very few works on a fee-based basis, for the same reasons that they have reduced their staff numbers. There are very few Architectural Competitions that once vitalized the sector. They have been replaced by the Competitions and Bids modality. These constitute an interesting challenge, but they suffer from problems derived from a situation of dependence of the architect on the Construction Company, which acts as the head of the team. The architect, in the Competition stage and with all the risks involved, must prepare even the last details of the project. In many cases, unpaid (Covacevich, 2020).

The replication of the projects included in the Demonstration Exhibition began in March 1976 with complexes in the municipalities of Maipú, Pudahuel, Melipilla, Las Condes, Ñuñoa, La Florida, San Miguel, La Granja, San Bernardo, La Cisterna, Conchalí and Quilicura (MUNVI, 1974a) (Figures 6 and 7). By 1977, Minister Granifo mentioned that

it can be pointed out that, to date, several thousand homes built during 1976, among others, by cooperatives, C.H.C., and the Ministry itself, have been selected from those on display at the Exhibition. And, for sure, this trend should be maintained" (Granifo et al., 2020, p. 56).

In 1976, the 83,000 square meters of construction that started in 1975, had increased to 678,000 square meters, but this dropped to 269,000 square meters in 1977 and then 168,000 square meters in 1978 in the Metropolitan Region (Petermann, 2006).

The complexes based on the typologies considered in the Demonstrative Exhibition, such as Las Lagunas (Pudahuel) or Villa Tokyo (La Florida), among others, privileged the intensive occupation of the block without including courtyards, squares, or commercial setups, replicating the merely aggregative model of the Exhibition as a mode of



Figure 6. H-56 prototype (GAMA Group). Santiago Amengual Demonstrative Exhibition. Source: Photograph taken by Jorge Vergara Vidal.

Figure 7. H-56 prototype (GAMA Group). Laguna Poniente Neighborhood. Source: Photograph taken by Jorge Vergara Vidal.



composition where its emphasis on the housing unit's individualization is consolidated. At the same time, these constructions denoted the departure from the modern design conventions that still guided the design image of the Santiago Amengual Neighborhood of 1974, without completely contradicting its high-rise densification trend that lasts until today (Vicuña del Río, 2020).

Notwithstanding this, the formal differences between the high-rise densification strategy of the 1974 project considered the use of CORVI 1011, 1015, 1040, and 1040-3 typologies. What was finally built in the Santiago Amengual Neighborhood, based on the already extensively tested CORVI typologies 1010 and 1020, indicates that the cost of the experimentation in sector B of the Demonstrative Exhibition was a tactically conservative design for the rest of the neighborhood, because it minimized the possible negative externalities of the experiment. This corroborates the hypothesis of the existence of an operation zone, but at the same time refutes that this was only limited to the area of the Demonstrative Exhibition, because it extends to the Santiago Amengual Neighborhood complex with an experimental strip and another conventional development, which, certainly maintains the layout of blocks, parks, and green corridors of the 1974 project image. In this sense, the idea of a hybrid tactic used in an extensive operation area is confirmed.

Understanding hybridity as a formal disposition towards a strategic result, it is important to label the Exhibition as an operation zone where the expansion of the scope of impact that private companies had continued to boom, to the detriment of the State's role in the design and production of social housing, something that had already been timidly expressed in previous Demonstration Works. This case, however, began a period where the construction companies consolidated their dominant position, protected, first of all, by the legal framework imposed by the actors that operated within the military dictatorship and, later, by the conventional articulation of the values of neoliberal capitalism.

The identification of this operation zone constituted a transitional milestone, which is corroborated both in the subsumption of the institutionality generated within developmentalism in a new administrative form (SERVIU), as well as in the privatization of CORVI's designs and the capture of CORVI's and CORMU's design teams by the construction companies. How these events took place is consistent with the activation of a tactical movement, whose strategy aimed to leave both knowledge and constructive capacity in private hands, so that the architecture offices that had prospered in the developmental stage competition model were subsumed by the construction companies, reversing the hierarchical relationship between knowledge and capital.

For all these reasons, the way the Exhibition was held was defined as a form of behavior experimentation of different solutions and construction

CONCLUSIONS

methods, housing materials, and typologies, as independent variables versus the variable dependent on the behavior of a generic type of user, the “common man”. Therefore, this new model not only rearranged the relationship between technical knowledge and capital but also explored a new type of composition of residential complexes, where nuclei such as squares or commercial strips were eliminated, emphasizing the role of the individual good of housing to the detriment of the collective or common good of the urban complex.

In short, the Demonstration Exhibition was the first of a series of material and architectural operations that, regardless of the housing complexes' homogeneity, expositively demonstrated the individuality of the property. However, the Demonstration Exhibition cannot be considered simply as the beginning of a new cycle in urban housing, but also as a continuity of previous processes, since it consolidates the financial role of construction companies over architecture firms that had been brewing since much earlier. In fact, during the Christian Democratic presidential cycle, a construction entrepreneur gained political power when he was appointed Minister of the Interior.

In conclusion, the constructions based on the Demonstrative Exhibition consolidated an individual sense of home ownership that was superimposed on the common sense of collective living, present since the 1937 Floors law, as the public property system changed by demanding to be demonstrated. This event was a change that, from the sociocultural point of view, led to Chilean society moving from being developmental to neoliberal, which is evidenced in the holding of the Demonstrative Exhibition, as it constituted a first experiment to test the formal aspects of the new modes of production and residential urban planning.

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